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Beverley Kirk, PhD, is a Consultant Psychologist and Principal of the Centre for Emotional Intelligence Development and Training. She is also a Clinical Psychologist in Independent Practice. Her publications focus on emotional self-efficacy (the confidence to identify, understand, and manage emotions in both the self and others), emotional intelligence, negative affect, and uncivil workplace behavior.

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INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

To those whose example of unselfish courage and commitment to social justice and love enacted has served as a beacon to me in life. While many of you I have not personally met, the stories of your resilience and steadfastness when faced with inhumanity and treachery have made you alive in me, and made me firm in believing that I too, with courage, can face fear and make the world a kinder and more just place. I dedicate this work to you for providing the example and to those whose love for me has been unwavering and embracing of this way of being.

C.H.

To my late friends and colleagues, Bernard Bass and Jerry Hunt. They were both giants in their field, and made a lasting impression on all scholars of leadership and organizational behavior.

N.A.

Scientific study tells us that emotions are infused into the personal and interpersonal dynamics of organizational life and that they cross organizational boundaries at will. Our feelings at work affect our feelings at home and vice versa and so can both encourage and distract us. I am blessed to be loved and encouraged and supported by family, friends, and colleagues and dedicate this small contribution to them.

W.Z.

RESEARCH ON EMOTION IN ORGANIZATIONS VOLUME 5

EMOTIONS IN GROUPS, ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURES

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RESEARCH ON EMOTION IN ORGANIZATIONS

Series Editors: Neal M. Ashkanasy,
Charmine E. J. Härtel and Wilfred J. Zerbe

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and Neal M. Ashkanasy

OVERVIEW

As research on emotion in organizations continues to grow, there is growing interest in understanding better the role of emotions at multiple levels (Härtel, Ashkanasy, & Zerbe, 2005). This interest reflects the recognition that individuals do not experience and express emotions in a vacuum, but rather across a broad range of contexts. The way an individual may respond to a particular event when they are alone may be quite different when they are in a group, in an organization rather than at home, and in their home culture compared to abroad. Improving our understanding of how context shapes individual emotional experience and vice versa holds the promise of building more positive and healthy work environments as well as identifying individual strategies which promote healthy emotional growth and human flourishing (Härtel, 2008). We are pleased to present in this volume new research and theorizing which courageously grapples with these very real and very important issues. We are confident that in reading this volume you will come away energized and inspired by what we already have the knowledge and tools for as well as the possibilities that lie ahead to improve our world.

THE 2008 “EMONET” CONFERENCE

The chapters in this volume are drawn from the best contributions to the 2008 *International Conference on Emotion and Organizational Life* (Emonet VI), complemented by additional invited chapters. The 2008 conference was hosted by INSEAD, beautifully situated within the picturesque surrounds of Fontainebleau, France. We acknowledge INSEAD and especially local hosts Prof. Quy Huy and Ms. Marie-Francoise Piquerez for ensuring a flawlessly organized and superbly resourced conference experience. We also acknowledge the conference paper reviewers (see appendix) whose time and expertise are such an essential part of ensuring the high quality of the Emonet conference and the book series *Research on Emotion in Organizations*. In the year following publication of this volume, the 2010 conference (Emonet VII) will be held in Canada, and Volume 6 of *Research*

on Emotion in Organizations will be available in print. Readers interested in learning more about the conferences or the Emonet listserv should check the Emonet website at <http://www.uq.edu.au/emonet/>.

THE THEME OF THIS VOLUME

The theme of this volume, *Emotions in Groups, Organizations, and Cultures*, parallels the increasing awareness by scholars of the importance of taking context into account in research concerned with human activity (Johns, 2006). People are social beings and as such create, live, and work in social worlds. As biological organisms, humans are intricately connected to their physical environments. These aspects of being human mean that there are multiple and complex internal and external factors continuously interacting in each moment of each person's life. Consequently, the meaning we find in work, the vigor we experience in our organizations, the capacity to grow, and the resilience to persist in hope depend, in part, on the quality of our relationships, the composition and climate of our work groups, the emotional intelligence of our organizations, and the values that drive our choices. The chapters in this volume highlight these aspects of organizational life. The representation of work undertaken by authors from diverse cultures underscores the things that bind us together as emotional beings.

THE CHAPTERS

In the first chapter of this volume, Laura Guillèn Ramo proposes a new structure of emotional and social competencies for use within organizational settings. Combining McClelland's (McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, & Lowell, 1953) work on motivation and Boyatzis and Goleman's Emotional Competency Inventory (Boyatzis, Goleman, & Rhee, 2000), the authors identify three sets of managerial competencies, namely achievement competencies, power competencies, and affiliation competencies. They suggest that the proposed framework will serve to increase understanding of social and emotional competencies within organizational settings and to facilitate a greater understanding of the relationship between competencies, personality, and job performance. In particular, it will assist understanding of not only what a person is doing but also why they are behaving the way they are.

In Chapter 2, Joel Nadler and Meghan Lowery explore the impact that emotional displays, specifically anger, and sadness in performance appraisals, has on perceived organizational commitment and perceptions of behavior appropriateness. In doing this, they considered the role that gender and facets of emotional intelligence and personality may play. Using four scenarios featuring either a male or female employee expressing either anger or sadness, they found, contrary to their predictions, no gender effects. Their only significant finding was that displays of anger resulted in reductions in perceptions of organizational commitment by others. This study highlights the need for further research to examine the impact or lack thereof of gender in relation to emotional displays in organizational settings.

While there is growing interest in the potential implications of interpersonal relationships and vitality on employee work outcomes, at present relatively little research has been undertaken examining these phenomena. In an attempt to address this gap, in Chapter 3 Abraham Carmeli presents the findings of a quantitative research study designed to examine how interpersonal relationships between co-workers affect vitality and job performance. Based on Dutton and Heaphy's (2003) concept of high-quality relationships, the results indicate that both the capacities associated with high-quality relationships namely emotional carrying capacity, tensility of the connection and degree of connectivity, as well as the experiences associated with high-quality relationships including relationship vitality, positive regard, and mutuality are positively associated with feelings of vitality which, in turn result in enhanced job performance. These findings indicate that both researchers and practitioners should pay increased attention to how quality interpersonal relationships emerge at work and how they affect both individual employees and organizations overall.

In an effort to better understand the nature of affect–attitude relations, in Chapter 4 Arie Shirom and Ofira Shrager investigate the relationship between vigor and job satisfaction. Using a definition of vigor based on Hobfoll's (1989) Conservation of Resources Theory, the authors examined whether vigor predicts job satisfaction, if job satisfaction recursively predicts vigor, or alternatively if both of these propositions are correct and vigor and job satisfaction are reciprocally related across time. Results of longitudinal data found that the model that best fit the data was one which included both contemporaneous and unidirectional effects of job satisfaction on vigor at both Times 1 and 2. What this indicates is that job satisfaction may be viewed as a psychological mechanism mediating between individual's

job-related experiences and their affective and behavioral responses. Understanding this contributes to the pool of practical knowledge regarding the possibilities of inducing and strengthening vigor at work.

In Chapter 5, Stefanie Johnson and Camille Johnson seek to expand the conceptualization of affect at work to include the role of unconscious affect, and examine the unique effects that this can have within organizational contexts. In doing this, they put forward a model of unconscious affect at work in which they identify two antecedents of unconscious affect, namely the physical environment and the social environment; and three moderators of unconscious affect, namely susceptibility to mood contagion, self-monitoring, and emotional intelligence. This serves as a valuable contribution to the field for, as argued by the authors, unconscious affect can have important and unique effects within organizational contexts. For example, unconscious affect can impact attitudes if it is misattributed to neutral stimuli. Furthermore, it can have a particularly strong effect on attitudes and behaviors at work when it builds up over time to form an affective association between the workplace and a given affective response. While a number of questions remain as to what practitioners can do with this new information, this chapter goes some way toward looking into the affective black box of unconscious affect at work.

In Chapter 6, Wilfred Zerbe reports the results of a fascinating analysis of Canadian Arbitrator decisions in cases involving unionists' grievances lodged against disciplinary decisions involving "emotional deviance." Emotional deviance occurs when an employee's emotional displays toward customers or clients do not confirm to organizational display rules. Zerbe identified 20 cases where employees lodged a grievance, and found that employee emotional displays, especially when provoked by customer emotions, are sometimes seen to be excusable. He concludes from this that organizational discipline in such cases may need to be tempered by an appreciation of the customer's role in provoking the emotion.

Mirele Cardoso do Bonfim and Sonia Maria Guedes Gondim report in Chapter 7 on an interview-based study of call center operators. Based on interviews with 12 operators in a national bank call center located in Salvador, in the State of Bahia, Brazil, they conclude that two kinds of emotion work strategies are employed: cognitive and behavioral. Cognitive strategies involve use of cognitive resources, such as reflecting about oneself, the other, and/or the situation. Behavioral strategies, on the other hand, refer to what people do (or do not do) to manage their emotional states. They conclude that organizational support for the call center operators is crucial because, in many instances, the operators have to resort to their own

devices to deal with (often aggressive) callers. Thus, while appropriate training is essential, the organizations also need to support operators who act independently.

In Chapter 8, Jochen Immanuel Menges and Heike Bruch draw on Schneider's (1987) attraction selection–attrition model to argue that entire organizations may be characterized as emotionally intelligent. Building on this, they draw on theoretical work on socialization to suggest the existence of collective emotional intelligence to investigate empirically whether or not there is sufficient within-organization consistency and between-organization difference to consider emotional intelligence a collective attribute of organizations. Based on the results of quantitative research in which 156 organizations participated, they found support for this proposition. In addition, they also found support for an association between organizational emotional intelligence and operational performance, as well as financial performance and innovative capability (although to a lesser extent for these variables). Furthermore, organizational emotional intelligence was also found to be relevant for employee's health (as indicated by number of sick days taken). This is a significant contribution to the field because it is the first time that research has shown just how valuable a concept of organizational emotional intelligence is.

In Chapter 9, Beverley Kirk, Nicola Schutte, and Don Hine investigate self-efficacy in relation to emotional intelligence and develop a path model linking emotional intelligence, positive and negative affect, workplace incivility, and job satisfaction. The results of the authors' empirical research undertaken to test the model found that emotional self-efficacy is in fact a significant predictor of dispositional emotional intelligence. Emotional intelligence was found in turn to be a significant predictor of respondent's positive and negative affect. In addition, perpetrators of workplace incivility were more likely to have high than low levels of negative affect; individuals who engaged in higher levels of incivility were also more likely to be victims of workplace incivility; and being a victim of incivility is associated with higher levels of negative affect and lower levels of job satisfaction. These findings support previous research that has indicated that positive and negative affect are dominant and independent mood dimensions.

In Chapter 10, Tui McKeown, Melanie Bryant, and Luise Raeder describe a theory-based actionable framework for building positive work environments and minimizing the risk of bullying behaviors. Embedded in the structural foundations of the three levels suggested by Heames and Harvey (2006) and Rayner and McIvor (2006), the characteristics of positive

work environments are identified from three perspectives: individuals, managers, and the organization. The chapter introduces a taxonomy of each of the four developmental stages suggested by Weick and Quinn's (1999) model of planned change. By demonstrating the application of the framework within a specific organizational context, the authors bring alive for the reader the specific features of a positive work environment, showing that organizations are responsible and capable of producing an environment where everyone can experience work as a meaningful and positive part of life.

In Chapter 11, Moira Mikolajczak, Véronique Tran, Céleste Brotheridge, and James Gross introduce a framework that draws together the emotional labor and emotion regulation literatures. The authors identify the various emotion regulation strategies employees can use when they are performing emotional labor and the consequences of these on employees' well-being and organizational performance. Importantly, they note that some strategies enhance well-being while others diminish it. Not only does this offer a possible explanation for the mixed findings in the literature on deep acting, it also raises the exciting possibility of facilitating regulation strategies in employees which have positive consequences for their well-being. For example, they present evidence from a number of studies (e.g., Gross & John, 2003; Suls & Fletcher, 1985; Tice & Baumeister, 1997) showing that while confronting situations one fears or is anxious about often negatively impact on happiness in the short-term, this emotional regulation strategy has a positive impact on happiness and health in the long-term – the opposite effect was observed for the avoiding, procrastination, and masking felt emotions strategies. Another particularly provocative feature of this chapter is the consideration of the automatic (unconscious, effortless) and controlled (conscious and effortful) implementation of emotional regulation strategies.

In Chapter 12, Kerri Anne Crowne, Arvind Phatak, and Uday Salunkhe contribute to the debate on whether or not culture influences intelligence. Specifically, the authors investigate whether or not emotional intelligence, social intelligence, and cultural intelligence vary across cultures. Drawing on Hall's (1977) seminal work, they examined culture in terms of being either high-context (represented in the research by a sample collected in India) or low-context (represented in the research by a sample collected in the United States). While Crowne and her colleagues hypothesized that individuals from high-context cultures would have higher levels of emotional intelligence, social intelligence, and cultural intelligence, the results indicated no significant difference in the levels of these three types of intelligence

across the samples. This supports the view of scholars who advocate that there should not be cultural variation in intelligence.

In Chapter 13, Andrea Fischbach demonstrates how important and useful a cross-cultural perspective is for understanding the role of emotion in the workplace. Despite the long tradition the cross-cultural perspective has in research on emotions, surprisingly little attention has been given to it by organizational behaviorists studying the dynamics of emotions at work. The author provides a review of recent publications on cross-national cross-cultural research of emotion at work and cross-national organizational behavior studies of specific emotion with national culture as an explanatory variable. From this review, the author identifies core findings of cross-cultural research on emotion in organizational behavior and some gaps in the burgeoning literature. Further, Fischbach identifies potential patterns of cross-cultural similarities and differences in emotion, culture specific norms and values, and their effect on emotion. The chapter closes with the presentation of specific theoretical implications and methodological recommendations for the cross-cultural study of emotion in a work context.

CONCLUSION

The dynamic nature of emotion reflects the diversity in individual, social, and environmental circumstances, and culture. Emotions give us insight into human adaptability and individual, social, and cultural values. The chapters in this volume represent not only the outcomes of an investigation into an explicit research question but also the unique circumstances and context in which the work was undertaken. The contributing authors come from a wide range of countries and cultural and personal backgrounds. These too are infused in the works presented in this volume, shedding greater insight into the way in which context shapes emotional experience and vice versa. Collectively, the work leaves no doubt that emotion plays a fundamental role in the capacity to flourish as individuals, societies, and a global community. The promise and the call to action are to understand this in a way that enables us to create contexts where all are able to thrive.

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CHAPTER 1

HOW CAN WE MAKE SENSE OF EMOTIONAL AND SOCIAL COMPETENCIES WITHIN ORGANIZATIONAL SETTINGS?

Laura Guillén Ramo

ABSTRACT

The concept “emotional intelligence” (EI) resonates in the business world and many authors have called for more research that clearly conceptualizes it. Within the controversy of defining EI, the behavioral approach, defining and measuring EI in terms of competencies, has not received much attention. The aim of the present chapter is threefold: (1) to propose a new structure of emotional and social competencies that is useful within organizational settings; (2) to discuss a comprehensive model of emotional competencies within organizational contexts that includes personality, emotional and social competencies, and performance; and finally (3) to draw its implications for practitioners.

INTRODUCTION

The concept emotional intelligence (EI) resonates in the business world (Domagalski, 1999), and many authors have called for more research that

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clearly conceptualizes it (Becker, 2003; Day & Carroll, 2004; Sala, 2002). EI is a field full of controversy, and the interest of the concept has attracted a wide range of theorists and practitioners.

Petrides and Furnham (2000, 2001) proposed the establishment of a theoretical distinction between trait and ability EI. “Trait-EI appertains to the greater personality realm whereas ability EI is an attempt to chart new territory in the field of human mental ability” (Petrides & Furnham, 2000). Caruso (2003) also tended to differentiate ability from non-ability models, but this author splits the latter into models based on traits and models based on competencies.

Three theoretical EI approaches are accepted by the scientific community (Fernández-Berrocal & Extremera, 2006), each of them corresponding to one of the mentioned types of models. These theoretical approaches are: (1) The ability model, by Mayer and Salovey (1997) and Brackett and Salovey (2006), that puts an emphasis on the relationship between cognition and emotion, talking about mental *abilities* and eliminating the consideration of daily human behavior in their construct. (2) The trait-EI Bar-On model (1997) of Emotional-Social Intelligence (ESI) that focuses its interest in terms of effective adaptation and psychological well-being, as an ability to generate positive affect and be self-motivated. In this sense, motivation is linked to the fulfillment of unsatisfied needs. When emotions help to move forward the reduction of internal tensions, satisfaction and well-being occur as tension is reduced and the need subsides, usually to be replaced by awareness of another need that requires attention (Auerback & Dolan, 1997). And (3) the emotional competencies model focused on a theory of performance in the workplace (Boyatzis, 1982, 2006; Goleman, 1998; Goleman, Boyatzis, & McKee, 2002) focusing its attention on the relationship between EI and performance at work.

The trait–ability distinction takes into account both, the theories and measurement approaches. Petrides and Furnham (2000) claimed that “*it is the type of measurement rather than the theory per se that determines the nature of the model.*” Ability EI models may be related to cognitive intelligence, whereas trait-EI tools would not be expected to correlate strongly with measures of general cognitive ability (e.g., Petrides & Furnham, 2000, 2001). Trait EI is related to personality, whereas ability EI would not be expected to do so. It is hypothesized that behavioral tools of EI may show moderate relationships with personality, low correlations with cognitive intelligence, and high correlations with performance indicators. But relationships between the trait, ability, and competency measurement tools (and theoretical models)

are complex and may depend on personal characteristics and context specificities.

Increasing our understanding of how to make sense of EI within organizational settings is the primary objective of this chapter. To cover this theme, the chapter is divided into five sections: (1) explanation of the measurement tools existing in the literature; (2) description of the Emotional Competency Inventory (ECI-2) as a measurement tool of competencies that is framed within the work context; (3) proposal of a new structure of competencies that is useful within organizational settings; (4) discussion of a comprehensive model of emotional competencies within organizational contexts that includes personality, competencies, and performance; and finally (5) to draw its implications for practitioners.

EI Conceptualizations and Measurement Tools

The development of theoretical models of EI has been paralleled by the development of measurement tools. The scientific literature pointed out that the most serious weaknesses within EI field is “the lack of specific, measurable operationalizations of the various components of this rather vaguely defined notion” (Fox & Spector, 2000) and that there are no well-established measures of EI (McCrae, 2000). EI has generated considerable interest, but “the measurement of it is emerging rather slowly, and validity data are especially scarce” (Salovey, Bedell, Detweiler, & Mayer, 2000).

Thus, many authors have claimed that the EI construct is limited by the measurement properties of its tests (e.g., Anastasi, 1988; Matthews, Zeidner, & Roberts., 2002; Petrides & Furnham, 2000, 2001). Organizations allocate considerable resources to EI developmental programs, but regrettably many times without the rigor that would have been desirable. The success of EI interventions is closely related not only to how is EI defined but also to how is it assessed in organizations. The assessment of EI may have a profound impact on human resource policies. In this section, we will comment on the EI measurement tools and we will provide arguments for measuring EI in terms of competencies in organizations.

As Perez, Petrides, and Furnham (2005) claimed, only recently have we begun to provide answers to some of the fundamental questions about EI. And in the last five years a considerable effort has been made by scholars to assess EI in a rigorous way. We are going to describe briefly the trait-EI measurement tools of the trait-EI theoretical models by Bar-On (the EQ-i)

and by Goleman and Boyatzis (the ECI-2 questionnaire). Additionally, we will include the TEIQue, that is also a trait-EI measurement tool proposed by Petrides and Furnham (2000, 2001, 2003) derived through a content analysis of the three theoretical EI approaches accepted by the scientific community mentioned in the previous section.

EQ-i

The EQ-i was constructed to examine a concept that Reuven Bar-On started developing in the early 1980s. The development of the EQ-i began to examine various factors thought to be key components of effective emotional and social functioning that lead to psychological well-being (Bar-On, 2000).

Bar-On (2006) defines emotional-social intelligence as “a cross-section of interrelated emotional and social competencies, skills and facilitators that determine how effectively we understand and express ourselves, understand others and relate with them, and cope with daily demands.” There are five emotional quotient (EQ) composite scale scores: (1) Intrapersonal EQ (comprising self-regard, emotional self-awareness, assertiveness, independence, and self-actualization); (2) Interpersonal EQ (comprising empathy, social responsibility, and interpersonal relationship); (3) Stress Management EQ (comprising stress tolerance and impulse control); (4) Adaptability EQ (comprising reality testing, flexibility, and problem solving); and (5) General Mood EQ (comprising optimism and happiness). Bar-On (2000) claims that there are 10 key emotional, personal and social abilities that make up the factorial structure of the EQ-i. In addition, the Bar-On model includes five facilitators of emotionally and socially intelligent behavior.

ECI-2

Boyatzis and Goleman’s ECI-2 is based on EI competencies that have been identified in internal research at hundreds of corporations and organizations as distinguishing outstanding performers (Boyatzis, 1982). The roots of this theory are based on the idea that EI leads to human behavior and that to possess a high level of EI promotes specific competencies that distinguish star from average performers in organizations. In this sense, emotional competence is defined as “a learned capability based on emotional intelligence that results in outstanding performance at work” (Goleman, 1998). The current model of competencies of Boyatzis and Goleman reflects four

domains that complete the puzzle of EI (Boyatzis, Goleman, & Rhee, 2000): Self-Awareness, Self-Management, Social Awareness, and Relationship Management.

TEIQue

Petrides and Furnham (2001) identified via content analysis 15 distinct facets common to more than 1 salient EI model. They selected for the TEIQue instrument the common facets that cover the sampling domain of EI comprehensively. These facets are adaptability, assertiveness, emotion expression, emotion management, emotion perception, emotion regulation, impulsiveness, relationship skills, self-esteem, self-motivation, social competence, stress management, empathy, happiness, and optimism.

Via content analysis of these measurement instruments of the trait-EI models (the EQ-i for the Bar-On model, TEIQue for Petrides and Furnham's model, and ECI-2 for Boyatzis and Goleman's model), at least three types of emotional responses may be identified. They serve to infer the level of EI of an individual in specific situations, and are: cognitive (awareness), behavioral (management), and subjective (subjective well-being and self-personality) responses. Both awareness and management aspects may be split into two groups, depending on the level of analysis in which they are placed: the individual (self) and others. The last emotional response, subjective well-being/self-motivation is by definition only individual. Comparisons of the scales of the three trait-EI models according to the previous classification are provided in Table 1.

Awareness facets may be operationalized through self-perceptions or mental abilities that deal with potential of behavior and that may or may not be activated in daily situations. *Behaviors* or *behavioral dispositions* deal with its execution. And *psychological well-being* and self-motivation refer to the internal responses generated by the self-perceptions and behaviors. It is hypothesized that behaviors will be highly correlated with performance, and subjective well-being and awareness facets with personality traits.

Petrides and Furnham (2001) have claimed that EQ-i neglects important parts of the construct's domain, for example, emotion expression, emotion regulation, and self-motivation. As shown in Table 1, the comparison of the TEIQue and the ECI-2, evidences that some facets of the former referred to a set of competencies of the latter. For example, *emotion regulation* that is defined as being "capable of controlling their emotions" in the model of Petrides and Furnham (2000, 2001) may include four emotional

Table 1. Scales of the Three Trait-EI Measurement Instruments.

EI Areas	EQ-i Scales	TEIQue Scales	ECI-2 Competencies
<i>Awareness (cognitions)</i>			
Self	Emotional Self-Awareness	Emotion Perception	Emotional Self-Awareness Self-Confidence
Others	Assertiveness Empathy	Assertiveness Empathy	Empathy, Service Orientation Organizational Awareness
<i>Management (behaviors/behavioral dispositions)</i>			
Self	Flexibility	Adaptability Emotion Expression Emotion Regulation	Adaptability Transparency Emotional Self-Control, Achievement Orientation, Initiative, Change Catalyst
	Impulse Control Stress Tolerance Problem Solving Reality Testing	Impulsiveness (low) Stress Management	
Others		Emotion Management (others) Relationship skills Social Competence	Influence, Inspirational Leadership Developing Others, Teamwork, Conflict Management
<i>Subjective well-being/self-motivation</i>			
	Happiness Self-Regard	Happiness Self-Esteem Self-Motivation	
	Self-Actualization Independence Optimism Social Responsibility Interpersonal Relationships	Optimism	Optimism

Source: Adaptation from Bar-on (2000, 2006), Petrides and Furnham (2001), and Goleman et al. (2002).

competencies of the Boyatzis and Goleman model, that are, “emotional self-control,” “achievement orientation,” “initiative,” and “change catalyst”; *emotion management* (capable of influencing other people’s feelings) may include “influence” and “inspirational leadership,” and *social competency* (accomplished networkers with excellent social skills) includes “developing others,” “teamwork and collaboration,” and “conflict management.” This may be so, as emotional and social competencies in the ECI-2 referred to concrete behaviors in work situations, whereas the TEIQue refers to more

general situations in daily life. This distinction between the specificity of the contexts where the EI models are placed forces us to include another variable in order to integrate the trait-EI models in a comprehensive way. This variable is the type of context in which the models are located.

Depending on which model is used, EI is framed within a general context (the models of Bar-On and Petrides and Furnham); or within a more specific context (job context in the case of the Boyatzis and Goleman model). The former looks for behavioral dispositions or action tendencies for the future, and the latter is focused on concrete behaviors. It is hypothesized that both types of model will be inter-correlated as they consider daily behavior as key in their conceptualizations. The relations between the different models are not simple, and researchers may select for reasons of convenience, taking into account the peculiarities of their research.

Summing up, to select between the different trait-EI models, the researcher should take into account the emotional aspects in which he/she is interested (awareness, management, and/or subjective well-being/self-motivation), where he/she wants to study the manifestation of these emotional aspects (individual and/or others), and, where he/she wants to place the research agenda (within a general and/or a concrete context). A comprehensive approach that examines these variables in which the trait-EI models can be placed is shown in Fig. 1.

It is important to bear in mind that the scope of the ECI-2 is the organizational setting, while the other mentioned measurement tools offer a non-specific setting to evaluate EI. Although the ECI-2 has proved popular in the field of human resources management, there seems to be little information about its psychometric properties in scientific journals (Perez

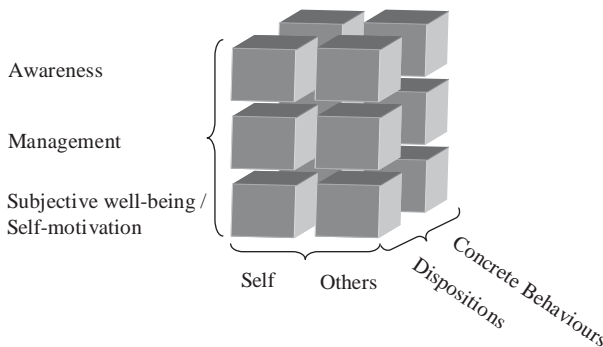


Fig. 1. Comprehensive Approach of Trait-EI Models.

et al., 2005). As this chapter has the objective of increasing the understanding of EI within organizational life, from now onwards, we will focus on the behavioral approach to EI due to several reasons: First, because it is mainly concerned with the management of competencies that, as already mentioned, is closely linked to behavior effectiveness. This is important because organizations are interested in EI as a powerful source of job effectiveness. Second, as we think that the person's level of EI cannot easily be inferred from behavioral indices divorced from context (Matthews et al., 2002), we believe that it is necessary that EI is framed within the work setting. In this sense, the competencies are formed by concrete behaviors of the job context. And finally, the measurement proposal by Boyatzis and Goleman includes self-assessments and others' ratings, which constitute an extremely valuable feedback for the managers within the organizational settings.

COMPETENCIES: THE BEHAVIORAL APPROACH TO EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

This section will deal with explaining what emotional competencies are and why they are important within organizational settings. We will divide the presentation in two blocks. First, we will present how emotional competencies are conceptualized. Then, we will comment on the emotional competency inventory.

Conceptualization

An EI competency is an ability to recognize, understand, and use emotional information about oneself or others that leads to or causes effective or superior performance (Boyatzis & Sala, 2004). The hypothesis is that specific competencies are causally related to effectiveness (Boyatzis et al., 2000). This model focuses on a set of related but different behaviors organized around each competency.

The theoretical clustering of the competencies reflects a model of four clusters: self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, and social skills (e.g., Boyatzis et al., 2000; Goleman et al., 2002). Clusters within the competency model should complement each other, and may have a developmental or a compensatory relationship (Boyatzis et al., 2000).

The first theoretical cluster is Emotional Self-Awareness that reflects the importance of recognizing one's own feelings and how they affect one's performance. The second, Emotional Self-Management, is the ability to regulate distressing affects like anxiety and danger and to inhibit emotional impulsivity. Signs of this competency include being unfazed in stressful situations or dealing with a hostile person without lashing out in return. Social Awareness, the third EI component, includes three competencies, Empathy, Service, and Organizational Awareness. Finally, Relationship Management, the fourth cluster that represents the effectiveness of our relationship skills hinges on our ability to attune ourselves to or influence the emotions of another person.

Measurement: The Emotional Competency Inventory

As already exposed, Boyatzis and Goleman proposed the use of the Emotional Competency Inventory, a self-report and informants measure that assesses how the person expresses their handling of emotions in life and work settings (Boyatzis & Sala, 2004). The ECI-2 is constituted by 72 items with a 5-point scale. It is formed by 18 competencies grouped in 4 theoretical clusters: (1) Self-Awareness includes the competencies emotional self-awareness, accurate self-assessment, and self-confidence; (2) Self-Management is constituted by emotional self-control, transparency, adaptability, achievement, initiative, optimism; (3) Social Awareness is formed by empathy, organizational awareness, and service orientation; and (4) Relations Management includes developing others, inspirational leadership, change catalyst, influence, conflict management, and teamwork and collaboration.

The ECI-2 shows good reliability (Perez et al., 2005; Sala, 2002), ranging from .56 (Conflict Management) to .94 (Developing Others) with an overall average internal consistency coefficient of .82. Construct validity and discriminant validity are supported by empirical research (e.g., Murensky, 2000). It has been shown to be related to selected other personality measures, but not to mental capacity (Sala, 2002). This is consistent with the expected relations of trait EI and other well-known constructs as conceived by Petrides and Furnham (2000, 2001). The model of Boyatzis and Goleman placed its competencies in the "awareness" and "management" emotional responses' variables (see Fig. 2), measured by concrete behaviors that are manifested within the organizational settings and taking into account the two levels of analysis (self and others).

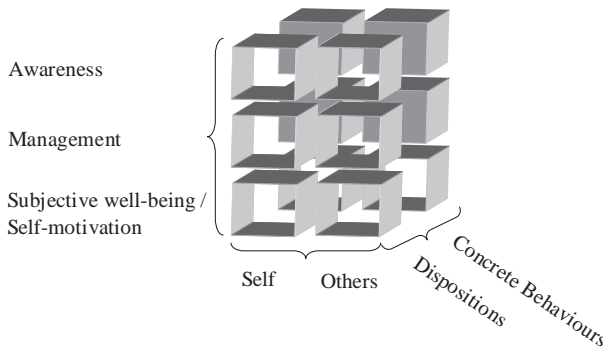


Fig. 2. Theoretical Clusters of the Model by Boyatzis and Goleman Framed in the Comprehensive Approach of Trait-EI Models.

MAKING SENSE OF EMOTIONAL AND SOCIAL COMPETENCIES WITHIN ORGANIZATIONAL SETTINGS: A STRUCTURE

Even if this chapter is a theoretical one, its assumptions are based on the results of a competency management project based on emotional competencies as proposed by Goleman et al. (2002). Two hundred and twenty-three individuals with managerial responsibilities were invited to participate in this project as reported in Guillén Ramo (2007). The project was constituted by four major stages: (1) competence assessment through the ECI-2 questionnaire; (2) a training program that includes two sessions that offer participants a general overview on conceptual, operational, and developmental issues within the emotional competencies model by Boyatzis and Goleman. Participants completed a personality assessment at this stage; (3) individualized feedback and coaching sessions in order to identify learning objectives and/or improvement areas for one-year period; and (4) follow up of the process, where participants reported job performance through a process of nominations. See Guillén Ramo (2007) for further details about the data collection and procedure.

The data collected in the mentioned project allow assessment of the underlying structure of competencies (construct validity), examination of the relationship between personality and competencies (discriminant validity), and study of the effect of emotional competencies over performance (predictive validity). Structural modeling techniques available in the SEM

program LISREL 8.51 software (see Guillén Ramo, 2007; Guillén Ramo, Saris, & Boyatzis, in press) were used to test these questions.

COMPETENCIES, PERSONALITY, AND JOB PERFORMANCE

The Structure of Competencies

First, concerning structure of competencies, previous exploratory factor analysis reported in the literature showed that the appearance of the competencies and clusters may be different from the theoretical model (Boyatzis & Sala, 2004). Guillén Ramo (2007) found that the theoretical model of competencies was not supported statistically when assessing it through SEM. McClelland (1973) claimed that to measure real competency one should move to criterion sampling based on job analysis, as the Boyatzis and Goleman model does. We proposed a new structure following the proposal by McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, and Lowell (1953) on social motives.

To explain the alternative structure of competencies we move back to the work by David C. McClelland from the 1950s onwards, which has its roots in three social motives. McClelland, Koestner, and Weinberger (1989) conceptualize the three motives as guiding action in a conscious or implicit way. Thus, we proposed that respondent behavior in specific situations is guided by social motives, and consequently, managerial competencies, which are efficient behaviors within organizational settings, may be structured in a similar way.

McClelland et al. (1953) proposed the existence of three social motives: achievement, affiliation, and power. The achievement motive is defined as a desire to do things better, to improve standards of excellence (McClelland et al., 1953). The affiliation motive is defined as the necessity to create, maintain, and use positive social relationships with other people (Boyatzis, 1973). And finally, the power motive is defined by the desire to have an impact on others, through influence, discussion, help, persuasion, or aggression (McClelland, 1975).

We hypothesized that the competencies that are linked to concrete behaviors of outstanding managers in organizations (“managerial” competencies) are related to power, achievement, and affiliation social motives. Thus, it is hypothesized that there are three sets of managerial competencies: The first might be called “achievement competencies” and includes

competencies connected to the achievement social motive. The second is formed by “power competencies” and may be related to the power social motive by McClelland. Finally, the third type of managerial competencies is grouped as “affiliation competencies” and may be related to the affiliation social motive. This structure is in accordance with the empirical findings by Boyatzis (1982) and Boyatzis, Cowen, and Kolb (1995), which identify a “Goal and Action Management Cluster” of competencies (connected to the achievement and power competencies) and a “People Management Cluster” (set of affiliation competencies). The three managerial sets of competencies may explain how managers and leaders produce change and movement while performing in an outstanding manner.

Recalling Fig. 2, next we need to comment on the relationship between the managerial and awareness competencies. For doing so, we will echo the findings by Boyatzis and Sala (2004). According to these authors, “*awareness*” competencies are needed for sustainable self-management and others’ management. They identify two factors of competencies: (1) a factor of competencies that consists of awareness competencies and those involved with working with others; and (2) another factor that stimulate change and is constituted by provocative competencies involved in moving forward toward some vision, goal, or strategy (Boyatzis & Sala, 2004).

This leads us to the idea that the *awareness* competencies of the theoretical framework (“emotional-self awareness,” “self-confidence,” and “empathy”) could be split into two groups; one affecting the “*affiliation competencies*” and another affecting the “*achievement*” and “*power*” competencies: (1) The “*affiliation competencies*” (that involve working with others) may be related to *awareness* competencies such as “emotional self-awareness” and “empathy.” In addition, “emotional self-control” will be considered a general competency affecting “*affiliation competencies*,” as it is defined as keeping disruptive emotions and impulses in check; and (2) the “self-confidence” competency will be connected to the effective managerial competencies included in the sets of “*achievement competencies*” and “*power competencies*.” From now on, when we refer to “*self-awareness*” competencies we will consider “emotional self-awareness,” “emotional self-control,” and “empathy.” “Self-confidence” will be treated separately.

As already commented, we propose the competency structure tracing a parallelism with the three social motives proposed by McClelland et al. (1953, p. 1). The *self-awareness* competencies may be related to the “*affiliation competencies*”; and the “self-confidence” competency will be connected to the effective managerial competencies included in the sets of “*achievement competencies*” and “*power competencies*” (see Fig. 3).

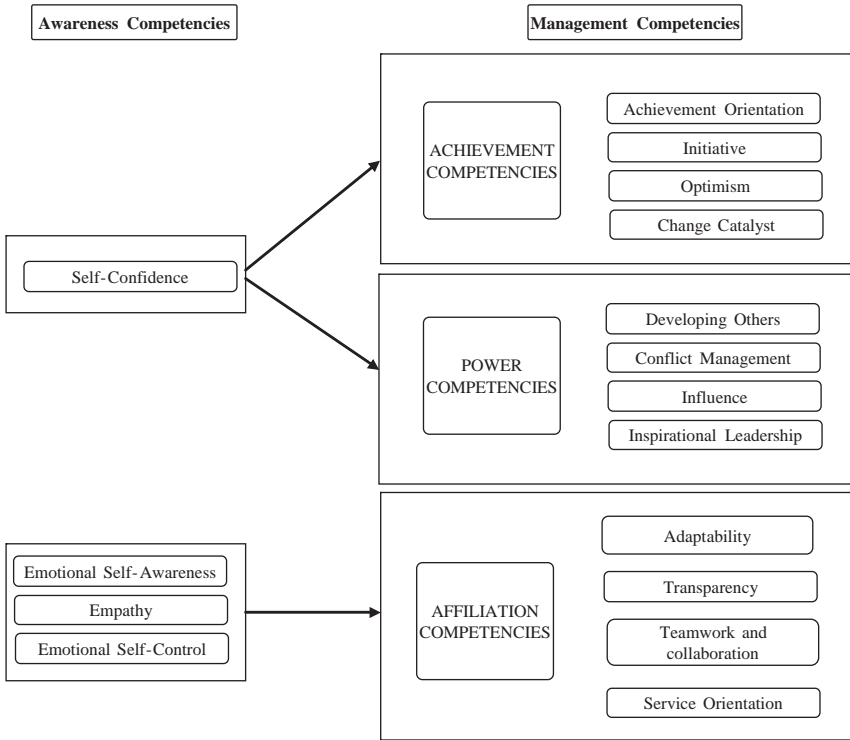


Fig. 3. Awareness and Management Competencies.

But even if the pattern of competencies may help to understand the underlying competency construct, there are at least two other pending issues that need to be addressed: (1) how competencies help us to predict work and leadership performance within organizational settings; and (2) how they are related to other well-established psychological constructs such as personality. To cover these themes, next section will be devoted to grasp the relationships between competencies, personality, and performance.

Competencies, Personality, and Performance

The relationship between personality and EI requires closer inspection. Some scholars claimed that EI does not explain much more than other well-known psychological constructs (Davies, Stankov, & Roberts, 1998;

Schulte, Ree, & Caretta, 2004). It does appear that there is substantial overlap (Bar-On, 1997; Schutte et al., 1998), and this overlap is exactly what personality psychologists would expect (McCrae, 2000). We claim that personality is a different construct than EI as measured by the emotional competencies. It is hypothesized that personality will be related to the “awareness” and “self-confidence” competencies. The relationship between personality and *management* competencies will be more modest.

Regarding the relationship with performance, some studies (Bastian, Burns, & Nettelbeck, 2005; Newsome, Day & Catano, 2000) questioned the uniqueness of EI as a powerful source of predicting performance. Conversely, other studies pointed out exactly the opposite, that EI is a powerful antecedent of job performance (Ciarrochi, Chan, & Caputi, 2000; Gannon & Ranzijn, 2005; Lyons & Schneider, 2005; Petrides, Frederickson, & Furnham, 2004; Van der Zee, Thies, & Schakel, 2002).

Trait-EI measures are designed to cover narrowly and more specifically the aspects that are relevant to what is considered to be emotionally intelligence behaviors. Therefore they may be more successful when predicting important job criteria than global personality dimensions (e.g., Ashton, 1998; Hough, 1992; Paunonen, 1998). We hypothesize that emotional competencies are more successful in predicting performance than universal personality dimensions and, more specifically, that the *managerial* competencies may be more related to job performance than the *self-awareness* ones. The reason for that is that *managerial* competencies express more concrete behaviors that are manifest in daily work situations, taking into account the specific context of the individuals and the organizations and, therefore, being more related to job performance. These relationships are shown in Fig. 4.

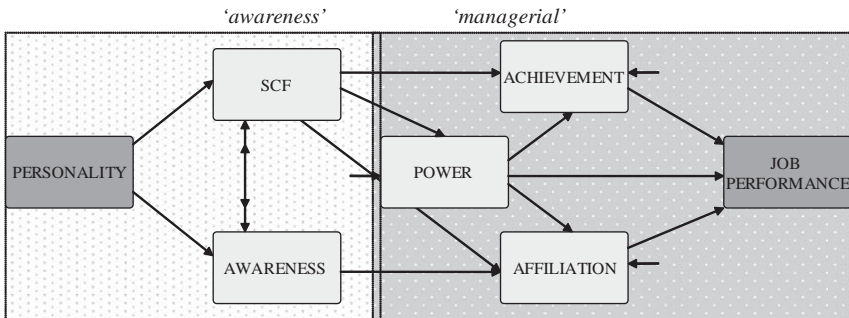


Fig. 4. General Framework of Emotional and Social Competencies, Personality, and Job Performance.

Guillén Ramo (2007) tested empirically these hypotheses and found stronger effects between personality and *self-awareness* and *self-confidence* competencies than between personality and *managerial* ones. Overall, results supported the idea of discriminant validity of EI as conceptualized by Boyatzis and Goleman and personality traits. Concerning the relationship between competencies and performance, the managerial sets of competencies, *power*, *affiliation*, and *achievement* showed stronger relations with performance than the *awareness* competencies. The competencies within the *Achievement and Power* sets of competencies seem to be more closely related to performance than competencies within the *Affiliation* set. *Power* seems to be the most powerful variable for predicting performance within organizations (Guillén Ramo, Saris, & Boyatzis, in press).

CONCLUSIONS

EI is a success predictor in organizations and it can be developed. This is an irresistible formula for management, which expects EI to play a vital role in human resource policies such as selection, training, and performance evaluation. The theoretical proposal that picks up the interest of EI being a source of behavior is the theory of performance based on competencies. The hypothesis the organizations are implicitly putting forward is that the higher the competency level of the employees, the better the performance will be. The model presented in this chapter serves to increase the understanding of competencies within organizational settings.

The mentioned model may constitute the basis for selecting key competencies for different job positions and for the organization that help in the design and application of human resource policies (e.g., selection, career planning, training, etc). There are four vital advantages of adopting an ongoing competency management program in organizations: (1) adopting a competency approach provides a pool of specific behaviors that have been shown to have an impact in the effectiveness of numerous organizations; (2) it gives not only a list of behaviors but also a comprehensive structure for mapping these behaviors; (3) it provides a unified language to be used across departments and throughout the entire organization; and (4) it serves to assist training and development strategies by focusing on the improvement areas of the individuals in relationship with the competencies that are relevant for achieving job and organizational objectives.

At the individual level it may serve to improve individual performance, because competence management serves to manage the gaps between the job

requirements, the organizational environment, and the individual capabilities. At the organizational level it may help to have the organizational structure prepared to implement in an optimum way the organizational strategy. Implications for practitioners are going to be presented grouped in two areas: (1) the practical use of a comprehensive framework of competencies; and (2) the implications for development.

Using Competencies in Organizations

The model exposed in this chapter provides a comprehensive framework of the emotional competencies proposed by the EI model of Boyatzis and Goleman within organizational settings. The proposal of dividing the *managerial* competencies into three different groups is coherent not only with McClelland and his social motives but also with the more recent proposal by Boyatzis and McKee (2005) about resonant leaders. In describing them, they mention three important characteristics: (1) resonant leaders are inspiring their organizations to reach for dreams; (2) they manage others' emotions and build strong, trusting relations; and (3) in addition to being great to work with, they get results. Considering these three characteristics, each can be related to the *managerial* sets of competencies presented in the chapter. The *power* competencies may be related to the first characteristic of inspiring and leading others within organizational settings. The *affiliation* competencies may be related to the second characteristic mentioned by Boyatzis and McKee (2005) and the *achievement* competencies to the third one. Thus, these three managerial sets of competencies may explain how managers and leaders produce change and movement while performing in an outstanding manner. These clusters may serve as a basis to select key competencies that have an impact on individual performance and vertebrate human resource strategies around them.

Power competencies seemed to be the ones that have a stronger effect over job performance. This may imply a magnified importance of these competencies for selection, performance or career progression policies, and an urgency of designing training programs that enhance them. Future research is necessary to assess what role EI plays in promoting *power* competencies, such as inspirational leadership or influence and how they can be developed using different training methods.

Some developmental programs in organizations assume that all competencies are equally important to all employees, but we think that the selection of the appropriate key competencies at each organizational level may be of invaluable help for designing effective developmental programs. For

example, Mumford, Marks, Shane Connelly, Zaccaro, and Reiter-Palmon (2000) illustrated that while new managers are learning the fundamentals of leadership, experienced managers may be learning more complex organizational and strategic knowledge which requires extended socialization and influencing skills. Next section will deal with the implications of adopting a competency management program for development.

Implications for Development

Guillén Ramo, Saris, and Boyatzis (2007) found support for the argument that states that personality traits and EI competencies are different constructs. This has profound implications for practitioners within a broad number of disciplines. First, it implicitly sends a hopeful message about adult development. And second, it gives us a clue about pedagogical tools that may help managers to effectively engage and develop their competencies in their daily environments and on a continuous basis. Let us explain this in greater detail.

One of the most controversial claims of some authors is that they can adduce that intelligence and personality traits are innate. In consequence, experience and environment cannot affect them at all. In addition, they are not highly sensitive to age and maturity. Costa and McCrae (1992) have argued that the five personality traits are basic tendencies of behavior that are biologically based. They have traced the difference between these basic tendencies or potentials of the individual and real adaptive characteristics that are culturally determined. Competencies may be understood as the concrete adaptive characteristics of the individual to his/her specific environment, and they may have not only a biological root but also external influences. Competencies can be conceptualized as external and more concrete manifestations of some basic tendencies throughout life. Thus, EI competencies become pivotal elements to achieve success in life and convey a hopeful message. Innateness is not the only source of success in work and life.

If competencies are a critical ingredient in outstanding performance, and research supports the idea that they can be improved, adults can develop them to improve their performance in management, leadership, and many other occupations and professions. Having a clear structure of competencies may serve as the basis for individual development in the following ways:

- First, the structure of competencies provides a theoretical competency framework in coherence with the organizational context.
- Second, it facilitates the selection of the competencies that the training program is targeted to.

- Third, it helps the decision of selecting the appropriate pedagogical tools for training and development. The structure of competencies presented in this chapter may serve to build a bridge for a broader notion of personal and professional development that includes motivation (formed by three social motives: power, affiliation, and achievement). This connection between behavior and motivation give us a hint of the importance of considering not only what people *do*, but also what they *are*. In this sense, we must forge ahead calling attention to the importance of considering a broader notion for development that includes the individuals' self-concepts. This leads us to believe that we have to move from exclusively behavioral approaches of development to more complex and holistic identity-based approaches that focus on the potential gap between “doing” and “being” (Ibarra, Snook, & Guillén Ramo, forthcoming). Training strategies must deal with two complementary objectives: to build on the adequate competencies or repertoire of behaviors and, at the same time, to provoke a process of self-renewal by reflecting on other aspects of the self-concept such as beliefs or motivations.

In trying to understand EI as a concept and its implications, this chapter has raised four important issues: (1) First, the importance of clearly conceptualizing EI. We claim that the behavioral approach to EI using emotional competencies is adequate to design and apply EI in organizations; (2) equally important to defining EI is to find a measurement tool that enabled rigorous interventions; (3) then, once EI is defined and assessed, organizations must reflect on how can EI be developed and identity-based approaches may be combined with behavioral ones; (4) and finally, it is necessary to demonstrate a firm relationship between EI and specific work place performance outcomes, a connection that is assumed by most academics and practitioners but little research has demonstrated its predictive validity. This chapter proposed a new structure of emotional competencies that vertebrates these issues and provided reflective practitioners with useful conceptual and developmental handles for managing emotional competencies in organizations.

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CHAPTER 2

EMOTIONAL EXPRESSION, GENDER, PERSONALITY, AND WORKPLACE APPROPRIATE BEHAVIORS

Joel T. Nadler and Meghan R. Lowery

ABSTRACT

The impact of emotional displays on ratings of workplace performance was examined using scenarios presented to college students ($N = 175$). Four scenarios featured either a male or female employee expressing either anger or sadness. Contrary to previous findings in research on gender differences, the only consistent significant finding was the type of emotion displayed. Displays of anger resulted in reductions in perceptions of organizational commitment ($F(1,170) = 19.78, p < 0.001$) and job performance ($F(1,169) = 12.19, p < 0.001$). The differences in emotion displayed were expected; however, the null findings of gender effects were unexpected and are discussed here.

INTRODUCTION

Employees have a natural need to express emotion, just as they have social needs that must be met for increased job satisfaction, productivity, and organizational commitment (Ashkanasy, Härtel, & Zerbe, 2000). Managing emotions in the workplace and training techniques for reducing problems based on emotional response has been the subject of past research (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Morris & Feldman, 1997). Emotional displays in the workplace are likely to affect organizational outcomes such as performance appraisals, perceived organizational commitment, and perceptions of behavior appropriateness. Individual differences such as personality and emotional intelligence may predict how emotional displays affect such outcomes. Finally, the gender of the rater assessing organizationally relevant outcomes, the gender of the employee being rated, and the types of emotions displayed may all mediate these relationships. Beyond the initial concept of emotional displays in the workplace, these posited questions continue to be unresolved. This study is an attempt to address such questions by examining the psychological processes of raters using scenarios of men or women expressing anger or sadness. Emotions, gender differences in emotional displays, gender in the workplace, personality variance in ratings, and emotional labor will be discussed here.

Emotions in the Workplace

Emotions in the workplace are not a new area of study. Emotions are defined as behaviors that express feelings towards a triggering object (Ashkanasy et al., 2000). Emotions are experienced both internally and expressed externally; though both facets are important, observable behaviors are more easily measured. Observable behaviors are also what others respond to in the workplace. How employees and those with supervisory responsibilities perceive and interpret these behaviors can have a direct impact on emotional display influenced appraisals such as job performance and behavior appropriateness. Additionally, emotions are often contagious; the trigger of an individual's emotional reaction can be the emotional displays of others (Elfenbein, Polzer, & Ambady, 2007). This tendency for emotional reactions to be affected by the emotional norms and organizational culture brings into focus the importance of understanding how emotional displays affect the appraisals of those displaying such emotions. Additionally, the perception and recognition of emotions have been found across cultures (Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1992),

although cultural norms or display rules do play a role in determining how to appropriately express emotion (Nicholson, 1995). Positive emotional displays have been shown to sometimes have no impact, or even negative impact, on organizationally relevant outcomes (Morris & Feldman, 1997). Most research is focused on outcomes associated with negative emotional displays. Negative emotions are associated with negative mood congruence, reduction in decision quality, and reduced job satisfaction (Carnvulle & Stone, 1995; George, 1990). Negative emotional displays are therefore likely to be associated with reductions in key individual workplace assessments such as job performance and the judgment of appropriateness of behavior.

Emotional displays in the workplace are governed by social environmental factors referred to as display rules (Ekman, 1973). Research has shown that perceptions of display rules are an important step in understanding what emotional displays or expressions are acceptable in the workplace (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003). Generally, expression of positive emotions are allowed or encouraged, while negative emotions have strong display rules against their expression (Brotheridge & Gandey, 2002). Additionally, manager's perceptions of employees' emotional displays and understanding of what are acceptable behaviors are related (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978). Ashforth and Humphry (1993) suggested that display rules and how employees display and express emotion in the workplace should impact performance but noted a lack of research examining this relationship is still seen today.

Anger and sadness are both considered one of the key six categories of emotional expression and are both associated with negative affect (Wagner, Pfeffer, & O'Reilly, 1984). Emotional displays of anger and aggression within the workplace have been shown to increase the amount of individual workplace aggression (Glomb & Liao, 2003). Additionally, expressing anger in the workplace has been shown to be related to personality traits such as neuroticism and emotional intelligence of the individual as well as past experiences with displays of emotion (Dietz, Robinson, Folger, Baron, & Jones, 2003). Displays of anger in the workplace are recognized as deviant workplace behaviors which lead to a reduction in productivity. How others perceive employees when they display anger, which demographic factors mediate these perceptions, and any differences in these effects regarding different emotions are relevant questions.

The field of organizational behavior has tended to focus only on displays of anger due to the overt nature, while emotions such as sadness are under-researched (Fisher & Ashanasy, 2000). Displays of sadness such as anger are also potentially disruptive; however, sadness is often not even addressed in texts covering organizational behavior (Nelson & Campbell Quick,

2009; Staw, Sutton, & Pelled, 1994). When sadness is examined, the focus is on individual performance and decision making, and not appraisal (Raghuathan & Pham, 1999). This may be due to sadness being associated with internalized behavior compared to extreme acts of external workplace aggression that gain national media attention.

Some studies have examined anger and sadness displays in the workplace. Tiedens (2001) found within laboratory experiments that targets expressing anger were more likely to be granted higher social status than those showing sadness. Lewis (2000) examined sadness and anger in appraisal of male and female leaders. Lewis found that males were rated lower when showing sadness, but not neutral or angry emotional displays. Women were rated lower for showing either anger or sadness.

Women, Men, and Emotional Displays

Women have been found to be significantly more expressive in their display of emotions (Ashmore, 1990). This behavioral aspect of emotion is important when considering how others perceive emotional displays and is separate from the cognitive and physiological expression of emotion (Gross & John, 1995). These expressions or displays of emotion are both verbal and nonverbal in nature (Halberstadt, Cassidy, Stifter, Parke, & Fox, 1995). Women display sadness more than men, but do not display anger more than men (Rotter & Rotter, 1988). Generally, women have been shown to express more emotion and this is culturally expected (Kring & Gordon, 1998). There is evidence that the internal experience of emotion is similar between genders; cultural boundaries, however, dictate what is acceptable to display (Kring & Gordon, 1998). In sum, there is a strong support for gender differences in the expression or display of emotion, specifically sadness, with women displaying more emotion than men. The research is mixed examining differences in cognitive or physiological experiencing of emotion (Buck, 1994; Gross, 2003; Schachter & Singer, 1962).

There may also be reason to suspect that gender differences in the appraisal of emotion exist, both in emotion appropriateness, and the supervisor appraisal of such emotional displays. The literature on gender bias is both detailed and broad and has consistently found that prejudice against women is strongly related to the social role occupied by the women being evaluated (Baker & Cobb, 1997; Davison & Burke, 2000; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Women are not seen in a generally negative manner but are discriminated against when taking on culturally unacceptable roles (Eagly &

Karau, 2002). Eagly and Karau (2002) suggest that when women take on roles that violate descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes they are more likely to be negatively evaluated. This is known as the role congruity theory which provides a model to explain differences between genders in appraisals of performance (Eagly & Karau, 2002). This builds on the theoretical differences in benevolent sexism and hostile sexism, presenting a situational model in what roles women are viewed in positively and negatively (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Emotions such as anger are more associated with agentic behaviors and sadness with communal behaviors (Oliver, Weaver, & Sargent, 2000; Rudman & Glick, 1999). Agentic behaviors such as being aggressive and forceful are considered masculine traits, while communal behaviors such as being caring and nurturing are more feminine. Thus, there may be differences in how men and women are evaluated as suggested by role congruity theory based on whether emotions displayed are in violation of prescriptive or descriptive stereotypes of what emotions are culturally acceptable for men or women to display.

Women in the Workplace

Gender discrimination due to prescriptive (how someone is supposed to act) and descriptive (how they do act) stereotypes is pervasive within society and is found in many settings. These prescriptive and descriptive stereotypes also determine what emotions are appropriate in the workplace based on an individual's gender. Within employment discrimination, gender stereotyping can affect decisions from recruitment, hiring, promotion, opportunities, and retention (Ayres & Siegelman, 1995; Gregory, 2003; Stanley & Jarrell, 1998). Additionally, the perception of these stereotypes affects gender bias in evaluation. Individuals are perceived and evaluated differently dependent on whether their actions violate descriptive or prescriptive stereotypes (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Gender differences in behavior-based appraisal directly apply to the critical issue of workplace discrimination. The role of previous experience and observed emotional displays on the activation of prescriptive and descriptive stereotypes and their impact on appraisal has yet to receive attention.

Individual Differences in Appraisal

Individual differences such as the Big Five personality traits are related to many organizational behaviors (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003). Of the most

interest are the personality factors of emotional stability, agreeableness, and conscientiousness when examining emotional displays. All three are related to performance both directly and indirectly (Barrick, Stewart, Neubert, & Mount, 1998; Salgado, 1997). Individual personality differences have been found to predict the success and likelihood of the use of various emotion-regulation techniques (Gross & John, 2003). As personality differences have an effect on the methods of regulating our own emotions they may well also have a relationship with our perceptions of others' emotions.

Emotional intelligence is concerned with "the ability to monitor one's own and others' emotions, to discriminate among them, and to use the information to guide one's thinking and actions" (Salovey & Mayer, 1990, p. 189). Though progress toward theory development of emotional intelligence spans several decades (see Thorndike, 1921; Gardner, 1983; Guilford, 1956), the term emotional intelligence is mostly associated with research on intelligence and the processing of affective information (Mayer, DiPaolo, & Salovey, 1990). Of most interest within this research framework is the idea of emotional competencies: emotional self-awareness, regulation of emotions in the self, social awareness of emotions and empathy, regulating emotions in others, motivational tendencies, and character (Goleman, 1998). Though the idea of a core set of emotional competencies is not without criticism (for a review, see Zeidner, Mathews, & Roberts, 2004), it provides an interesting and useful way to approach the idea of emotional intelligence. Several of these proposed emotional competencies, namely self-awareness, emotion regulation, and social awareness of emotions, have direct relevance to organizational settings. The ability to restrain negative emotions and outbursts, and to recognize others' emotions, may play an important part in the evaluation of performance.

Impression Management and Emotional Labor

Impression management usually consists of engaging in behaviors that illustrate an employee's positive traits to co-workers or supervisors. One reason to engage in impression management is to influence the outcome of performance appraisals. Impression management tactics have been shown to positively influence supervisory perceptions of an employee, thus affecting the appraisal of employee performance (Ferris, Judge, Rowland, & Fitzgibbons, 1994; Wayne & Liden, 1995). Not all supervisors respond as positively toward employees who use impression management techniques. Individual differences and situational factors will change the degree to

which a supervisor or co-worker views purposeful behaviors as being positive (Kozlowski, Chao, & Morrison, 1998).

Impression management has been shown to affect performance appraisals. One of the tenets of impression management is controlling emotion; therefore, emotions may impact performance appraisals. The effort of suppressing their emotions to be perceived more positively is termed “emotional labor” (Hochschild, 1983). A major criterion for emotional labor is the suppression of emotion; however, exploration of impression management of emotion is needed. While there is little research directly addressing the effects of emotional displays on performance appraisal and perceptions of commitment and appropriateness, there is evidence that emotional labor of suppressing negative emotions has direct and indirect impact on individual and organizational outcomes (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003).

Impression management of emotions (resulting in emotional labor) might be considered beneficial for the organization, but can result in burnout for the employee (Grandey, 2000). Employee evaluations are often based on face-to-face interactions using knowledge of current and past behavior. If an employee does not make an effort to suppress negatively viewed emotions, there may be an effect on a supervisor’s evaluations. In other words, the nonsuppression of negative and inappropriate workplace emotions may affect supervisory ratings of performance. Are employees evaluated and appraised differently because of emotional displays?

Summary and Hypotheses

The expression of emotions in the workplace as they relate to perceptions of performance has not been extensively studied. Previous research suggests that men and women may differ in the strength and frequency of observable behaviors associated with emotion. These behavioral displays are often associated with acceptable boundaries, and the literature suggests that it is not unreasonable to expect gender differences in the acceptability of emotional displays. The role of emotional expression as it relates to performance appraisal and raters’ opinions about employees are not well-known. This study is an attempt to empirically answer some of these unresolved questions.

Hypotheses

H1. Women exhibiting sadness in response to a workplace disappointment will be judged less harshly on ratings of appropriateness of behavior

than men. Likewise, men exhibiting anger in response to a workplace disappointment will be judged less harshly than women.

H2. Women exhibiting sadness in response to a workplace disappointment will be judged less harshly on ratings of performance than men. Likewise, men exhibiting anger in response to a workplace disappointment will be judged less harshly than women.

H3. Men exhibiting anger and women exhibiting sadness will be rated as being more committed to their workplace than men exhibiting sadness or women exhibiting anger.

H4. Gender of the rater will have a significant effect on performance ratings. Both men and women are expected to rate men higher than women.

H5. Men and women exhibiting anger will be rated as higher on agentic traits and lower on communal traits. Men will be rated lower on communal traits regardless of emotion shown, while women will be rated higher on communal traits when exhibiting sadness.

H6. Raters with higher agreeableness and emotional intelligence will be more favorable in their evaluation of appropriateness of emotional displays in the workplace.

METHODS

Participants

Participants ($N = 175$) were students in undergraduate psychology classes at a Midwestern university in the United States. Participants were drawn in near-equal proportions from an introductory psychology class, a mid-level psychology research methods class, and an upper-level organizational psychology class. The mean age of the sample was 21.55 years, ranging from 18 to 50 years of age. Of the participants, 38% were male and 62% were female. The ethnicity for this sample consisted of 68% European Americans, 22% African Americans, and the remaining 10% of participants responded as being Hispanic American, Asian American, or Other. Most students reported that they were in their junior year (41%), followed by

seniors (26%), freshmen (21%), and finally sophomores (11%). The average number of years worked was 5.51 years and 57% of participants reported currently having a job involving 18 hours of work a week on average.

Materials and Methods

Participants were asked to complete a packet of questionnaires and respond to a written scenario. The packet included a demographics questionnaire, two individual differences measures, a workplace scenario, and two sets of measures gauging participant's responses to the scenario. Demographics included age, gender, year in school, race, years worked, current employment status, and hours worked if currently employed. Personality measures included Goldberg's (2004) Big Five Personal Interests questionnaire which assessed extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness using 50 items. Agreeableness and conscientiousness were the primary traits of interest; however, the scale was used in its entirety to maintain the psychometric properties of the scale.

Scale reliability was measured using confirmatory factor analysis and Cronbach's (1951) coefficient alpha for internal consistency. Nunnally's (1978) and Murphy and Davidshofer's (1988) suggestions for lower level boundaries of acceptability in behavioral research were used to determine whether scales met an acceptable level of internal consistency to allow further analysis. Additionally, in a meta-analysis of Cronbach's alpha in behavioral research, Peterson (1994) found an average level of 0.70 when reporting scales of beliefs and values, thus this was set as the minimum internal consistency that would be tolerated in the scales used in this study.

Both agreeableness and conscientiousness had respectable levels of internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha of 0.75 and 0.80, respectively) and the five-factor structure of the scale was supported by a confirmatory factor analysis. Agreeableness was measured on a five-point Likert-type scale (Likert, 1932) rating the accuracy of descriptive statements such as "I insult people," and "I have a soft heart." Conscientiousness was measured on the same five-point Likert-type scale with statements such as "I am always prepared," and "I pay attention to details." Additionally, participants were given an 11-item measure of emotional intelligence (Goleman, 1995).

Emotional intelligence was measured by rating agreement with statements on a Likert-type five-point scale. Factor analysis indicated two major factors measured: social awareness of emotions, and emotional self-awareness. Items measuring social awareness of emotions had a good internal

consistency (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.83$) and included: "I am a good judge of other people," "I can usually recognize others' traits accurately by observing their behavior," and "I can usually read others well – tell how they are feeling in a given situation." Items of emotional self-awareness included: "Other people can usually tell pretty much how I feel," "Whatever emotion I feel on the inside tends to show on the outside," and "People can always read my emotions even if I try to cover them up." Items measuring emotional self-awareness had a high level of internal consistency (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.91$).

After completing the demographics, personality questionnaire, and emotional intelligence scale, participants read one of four scenarios. Participants were urged to give their full attention to the scenario presented and were told they would be asked questions regarding the details of the exchange contained therein. Each one-page scenario featured a short scripted exchange between a gender neutral "Boss" and a named employee (either "Tom" or "Jane"). The employee reacts both verbally and with behavioral descriptions exhibiting either anger or sadness towards the situation presented. Thus there were four experimental conditions: (1) man exhibiting sadness, (2) man exhibiting anger, (3) woman exhibiting sadness, and (4) woman exhibiting anger. In the scenario, the boss and employee are discussing a report that the employee labored over for weeks. The Boss reveals the report is no longer needed and will not be seen by the top management. In the anger scenario, the employee responds verbally "Fine! If they don't want to see the report, then they won't see the report!" and behaviorally "<<Employee>>, *visibly angry, throws the report in the trash and storms out of the office.*" In the sadness scenario the employee responds verbally "I just can't do anything right," and behaviorally "<<Employee>> *visibly crying, tears the report in half and walks slowly out of the office.*"

After reading the scenario, participants completed two sets of questions asking them to rate the employee in the scenario on various dimensions. The first scale was designed by the authors to assess the appropriateness of the emotions displayed, performance, and workplace commitment. These were all measured by participants rating agreement with statements on a Likert-type six-point scale. The appropriateness of the emotion displayed was measured with five items (two additional items were dropped based on increase in internal consistency). The five items had a moderate to high level of internal consistency (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.85$) and consisted of items such as "The employee's behavior was appropriate given the situation" and "I would have behaved the same way in the situation." Performance was measured with a single item "The employee does his or her job very well."

Finally, job commitment was also measured using a single item, "The employee is committed to his or her job."

The second scale was a measure of communal and agentic descriptors of the employee based on the work of Rudman and Glick (1999, 2001). Participants were asked to rate the employee in the scenario on six agentic and six communal words using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from "Not descriptive at all" to "Very descriptive." A two-factor model of these 12 items was supported by a confirmatory factor analysis. The communal words had a moderate level of internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = 0.80) and consisted of: "gentle," "cooperative," "supportive," "kinship orientated," "connected," and "caring." Agentic words had an acceptable level of internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = 0.74) and were: "assertive," "individualistic," "competitive," "independent," and "dominant." One item ("self-sufficient") was dropped from this scale to increase the internal consistency of this measure.

RESULTS

Hypotheses were tested using factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) and linear regression. In all analyses, statistical assumptions were tested and met. Statistical significance criteria were adjusted for the use of multiple statistical tests. Hypothesis one predicted that gender and emotion would have an interaction on the effects on ratings of emotional appropriateness in the workplace. It was expected that women exhibiting sadness and men exhibiting anger would be rated as showing more appropriate behavior than women exhibiting anger and men exhibiting sadness. This was tested with a 2 (gender: man or woman) \times 2 (emotion: sadness or anger) factorial ANOVA. There was neither a main effect for gender ($F(1, 170) = 3.33, p = 0.07$) nor emotion ($F(1, 170) = 1.80, p = 0.18$). There was no significantly significant interaction between gender and emotion ($F(1, 170) = 0.14, p = 0.70$). Overall, independent of emotions displayed or gender of the displayer, emotional displays were seen as inappropriate ($M = 2.40, SD = 1.00$). The results of this experiment did not support Hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 2 stated there would be an interactional effect on performance appraisal based on an employee's gender and emotion displayed. Women showing sadness and men showing anger would be viewed less harshly compared to women showing anger and men showing sadness. This was tested with a gender by emotion 2 \times 2 factorial ANOVA. Gender did not have a significant effect on performance appraisal ($F(1, 169) = 1.83, p = 0.18$), nor was there a significant interaction ($F(1, 169) = 0.16,$

$p = 0.69$); however, there was a significant effect of Emotion ($F(1, 169) = 12.19, p < 0.001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = 0.07$). Emotion had a small effect on performance appraisal. Those employees showing sadness were rated higher ($M = 4.23, SD = 1.02$) than those employees exhibiting anger ($M = 3.69, SD = 1.06$). Hypothesis 2 was only partially supported. There was an effect of type of emotional display on performance appraisal, but this relationship was not affected by the gender of the employee.

Hypothesis 3 predicted a gender by emotion interaction on how employees were perceived as being committed to their jobs. Men expressing anger and women expressing sadness were expected to be rated higher on job commitment than men expressing sadness and women expressing anger. This relationship was tested with a 2×2 (gender by emotion) factorial ANOVA. As with performance appraisal, job commitment was not statistically affected by gender ($F(1, 170) = 0.01, p = 0.92$), nor was there an interaction between gender and emotion ($F(1, 170) = 0.12, p = 0.73$). Emotion displayed did have a significant effect on ratings of job commitment ($F(1, 170) = 19.78, p = 0.001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = 0.10$). Emotion had a moderate effect on ratings of job commitment, employee's showing sadness ($M = 5.00, SD = 0.81$) were rated as having higher job commitment than those exhibiting anger ($M = 4.32, SD = 1.13$). Hypothesis 3 was only partially supported; there was an effect of emotions displayed on ratings of job commitment, but there was neither a main effect for gender nor a statistical interaction with emotional display.

Hypothesis 4 stated that ratings of performance would be impacted by the gender of the rater. Both men and women were expected to rate men higher than women on job performance. Hypothesis 4 was tested with a 2×2 factorial ANOVA. There was no significant effect of participant's gender ($F(1, 168) = 0.01, p = 0.92$) or employee's gender ($F(1, 168) = 1.73, p = 0.19$) or an interaction of the two ($F(1, 168) = 0.14, p = 0.71$) on performance appraisal. Hypothesis 4 was not supported.

Hypothesis 5 stated that the gender of employee and emotion displayed would have an interaction in agentic or communal ratings of the employee. It was expected that men and women displaying anger would be rated higher on agentic descriptors. Men would be rated equally low on communal descriptors regardless of emotion displayed and women would be rated lower when showing anger over sadness. Hypothesis 5 was tested using a multiple analysis of variance (MANOVA) examining the main effects of gender and emotion on both ratings of agentic and communal scales. There was no significant relationship between gender (Wilks' Lambda = 0.01, $F(2, 167) = 1.06, p = 0.35$) or an interaction between gender and emotion

Table 1. The Effect of Emotion Displayed on Ratings of Agentic and Communal Descriptors.

Descriptor	Emotion Displayed	Mean	Standard Error	Significance
Agentic	Sadness	3.34	0.07	$F(1, 168) = 22.30, p = 0.001,$ partial $\eta^2 = 0.11$
	Anger	3.83	0.07	
Communal	Sadness	3.11	0.07	$F(1, 168) = 41.68, p = 0.001,$ partial $\eta^2 = 0.20$
	Anger	2.51	0.07	

(Wilks' Lambda = 0.99, $F(2,167) = 0.49, p = 0.61$) on either agentic or communal descriptors. There was a large significant effect of emotion displayed on both agentic and communal descriptors, Wilks' Lambda = 0.71, $F(2,167) = 34.20, p < 0.001,$ partial $\eta^2 = 0.29,$ see Table 1. Hypothesis 5 was only partially supported, as emotion displayed had a significant effect on both agentic and communal ratings regardless of gender of the employee.

Hypothesis 6 predicted that raters with higher levels of both other and emotional self-awareness (emotional intelligence) and higher levels of agreeableness and conscientiousness would also rate employees more favorably in their attributions of the appropriateness of their behavior. Both emotional display and gender of the employee, both dichotomous variables were examined. A stepwise regression was conducted, see Table 2. Based on the correlation matrix findings of the stepwise regression a simpler model was run using only significant predictors; emotional self-awareness and employee gender. Emotional self-awareness was the only significant predictor of ratings of appropriateness of emotional displays ($B = 0.18, \beta = 0.19, t(169) = 2.48, p < 0.01$), people with a higher rating of emotional self-awareness also rated the employee's emotional display as more appropriate.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine how emotional displays, gender, and personality characteristics of a rater would impact ratings of behavioral appropriateness, organizational commitment, job performance, and agentic/communal characteristics. Based on previous research, it was expected that the gender of both the rater (participant) and ratee (employee) would have an effect on employee performance evaluations. Eagly and Karau's (2002)

Table 2. Correlation Matrix, Predictors of Ratings of Emotional Appropriateness.

	Emotional Appropriateness	Agreeableness	Conscien- tiousness	Emotional Self-awareness	Social Awareness of Emotions	Gender of Employee	Emotion Displayed
Emotional appropriateness	1.00	–	–	–	–	–	–
Agreeableness	–0.05	1.00	–	–	–	–	–
Conscientiousness	–0.06	0.23*	1.00	–	–	–	–
Emotional self-awareness	0.19*	0.03	–0.08	1.00	–	–	–
Social awareness of emotions	0.07	0.26*	0.05	–0.03	1.00	–	–
Gender of employee	0.14*	0.06	0.11	0.13*	0.03	1.00	–
Emotion displayed	–0.11	–0.01	–0.01	0.05	–0.06	–0.05	1.00

*Significant at a p value of 0.05 or lower.

role congruity theory predicts differences in how men and women are rated on communal and agentic dimensions, and how these differences affect performance appraisals. Emotional displays and perceptions of emotions have also been found to have gender differences (Ashmore, 1990). The hypotheses of gender and emotional display interactions on the appraisal of individual workplace outcomes were guided by previous research findings. Surprisingly, these effects were not found. Additional exploratory analyses were conducted to examine the presence of any gender differences beyond the scope of the original hypotheses. These exploratory analyses did not find interactions or main effects for gender of the employee being rated or the gender of the participants on any of the outcomes.

Neither gender of the employee rated nor emotion displayed had a significant effect on the judgments on behavior acceptability. These findings suggest that both anger and sadness are perceived as equally unacceptable in the workplace. The gender of the person displaying the emotion also did not make a difference in ratings. An examination of the statistical analyses suggests this may have been an issue of not having enough power to detect an effect. If there is a gender and/or emotion displayed effect on ratings of behavioral appropriateness these effects may be relatively weak, requiring a more powerful design to detect. Additionally, there may have been floor effects present in the evaluation of the appropriateness of the emotional display. While anger is more often researched, both anger and sadness are negative emotions that are discouraged in most workplaces. Therefore, both emotional displays may have been rated similarly unacceptable due to the lack of scale sensitivity. The lack of gender differences may also have been the result of a larger issue discussed below.

The gender of the employee being rated or the gender of the rater did not have an effect on ratings of either job performance or organizational commitment. The emotion displayed did have an effect on both of these outcomes with anger resulting in a significant reduction in perceived employee job performance and organizational commitment. Emotional displays of sadness were rated higher in perceived commitment and performance than anger. Overall ratings of job commitment were much higher than ratings of job performance (overall means 4.66 and 3.96 respectively). This suggests that emotional displays may have a more positive effect on appraisals of organizational commitment than ratings of job performance. There are different costs in regards to perceptions of performance, commitment, and agentic/communal traits associated with expressing anger compared to sadness.

Surprisingly, gender of the employee had no effect on assessments of agentic and communal qualities of the employee. These findings were

unexpected. The differences in culturally expected assignment of communal traits to women and agentic traits to men are well-documented (Rudman & Glick, 1999, 2001). On the contrary, emotion did affect assignment of agentic and communal traits to the employees presented in the scenarios. Anger displays resulted in an increase in the level of perceived agentic traits, and sadness likewise increased the assignment of perceived communal traits.

Finally, individual characteristics of the raters (participants) did not affect the ratings of the appropriateness of emotional displays in the workplace, with the exception of emotional self-awareness. This may be due to the lack of differences between the scenarios on ratings of behavioral appropriateness. Additionally, the Big Five personality factors did not predict ratings of appropriateness. Emotional stability did not have a sufficient internal consistency to allow its use and may well have been the most predictive.

Limitations

Scenarios were used in this study. De Cremer and van Knippenberg (2004) suggest that scenario research using specific scenarios and immediately administered questionnaires have strong mundane realism and causal conclusion validity when assessing attitudes; however, a general criticism of scenario research is that it lacks realism. Most participants were traditional college students with limited work experience. Though the participants had some work experiences, the results may be less generalizable compared to an active workforce sample. Individuals lacking work experience may also view the importance of emotional displays in the workplace different from those who have such current experiences.

Gender Effects

A complete lack of gender effects in this study was unexpected and surprising, especially regarding the expression of more culturally expected emotions of sadness in women and anger in men. Additionally, previous research strongly indicated that gender difference should be found when assessing agentic and communal traits. The lack of these findings may indicate one of two possibilities. First, the display of negative emotions in a workplace setting might be so strong that it over shadows any other differences. Sadness and anger behaviors may be strongly perceived as negative regardless of gender. This seems unlikely, however, as floor effects

in the measured scales are seen only in the behavioral appropriateness scale. The second possibility could be these effects were not in the sample. Other studies at this university have failed to replicate other famous findings of gender differences (Nadler & Pankey, 2008). The university prides itself in having a diverse student body with many diversity-oriented classes as well as diversity awareness programs available. Finally, the gender differences found even a single generation ago may not be as pronounced in the current college environment. Thus, this college sample may not generalize well with regard to expected gender difference likely to be found in an older or less-educated workforce.

The lack of gender effects in this particular study may be promising simply from an error management perspective when measuring job performance. Organizations battle with reducing error in the measurement of job performance; a frequent source of error is often gender-based. Regardless of the lack of gender effects, it is not unreasonable to suspect that emotions may be considered as an error in the appraisal of performance. People conducting performance appraisals may need to be aware of how the display of emotions in the workplace may affect perceptions of job performance, and may not affect *actual* job performance. This information is also useful to confront common stereotypes that women are more likely to display emotions, such as sadness, as compared to men. Performance appraisals conducted in organizational settings may benefit from an evaluation of how emotion may be stereotypically perceived versus actual perception. This attentiveness to potential incorrect stereotypes may reduce the likelihood of rater error.

Recommendations for Future Research

The lack of findings warrants further study, as most effects predicted by past research and theory were absent. The addition of more participants and a more sensitive scale would increase the likelihood of finding an effect if such an effect exists. While statistical significance was not obtained in this sample, the analysis does indicate that with either a more powerful design or a larger sample small gender differences would have been found. The lack of gender effects on performance appraisal may have also been a result of low power. Measurement may have also been an issue. Multiitem measures of both job performance and organizational commitment would allow for a better measure of these constructs. Specific studies need to be used to examine the impact of gender and emotional displays using content-specific scenarios. The

findings of this study call into question the strength of gender differences in appraisal, especially while illustrating the impact of emotion displayed in assessment outcomes. The absence of expected gender differences may be impacted by the lack of realism in scenario-based research, which is a common criticism. Additional research should focus on examining the absence of gender differences while narrowing the focus to more specific types of emotional displays as well as assessing display rules for those emotions.

SUMMARY

In summary, the gender of the rater and ratee did not affect how employees were rated on appropriateness of behavior, job commitment, job performance, and determination of agentic and communal traits; however, type of emotion, anger versus sadness, did impact all of the outcome ratings with the exception of appropriateness of behavior. Also, individual differences in the raters did not predict ratings of behavioral appropriateness with the exception of emotional self-awareness. The impact of gender (or lack thereof) in these areas necessitates a need for further research. This study's main contribution to the literature is the impact of type of negative emotion displayed on commitment and performance ratings as well as the effect on perceptions of an employee's agentic and communal traits. Both agentic and communal traits are linked to perceptions of the role-appropriate behavior for leaders and therefore may directly affect promotion and performance appraisal of employees.

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CHAPTER 3

POSITIVE WORK RELATIONSHIPS, VITALITY, AND JOB PERFORMANCE

Abraham Carmeli

ABSTRACT

Theory suggests that a person who is vital is energetic and fully functioning. Although researchers have recently directed increased attention to studying factors that facilitate or undermine vitality, this subject of inquiry is in its early stages, particularly in work settings. One critical social factor impacting vitality may be interpersonal relationships. This study examines how interpersonal relationships between co-workers affect employee vitality and job performance. Results of a study on 147 employees in work organizations indicate that both the capacities and experiences of high-quality relationships are positively associated with feelings of vitality, which, in turn, result in enhanced job performance.

INTRODUCTION

Organizations constantly seek ways to increase employee productivity and enhance job performance. Facilitating employee feelings of vitality, defined as the subjective feeling of being alive and alert (Ryan & Frederick, 1997),

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may be critical to achieving these ends, because employees who are vital feel alive and mentally and physically vigorous (Ryan & Bernstein, 2004). While there is growing interest in the potential implications of vitality on employee work outcomes, research on vitality in work settings is relatively rare. As such, “there is more unknown than known about this salient aspect of well-being” (Ryan & Bernstein, 2004, p. 288). Examining how the positive emotional state of vitality affects job performance answers the call to direct more attention to the links between emotion and performance (Ashkanasy, 2004).

Work environments, where employees spend most of their day, have a recognized impact on motivation, behaviors, development, and performance. Unfortunately, a review of the literature suggests that in many organizations employees experience corrosive work environments such as social undermining (Duffy, Ganster, & Pagon, 2002), intensive monitoring (Holman, Chissick, & Totterdell, 2002), stressful work events (Danna & Griffin, 1999), and interpersonal work stressors (Potter, Smith, Strobel, & Zautra, 2002). Such corrosive work environments create conditions that inhibit the capacity of employees to complete their work tasks effectively.

A life-enhancing and energizing work environment on the other hand is often based on the quality of relationships among the organizational members (Dutton, 2003). Yet, “relationships are traditionally placed in the background of organizational life” (Ragins & Dutton, 2007, p. 5). In an attempt to address the theoretical call to “deepen inquiry into positive relationships at work as a research frontier that holds promise and possibility” (Dutton & Ragins, 2007, p. 400), this study focuses on the quality of relationships between co-workers at work as a key source of individuals’ feelings of vitality and enhanced job performance.

Organizational members who enjoy high-quality relationships experience a sense of unique emotional space defined as the ratio of positivity to negativity (high ratios imply expansive emotional spaces, while low ratios imply restrictive emotional spaces (Losada, 1999, p. 181) that is essential for increasing the capacity to achieve extraordinary outcomes (Losada, 1999). A life-enhancing and energizing work environment is also based on the quality of relationships among organizational members and external constituencies (e.g., customers, suppliers) (Dutton, 2003; Dutton & Heaphy, 2003). Organizational members who work in a life-enhancing and an enabling work environment develop positive moods and attachment to the organization (Dutton, 2003). They are willing to cooperate with and help others, and exert their best efforts for their work organization, which provides them with an important opportunity to develop and grow and achieve high performance

(Dutton, 2003; Dutton & Heaphy, 2003; Fredrickson & Losada, 2005; Härtel, 2008; Losada, 1999; Losada & Heaphy, 2004).

The concept of relationships is not new by any means, and it is a key element in constructs and theories such as interpersonal relationships (Berscheid, 1994; Berscheid & Regan, 2005), relational coordination (Gittell, 2003), social capital (Baker, 2000), trust (Robinson, 1996), networking (Wasserman & Faust, 1994), interactions with external constituents (Yli-Renko, Autio, & Sapienza, 2001), top management teams (e.g., behavioral integration, Hambrick, 1994), leader–member exchange (LMX) (Graen & Scandura, 1987), and strategic cooperation (Dyer & Singh, 1998), among others. However, the concept of high-quality interpersonal relationships in work organizations has only recently been conceptualized and operationalized (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003).

Exploring the quality of this connection is important to understanding why and how people thrive and succeed at work (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003, p. 264; Spreitzer, Sutcliffe, Dutton, Sonenshein, & Grant, 2005). As Dutton and Heaphy (2003, p. 263) note: “Theories of human behavior in organizations need to take seriously the quality of relationships between people to understand why people flourish or flounder.”

VITALITY – DEFINED

Vitality is an abstract property that changes with the moment-to-moment experiences of an organism (Anderson, 1992). According to Ryan and Frederick (1997) vitality denotes the subjective feelings of being alive and alert. “A vital person is someone whose aliveness and spirit are expressed not only in personal productivity and activity – such individuals often infectiously energize those with whom they come into contact” (Ryan & Bernstein, 2004, p. 273). An individual who is vital is energetic, feels both physically and mentally well, and is fully functioning (Ryan & Bernstein, 2004; Ryan & Frederick, 1997).

Vitality differs from such related constructs as thriving, flourishing, and wellness. Thriving at work has been defined as “the psychological state in which individuals experience both a sense of vitality and a sense of learning at work” (Spreitzer et al., 2005, p. 538). Flourishing means “living within an optimal range of human functioning, one that connotes goodness, generativity, growth, and resilience” (Fredrickson & Losada, 2005, p. 678). Psychological well-being denotes “a generalized feeling of happiness” (Schmutte & Ryff, 1997, p. 551), and wellness is viewed as “progressions of

continued growth across the life course” (Ryff, 1995, p. 99). One can sense vitality without experiencing a sense of thriving, flourishing, or psychological well-being. For instance, psychological well-being refers to the extent to which people see their lives positively and are satisfied with them (Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999), but vitality captures only part of well-being and indicates other additional aspects such as energy and vigor. Vitality is also one dimension of thriving and the latter cannot be fully captured without considering another dimension – learning (Spreitzer et al., 2005).

In addition, vitality is also distinct from concepts such as energy and happiness. A person who is tense, angry, or jittery may be energized but not vital as these forms of activation are draining rather than vitalizing. Vitality also differs from happiness; one may sense non-activated emotional states such as pleasure and satisfaction, while an individual who is vital is enthusiastic to engage in chosen activities (Ryan & Bernstein, 2004).

HIGH-QUALITY RELATIONSHIPS AT WORK

As social individuals, we depend upon each other for survival and growth. Psychology researchers have provided substantial evidence showing that people have a need to belong. This need motivates them to form and maintain sustainable social (relations) bonds with other people (see Baumeister & Exline, 1999; Baumeister & Leary, 1995). As social individuals that rely on one another, we strive to initiate and maintain high-quality relationships with others. As humans, we have a basic desire to belong to a group (Maslow, 1970). Through this desire to belong, we build relationships that are meaningful to us as we strive to be recognized and accepted by others, and to develop our own self-conception (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Maslow, 1970; Pratt & Ashforth, 2003; Tajfel & Turner, 1985; Turner, 1982).

Research on interpersonal relationships at work, especially studies dealing with the positive side of interpersonal relationships in the workplace, has tended to emphasize what has been termed the “impersonal periphery” rather than the “interpersonal core” (Reis, Collins, & Berscheid, 2000). That is, every situation is better understood by interpersonal factors – who one is with, one’s history with that person and similar others in related situations, what one is trying to accomplish with that person, and how one’s personal outcomes link to the other’s outcomes – are fundamental to differentiating one situation from another, and therefore, to understanding the impact of situations on behaviors (Kelley et al., 2003; Reis et al., 2000). Although organizational scholars have noted that today’s organizations need employees

who are familiar with the art of collaboration at work (e.g., Hammer & Champy, 1993), designing a workforce that is composed of relational practitioners is still quite a challenge for many organizations (Fletcher, 1999).

Dutton and Heaphy (2003) developed the concept of high-quality interpersonal relationships at work to better explore this issue. They conceptualized three clusters of distinguishing attributes, each of which includes three features. The first cluster directly focuses on capacities that describe interpersonal connections between two people and includes: (1) emotional carrying capacity, (2) the tensility of the connection, and (3) the degree of connectivity. The second cluster probes the subjective experience of each individual in the connection and includes: (1) relationship vitality, (2) positive regard, and (3) mutuality. The third cluster deals with the physical effects of high-quality relationships and includes: (1) lower allostatic load, (2) longer life span, and (3) a stronger immune system. The current study focuses on the first two clusters.¹

The capacities of a high-quality interpersonal connection refer to the characteristics that make it a versatile and healthy connection between people (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003). Emotional carrying capacity characterizes people in a connection who can express themselves more freely than when they are not in a connection of this kind. This connection capacity enables people to express their emotions because they sense that their connection is strong enough to withstand both positive and negative feelings and emotions (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003). Elfenbein and Ambady (2002) documented the complex relationship between emotional recognition and outcomes at work and the importance of listening to and comprehending the feelings of others. Organizational members encounter a wide variety of circumstances they need to deal with at work. Their behaviors in situations that are sometimes unexpected (cf. Weick & Sutcliffe, 2001) and unpredictable in nature are affected by the kind of relationships they form with others (Reis et al., 2000). As such, they often pose an extensive emotional burden. In the absence of an emotional carrying capacity people may not be at their best in communicating with one another.

Tensility refers to the capacity of the connection to bend and withstand strain and to function in a wide variety of circumstances ranging from unpleasant to more traumatic events where resilience, compassion, and the capacity to recuperate and revive are critical to preserving and strengthening those relationships (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003). More traumatic events, such as crises and failures, are difficult to handle unless the relationships have a “capacity to bounce back after setbacks” (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003, p. 266). In a high-quality connection, people share a belief in their capacity to work

through tense and stressful events, and achieve rewarding outcomes by resolving them (e.g., learning). Withstanding stressful events is manifested in research on intra-group conflicts. Studies on conflicts among group members have shown that cognitive and constructive conflicts may reach the level where they slide into a high level of affective and destructive conflicts (for a review, see Jehn & Bendersky, 2003).

People in a high-quality connection feel a sense of *positive regard*, which denotes the extent to which individuals in a high-quality connection experience a sense of being known or loved (Rogers, 1951). As social individuals, people need recognition to feel accepted, valued, and worthwhile. As humans, we all feel the need to be accepted and recognized by others (Maslow, 1970). In a high-quality connection, individuals experience and feel warm relationships and emotional attachment for one another. Various theories have emphasized the importance of positive regard in the workplace. For instance, research on perceived organizational support (Eisenberger, Cummings, Armeli, & Lynch, 1997; Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison, & Sowa, 1986) indicates how important it is for employees to know and feel that their contributions are valued and appreciated, and that their well-being is important to the organization. Similarly, when people feel that the organization cares about them (i.e., organizational care, see McAllister & Bigley, 2002), they experience a sense of self-worth, and a deep feeling of connection to the organization.

Being in a high-quality connection also means that people experience a sense of mutuality (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003). Mutuality refers to the extent to which people involved in an activity share a sense of full participation and involvement (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003; Miller & Stiver, 1997) and actively contribute to one another's development (Jordan, 1991). Work group research indicates the importance of mutuality as manifested in collaborative behaviors that encompass such elements as balance of member contribution (i.e., are all team members able to use their experiences to full potential?), mutual support (i.e., do team members help and support each other in carrying out their tasks?), and effort (i.e., do team members make concerted efforts to achieve the team's task?) (see Hoegl & Gemuenden, 2001). People sharing a high-quality connection are highly involved in and do their best for the relationship.

Organizational theorists have recently begun to document the effects of positive interpersonal relationships at work on both the individual and the organization (Dutton, 2003; Härtel, 2008). For instance, Gittell's (2003) theory of relational coordination suggests that work relationships, which are based on shared goals, shared knowledge, and mutual respect, enable

positive outcomes of highly interdependent tasks. Research also suggests that a positive interpersonal climate (i.e., psychological safety) is a key enabler of learning in work teams (e.g., Edmondson, 1999, 2004). Leadership studies have found that quality LMX, which is manifested by such aspects as trust, support, and influence in decision making, among others, is essential for developing positive work attitudes and behaviors in followers (see Gerstner & Day, 1997; Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). Social capital theory (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Baker, 2000) suggests that substantial resources flow and are shared through networks of relationships and that positive social capital helps people to grow and flourish and, by implication, achieve better outcomes (Baker & Dutton, 2007). Research evidence also provides support for the positive effects of vitality on various work behaviors and outcomes. For example, Kark and Carmeli (2009) have shown that vitality is positively related to creative work involvement. Carmeli and Spreitzer (2009) found that thriving (of which vitality is a key component) is positively associated with innovative behaviors at work.

HIGH-QUALITY RELATIONSHIPS AND EMPLOYEE VITALITY

How do high-quality relationships foster feelings of vitality at work? Dutton (2003) made the case that high-quality relationships are a key mechanism in energizing people at work. In their theoretical model of coordination as energy-in-conversation, Quinn and Dutton (2005) explain how conversations can increase or deplete energy, and how energy enhances individual efforts, which, in turn, lead to improved performance. Spreitzer et al. (2005) argued that relational resources (i.e., high-quality relationships) are important facilitators and enablers of agentic behaviors of exploration and heedful relating, which, in turn result in experiencing thriving at work. Experiencing thriving is likely to result in improved employee outcomes at work. This is because people in high-quality relationships feel a heightened sense of capability to more completely engage and become involved in their work tasks (Dutton, 2003). They see the relationships they have with others as a mechanism that helps them grow and develop, and, thus do their jobs more successfully.

Research evidence provides support for the role of positive relationships at work in facilitating and enhancing flourishing and performance (Fredrickson & Losada, 2005; Losada, 1999; Losada & Heaphy, 2004). In

their research on work relationships in the lives of academics, Gersick, Bartunek, and Dutton (2000) found that faculty members actually form work relationships with colleagues because they view them as a source of continuous growth and development. In addition, Atwater and Carmeli (2009) found that positive LMX facilitates energy and results in a higher level of involvement in creative work tasks. Carmeli and Spreitzer (2009) have documented the effect of trust on connectivity on thriving and innovative behaviors at work. Finally, Carmeli and Ben-Hador (2008) have shown that relational leadership and relational capital are keys to augmenting feelings of energy, which, in turn results in enhanced job performance. This growing body of evidence supports the theoretical assertion that people in high-quality relationships are more likely to sense feelings of vitality than people in low-quality relationships.

Capacities of High-Quality Relationships and Feelings of Vitality in the Workplace

Emotional Carrying Capacity

People in high-quality relationships are generally able to express more emotions, whether they are negative or positive, because they feel safe in the knowledge that their displayed emotional responses will be understood by others (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003). The capacity for expressing one's emotions in a relationship is critical for feelings of vitality.

Tensility of the Connection

In today's organizational settings, work is highly interdependent, entailing relational and collaborative environments. The dynamics of organizational life are characterized by periods of growth and development as well as periods of decline and stress. The capacity to bend and withstand stressful events is critical for feelings of vitality. This is because it allows people to feel vital even under turbulent conditions. The capacity of tensility in a connection allows people to keep moving forward rather than break down when facing stressful and difficult times.

Connectivity

Connectivity refers to the degree to which elements in a system are interconnected (see also Losada, 1999). A high degree of connectivity enables people to share ideas and resources that broaden their capacity to

respond positively to new opportunities to grow and thrive (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003). This capacity allows people to develop more positive emotions through which they broaden their thought and action repertoire. This fuels human flourishing (Fredrickson, 1998, 2001).

*Experiences of High-Quality Relationships and Feelings
of Vitality in the Workplace*

Positive Regard

People in high-quality relationships experience a sense of positive regard. Positive regard is a term developed by Rogers (1951) who investigated therapist–client relationships. Rogers argued that an individual needs acceptance and affection from significant others, because this unconditional positive regard is critical for one’s own positive self-regard. Such a connection entails a deep or profound contact (Quinn & Quinn, 2002) and causes the individual to experience a feeling of being known or respected (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003). Employees who are known and respected by their co-workers tend to develop more positive self-regard and experience feelings of vitality. When people are not known and loved, they do not feel valued for who they are and what they represent.

Mutuality

People who enjoy high-quality relationships possess a sense of mutuality, defined as “a way of relating, a shared activity in which each (or all) of the people involved are participating as fully as possible” (Miller & Stiver, 1997, p. 43). When people sense that their connection with others is based on mutuality, they are more likely to engage in shared activities (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003; Miller & Stiver, 1997). Thus overall, both capacities and experiences of high-quality relationships are likely to be associated with individuals’ feelings of vitality at work. This leads to the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1a. *Capacities* of high-quality relationships are positively associated with individuals’ feelings of vitality.

Hypothesis 1b. *Experiences* of high-quality relationships are positively associated with individuals’ feelings of vitality.

High-Quality Relationships, Feelings of Vitality, and Job Performance

High-quality relationships provide a safe and enriching psychological environment in which people are involved in and focused on the tasks at hand. This environment also enables individuals to access and reciprocate essential resources with others inside and outside the organization. Individuals in a high-quality connection experience positive emotions that enable them to more fully comprehend situations and achieve more effective and creative outcomes (Dutton, 2003). However, the sense of vitality that people experience is a psychological state, which may mediate the relationship between high-quality relationships and job performance. When people sense feelings of vitality, they are energized, focused, and believe in their capabilities to perform the targeted task – generally at a higher positive psychological state. This enables them to broaden their thought–action repertoire and perform their jobs more successfully. Although, to our knowledge this is the first study to empirically link feelings of vitality and job performance, there is a relatively large and growing body of literature that provides implicit support for this theoretical claim. For example, studies show that affective states (e.g., moods) are positively associated with creativity (Amabile, Barsade, Mueller, & Staw, 2005). Fredrickson (2001) showed that when people experience positive emotions, their intellectual and psychological resources are enhanced, enabling them to explore, learn, and perform their job creatively. Prior research has also established a positive relationship between psychological well-being and job performance (e.g., Wright & Cropanzano, 2000). Finally, building on Fredrickson’s broaden-and-build model of positive emotions, Shirom (2003) argued that feeling vigorous (i.e., one’s feelings of physical power, emotional energy, and cognitive liveliness) may generate a particular thought–action repertoire that expands activity, broadens one’s range of options, and promotes creative solutions for work-related problems.

We postulate that feelings of vitality are positively related to job performance, and mediate the relationships between high-quality relationships and job performance. Hence, we suggest the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 2. There is a positive relationship between feelings of vitality and job performance.

Hypothesis 3a. Feelings of vitality mediate the relationship between *capacities* of high-quality relationships and job performance.

Hypothesis 3b. Feelings of vitality mediate the relationship between *experiences* of high-quality relationships and job performance.

METHOD

Participants and Data Collection

To construct and develop scales assessing high-quality interpersonal relationships and the subjective experience of high-quality relationships, we selected a diverse research population employed in both the service and manufacturing sectors. We focused on employees in actual work settings, which is essential when evaluating high-quality relationships among organizational members at work. The target research population consisted of 190 employees employed in 5 organizations located in Israel: a private detective firm, a software development company, a human resource management service company for the high-technology industry, a firm developing advanced photographic applications, and a food chain company.

Data collection took place in several stages. We first contacted the firms' senior executives (CEOs or HRMs) and presented the study and its aims. All participating firms assured us full collaboration. We promised to deliver the study results and conclusions. Structured surveys were administered on site. In a cover letter, we explained the goals of the study in general terms, indicating that we were trying to deepen our understanding of work environments and the quality of relationships among people at work. We also promised full anonymity and confidentiality, indicating that their responses would not be accessed by anyone but the researchers. We received questionnaires from 147 employees, a response rate of 77.36%. Eighty-six of the respondents were female (58.5%). Thirty-two percent were married and/or living with a spouse. Their average age was 26.81 years (SD 5.87), and their average tenure within the organization was 2.59 years (SD 1.66).

Measures

To construct our measures, we drew on Dutton's (2003) and Dutton and Heaphy's (2003) conceptualizations of high-quality relationships. We developed a second-order model of high-quality relationships consisting of two lower-order constructs: capacity of HQCs (composed of three latent variables: higher emotional carrying capacity, relationship tensility, and the

element of openness in the connectivity dimension and experiences of HQCs (composed of two latent variables: a sense of positive regard and feelings of mutuality).

An initial set of 62 questionnaire items was generated. This list was then given to three groups of undergraduate students (two in each group) for evaluation of construct validity. In addition, they were also asked to list items reflecting these facets. This yielded a list of 59 items. To further evaluate the degree to which items matched the dimension they were designed to reflect (see Cummings & Bromiley, 1996), we gave this 59-item list to three doctoral students and three MA students, and asked them to carefully evaluate the clarity of each set of items with regard to its corresponding dimension. This resulted in minor changes. The final generated list of items was as follows: 10 items for emotional carrying capacity, 10 items for tensility, 8 items for the openness-based connectivity constituting the features of a high-quality connection, 6 items for a sense of positive regard, and 11 items for mutuality constituting the subjective experience of a high-quality connection. In addition, in the same manner nine items were developed to assess individuals' feelings of vitality at work. Finally, we assessed perceived individual job performance, using Pearce and Porter's (1986) scale. To assess the validity of these scales, we analyzed the survey data by using exploratory factor analyses as well as confirmatory factor analyses.

High-Quality Relationships

This measure was developed for this study and further used and validated in other studies (Carmeli, Brueller, & Dutton, 2009). It assesses the three manifestations of capacities of a high-quality connection (emotional carrying capacity, relationship tensility and connectivity, and two experiences of a high-quality connection (a sense of positive regard and feelings of mutuality). Respondents were asked to assess on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 = strongly disagree, to 5 = strongly agree, the quality of relationships they share with their co-workers. We conducted several factor analyses and removed items that either had not passed the cutoff value of 0.40 or had cross-loadings with other items. In the current study, we report on two sets of factor analyses: (1) a factor analysis of all the items constituting the three capacities of a high-quality connection (see Table 1), and (2) a factor analysis of all items constituting the two experiences of a high-quality connection (see Table 2). The results of these procedures produced a three-factor solution for the capacities of a high-quality connection, and a two-factor solution for the experiences of a high-quality connection, in line with the theoretical construct proposed by Dutton and Heaphy (2003). The Cronbach's alphas for capacities

Table 1. Factor Analysis Results for Capacities of High-Quality Relationships (Tensility, Emotional Carrying Capacity, and Connectivity).

	Tensility ($\alpha = 0.83$)	Emotional Carrying Capacity ($\alpha = 0.75$)	Openness-Based Connectivity ($\alpha = 0.71$)
My co-workers and I do not have any difficulty expressing our feelings to one other.	0.02	0.84	0.04
My co-workers and I are not afraid to express our unpleasant feelings at work.	0.07	0.83	0.11
Whenever anyone at work expresses an unpleasant feeling, he/she always does so in a constructive manner.	0.28	0.49	0.25
If I get upset with my co-workers, I know they will try to understand me.	0.40	0.63	0.05
My co-workers and I cope well with the conflicts we experience at work.	0.72	0.30	-0.06
My co-workers and I cope well with the tensions we experience at work.	0.68	0.34	0.13
My co-workers and I cope well with the pressures experienced at work.	0.73	-0.12	0.16
Even during times of stress and pressure, my co-workers and I always manage to find effective solutions.	0.73	-0.03	0.28
Even when we are very busy and under pressure at work, my co-workers and I maintain good relationships.	0.58	0.19	0.23
After my co-workers and I overcome major crises and periods of tension together, our relationships are stronger, not weaker.	0.67	0.37	0.23
We are always open to listening to our co-workers' new ideas.	0.11	0.03	0.67
We are very open to diverse influences, even if they come from unconventional sources, such as new employees, customers, etc.	0.06	0.25	0.77
We are attentive to new opportunities that can make our system more efficient and effective.	0.21	0.00	0.73
We know how to accept people who are different.	0.41	0.18	0.56
Eigenvalues	3.30	2.51	2.21
Percentage of variance explained	23.55	17.96	15.78

Table 2. Factor Analysis Results for Experiences of High-Quality Relationships (Positive Regard and Mutuality).

	A Sense of Positive Regard ($\alpha = 0.90$)	Feelings of Mutuality ($\alpha = 0.89$)
I feel that my co-workers like me.	0.87	0.25
I feel admired in my workplace.	0.83	0.16
I get a lot of respect from my co-workers.	0.66	0.35
I am popular among my co-workers.	0.80	0.25
I feel that my co-workers love me.	0.88	0.24
The connection between my co-workers and myself is based on mutuality.	0.35	0.75
My co-workers and I are committed to one another at work.	0.14	0.92
There is a sense of empathy among my co-workers and myself.	0.32	0.80
I feel that my co-workers and I do things for one another.	0.23	0.85
Eigenvalues	3.59	3.11
Percentage of variance explained	39.85	34.52

of a high-quality connection and experiences of a high-quality connection were 0.85 and 0.91, respectively. Additionally, we conducted, as described below, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) as part of the structural equation modeling (SEM) procedure.

Feelings of Vitality

We also developed a 9-item measure of individual feelings of vitality. We followed the same procedure we used for constructing the measures of capacities and experiences of a high-quality connection. The factor analysis results suggested a 6-item factor (see Table 3). Responses were on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 = strongly disagree, to 5 = strongly agree. The Cronbach's alpha for this measure was 0.89.

Perceived Job Performance

We measured job performance using the 5-item scale developed by Pearce and Porter (1986), and used by Black and Porter (1991) and Hochwarter, Perrewe, Ferris and Brymer (1999). Respondents were asked to evaluate their job performance according to the following criteria: overall performance, getting along with others, punctual completion of tasks, quality of

Table 3. Factor Analysis Results for Feelings of Vitality and Job Performance.

	Feelings of Vitality ($\alpha = 0.89$)	Perceived Job Performance ($\alpha = 0.77$)
I am most vital when I am at work.	0.74	0.08
I am full of positive energy when I am at work.	0.85	0.10
My organization makes me feel good.	0.81	0.07
When I am at work, I feel mentally strong.	0.82	0.03
When I am at work, I receive positive energy.	0.86	-0.04
When I am with my co-workers, I experience a sense of vitality.	0.74	0.22
Overall performance	0.08	0.66
Getting along with others	0.17	0.63
Punctual completion of tasks	0.08	0.73
Performance quality	-0.03	0.78
Achievement of work goals	0.03	0.82
Eigenvalues	3.59	3.11
Percentage of variance explained	39.85	34.52

performance, and achievement of work goals. These items, which are shown in Table 3, were assessed on a 5-point scale (ranging from 1 = very poor, to 5 = excellent). Although such difficulties as self-enhancement and objectivity and reliability may be encountered, Mabe and West (1982) showed that self-evaluation measures are more valid than indicated in prior research (see Hochwarter et al., 1999). The Cronbach's alpha for this measure was 0.77.

A factor analysis was performed on the items comprising feelings of vitality and job performance measures. The results of this factor analysis, which are shown in Table 3, yielded a two-factor solution. The first factor, feelings of vitality, had an eigenvalue of 3.59 and explained 39.85% of the variance. The second factor, perceived job performance, had an eigenvalue of 3.11 and explained 34.52% of the variance.

Control Variables

We also tested for gender differences (1 = female, 0 = male), age, and tenure within the organization.

Data Analyses

To estimate the research model, we used SEM (Bollen, 1989), employing AMOS 5 software (Arbuckle, 2003). We followed the two-step approach to

SEM outlined by Anderson and Gerbing (1988) in which construct validity was assessed using CFA followed by a comparison of a sequence of nested structural models. Because no single index has been demonstrated as superior in the SEM literature (Medsker, Williams, & Holahan, 1994), we used multiple goodness-of-fit indices in assessing the fit of the research model (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1993; Kline, 1998). These fit indices include the χ^2 statistics divided by the degree of freedom (χ^2/df); Relative Fit Index (RFI), Normed Fit Index (NFI), Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Tucker–Lewis coefficient (TLI), and Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA). As suggested in the literature (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1993; Kline, 1998), the following criteria of goodness-of-fit indices were used to assess the model-fitting: χ^2/df ratio is recommended to be less than 3; the values of RFI, NFI, CFI, and TLI are recommended to be greater than 0.90; RMSEA is recommended to be up to 0.05, and acceptable up to 0.08.

RESULTS

The means, standard deviations, reliabilities, and correlations among the research variables are presented in Table 4. The bivariate correlations indicate that both the capacities of a high-quality connection and the experiences of a high-quality connection were significantly related to individual's feelings of vitality ($r = 0.51, p < 0.001$; $r = 0.59, p < 0.001$, respectively). Perceived job performance was positively related to both the capacities of a high-quality connection and the experiences of a high-quality connection ($r = 0.16, p < 0.05$; $r = 0.18, p < 0.05$, respectively). The results also indicate a positive relationship between individuals' feelings of vitality and perceived job performance ($r = 0.20, p < 0.05$).

We also found that respondents' age was negatively associated with both the capacities of a high-quality connection and the experiences of a high-quality connection ($r = -0.27, p < 0.01$; $r = -0.32, p < 0.001$, respectively). Finally, the findings indicate that tenure in the organization was positively associated with perceived job performance ($r = 0.18, p < 0.05$).

We analyzed our research model utilizing the two-step approach to SEM (Bollen, 1989) as outlined in Anderson and Gerbing (1988), and recommended by others (e.g., Hoyle & Panter, 1995; Medsker et al., 1994). We first tested the fit of a CFA model to the observed data. Next, we compared a sequence of nested structural models to yield information concerning the structural model that best accounted for the covariances

Table 4. Means, Standard Deviations (SD), and Correlations.

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Gender (1 = female)	–	–							
2. Age	26.81	5.87	–0.25**						
3. Tenure in the organization	2.59	1.66	–0.10	0.53**					
4. Capacities of high-quality relationships	3.84	0.47	0.12	–0.27**	–0.14	(0.85)			
5. Experiences of high-quality relationships	3.90	0.59	0.19*	–0.32***	–0.15	0.67***	(0.91)		
6. Feelings of vitality	3.62	0.73	0.11	–0.14	–0.10	0.51***	0.59***	(0.89)	
7. Job performance	3.71	0.52	–0.08	0.09	0.18*	0.16*	0.18*	0.20*	(0.77)

Listwise $N = 144$, two-tailed test. Reliabilities are in parentheses on the diagonal.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

observed between the model's exogenous and endogenous constructs (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988).

Preliminary Analyses

Prior to testing the model's hypotheses, we sought to show evidence of the construct validity of the exogenous and endogenous variables. Using CFA, a measurement model was tested in order to assess whether each of the measurement items would load significantly onto the scales with which they were associated. The results of the overall CFA showed acceptable fit with the data; a χ^2 of 932.4 on 508 degrees of freedom, and other goodness-of-fit statistics (CFI = 0.83; IFI = 0.83; TLI = 0.80; RMSEA = 0.076) were achieved. Standardized parameter estimates from items to factor ranged from 0.48 to 0.92. In addition, the results for the CFA indicated that the relationship between each indicator variable and its respective variable was statistically significant ($p < 0.01$), establishing the posited relationships among indicators and constructs, and thus, convergent validity (see Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1998).

Testing the Hypotheses

High-quality relationships, vitality, and perceived job performance are multi-dimensional latent constructs, and therefore we used maximum likelihood SEM to test our model's hypotheses. In order to do so, we evaluated model fit using various fit indices and significance of the completely standardized path estimates (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1993; Bollen, 1989).

The results of the research model, which is presented in Fig. 1, showed reasonable fit with the data; a χ^2 of 841.70 on 503 degrees of freedom, and other goodness-of-fit statistics (CFI = 0.86; IFI = 0.87; NFI = 0.72; TLI = 0.84; RMSEA = 0.068) were achieved. The value of 0.068 on RMSEA is slightly higher than the desired value of 0.05, but considering the newly constructed latent variables, this value is acceptable (Kline, 1998). A series of sequential χ^2 difference tests comparing alternative models with the theoretical model indicated no significant difference ($p > 0.10$). We accordingly accepted the theoretical model as the most parsimonious (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988).

Using SEM, we tested the mediating effect of individuals' feelings of vitality on the relationship between high-quality relationships (capacities and experiences) and job performance. This decision was based on a recent

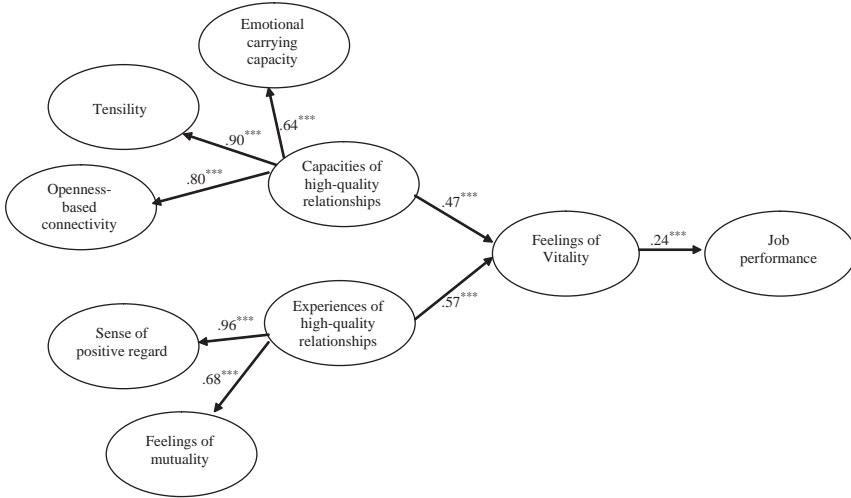


Fig. 1. Results of the Research Model. Notes: Standardized Parameter Estimates. $N = 144$. *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; This is a Simplified Version of the Actual Model. It Does Not Show Indicators, Error Terms, Covariances, or Exogenous.

review by Schneider, Ehrhart, Mayer, Saltz, and Miles-Jolly (2005), which indicated the inappropriateness of the Baron and Kenny (1986) approach for testing full mediation.

The findings indicate that both the capacity of high-quality relationships and the experiences of high-quality relationships (independent variables) were positively related to individuals’ feelings of vitality (0.47, $p < 0.001$; 0.57, $p < 0.001$, respectively), in support of Hypotheses 1a and 1b. To assess a full mediation, we specified the mediator in the model. We found support for Hypothesis 2, which predicted a positive relationship between individuals’ feelings of vitality and job performance (0.24, $p < 0.05$).

To further test full mediation, when the individual’s feelings of vitality (mediator) was specified, we found (1) that the relationship between the capacities of a high-quality connection and job performance was not significant (0.16, $p = 0.54$); (2) the relationship between the experiences of high-quality relationships and job performance was not significant (0.28, $p = 0.23$). In other words, our analyses indicate that both the capacities and experiences of high-quality relationships indirectly (through feelings of vitality) affect job performance. This finding provides support for Hypotheses 3a and 3b, which posited that feelings of vitality would mediate

the relationship between both the capacity and experiences of high-quality relationships and job performance.

DISCUSSION

Research on vitality in work settings is relatively scant and social-related factors that facilitate or inhibit vitality have yet to be fully explored. The implications for individual outcomes also need further research attention. In this study, we attempted to address the call to further investigate how interpersonal relationships facilitate or undermine feelings of vitality, and the implications of vitality for the performance of employees at work.

All work organizations contain pockets of low-quality relationships as well as pockets of high-quality relationships (Dutton, 2003). Our research advocates the need to direct attention to the central role of interpersonal relationships, which are traditionally relegated to the background of organizational life and thus prompt many organization leaders to largely ignore their importance (Ragins & Dutton, 2007, p. 5). The current study embraces the notion that a life-enhancing and energizing work environment is based on high-quality interpersonal relationships between organizational members (Dutton, 2003; Dutton & Heaphy, 2003). It extends previous research by exploring how capacities and experiences of high-quality relationships between co-workers are conducive to enhancing individuals' feelings of vitality and job performance.

In doing so, the present study joins an emerging body of literature seeking to better understand the effects of high-quality interpersonal relationships on individuals in work organizations. The findings generally support the important role of high-quality interpersonal relationships in enhancing feelings of vitality. We found that both capacities and experiences of high-quality interpersonal relationships are important for augmenting feelings of vitality at work. In addition, we found that when people experienced feelings of vitality, they reported a higher level of job performance than people who had low-quality relationships at work. Finally, the findings suggest that there is an indirect effect, through feelings of vitality, of high-quality interpersonal relationships on job performance.

Thus far, research has mainly focused on the theoretically established construct – high-quality interpersonal relationships – and its power to explain individuals' feelings of vitality or thriving at work (Dutton, 2003; Dutton & Heaphy, 2003; Spreitzer et al., 2005), with only a handful of studies that examine the effects of high-quality relationships on learning

processes in work organizations empirically (Carmeli et al., 2009; Carmeli & Gittell, 2009). Our study contributes to this body of literature by providing theoretical reasoning for the important role of high-quality relationships in the work setting, using the co-workers as a reference point. The theory of high-quality relationships argues that people can grow and thrive, feel resilient, learn from failures, and perform their jobs more successfully through the relationships they build with others at work. Our study focused on several of these benefits by documenting the positive implications of high-quality relationships with co-workers on feelings of vitality and job performance.

Although we did not examine emotions and moods in the current study, it is reasonable to assume that people in high-quality relationships experience feelings of love and joy (see also, Dutton & Heaphy, 2003). Creativity research, for example, has documented the importance of joy, love, and positive moods for creative individual performance (Amabile, 1997; Amabile et al., 2005). It was also found that quality LMX is an important determinant of creative performance (Tierney, Farmer, & Graen, 1999). High-quality relationships enable cooperation and collaboration within the work setting, two critical mechanisms in the ever-increasing empowered work structure of a knowledge-based economy.

Our research may serve as a source of future research on high-quality interpersonal relationships. The study focused on two features – individuals' feelings of vitality and job performance. This point of view is clearly of importance, but we also need to understand the dynamics of high-quality interpersonal relationships and their effects under different conditions such as uncertainty, insecurity, decline, and crisis. How high-quality interpersonal relationships emerge under these conditions and the role of organization leaders in facilitating this environment is one question that merits further investigation. It would be beneficial to understand when and how quality relationships are enhanced and when and how they deteriorate. Furthermore, our research can be further developed by exploring issues such as identity and exchange as they relate to high-quality relationships (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003). In addition, this study did not examine the mechanisms (e.g., leadership) that foster high-quality relationships at work, nor do we know much about the type of people who manage to enjoy good relationships with others (e.g., do they differ in social skills and emotional intelligence levels?)

Several limitations constrain the interpretation and application of the findings. Though we provide reasonable psychometric measurements for the capacities and experiences of high-quality relationships, we believe that further applications and extensions are needed to determine their validity.

Our study was conducted within the Israeli work culture; thus, one should be cautious in generalizing the results of this work, as cultural differences have not been considered. Future studies investigating high-quality relationships using a cross-cultural design could contribute to generalizability. We should also be cautious not to overestimate or make causal inferences from cross-sectional data. In addition, we cannot entirely rule out common method bias effects, inflating the relationship magnitude between the research variables. Nonetheless, after applying Harman's one-factor test, the results from CFA of all measurement items indicated that the variables representing their analysis constructs did so with adequate discriminant validity. Although this does not prove that common method variance was not influential in the findings, it suggests that any such influence may not have been severe. Nevertheless, future studies should attempt to use several data sources to rule out the possibility of percept-percept inflation. Context should also be considered as it may affect the relationship between high-quality relationships and individual outcomes. In addition, we only considered one party in the relationship and future research should examine both parties (e.g., leader and follower) to better assess quality relationships and their effect on behavioral and task outcomes. While we implied that all work involves high levels of interaction among members who intensively interact with one another to fulfill assigned tasks, it could well be that this is not the case in every work environment. Future research would benefit from a more systematic exploration of high-quality relationships in more- and less-intensive based work environments. We have not examined relationship vitality, which maybe a key source for individual's feelings of vitality in the workplace. Furthermore our study did not capture the third cluster of high-quality relationships: physical effects. Thus, further research is needed to assess how relationship vitality fosters employee vitality as well as how the physical aspects of high-quality relationships may affect job performance.

CONCLUSION

High-quality interpersonal relationships can make a difference by augmenting feelings of vitality and job performance among employees in the workplace. Our study embraced Ragins and Dutton's call to view interpersonal relationships between people at work as "front and center" in organizational life (2007, p. 4). To this end, our study provided theoretical reasoning for an empirical demonstration of the significant and positive link between high-quality interpersonal relationships and individuals' feelings of

vitality and performance in work organizations. A major implication of this study is that researchers and practitioners alike should pay increased attention to how quality interpersonal relationships at work emerge, and how they affect both the individual and the organization.

NOTE

1. We did not examine the physical effects of high-quality relationships because this cluster goes beyond the scope of the current study. In addition, we were not able to obtain permission to collect data on such physical effects. Finally, such aspects as longer life span require a longitudinal design.

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CHAPTER 4

ON THE DIRECTIONALITY OF VIGOR–JOB SATISFACTION RELATIONSHIPS: A LONGITUDINAL STUDY

Arie Shirom and Ofira Shrager

ABSTRACT

We compared the fit of our data with four different theoretical expectations regarding the direction of effect across time between job satisfaction and vigor. Respondents were 573 apparently healthy employees who had completed questionnaires while undergoing a periodical health examination at two points in time, T1 and T2, about 22 months apart. We found that the model that predicted that job satisfaction influenced vigor in a unidirectional way best fitted the data. Our findings provided support for theories postulating that job satisfaction, representing an overall appraisal of job conditions, has a unidirectional impact on positive affects at work.

INTRODUCTION

Do positive affects, such as vigor, recursively (in a unidirectional way) predict job satisfaction? Could it be that the reverse is, in fact, the true state

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of affairs, and that job satisfaction recursively predicts vigor? Or, as yet an additional possibility, could it be that both expectations are correct, and that vigor and job satisfaction are reciprocally related across time? Each of these possibilities is grounded in a different theoretical approach. In the current study, we tested these alternative predictions by applying structural equation modeling to a longitudinal data set.

There were several reasons for our focusing on job satisfaction's relationships with vigor. Job satisfaction has been regarded as a general attitudinal evaluation resulting from one's appraisal of one's job or job experiences (Locke, 1976, p. 1304), or as representing one's overall assessment, or summary evaluative judgment, of his or her job features (Brief, 1998; Judge & Ilies, 2004; Weiss, 2002). Job satisfaction is also one of the most important and widely researched variables in industrial-organizational psychology (e.g. Connolly & Viswesvaran, 2000). In metaanalytic studies, job satisfaction has been found to be associated with several important outcomes, including job performance (Judge, Bono, Thoresen, & Patton, 2001) and individual health (Faragher, Cass, & Cooper, 2005).

The last decade has seen a paradigm shift in the job-satisfaction research (Judge & Ilies, 2004). In the past, research has focused on the dispositional antecedents of job satisfaction (e.g., Connolly & Viswesvaran, 2000), or on the cognitive aspect and behavioral results of job satisfaction (e.g., Brief, 1998). Several researchers have emphasized the need to include in the research paradigm on job satisfaction affects at work (e.g., Judge & Ilies, 2004; Weiss, 2002). Following this emphasis, researchers included in their study of job satisfaction both discrete affects along with general mood states (e.g., Thoresen, Kaplan, Barsky, Chermont, & Warren, 2003).

Vigor is defined as a discrete affect, depicting individuals' feeling of positive cognitive, emotional, and physical energy (Shirom, 2004). Theoretically, this view of vigor is derived from Hobfoll's Conservation of Resources (COR) Theory (Hobfoll, 1989, 2002). According to this theory, people are motivated to obtain, retain, and protect their resources, which can be material, social, or energetic. The concept of vigor relates to energetic resources: physical, emotional, and cognitive ones, for several reasons. The first is that the COR theory argues that personal resources are closely interrelated and that the expansion of one is associated with the others being augmented (Hobfoll, 1989). The second reason is that these components represent the three most salient domains of energy that humans possess: physical, emotional (relating specifically to one's interpersonal interactions with others and one's feeling capable of expressing empathy and sympathy to others), and cognitive (relating to

one's feelings concerning one's capability of generating ideas, his/her vital thought processes etc.).

The focus on vigor as an affect follows the cognitive–motivational–relational theory developed by Lazarus and his colleagues (Lazarus, 2001; Smith & Lazarus, 1993). This theory implies a discrete-category approach to affective states and encourages research on distinctive characteristics, antecedents, and consequences of discrete emotions. As suggested by Weiss and Cropanzano (1996), each affective reaction has its own phenomenal structure, and each may result in quite different behavioral consequences, hence the importance of this approach. Our focus on vigor reflects its important consequences both for the individual employee and the employing organization. Vigor could be regarded as providing the affective basis of motivational processes (cf. Seo, Feldman-Barrett, & Bartunek, 2004). Work motivation is often viewed as a set of energetic forces that originate within as well as beyond an individual's being, to initiate work-related behavior and to determine its form, direction, intensity, and duration (Latham & Pinder, 2005). Thus motivational processes in organizations represent in part individuals' decisions to allocate energy over time from their energetic resources among different activities, and in this sense vigor may represent a positively slanted antecedent of generalized motivation (Ellsworth & Scherer, 2003). We argue that a certain level of vigor could be considered as a prerequisite for motivational processes in work organizations. Therefore, it is of both theoretical and practical importance to determine whether job satisfaction precedes vigor, thereby affecting other processes in the organization, or whether vigor is a pivotal trigger to both job satisfaction and motivational processes. As Fredrickson's (Fredrickson, 2001) broaden-and-build theory of positive affects posits, positive affects broaden the scope of attention and build individuals' physical, intellectual, and social resources (Fredrickson, 1998), and thus are likely to have positive health-promoting effects (Fredrickson & Losada, 2005). There is substantial evidence supporting the health-promoting consequences of positive affects (Pressman & Cohen, 2005), and there is some evidence suggesting that vigor may have similar effects (Shirom, Toker, Berliner, Shapira, & Melamed, 2008).

Vigor is closer to a mood state than to an emotion because it tends to last days and even weeks; however, because it is contextualized in the work situation, we refer to it as an "affect" (cf. Tellegen, Watson, & Clark, 1999). Most past research on vigor regarded it as a mood and used one of the six subscales in the Profile of Mood State (POMS; McNair, Lorr, & Droppleman, 1971) to assess it. The POMS' Vigor scale includes adjectives that reflect other positive affective states, including happiness and

pleasantness, thus casting doubt on its construct validity. An additional previous conceptualization of vigor regarded it as relating to energy in general, a component of the Activation–Deactivation Adjective Check List (Thayer, 2001). Another construct that, to a certain extent, overlaps with vigor is that of *vitality*, conceptualized as combining the subjective experience of being full of energy and of feeling alive or vital (for the original scale, see Ryan & Frederick, 1997). However, because this conceptualization combines feeling alive or vital with feeling energetic, we did not use it in the present study.

Following past research that related affects to job satisfaction (e.g., Brief & Roberson, 1989; Fisher, 2000; Weiss, Nicholas, & Daus, 1999), we identified three major theoretical approaches underlying the vigor–job satisfaction linkage, each leading to a different prediction. Our theoretical model (Model A), expected job satisfaction and the affect of vigor to reciprocally influence each other across time. We compared it with Model B, expecting a unidirectional (recursive) effect of job satisfaction on vigor, with Model C, expecting vigor to recursively predict job satisfaction, and with Model D, expecting job satisfaction and vigor to be related because of the effect of an unmeasured construct on both. Below we present first Models B and C, because our theoretical model, Model A, combines their theoretical logic, respectively.

Model B: Job Satisfaction Recursively Predicts Vigor

Appraisal theories of affective states, widely used and consistently supported by empirical research (Roseman & Evdokas, 2004; Scherer, 1997) provide the theoretical underpinnings of the cognitive tradition in the study of emotions (Weiss, 2002). They reflect the view that affective states evolved over time and across cultures as a primary psychological mechanism for dealing with fundamental life tasks (Lazarus, 1991). Appraisal theories postulate that it is the interpretations of events and situations, rather than events and situations per se that determine which emotions will be felt (Roseman & Evdokas, 2004).

According to appraisal theories, emotion elicitation starts with the occurrence of an event, which is then appraised through the use of various appraisal dimensions. A basic tenet of the appraisal theories of affective states is that an affect is associated with a distinctive appraisal structure (Roseman & Smith, 2001). Several theories have been constructed to identify particular appraisal dimensions that generate discrete affects (Frijda, 1993;

Smith & Lazarus, 1993). Job satisfaction has been viewed as a stable, general tendency on the part of the individual. This general tendency has been explained as due to dispositional factors (e.g. Judge, Heller, & Mount, 2002), inherited, genetic factors (Arvey, McCall, Bouchard, Taubman, & Cavanaugh, 1994; Staw, Bell, & Clausen, 1986), or their interactive effects on stable job-satisfaction assessments. Following this theoretical approach, job satisfaction could be viewed as summarizing individuals' appraisals of situations and events that they encounter at work and therefore as a base of their affective reactions to these situations and events. Therefore, we expected, in Model B, that job satisfaction would be a recursive predictor of vigor both within and across time.

Model C: Vigor Recursively Predicts Job Satisfaction

Researchers across a variety of disciplines have proposed that there is an affective component preceding attitudes (Thoresen et al., 2003), and more specifically, that affect has a distinct influence on job satisfaction (Weiss, 2002). Affect was proposed as a factor influencing the variance in job satisfaction (cf. Judge & Ilies, 2004). Two mechanisms were proposed as underlying this theoretical perspective (for a recent review of the evidence, see: Malhotra, 2005). First, affect increases the cognitive accessibility of mood-congruent material in memory (Ashby, Isen, & Turken, 1999; Isen, Daubman, & Nowicki, 1987). Second, individuals use their affective reaction to a target as relevant information when framing an attitude about that target (Slovic, Finucane, Peters, & MacGregor, 2007). Therefore, vigor could conceivably influence one's level of job satisfaction.

More specifically, we based Model C on Affective Events Theory (AET) (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996), which asserts that job conditions lead to affective reactions which, in turn, lead to job satisfaction and other work-related attitudes. Following the AET theoretical position, which states that affects influence evaluative judgments (Brief & Weiss, 2002; Weiss, 2002), we predicted in Model C that vigor would be recursively related to job satisfaction across time. AET further postulates that when job-related situations continuously evoke certain felt emotions, an individual's affective mode becomes stable, leading to specific and foreseeable attitudes and behaviors including job satisfaction (Weiss et al., 1999). We also based Model C on the Affect Infusion Model (AIM), yet another model postulating that affect has a direct impact on individuals' cognitive and behavioral processes (Forgas & George, 2001). According to the AIM,

employees' job satisfaction is partially a function of the affect that infuses their cognitive processing in forming this evaluation. Previous studies supported the notion that individuals' affective states may influence a wide range of evaluative judgments, including job satisfaction (Fisher, 2000; Judge & Ilies, 2004). Based on the above, we predicted in this proposed Model C that vigor would recursively predict job satisfaction, within and across time.

*Model A: Vigor and Job Satisfaction
are Reciprocally Related*

Both of the above predictions could be correct, based on their respective theoretical rationale, leading us to posit as our theoretical model, Model A, expecting both a contemporaneous and across-time reciprocal relationship between vigor and job satisfaction. Theoretically, Model A reflected the AIM (Forgas & George, 2001) and the neuropsychological theory (Ashby et al., 1999), which both view feeling states as influencing evaluative and cognitive processes in general, and job satisfaction in particular (Weiss et al., 1999). Concomitantly, Model A also reflected the recent theoretical position of Feldman-Barrett arguing that people experience a feeling when they conceptualize or cognitively categorize it. Thus, emotions are states constructed from basic psychological processes (Barrett-Feldman, 2006). In an attempt to reconcile the two theoretical positions, Parkinson (2007) argued that although emotional inference can involve explicit or implicit appraisals, as posited by Barrett-Feldman (2006), individuals can experience emotions without first extracting appraisal information, but rather as a direct result of ongoing adjustments, attuned to unfolding transactions in the practical and social world. Therefore, the theoretical reconciliation proposed by Parkinson (2007) implies a reciprocal relationship between vigor and job satisfaction.

Empirically, recent studies in neuroscience on the interrelations of affect and cognition concluded that they could be regarded as dynamically interrelated and interacting elements (Davidson, 2003; Panksepp, 2003). As the understanding of the neural basis of emotion and cognition grows, it has become increasingly apparent that the neural circuitry of emotion and cognition interact, from early perception to decision making and reasoning (Phelps, 2006). This has led to the view that affect and cognition are intertwined at all stages of stimulus processing (Phelps, 2006, p. 46). Based on these theoretical as well as empirical underpinnings, in Model A we proposed that vigor and job satisfaction are reciprocally related. We

specifically predicted that these reciprocal relations occur both within and across time.

*Model D: The Relationship between Job Satisfaction
and Vigor is Spurious*

An additional theoretical possibility, represented here as Model D, is that the relationship between job satisfaction and vigor is spurious because there is actually a third variable (or variables) that influence both – such as positive affectivity. *Trait positive affectivity* (TPA) refers to individuals' dispositional tendency to experience positively valenced affective states over time (Thoresen et al., 2003). Meta analytic evidence indicates that TPA is related to job satisfaction (Connolly & Viswesvaran, 2000), and is possibly one of the sources of the stable aspect of job satisfaction mentioned above. By definition, trait affectivity is related to experienced affect, and it is clear that TPA is also related to the affective state of vigor. The observed relation between vigor and job satisfaction can therefore be spurious, due to their relations to TPA. Other variables like leadership (A. P. Brief & Weiss, 2002), or self-efficacy (Jimmieson, 2000; Judge & Bono, 2001) can also be the source of this spurious effect. If this is in fact the case, we can expect the association between job satisfaction and vigor to be considerably reduced or rendered insignificant once this third variable is controlled for. Neuropsychological research, for example, has suggested that increased dopamine levels in the brain influence both positive affective states and cognitive processing (Ashby et al., 1999). We refer to this spurious association between job satisfaction and vigor as Model D. To test the relative fit with the data of the proposed model, dubbed Model A, and the three alternative models, dubbed Models B, C, and D, we followed Wong and Law's (1999) recommendations and used structural equation modeling applied to a longitudinal data set. This design is considered more appropriate than cross-sectional designs for testing recursive predictions.

*Instrumental Variables Used in Estimating the Fit
of the Models with the Data*

The theoretical model, Model A, hypothesized reciprocal relationships across time between vigor and job satisfaction; such models are under-identified, because the number of parameters to be estimated exceeds the number of data points. Therefore, we faced the issue of model identification.

The basic premise of testing recursive relations between two variables is that they are not observed at the same time (Berry, 1984), a requirement fully addressed in our design. A reciprocal (nonrecursive) model is identified only when there is enough information to yield unique parameter estimates for the relationship between the mutually related variables (Wong & Law, 1999). The problem of under-identification of a reciprocal relationship model can be resolved by incorporating exogenous variables into it, often referred to as “instrumental variables,” with structural paths pointing exclusively to one of the endogenous variables, at least one instrumental variable per endogenous variable (Kenny, 1979, p. 106). Such an instrument must be unrelated to the unmeasured causes of the corresponding endogenous variable and it may not be caused by either endogenous variable (James & Singh, 1978).

Our choice of the two instrumental variables for vigor and job satisfaction was guided by these requirements (Schaubroeck, 1990). Therefore, we expanded our models to include four additional instrumental variables, two for predicting job satisfaction and two for predicting vigor in each of the two waves (cf. Wong & Law, 1999). Specifically, fitness and managerial position were chosen as instrumental variables of job satisfaction. Fitness was chosen following a meta-analysis of job satisfaction’s relationship with health, which concluded that they were indeed positively associated (Faragher et al., 2005); organizational level or managerial position have been consistently found to predict job satisfaction (Miles, Patrick, & King, 1996; Mossholder, Bedeian, & Armenakis, 1981). As the instrumental variables of vigor, we chose two out of the five personality factors included in the Big Five, extraversion and openness. Extraverts have been found to be predisposed to experience positive emotions (e.g., Fleeson, Malanos, & Achille, 2002); therefore, we expected extraversion to be a positive predictor of vigor. Individuals high on openness have been characterized as imaginative, aesthetically responsive, eager to explore, curious, and unconventional (McCrae & John, 1992). Openness to experience, as a personality predisposition, has been found to be positively correlated with vigor-like affective states (Kokkonen & Pulkkinen, 2001); therefore, we expected openness to positively predict vigor. Altogether, the five-factor solution of personality traits has been validated repeatedly in many cross-cultural studies (Yoon, Schmidt, & Ilies, 2002), and in many languages (Hendriks & Perugini, 2003). There is even evidence indicating that the Big Five factors are inherited traits and that they remain relatively stable throughout adulthood (McCrae & John, 1992).

METHOD

Sample

Study participants ($N = 688$) were all apparently healthy employees, attending the Center for Periodic Health Examinations of the Tel Aviv Sourasky Medical Center, for a routine health examination at Time 1 (T1) and Time 2 (T2), about 22 months apart. Most large employers in the country offer their employees to undergo a periodic health examination, about every two years, as a fringe benefit. At T1, they represented 92% of the Center's examinees during this period who voluntarily agreed to participate in the study. We systematically checked for nonresponse bias at T1 and found that nonparticipants did not differ from participants as regards any of the socio-demographic or biomedical variables. We also tested for attrition bias from T1 to T2. Those examined at T1 who did not return for a follow-up examination after about two years (49%) were more likely to be males, older (near retirement age), those who had self-reported a chronic disease at T1, and those spending less time in habitual exercise or physical activity. Most of these possible sources of attrition bias were controlled for in our data analyses, as explained below.

We excluded from the study 115 participants who self-reported the following: having been diagnosed with either a cardiovascular disease or diabetes, having undergone a stroke or a mental crisis, and regularly taking antipsychotic medications or antidepressants. The decision to exclude participants who self-reported being afflicted with the above-mentioned diseases or habitually taking antipsychotic medications or antidepressants was based on previous findings suggesting that for these excluded participants, the disease or the medication could impact levels of satisfaction (Faragher et al., 2005) or vigor (Puetz, O'Connor, & Dishman, 2006). Included in the above number of excluded respondents were a small number of respondents who were no longer gainfully employed, like retirees and unemployed persons, and people who worked less than two hours a day. The study's sample, therefore, consisted of 573 employees. The respondents' mean age was 46 ($SD = 9.39$), 64% were males, and they had completed a mean of 15 years of education. Thirty-three percent of the respondents were rank-and-file employees, not in charge of other employees, 13% were first-level supervisors or foremen, 29% were mid-level managers, and 25% were senior managers in charge of other managers.

Procedure

The participants were recruited individually while waiting their turn for the clinical examination by an interviewer who explained the nature of the study – a research project on the relationships among work or job characteristics and employee health – and requested their voluntary participation. In return, participants were promised detailed feedback on the health-related results of the study. Those who agreed to participate were given a self-administered standardized questionnaire and signed a consent form. Confidentiality was assured to each potential participant. The study's protocol was approved by the Ethics Committees of the Sourasky Medical Center and the Faculty of Management at Tel Aviv University.

Measures

All variables were measured by means of self-report questionnaires. Data on all variables (except for the two Big Five factors of “openness” and “extraversion”) were collected at two points in time, T1 and T2, with a mean time lag of 22 months. We first report on the operational definitions of the measures of vigor and job satisfaction, and then describe the measures used in the SEM analyses as instrumental variables, namely fitness, managerial position, and the two Big Five factors of openness and extraversion. We operationalized the measures of vigor and job satisfaction following confirmation of the expected measurement model in the respective confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) in which we included, for each, all questionnaire items gauging it. We calculated the reliability of each resulting measure by Cronbach's internal consistency reliability index, alpha (α). The respondent's score is the average of his or her responses to the items included in the measure.

Vigor was assessed using the Shirom-Melamed Vigor Measure¹ (SMVM; $\alpha = 0.92$), which includes a five-item subscale of physical strength, a four-item subscale of emotional energy, and a four-item subscale of cognitive liveliness. Respondents were requested to indicate the frequency of experiencing each of the feeling states described during the last 30 workdays, all items being scored on a seven-point frequency scale, ranging from 1 (almost never) to 7 (almost always). Details concerning the format and validation studies that led to the construction of the vigor measure can be found in Shirom (2004) and Shirom et al. (2008). The physical strength subscale includes the items “I feel energetic” and “I feel full of pep” (cf. Thayer, 2001). The cognitive liveliness subscale includes the items “I feel

I am able to contribute new ideas” and “I feel I can think rapidly” (cf. Yik, Russell, & Feldman-Barrett, 1999). The emotional energy subscale includes the items “I feel able to show warmth to others,” and “I feel capable of being sympathetic to co-workers and customers.” A CFA² conducted on the vigor items, in which we systematically compared a solution with a first-order factor of vigor with the above three components as indicators with two- and three-facet solutions, supported our decision to represent the three components of vigor by a first-order vigor score ($\chi^2(24, n = 794) = 413$, normed, non-normed, and comparative fit indexes (CFI) = 0.98, 0.97, and 0.98, respectively, RAMSEA = 0.076 (CI = 0.070–0.083) and SRMR = 0.03; see Table 2 for the acronyms used).

Job satisfaction was assessed using a measure of facet-specific job satisfaction adapted from the Survey of Organizations developed by the University of Michigan’s Institute of Social Research (Taylor & Bowers, 1972), and validated in earlier studies (e.g., Shirom & Mazeh, 1988). The measure comprises nine items (alpha = 0.87), gauging the degree to which the respondent is satisfied with different aspects of his or her work (e.g., the people he or she are working with, the physical work conditions, and his or her degree of responsibility). All items were measured on a seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from 7 (“very dissatisfied”) to 1 (“very satisfied”).

Physical fitness, abbreviated as “fitness,” was indicated by functional capacity, assessed following an incremental treadmill exercise. The treadmill grade was increased by 2.5% every 3 min, in accordance with standard Bruce protocol (cf. Ashley, Myers, & Froelicher, 2000). Maximal exertion was seen as achieving at least 85% of the age-predicted maximal heart rate, and perceived exertion of at least 17 on a 20-point Borg scale. The peak exercise capacity from the treadmill test was estimated in metabolic equivalents (METs), using data from standard prediction equations. A respondent’s METs score, as a percentage of his or her age- and sex-adjusted METs scores, represented his or her functional capacity. Fitness was defined as the adjusted number of the METs achieved during the exercise test. Estimates of exercise capacity have been shown to provide a reasonably close approximation of directly measured functional capacity (Lauer, Froelicher, Williams, & Kligfield, 2005).

Managerial position was based on one item that requested the respondents to indicate whether they were rank-and-file employees, first-line foremen or supervisors, middle managers, or senior managers.

Extraversion and openness, two personality traits, were assessed by the Saucier’s Big Five Mini-Markers (Saucier, 1994), which comprise 40 adjectives, eight for each of the Big Five factors. Respondents were asked to indicate how accurately or inaccurately the adjectives describe them.

Responses were given on a nine-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (extremely inaccurate) to 9 (extremely accurate). We used the back-translation procedure for testing the reliability of our translation of this instrument; three independent judges assessed the adequacy of the translation, with an inter-rater reliability of 0.80. Following Saucier's (1994) scoring instructions, some items were reverse scored. CFA confirmed the theoretically expected five-factor structure. The extraversion latent variable ($\alpha = 0.70$) combined seven items (bashful, quiet, shy, withdrawn, talkative, extraverted, and introverted); one item was removed, following our CFA of the 40 original items. The openness to experience latent variable ($\alpha = 0.71$) was based on eight items (uncreative, deep, philosophical, creative, un-intellectual, complex, intellectual, imaginative).

Analyses

The Discriminant Validity of Vigor and Job Satisfaction

We tested the discriminant validity of vigor and job satisfaction prior to testing any of the hypothesized models that concerned their relationships within and across time. Theoretically, job satisfaction has an affective component, and thus could be expected to be positioned in very close proximity to general life satisfaction on Russell's circumplex model (see Russell, 1980; Russell, Lewicka, & Niit, 1989), as representing a state of positive pleasantness and low arousal (Cropanzano, Weiss, Hale, & Reb, 2003; Feldman-Barrett, 1998; Van Katwyk, Spector, Fox, & Kelloway, 2000). In terms of the aforementioned circumplex model, vigor represents a combination of a medium to high level of pleasure, together with a medium level of arousal. This assumption is based on measurements of similar affective states (i.e. energetic, elated, and aroused) that have been consistently regarded as high on pleasure and about medium on arousal (Feldman-Barrett, 1998; Russell, 1980; Van Katwyk et al., 2000). The separate estimates at T1 and T2 of the measurement model that included only vigor and job satisfaction provided strong support for the discriminant validity of the two measures in that no confidence interval of the correlations between the two constructs at either T1 or T2 included 1 ($p < 0.05$; Anderson & Gerbing, 1988). In addition, separately for T1 and T2, we compared, using the chi-square difference test, two measurement models of vigor and job satisfaction, one in which we defined vigor and job satisfaction as one construct, and another which portrayed them as two connected constructs. The results, for both T1 and T2, strongly supported

the discriminate validity of job satisfaction and vigor ($\chi^2[1, N = 577] = 78$, $p = 0.000$ and $\chi^2[1, N = 577] = 300$, $p = 0.000$ for T1 and T2, respectively).

Model Specification

SEM analysis was used for the purpose of identifying the model that best fits the data (cf. Hull, Tedlie, & Lehn, 1995; MacCallum, 1995). Using AMOS (Arbuckle & Wothke, 1999) we tested structural models, in which vigor and job satisfaction were represented as latent variables. A covariance matrix of the measured variables was used as the input data. The listwise method was used for dealing with missing data. We tested the across-time consistency of managerial position and fitness, and found both to be highly stable, and therefore used only their T1 measure.

In Models A, B, and C the disturbance terms of job satisfaction and vigor were not correlated because we assume that there are no unmeasured third variables affecting both (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988). In Model D, designed to test this assumption, we did estimate the correlations between the disturbance terms of vigor and job satisfaction at T1 and T2. In all models, we allowed the exogenous variables to correlate, as recommended by Finkel (1995). As SEM analysis with the maximum likelihood procedure assumes multivariate normality, the univariate frequency distributions of all items in the measures used in this study were examined, showing both skewness and kurtosis values to be within normality bounds. The maximum likelihood method was used to examine the variance–covariance matrices of the items' different measures, and to estimate the model parameters.

Fit Indexes

Following widely accepted recommendations for SEM analysis (McDonald & Ho, 2002), we reported three goodness-of-fit indices – the normed fit index (NFI), the non-normed fit index, NNFI – also known as the Tucker–Lewis Index or TLI – and the CFI. In addition, we reported on two misfit indices, the standardized root mean squared residual (SRMR) and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) with its 90% confidence interval. RMSEA possesses several advantages as a fit index (Cudeck & Browne, 1993). Theoretical models are, at best, an approximation of reality, and therefore the null hypothesis of a model fitting perfectly will rarely be true. The RMSEA tests the null hypothesis of the “close fit” of the model to the population covariance matrix versus “exact fit” (Hodapp & Benson, 1997). Furthermore, as the RMSEA is adjusted by the *df* of the particular model, the parsimony of the model is also taken into account. Finally, the confidence interval for the RMSEA provides additional information about the model's fit: if the lower

bound of the confidence interval touches zero and the upper bound of the same interval does not exceed 0.099, then the null hypothesis of an approximate fit cannot be rejected (Hodapp & Benson, 1997). Regarding all fit indexes used here, Hu and Bentler (1999) suggested that fit indices close to or above 0.95 combined with SRMR and RMSEA below 0.06 could be considered as indicating a good fit. These threshold values for approximate fit indices have been questioned by recent studies (Marsh, Hau, & Wen, 2004; Yuan, 2005), but in the current study the emphasis is on comparing the relative fit of the data of several alternative models, focusing on the use of the incremental χ^2 test (Kline, 2004). In addition, we also used predictive fit indices often used in economics and sociology (Weakliem, 2004), particularly appropriated when comparing non-nested models, like when comparing Models B and C or Models B and D (Kline, 2004). Predictive fit indices assess model fit in hypothetical replicated samples of the same sample size and randomly drawn from the same population as is the sample under consideration. These models are based on different variants of information theory, and use information complexity criterion analogous to the one recommended for use to select the model that best fit the data among equivalent models (Williams, Bozdogan, & Aimah-Smith, 1996). These indices include the Akaika Information Criterion (AIC), the Bayes Information Criterion (BIC), and the Expected Cross-Validation Index (ECVI; for additional details and sources for each index, see Kline, 2004). Smaller values of each indicate better fitting model, with more parsimonious models favored.

RESULTS

Table 1 depicts the correlations among the study's variables, represented in this table by their mean aggregate score, as well as their means and standard deviations. The correlations across time indicate that vigor is more stable relative to job satisfaction (T1–T2 inter-correlation of 0.64 and 0.57, respectively). Therefore, taking into account their respective T1 values, there is less variance to be explained in T2 vigor relative to T2 job satisfaction. At each wave, the correlations of vigor with job satisfaction were moderate in size, ranging from 0.40 to 0.56.

Model Testing

With few exceptions, for all the models that were tested the relationships between the instrumental variables and their respective endogenous

Table 1. Intercorrelations, Means, and Standard Deviations for the Models' Endogenous and Instrumental Variables.

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. T1 vigor	–							
2. T2 vigor	0.64*	–						
3. T1 job sat.	0.58*	0.41*	–					
4. T2 job sat.	0.32*	0.40*	0.55*	–				
5. Fitness percent	0.02	0.03	0.08*	0.09*	–			
6. Mng. position	0.21*	0.13*	0.28*	0.26*	0.09*	–		
7. Big Five, O	0.19*	0.18*	0.08	0.06	0.03	0.13*	–	
8. Big Five, E	0.22*	0.24*	0.17*	0.09*	0.03	0.10*	0.12*	–
Mean	5.47	5.72	5.34	5.42	92.06	3.03	6.18	5.53
S.D.	0.85	0.87	0.79	0.89	10.23	1.64	1.20	1.33

Note: $N = 573$. Job sat., job satisfaction; Mng. position, managerial position; Big Five *O*, the openness factor; and Big Five *E*, the extraversion factor of the Big Five model of personality traits.

* $p < 0.05$.

variables were statistically significant. Furthermore, for each tested model, the modification indices suggested by the SEM program used did not indicate that adding any direct path between an instrumental variable and an endogenous variable not directly predicted by it would result in a significant improvement in the overall fit of the model with the data. These findings buttressed our confidence that the paths linking the instrumental variables with their respective endogenous variables were correctly specified. The fit indexes obtained for all the tested models appear in Table 2.

In Model A, we expected vigor and job satisfaction to be reciprocally related both synchronously and across time. Fig. 1 provides the detailed results of the SEM analysis testing this model. All fit indexes of this model indicated good fit with the data. However, when we examined the path coefficients (Fig. 1), it became evident that several paths connecting vigor and job satisfaction, including the two cross-lagged paths, from T1 vigor to T2 job satisfaction and from T1 job satisfaction to T2 vigor, were not significant. This meant that the part of our hypothesis relating to the across-time relations between vigor and job satisfaction was not supported. On an explorative basis, we estimated a revised model of Model A, deleting the above two cross-lagged effects, but the resultant revised model was not significantly different from Model A ($\chi^2[2, N = 573] = 2, p = 0.37$).

We next tested the two recursive Models, B and C, expecting job satisfaction to recursively predict vigor and vigor to recursively predict job

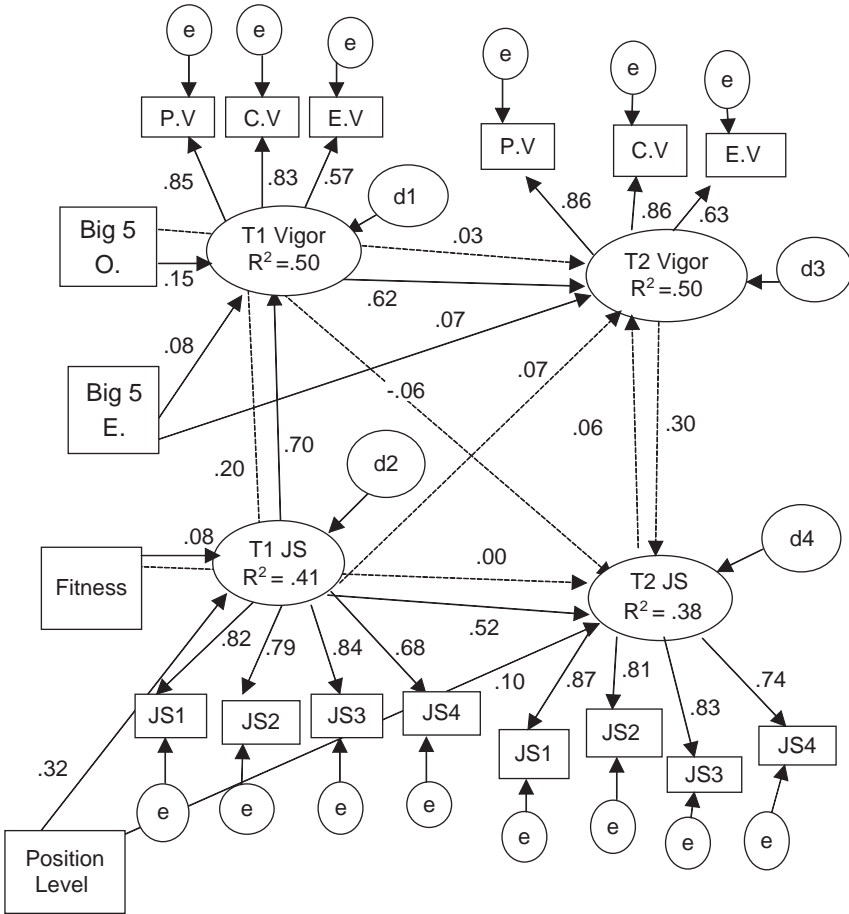


Fig. 1. Model A: Reciprocal Relationships between Vigor and Job Satisfaction. Note: Single Headed Solid and Broken Lines Represent Significant and Not Significant Causal Paths, Respectively. T1 and T2 Represent Data Collected at Time 1 and Time 2, Respectively. P.V, Physical vigor; C.V, Cognitive vigor; EV, Emotional vigor; Big 5 O., Openness to Experience; Big 5 E., Extroversion; Fitness, Fitness Percent; JS, Job Satisfaction; JS1–JS4, Indicators of JS; d, The Residual Terms of the Latent Variables; e, Error Terms of the Indicators; Standardized Regression Weights are Presented. For the Sake of Simplicity Correlations between the Instrumental Variables and between the Errors of the Same Indicators Across-Time are not Presented.

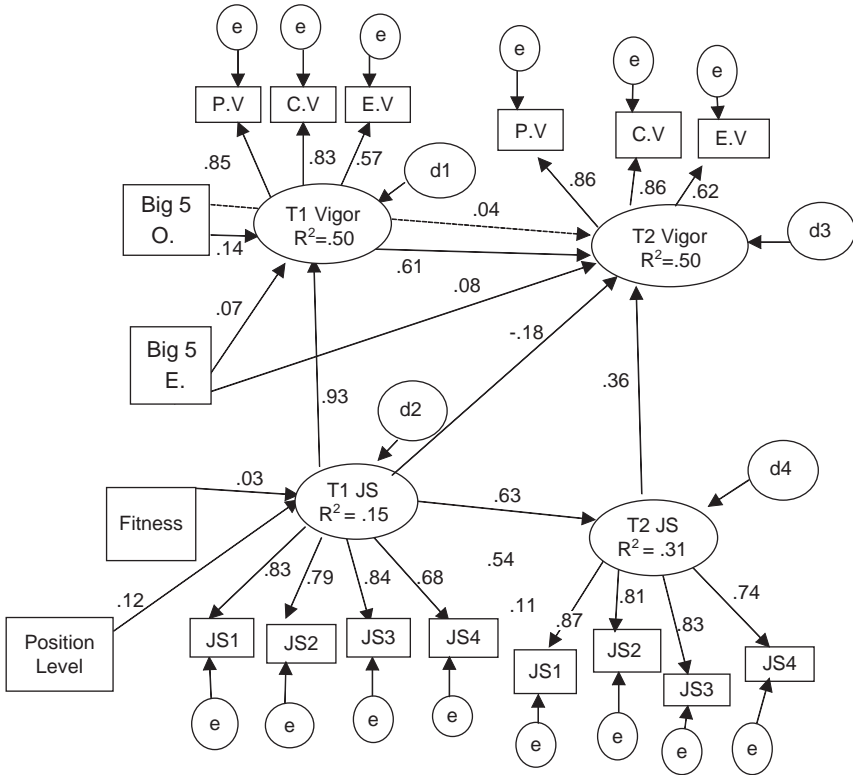


Fig. 2. Model B: Job Satisfaction Recursively Predicts Vigor. Note: See Note to Fig. 1.

satisfaction, respectively. We present the path coefficients obtained for Models B and C in Figs. 2 and 3, respectively. The overall χ^2 test of Model C and the χ^2 difference tests between Model C and Model A ($\chi^2[3, N = 573] = 27, p < .001$) led us to conclude that Model C has an inferior fit with the data relative to Model A. Model B displayed a good fit with the data, and the χ^2 difference test between Models A and B that we ran indicated that they were not significantly different from each other ($\chi^2[3, N = 573] = 5, p > .10$). The results of the fit indexes for Model D are included in Table 2; it was found to be the worst-fitting model; therefore, we did not include a figure detailing the results obtained for Model D. On an explorative basis, following suggestions in the literature that the relationships between positive affective states and job satisfaction could be due to

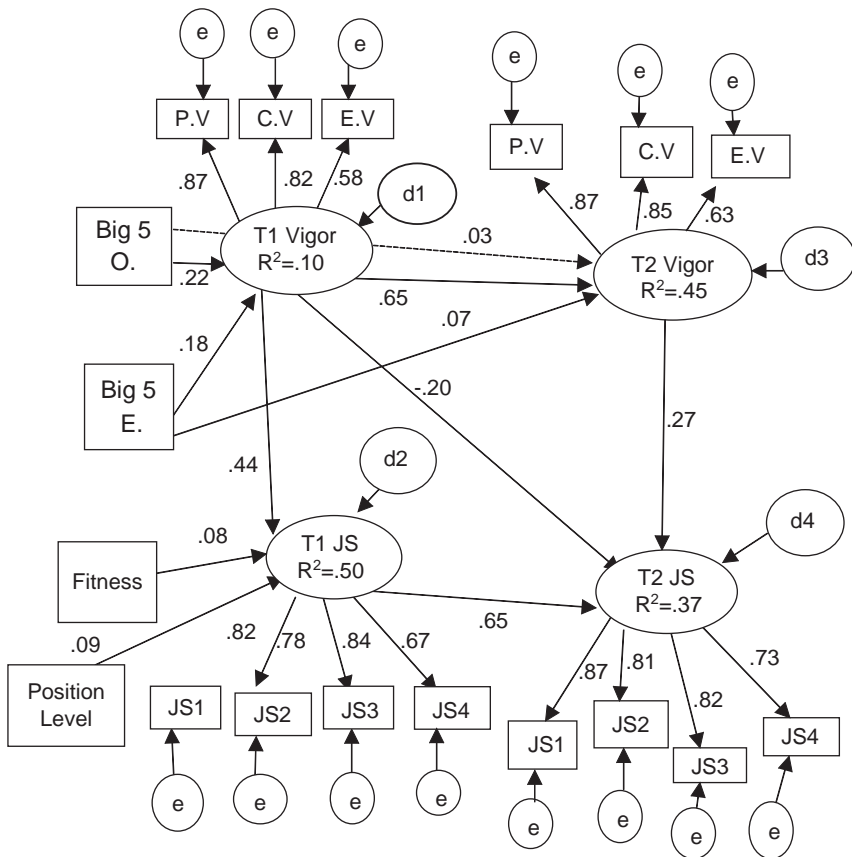


Fig. 3. Model C: Vigor Recursively Predicts Job Satisfaction. Note: See Note to Fig. 1.

the effects of investment in work-roles (Lodi-Smith & Roberts, 2007) and that neuroticism could suppress these effects (Grant & Langan-Fox, 2007), we added the Big Five factor “neuroticism” to Model D as a control variable; however, Model D still remained the worst-fitting model.

Based on the χ^2 difference test, Models A and B fitted the data equally well. However, Model B is more parsimonious relative to Model A: it fit the data with an additional three degrees of freedom while “paying” for them with only $5\chi^2$. The SEM literature advocates the use of the parsimony principle when researchers need to judge several models that fit the data to the same degree (Bollen, 1989, p. 72; Hu & Bentler, 1995; Kline, 2004). Both

Table 2. Summary of Goodness-of-Fit Measures.

Model	df	χ^2	<i>p</i>	NFI	TLI	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA (C.I. 90%) ^a	AIC	BIC	ECVI
A	119	308	0.00	0.94	0.95	0.96	0.04	0.053 (0.045–0.060)	418	640	0.75
B	122	313	0.00	0.94	0.95	0.96	0.04	0.052 (0.046–0.060)	412	630	0.72
C	122	335	0.00	0.93	0.94	0.95	0.05	0.056 (0.050–0.062)	432	645	0.79
D	123	343	0.00	0.93	0.94	0.95	0.06	0.057 (0.051–0.063)	442	650	0.80
E (null model)	153	5,296									

Note: *N* = 573. D.f., degrees of freedom; χ^2 , chi square; *p*, probability level; NFI, normed fit index; NNFI/TLI (Tucker–Lewis index), non-normed fit index; CFI, comparative fit index; SRMR, standardized root mean square residual; RMSEA, root mean square error of approximation; AIC, Akaika information criterion; BIC, Bayes information criterion; ECVI, expected cross-validation index.

^aC.I., confidence interval.

fit functions and the parsimony principle are often used jointly in SEM to select the model most befitting the data among several competing models tested (Schumacker, 2006). Model B’s predictive fit indices, AIC, BIC, and ECVI, all point out that it fits the data better relative to Model A. Additionally, the literature suggests that researchers examine local fit in their models, in addition to global fit measures (Bollen, 1989; Cudeck & Browne, 1993; Tomarken & Waller, 2005). Therefore, we proceeded to test the significance of critically important paths of influence in Models A and B, namely those associated with the cross-lag effects between job satisfaction and vigor. As can be seen in Fig. 1, in Model A several paths connecting vigor and job satisfaction, including the two cross-lagged paths, from T1 vigor to T2 job satisfaction and from T1 job satisfaction to T2 vigor, were not significant. In Model B, the cross-legged effect from T1 job satisfaction to T2 vigor was significant. Therefore, based on three major considerations, lack of local fit in Model A (nonsignificant paths), the predictive fits indices, and the parsimony principle, Model B was considered as fitting the data better and most parsimonious relative to either Models A and C.

Models B and C are not strictly equivalent models because they produced grossly unequal χ^2 . However, they both represent the cross-lagged effects by negative β values, often encountered in panel studies (Kessler & Greenberg, 1981, p. 79). As pointed out by Kessler and Greenberg (1981), interpreting these cross-lagged effects necessitate taking into consideration the baseline levels of vigor and job satisfaction. Thus, for Model B, the total effect of T1 job satisfaction on T2 vigor was $\beta = 0.65$, and the indirect effect was $\beta = 0.80$, both positive. A simple interpretation of the negative cross-level

effect found for Model B is that the higher the T1 level of job satisfaction, the less powerful its impact on T2 level of vigor (cf. Bentler & Huba, 1979). The net effect of T2 job satisfaction on T2 vigor excluding the effects of T1 job satisfaction on T2 vigor is only $\beta = 0.18$ (0.36–0.18).

DISCUSSION

Our major objective in this study was to systematically investigate the direction of influence between vigor and job satisfaction, thereby providing a better understanding of the nature of affect–attitude relations. We found support for the measurement models for job satisfaction and for vigor. We were also able to support the discriminate validity of vigor and job satisfaction. Job satisfaction represents a construct having evaluative and affective components (Brief, 1998; Judge et al., 2001; Weiss et al., 1999). We provided evidence supporting our view that the two constructs are separate and different constructs.

Our theoretical model, Model A, expected vigor and job satisfaction to be reciprocally related, both within and across time. We compared this model with two alternative models, Model B and Model C, expecting job satisfaction to recursively predict vigor and vigor to recursively predict job satisfaction, respectively, and with another model, Model D, expecting their relationships to be due to an unmeasured latent factor, possibly representing positive affectivity. To test the four models, we used a two-wave longitudinal design, which allowed for testing of across-time effects, comparing the fit with the data of these models via SEM. We found that the model that fit the data best and most parsimoniously was Model B that included both contemporaneous and unidirectional effects of job satisfaction on vigor at T1 and T2. This was true despite the greater stability across time of vigor as compared with job satisfaction, stability that probably acted to reduce the likelihood of finding an approximate, or exact fit for Model B. Based on the χ^2 difference test, we concluded that Models C and D did not fit the data as well as Model A. Based on the parsimony principle and all the predictive fit indices, we concluded that Model B fit the data better relative to Model A. Additionally, Model A, our theoretical model, which hypothesized a contemporaneous and across-time reciprocal interconnect-edness between vigor and job satisfaction, did not demonstrate local fit. That is, most of the paths of influence relevant to the hypothesis were found to be statistically insignificant. Therefore, we concluded that our findings provide support to Model B fitting the data better relative to the alternative

models considered here. Hence, it follows that job satisfaction could be viewed as a psychological mechanism mediating between individuals' job-related experiences and their affective and behavioral responses.

Limitations, Strengths, and Future Directions

First, it is important to note that the sample of participants undergoing a periodic health examination that we used may not be representative of the general population. Most of our respondents were white-collar workers with an above-average level of education who generally exhibited good health behavior patterns: they smoked little and exercised regularly. Future attempts to replicate the findings for the less-resilient strata of the general population may find that in these segments relatively higher levels of negative affects, like depression and anxiety, overshadow and eclipse the relationships between job satisfaction and the positive affective states found in our study (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, & Vohs, 2001).

About half of the study participants from Time 1 did not report back at Time 2. This dropout rate could be considered a limitation of the current study and a cause for an attrition bias. However, it should be noted that most of the study participants were employees, for whom the periodic health examination was a fringe benefit received from their employer. A Time 2 no-show could reflect the employer of a T1 respondent withdrawing this benefit or offering it at another health examination center; a Time 1 respondent changing his or her residence or place of employment; a Time 1 respondent retiring before Time 2. Attrition is a serious concern when it is nonrandom (that is, when those leaving the panel have characteristics that are systematically different from those who remain). There is no indication that this is the case in this study. Moreover, we systematically tested for the major relevant predictors of attrition bias (like having a chronic disease or being near retirement age in T1) and controlled for them in the analyses (cf. the exclusion criteria explained in the Methods section).

Another major limitation of our research stems from the fact that we used a longitudinal design based on only two waves of measurement changes. Though our design has obvious advantages over testing cross-sectional relations because it controls for the confounding influence of time invariant common causes, it has inherent validity problems and cannot provide information on the precise nature of intraindividual change over time (Chan, 2003). At least three waves of measurement are needed to plot individual growth curves, which may include linear as well as curvilinear

terms. We recommend the use of a multiwave repeated measurement within a longitudinal design in future research in this area to allow for the assessment of the unfolding of individual change over time. Additionally, for each of the models assessed in our study there are probably several equivalent models that we did not test (Tomarken & Waller, 2003), such as models that reverse the causal paths hypothesized between the instrumental and endogenous variables in our models. Also, conclusively demonstrating causality between job satisfaction and positive affective states requires active control or manipulation of our endogenous variables rather than the correlational data that we used.

In the analysis of cross-wave effects, the specification of an appropriate time lag is critical (Finkel, 1995), but past longitudinal studies provide no indication regarding the time lag most befitting unraveling the directionality of job-satisfaction relationships with positive affective states. We assessed both vigor and job satisfaction based on one's affective experience over several weeks; therefore a lag-time of several months between T1 and T2 appears justified. Still, future research may adopt a developmental perspective, following organizational newcomers from their point of entry over different time lags, thus investigating the time lag most appropriate for the assessment of changes in job satisfaction and positive affective states.

In addition, future research need to focus on models of job-satisfaction relationships with positive affective states that are different and more elaborate than the one tested here. The unidirectional effects of job satisfaction on vigor need to be constructively replicated using other positive affective states, such as vitality, enthusiasm, and joy (Egloff, Schmukle, Kohlman, Burns, & Hock, 2003; Ryan & Frederick, 1997). We selected two of the Big Five factors, extraversion and openness to experience, as instrumental variables based on prior theory and evidence supporting their being antecedents of positive affective states. Our instrumental variables had the advantage of representing variables generalizable to other samples, settings, and multiwave designs. Moreover, as is evident from Table 1, the various correlations between extraversion, openness and vigor significantly exceeded the correlation depicting the association with job satisfaction. Nevertheless, there is still a need to replicate our findings with other instrumental variables that uniquely predict only their corresponding endogenous variable.

Along with the limitations discussed above, our study has several major strengths. Among these is the use of a special application of structural equation modeling to a longitudinal data set, a combination considered to

be the most appropriate for testing reciprocal relations (James & Tetrick, 1986; Wong & Law, 1999). Additionally, we analyzed a fairly large sample of apparently healthy employed people, excluding from our sample participants with chronic disease and those taking antipsychotic medications or antidepressants and other types of drugs known to affect vigor and job-satisfaction levels. To the best of our knowledge, these or similar exclusion criteria were not applied in past research. Finally, in χ^2 tests of differences for nested models, as conducted in our study, small sample sizes tend to favor more parsimonious models, whereas large sample sizes tend to favor less-parsimonious models (Tomarken & Waller, 2003, p. 591). In this study, we obtained a better fit for the more parsimonious model using a fairly large sample.

The present study suggests a number of interesting additional avenues for future research. As indicated, a multiple-wave longitudinal study is needed to explore intraindividual changes in the two constructs investigated here. Future research may add common causal determinants of both vigor and job satisfaction to the model tested here, like variables reflecting stable job and organizational features, thus obviating the need to model the effect of “third variables,” as we did in Model D.

In conclusion, despite its limitations, this study has revealed, for the first time, the nature of the association between vigor and job satisfaction. It provides support for the proposition that job satisfaction reflects antecedent affective reactions to the job (e.g., Locke, 1976). As explained in our introductory part, employees’ positive affective states have the potential to contribute to their health, psychological coping resources, and prosocial behaviors. Understanding the antecedents of the positive affect of vigor, including the antecedent role of job satisfaction, contributes to the pool of practical knowledge regarding possibilities of inducing and strengthening vigor. If replicated in additional longitudinal studies, and in larger and more representative samples, these findings may have important implications with regard to our understanding of the relationships between affective states and evaluative attitudes.

NOTES

1. The SMVM, norms relating to it, and instructions concerning its use are downloadable from the following site: <http://www.shirom.org> or <http://www.tau.ac.il/~ashirom>
2. The detailed results are available from the first author upon request.

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CHAPTER 5

THE SECRET LIFE OF MOOD: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF UNCONSCIOUS AFFECT AT WORK

Stefanie K. Johnson and Camille S. Johnson

ABSTRACT

The influence of affect has become a hot topic in organizational research. This chapter seeks to expand the conceptualization of affect at work to include the role of unconscious affect. In this chapter, we review current research and theory on unconscious affect and extend those findings to organizationally relevant situations. We propose several antecedents, moderators, and outcomes of unconscious affect at work.

INTRODUCTION

Within work contexts, organizations have long sought to manage the behavioral and cognitive experiences of employees. Increasingly, however, research has suggested that employees' affective experiences are also important, prompting what has been called an "affective revolution" in organizational behavior (Barsade, Brief, & Spataro, 2003). For example, research on emotional regulation (Gross, 1998), emotional labor (Grandey, 2000), affectivity as a personality trait (e.g., Cropanzano, James, & Konovsky, 1993),

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and affect at work (Cropanzano et al., 1993; Judge & Ilies, 2004; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996) have enriched our understanding of organizational members as more than “cognitive stick figures,” recognizing the importance of individuals’ affective experience at work (Mowdy & Sutton, 1993, p. 197).

Although research on affective experiences in work contexts is flourishing, such research has overlooked the role of unconscious affective experiences. For example, Affective Events Theory (AET, Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996) assumes that a cognitive evaluation of affective events causes affective reactions, which, in turn, build up over time to impact attitudinal judgments and behavior. Yet, increasingly, those interested in understanding affective experiences have begun to recognize that affective experiences may occur outside of conscious awareness (Bargh, 2001; Brief, 2001; Brief & Weiss, 2002; Cacioppo, Priester, & Berntson, 1993; Kihlstrom, 1987). In fact, LeDoux (2000) suggests that *most* cognitive and affective processes occur below consciousness, with only selected thoughts and feelings reaching awareness. Thus, by focusing exclusively on consciously experienced affect, a substantial influence on the overall workplace experience remains neglected.

The current chapter begins to address this gap by examining the potential organizational implications of *unconscious affect*. First, we define unconscious affect within the context of current research and theory on affect and describe the antecedents of unconscious affect. Second, we describe the conditions under which unconscious affect is most likely to be influential. Third, we discuss the organizational implications of unconscious affect. In doing so, we suggest that characteristics of the physical and social environment influence unconscious affect at work. Individual differences (positive and negative affectivity, susceptibility to emotional contagion, and emotional intelligence) directly affect unconscious affect and moderate the relationship between the environment and unconscious affect. Finally, unconscious affect influences workplace attitudes and behavior through the misattribution of mood and affective associations. Our model is illustrated in Fig. 1.

WHAT IS UNCONSCIOUS AFFECT?

Automatic processes have typically been defined as having four fundamental characteristics: effortless, outside of awareness, uncontrollable, and unintended (Bargh, 1994). Here, we focus on awareness as the primary

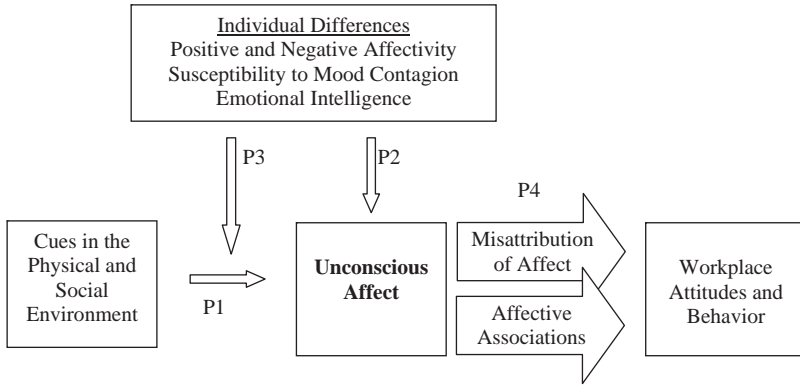


Fig. 1. Model of Unconscious Affect at Work.

characteristic of unconscious affect. We define unconscious affect as any occurrence of affect about which an individual is unaware. Unconscious affect lacks a clear source or referent and, therefore, does not arise from a conscious appraisal process (Lazarus, 1991). Therefore, unconscious affect shares characteristics with mood and varies along a single continuum from negative to positive (Forgas, 1992; Frijda, 1993; Lazarus, 1991; Zajonc, 1980, 1998, 2000), as opposed to sharing characteristics with discrete emotions, which may vary in intensity and be directed at a target (Frijda, 1993). Although unconscious affect is outside of awareness, this is not to say that unconscious affect cannot become conscious. That is, in our focus on affect in work contexts, we suggest that unconscious affect is not easily recognized by individuals. But under some conditions, and with specific interventions, the influence of unconscious affect on behaviors and attitudes can be recognized and controlled (e.g., Berridge & Winkielman, 2003; Winkielman, Zajonc, & Schwarz, 1997).

ANTECEDENTS OF UNCONSCIOUS AFFECT

The origins of unconscious affect may lie in cues present in the environment, which may or may not be consciously recognized. However, in order for environmental elements to result in unconscious affect, the influence of those elements must not be recognized (Bargh & Chartrand, 2000). We propose that there are three main ways that stimuli can result in unconscious affect. First, an individual might consciously observe the stimulus, but not

recognize the influence that the stimulus may have on his or her affect (Wilson & Brekke, 1994). Second, the stimulus can result in residual unconscious affect, after the initial affect has been consciously experienced. This is similar to supraliminal priming, in which the stimulus is consciously experienced but the long-term influence is not recognized (Bargh & Chartrand, 2000). Third, the cue producing the affective response may not be consciously perceived. This would be similar to subliminal priming (Bargh & Chartrand, 2000).

As an illustration of these processes, imagine that a woman is driving to work and a sad song comes on the radio. This sad song could result in an unconsciously negative mood in several different ways. First, the woman may recognize that the song is sad, but not recognize that the song has had, or can have, and influence on her own affective state. As a result, she would be unable to recognize the influence of the song on her affective state or correct for that influence (Wilson & Brekke, 1994). Alternatively, unconscious affect may arise from a residual mood effect. Upon hearing the song, the woman may experience negative affect and attribute it to the song. At that moment, her negative mood is conscious and the source is recognized. However, after the song is over, she may not recognize the residual effects of that song on her mood. Thus, the influence of the sad song on her mood is now outside of her awareness and she would be experiencing unconscious negative affect (Bargh & Chartrand, 2000).

Third, through implicit priming, the sad song could influence her mood if she is not consciously aware of the song's presence. For example, if she were preoccupied by other matters, she might not even realize that the song has played. Alternatively, the music may be on at such a low volume that the woman does not consciously experience the song, but is able to hear it at a subliminal level. Such subliminal cues frequently influence moods and can create unconscious affect (Bargh & Chartrand, 2000). Within the workplace, the physical and social environments are rich with affective influences that may create unconscious affect through each of these processes.

The Physical Environment

In the workplace, the physical environment may be filled with a variety of sensory inputs that can influence affect. Both obvious and less-obvious elements may be influential. For example, an abrasive supervisor or an irritating noise (Nagar & Pandey, 1987) are obvious sources of a negative affect in the work context, which individuals are likely to recognize at the

time of exposure. However, such sources may lead unconscious affect because individuals fail to understand how long moods can endure. On the other hand, some environmental factors may be more likely to influence unconscious affect through subliminal processes or because individuals fail to understand that these elements can have an effect. For example, over time workers may believe that they are immune to the influences of the physical environment or cease to notice the presence of environmental elements such as music (May & Hamilton, 1980; Oldham, Cummings, Mischel, Schmidtke, & Zhou, 1995), weather/climate (Cunningham, 1979), and scents (Baron, 1983; Zillmann, Baron, & Tamborini, 1981) which have all been linked to mood.

The Social Environment

Culture

The social environment also contains cues that may elicit unconscious affect. These cues include elements of the organizational culture and the other individuals within the workplace. In terms of the cultural environment, organizations have very different norms and expectations about the expression of moods and emotions. This climate, which generally refers to employees' affective reactions to the workplace (Reichers & Schneider, 1990) is likely to influence employees' affect at work, including their unconscious affect. De Rivera (1992) specifically refers to the emotional climate as "an objective group phenomenon that can be palpably sensed – as when one enters a party or a city and feels an attitude of gaiety or depression, openness or fear" (p. 197). For example, Ashkanasy and Nicholson (2003) demonstrated that organizational members were influenced by a climate of fear, which was shared among employees. Although individuals likely vary in the extent to which they experience affective climate consciously or unconsciously, we expect that at least some of the influence of climate is experienced at an unconscious level.

Similarly, the culture, or collection of employees' beliefs, values, and embedded assumptions (Schein, 1985) can influence employee affective reactions to the workplace. As part of the culture, expectations for emotional labor (Hargreaves, 2000) may impact unconscious affect in the same way that it influences conscious mood and emotions. When organizations require employees to create positive displays of emotion (Hochschild, 1983), we expect that employees will build up higher levels of negative unconscious affect, through the suppression of those negative

moods and emotions (Wegner, Erber, & Zanakos, 1993). Indeed, previous research suggests that empowering employees to manage their own emotions enhances organizational effectiveness (Fineman, 2006; Lashley, 1997; Noon & Blyton, 1997; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989).

Other aspects of organizational culture may also influence individuals' unconscious affect. For example, working in an organization where bullying, violence, sexual harassment, and downsizing are the norm, is likely to lead to more negative emotions at work (Fineman, 2003). Many of these moods and emotions will be conscious. But, we expect that some of the resulting affect will operate or linger below the individual's level of awareness; in which case that affect will be unconscious. For example, one may not realize that the recent threat of downsizing is causing him or her to experience negative affect each day at work.

However, the influence of organizational culture is not limited to negative affect. Individuals who work in "healthy organizations" with a very positive culture are likely to experience more positive moods and emotions (Cooper & Williams, 1994). Similarly, organizational leaders can have a substantial influence on employees' experienced moods and emotions (Dasborough, 2006; Johnson, 2008). For example, leaders have the ability to reduce the impact of negative affective events on follower reactions (Pescosolido, 2002) and performance (Pirola-Merlo, Härtel, Mann, & Hirst, 2002).

Co-Worker Moods

The mood of co-workers can be a potent source of unconscious affect through mood contagion (often called emotional contagion). Mood contagion is the unconscious transfer of mood between individuals, such as when the negative mood of one individual leads co-workers to feel more negative (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1992). One reason such contagion occurs is because individuals have an automatic and unconscious tendency to mimic and synchronize the facial expressions, vocalizations, postures, and movements of others. The unintentional process of imitating other behaviors, called motor mimicry (Bavelas, Black, Lemery, & Mullet, 1987; Chartrand & Bargh, 1999), cues individuals to feel the emotion that he or she is mimicking (Friedman & Riggio, 1981). Specifically, research has shown that exhibition of facial expression associated with specific moods can elicit the corresponding emotion (Adelmann & Zajonc, 1989; Laird & Bresler, 1992; Larsen & Kasimatis, 1990; Strack, Martin, & Stepper, 1988). Further, individuals need not even be able to identify the mood of the person they are mimicking in order for mood contagion to occur (Neuman & Strack, 2000).

Therefore, mood contagion is likely to influence unconscious mood through subliminal processing because it occurs unconsciously.

Although mood contagion may occur between any two individuals, it may be more likely in work contexts. For example, mood contagion is more likely to occur in groups that resemble well-functioning work-units: mood contagion is more prevalent among groups that have high task and social interdependence, membership stability, mood regulation norms (Bartel & Saavedra, 2000) and when the groups are more cooperative and experience lower conflict (Barsade, 1995, 2002). Mood contagion is also more likely to occur for individuals who are older and more committed to their groups (Totterdell, 2000; Totterdell, Kellett, Teuchmann, & Briner, 1998), as well as for individuals who self-report being more susceptible to mood contagion (Totterdell, 2000). More recent work has also examined the potential for organizational leaders to influence their followers' moods through mood contagion (Bono & Ilies, 2006; Cherulnik, Donley, Wiewel, & Miller, 2001; Johnson, 2008; Johnson, in press; Lewis, 2000; Sy, Côté, & Saavedra, 2005).

Proposition 1. The physical environment (e.g., sound, scents, temperature) and social environment (e.g., culture, mood contagion) will influence unconscious affect.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

Although environmental factors can influence and promote unconscious affect, characteristics of the individual may also influence the development of unconscious affect. These differences should moderate the relationship between environmental factors and the tendency for one to experience unconscious affect. Further, they can have direct effects on one's experience of unconscious affect. In addition to positive and negative affectivity, which have been shown to influence affect at work (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996), other personality traits may be more specifically linked to unconscious affect. Specifically, we focus on susceptibility to emotional contagion and emotional intelligence.

Positive and Negative Affectivity

One way in which unconscious affect arises is through supraliminal priming. Thus, individual differences in the likelihood of experiencing conscious

positive or negative affect should influence the likelihood of experiencing unconscious positive or negative affect. For example, individuals high in positive affectivity, because they experience greater conscious positive affect, should experience more unconscious positive affect. Similarly, those high in negative affectivity should experience more unconscious negative affect (Tellegen, 1982, 1985; Watson & Pennebaker, 1989).

Susceptibility to Mood Contagion

Given that mood contagion is one of the proposed antecedents of unconscious affect, we expect that individuals' susceptibility to mood contagion will moderate the relationship between the social environment and individuals' experience of unconscious affect. Indeed, Hatfield et al. (1992) suggest that individuals differ in their susceptibility to mood contagion. Susceptible persons generally pay closer attention to others' emotional expressions, are better able to read others' emotional expressions, and tend to feel that they are more similar to or interrelated with other persons, than individuals who are less susceptible to mood contagion (Doherty, 1997). Further, susceptible persons tend to be higher in motor mimicry, the unintentional process of imitating others' facial, vocal, and postural expressions (Bavelas et al., 1987; Chartrand & Bargh, 1999; Doherty, 1997). Other factors related to susceptibility include genetics, gender, early experiences, and personality. We suggest that persons who are more susceptible to mood contagion will be more likely to experience unconscious affect as a result of mood contagion.

Emotional Intelligence

While susceptibility to contagion increases the likelihood of experiencing unconscious affect, increased emotional intelligence should be associated with a reduced likelihood of experiencing unconscious affect. Individuals high in emotional intelligence are more aware of their feelings and better able to regulate their feelings. For example, in their model of emotional intelligence, Mayer and Salovey (1997) suggest that emotional intelligence consists of the ability to detect emotions in the self and others, the ability to use emotions, the ability to understand emotions, and the ability to manage emotions in oneself and others.¹ If one is likely to recognize his or her

affective experiences, those experiences are more likely to become conscious and individuals can regulate those feelings.

Proposition 2. Individual differences (e.g., affectivity, susceptibility to emotional contagion, emotional intelligence) will influence the extent to which individual experience unconscious affect.

Proposition 3. Individual differences (e.g., affectivity, susceptibility to emotional contagion, emotional intelligence) will moderate the effect of environmental and social cues on the experience of unconscious affect.

CONSEQUENCES OF UNCONSCIOUS AFFECT

Unconscious affect can have important and unique effects within organizational contexts, including effects on organizational attitudes and performance. In the following sections, we describe two processes by which unconscious affect may influence attitudes and behaviors in ways that would not be predicted by conscious affect.

Affective Associations

The first way that unconscious affect can influence attitudes is by building up over time through classical conditioning. Classical conditioning occurs when an unconditioned response to an unconditioned stimulus becomes associated with a conditioned stimulus. Research on affective learning has shown that emotional responses can be learned and acquired through these processes (Gouaux, 1971; Zanna, Kiesler, & Pilkonis, 1970). For example, imagine working for an abrasive and derogating supervisor. Interactions with that supervisor may elicit negative feelings which may be conscious or unconscious. This would be an unconditioned response to an unconditioned stimulus. If those feelings are consistently evoked when one interacts with his or her supervisor, the individual may begin to experience negative affect whenever he or she sees the supervisor, even if the supervisor is not behaving badly. Moreover, the individual may begin to associate that negative emotional state, not just with the supervisor, but with the work context in general. That is, the conditioned response of negative affect may arise in the presence of the stimuli associated with the original stimulus (the supervisor). Although classical conditioning could create affective associations leading

to conscious affect, as well as unconscious, the learning of such associations is often unconscious and outside of awareness, therefore we would expect that unconscious affect is more likely to arise in these situations.

The Misattribution of Mood

Once unconscious affect has been elicited, it may exert influence over attitudes and behaviors through a variety of processes. For instance, affect may influence how individuals perceive and evaluate unrelated stimuli in their environment. General affective states can serve as information, with individuals treating those generalized states as indicative of their feelings toward a given stimulus (Schwarz, 1990). That is, unconscious affect may color how individuals evaluate stimuli or lead to misattribution of the unconscious affect to the unrelated stimuli. For example, imagine coworkers attending a company picnic on a sunny, beautiful day and listening to a motivational speech from a company leader. The weather and other environmental cues may cause them to experience positive affect. If later asked how they felt about each other or the company, they might conclude that their positive experience was a result of liking each other and the company, rather than attributing the positive experience to the weather. Thus, their attitudes toward the company might be improved as a result of exposure to an unrelated stimulus, sunny weather. If, however, the source of the affective experience is correctly identified (the weather), then the misattribution is less likely to occur.

As an example, in a classic study, men who were experiencing unexplainable arousal found a woman interaction partner to be more attractive (Dutton & Aron, 1974). In this study, male pedestrians were asked to complete a survey by an attractive female researcher. This request was made either when the pedestrians were at the middle of a high-altitude pedestrian bridge or at the middle of a low-altitude bridge. After completing the survey, the participants were provided with the researcher's phone number if they wanted to learn more about the survey. When participants met the researcher at the middle of the high-altitude, fear-arousing, bridge, they were more likely to call for additional information than when they met her on the low-altitude bridge. That is, the participants misattributed their arousal to the woman, rather than the bridge. In the workplace, such misattribution of unconscious affect may have serious consequences in performance appraisal situations and in day-to-day interactions. An obvious example would be the misattribution of negative or anxiety-moods

to the attractiveness or romantic availability of a co-worker (Riordan & Tedeschi, 1985). Under more typical circumstances, a negative mood may be misattributed to co-workers performance in meeting or the presentation of subordinates. Thus, unexplained and unnoticed emotional states may influence individuals' attitudes and behaviors toward objects that are irrelevant to those emotional experiences.

IMPLICATIONS OF UNCONSCIOUS AFFECT AT WORK

In addition to describing unconscious affect and the processes by which it arises and influences behavior, our theory of unconscious affect also has implications for workplace interventions and policies. Simply put, if one is aware that unconscious affect may be influencing attitudes and behaviors, one can better craft policies and procedures to influence those attitudes and behavior.

Attitude Change

Job attitudes, such as job satisfaction, may arise from cognitions regarding compensation, fairness, or the job itself. Alternatively, they may arise from behavioral information or emotional responses to the workplace. The balance of such influences on job satisfaction may differ by individual with some individuals basing their job satisfaction more on cognitive aspects, such as beliefs about compensation, whereas others basing their job satisfaction more on behavioral aspects. The basis of one's attitudes is important because attempts to change or influence attitudes are more successful when the basis of that attitude is known. For example, affectively based attitudes are vulnerable to affective means of persuasion, while cognitively based attitudes are more likely to be changed by cognitive arguments (Edwards, 1990; Fabrigar & Petty, 1999). Thus, if an individual experiences negative affect in the workplace and attributes those negative feelings to the work context rather than to a specific stimulus, overall job satisfaction may suffer. Moreover, because the source of that negative affect is unrecognized, efforts to change job satisfaction may be less effective.

Job Performance

In addition, we expect that unconscious moods can influence behavior and job performance. For instance, there is a growing body of evidence that exposure to subliminal (or unconscious) stimuli can influence task-oriented (Lowery, Eisenberger, Hardin, & Sinclair, 2007; Neuberg, 1988; Stapel, & Koomen, 2005) and interpersonal (Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996) behavior. These studies have demonstrated that unconscious activation of goals (Aarts & Dijksterhuis, 2000; Chartrand & Bargh, 1996), stereotypes (Bargh et al., 1996) and traits (Dijksterhuis et al., 1998) can influence a wide range of behaviors including performance on complex cognitive tasks. Stimuli specifically intended to elicit different mood states, have also been shown to influence a wide variety of behaviors in organizational contexts (Forgas & George, 2001), including attentional control (Tamir & Robinson, 2007), creativity (Hirt, Devers, & McCrea, 2008), and achievement-related behaviors (Alter & Forgas, 2007). For example, Winkielman et al. (1997) demonstrated that unconscious affect can influence relatively complex behavior (beverage consumption). Thus, we expect that unconscious affect can also influence motivation and behavior at work. Specifically, we suggest that because positive affect leads to an increase in motivation and motivated behavior whereas negative affect leads to a decrease in motivation and motivated behavior (Winkielman et al., 1997), unconscious affect may influence motivation in completing work-related tasks or interacting with others.

In sum, we suggest that unconscious affect can build up over time, through classical conditioning, to create a paired association between the workplace and a given affective state. The resultant pairing can create opportunities in which the experience of these emotional states and misattributions of these emotional states influence attitudes and behavior.

Proposition 4. Unconscious affect will influence organizational outcomes (attitudes, performance) through the process of affective associations.

Proposition 5. Unconscious affect will influence organizational outcomes (attitudes, performance) through the process of misattribution of mood.

CONCLUSION

In *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962, p. 10) Thomas Kuhn argued that the greatest advances in science do not occur by small progressions in

the accumulation of knowledge, but instead by revolutions in thoughts after which “one conceptual world view is replaced by another.” Although the examination of affective experiences at work may not qualify as a “paradigm shift” from the previous focus on employees’ cognition, a focus on affect at work has expanded our understanding of employee attitudes and behavior. In the current chapter, we seek to further understanding of affect at work by expanding the domain of affect at work to include unconscious affect.

We argue that unconscious affect is unique in that it is more likely to be misattributed to neutral sources and be generalized to the larger work contexts. We suggest that unconscious affect can build up over time, through classically conditioned affective associations with features of the workplace, or the workplace itself. This unconscious affect is proposed to impact attitudes, motivation, and behavior. However, we suggest that because individuals do not realize that they are experiencing the affect, they cannot engage in strategies to regulate or alter their affective states. This lack of awareness may make influenced attitudes particularly difficult to change. Thus, unconscious affect can have strong implications for organizations.

We have also proposed several antecedents of unconscious affect at work and moderators of those antecedents. The authors have no doubt that there are other antecedents of unconscious affect at work, but have chosen to focus on two main drivers (physical and social environment) as a starting point for research in this area. Similarly, the chosen moderators (affectivity, susceptibility to mood contagion, emotional intelligence) do not represent an exhaustive list of the potential personality and other moderators of the relationship between our chosen antecedents and the outcome of unconscious affect.

Needless to say, there are many challenges associated with the study of unconscious affect at work. After all, asking employees to report their moods may bring unconscious moods to the surface. However, there are an increasing number of psychological methods of measuring unconscious associations, emotions, and attitudes (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Haines & Sumner, 2006; Payne, Cheng, Govorun, & Stewart, 2005), as well as physiological measures, and ratings of facial expressions (Ekman & Friesen, 1978). Comparison of these more implicit measures of mood to self-reported mood would further reveal how unconscious affect may predict workplace attitudes, motivation, and behavior beyond the variance accounted for by self-reported mood.

To the extent that unconscious affect does account for additional variance in important organizational outcomes, what can practitioners do with that

information? One suggestion is that given the potential for mis-attributed affect to lead to erroneous associations, understanding the source of unconscious affect can allow individuals to correct for that influence in making judgments (Clore & Parrott, 1991, 1994; Schwarz & Bless, 1991; Schwarz & Clore, 1983). For example, in one study Schwarz and Clore (1983) examined the association between the weather and life satisfaction. In one condition they asked participants to first rate their overall life satisfaction and then were asked about the weather. Rainy day participants reported lower satisfaction than sunny day participants. However, when participants were asked about the weather first, and then rated their life satisfaction, the weather did not influence ratings of satisfaction. Thus, when individuals were made aware of the source of their temporary affective state, they were able to correct for that influence in judging their overall life satisfaction. One would think that a similar ability to correct for affective influences, including unconscious affect, would allow individuals to correct for that influence in judging their job satisfaction.

Beyond encouraging individuals to recognize their affect, what are the implications of unconscious affect for managers? Should organizations play pleasant background music or give small gifts to their employees to induce positive unconscious affect? Should employees be hired to express positive affect, and thereby influence others' affect through mood contagion? While a great deal of research remains to be done before concrete organizational implications or suggestions for practice can be outlined, our theory does suggest that considerable benefits may be gained from exploring the affective black box of unconscious affect at work.

NOTE

1. A related construct, mood awareness, or meta-mood, also relates to the extent to which one pays attention to his or her own moods and emotions (Salovey, Mayer, Goldman, Turvey, & Palfai, 1995; Swinkels & Giuliano, 1995).

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CHAPTER 6

EMOTIONAL DEVIANCE AND ORGANIZATIONAL DISCIPLINE: A STUDY OF EMOTIONS IN GRIEVANCE ARBITRATION

Wilfred J. Zerbe

ABSTRACT

One of the mechanisms by which organizations promote adherence to requirements that employees display appropriate emotions is the use of discipline to punish emotional deviance. This study analyzed selected cases, in unionized settings, where the imposition of discipline had been grieved and culminated in arbitration. Analysis of these cases showed that emotional deviance was most often characterized as rudeness and a lack of courtesy, which took the form of inappropriate displays of anger and hostility, and failure to display interest, concern, and caring. Although some deviance was not excusable, when employee deviance was the result of unprovoked customer emotion this mitigated the assignment of blame. Employees were sometimes found to lack awareness of display rules or how to follow them, and were expected to defuse customer emotion. While discipline is seen as one mechanism for formally controlling emotional deviance, its effectiveness may be limited, particularly in situations where employees are likely to encounter strong negative customer emotion.

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INTRODUCTION

Credit for the recent rise of research on emotions in organizations is due to the contributions of Hochschild (1983), whose central theme was that organizations use the emotions of employees for financial gain, and hence that they invoke policies and practices to promote particular emotional displays. Hochschild examined attempts by airlines to control the display of cheerfulness among flight attendants, and subsequently Van Maanen and Kunda (1989) studied the control of positive emotional display by amusement park employees, and Sutton (1991) examined attempts by organizations to control the frustration experienced by bill collectors (c.f. Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987, 1989). The control of emotional expression by organizations is sometimes referred to as “emotional labor” (e.g. Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003), whereas others reserve that term to denote various combinations of possible disagreement between emotions displayed, emotions experienced, and emotions expected (see, for example, Callahan & McCollum, 2002; Rubin, Tardino, Daus, & Munz, 2005; Zerbe, 2000). Hochschild defined emotional labor as “the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display; emotional labor is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value” (1983, p. 7). Similarly, Ashforth and Humphrey (1995) defined emotional labor as “the act of displaying appropriate emotion (i.e., conforming with a display rule)” (1995, p. 90).

Because emotional labor has value for the organization, organizations create both formal and informal “display rules” to promote particular emotional expression, and they seek to control that display through such practices as recruitment and selection, training, socialization, rewards, punishments, and cultural control (e.g. Fineman & Sturdy, 1999; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1990; Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988; Hochschild, 1983; Wharton, 1993; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989; Meyerson, 1990; Sutton, 1991). Morris and Feldman have commented that “these organizational attempts to control and direct how employees display emotions to customers” represent “an under-researched, yet critical, aspect of the literature on emotions in organizational life” (1996, p. 986). The focus of this chapter is on the most extreme of control mechanisms – the use by organizations of formal disciplinary procedures to punish employees whose behavior deviates from organizational expectations. In doing so firms attempt to prevent emotional deviance. The objective of this chapter is to better understand the dynamics surrounding emotional deviance that results in discipline and the role of discipline as a mechanism for the control of employee emotional display.

As Domagalski (1999) has said: “Moreover, treatment of rule breakers in the organizational literature has been sparse and superficial. It is time to move beyond our passing references to those who cross the occupational and organizational emotion boundaries to empirical examinations of norm violators. We should want to know something about the contexts in which individuals push at the margins of emotion norms, something about the characteristics of those who issue challenges, and what types of outcomes ensue” (1999, p. 846). In the following sections, emotional deviance is further defined and situated within the general case of employee deviance and organizational mechanisms that seek to control employee behavior. Finally, an analysis is presented of selected cases where emotional deviance resulted in discipline that was formally grieved and arbitrated.

Emotional Deviance

Emotional deviance occurs when there is disagreement between the emotions that employees display and those the organization prescribes (c.f. Thoits, 1990; Zerbe, 2000).¹ In contrast, much of the emotional labor literature focuses on “emotional dissonance,” which is disagreement between felt and displayed emotions and on its consequences for employee well-being. Examples of emotional deviance include the failure of flight attendants to smile at passengers (Hochschild, 1983), amusement park employees to behave cheerfully (Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989), bill collectors to behave aggressively toward delinquent debtors (Sutton, 1991), health care employees to behave as concerned and caring (Mann, 2005; Smith & Gray, 2000; c.f. McClure & Murphy, 2007), service employees to smile at customers and clients (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987, 1989; Wharton, 1993), and call center agents to display courtesy and interest (Zapf, Isic, Bechtoldt, & Blau, 2003).

Emotional deviance is a special case of employee deviance, which Robinson and Bennett (1995) define as “voluntary behavior that violates significant organizational norms and in so doing threatens the well-being of an organization, its members, or both” (1995, p. 556). Using a multi-dimensional scaling analysis of instances of deviance, Robinson and Bennett identified four categories of employee deviance falling on two dimensions: Organizational versus Interpersonal and Minor versus Serious. “Property Deviance,” which represented serious organizationally related deviance, included offenses such as theft from the company, lying about hours worked, and sabotage. “Production Deviance,” which represented minor organizationally related deviance, included leaving early, working slowly, or

taking excessive breaks. "Personal Aggression," which represented serious interpersonal deviance, included sexual harassment, theft from employees, and verbal abuse. "Political Deviance," which represented minor interpersonal deviance, included favoritism, gossiping, and blaming. Although Robinson and Bennett did not explicitly examine failure to conform to emotion display rules, they did include the item "employees acting foolish in front of customer," which is similar to emotional deviance, and which fell on the boundary between Production Deviance and Political Deviance. Emotional deviance is best thought of as an example of minor deviance which has both organizational and interpersonal elements. For the moment, and for the purpose of this study, it is helpful to distinguish between emotional deviance as a relatively minor phenomenon that includes elements of both Production Deviance (not performing up to the standard) and Political Deviance (behaving inappropriately). Had Robinson and Bennett included descriptions of emotional deviance in their scaling study, it is conceivable that emotional deviance directed toward customers would fall in the former category and that directed toward coworkers in the latter.

Organizational Control of Employee Emotions

Previous studies of the organizational use of discipline have examined specific performance problems and responses (Arvey & Jones, 1985), supervisor use of discipline, (Arvey & Jones, 1985; Balser & Stern, 1999; Miner & Brewer, 1976; Wohlking, 1975), and the effect on performance of evaluation and discipline (Beyer & Trice, 1984; O'Reilly & Weitz, 1980). "Performance" in these studies has not, however, included the display of emotion by employees.

Hollinger and Clark (1982), in an earlier examination of employee deviance, describe the "social processes and structures tending to prevent and reduce deviance" (Cohen, 1966, p. 39) that underlie the social control model of behavior that they say lies at the heart of organizational control efforts (Etzioni, 1967, 1975): "Since deviant activity by organization members can interfere with the achievement of expressed goals and objectives, formal organizations have a vested interest in minimizing the prevalence of employee deviance" (Hollinger & Clark, 1982, p. 334). They cite Clinard and Meier's (1979) identification of two fundamental sources of social control. The first comes about through the internalization of group norms "wherein conformity to norms comes about through ... socialization," and the second as "social reaction through external pressures in the form of sanctions from others" (Clinard & Meier, 1979, p. 19). External

sanctions in turn have two sources: informal and formal social controls. Consistent with Weber's (1947) "legal-rational authority," Hollinger and Clark say that "formal social controls operate via the regularized bureaucratic rules and corresponding sanctions established by those in power within the work organization. Complex organizations rely upon formally instituted negative sanctions such as dismissal, demotion, and suspension to encourage conformity with organizational behavior expectations. Deviant members of the work organization are thereby singled out and labeled via these formal social control mechanisms" (1982, p. 334). It is these negative sanctions, applied to emotional deviance, that are the focus of this chapter.

METHOD

The following sections describe the background of the approach to understanding emotional display employed in this study, the context of grievance arbitration awards, and the specific procedures employed in this study.

Using Arbitration Narratives to Study Emotion

Sturdy (2003) makes the point that, although the field of emotion overall is getting more attention, "little attention has been given to emotion methodologically – if it is so important, how and what might we research and what issues and problems are implied? Such concerns are especially problematic, however, as emotion is, in many respects, considered unknowable" (p. 82). Sturdy explores methodological approaches and dilemmas associated with the characteristics of emotion and, although he does not use such terms, the methodological issues he raises generally concern the validity and reliability of our measurement of emotion. The crux of the issue, he says, citing Gerth and Mills (1953), is that "sometimes, even often, we do not know directly, nor can we name, what we ourselves feel, let alone know others' feelings" (Gerth & Mills, 1953, p. 50). The aim, asks Sturdy, "is to overcome subjects' defensive strategies such as denial and producing rationalized, generalized or intellectualized, rather than felt, accounts." One approach, advocated for example by Fineman (1993), is to attempt to "capture emotion in process" through "methodological ingenuity," including personal observation and "narratives based on live dialogue, stories, observations, diary accounts, [and] taped personal musings" (Fineman, 1993, p. 222).

The data source employed here is an example of such narratives. Specifically, to understand the dynamics underlying emotional deviance that leads to discipline and the use of discipline in controlling emotional deviance, accounts or observations of instances where deviance and discipline co-occur must be found. One source for such accounts is the written decisions of arbitrators in cases where, in unionized settings, employees are disciplined, the imposition of discipline is formally grieved, and the grievance proceeds to the final stage of investigation and decision by an arbitrator or arbitration panel.

Grievance Arbitration²

The cornerstone of the unionized work setting is the collective agreement. Indeed it is this document that constitutes the union and forms the basis for the relationship between its members and the employer. Collective agreements govern many aspects of the employment relationship and these provisions may be the subject of disagreement during the term of the agreement. "There is a statutory requirement for every collective agreement to provide an arbitration procedure for the resolution of rights disputes arising under the agreement. The primacy of arbitration under collective agreement is backed up by a statutory prohibition against strikes during the term of the agreement, even over matters not dealt with in the agreement. It is also backed up by the refusal of the courts to entertain wrongful dismissal actions by unionized employees" (Adell, 1993). A grievance is an alleged violation of the collective agreement and a grievance can be launched by either the Union or the Employer. Grievance arbitration procedures have some variation between different agreements, but generally follow a staged process from informal verbal discussion, to written exchanges, and culminating in a final stage in which the parties agree to abide by the decision of an agreed third party (the arbitrator). Arbitrators, while bound by the provisions of the collective agreement and general law, have considerable latitude. In particular, they tend to follow precedents as recorded in previous arbitration cases, which come to constitute arbitral law. Their latitude, however, generally stems from the need for collective agreements, to be workable, to possess some ambiguity, and lack of specificity. For example most collective agreements state that employers can impose discipline for "just and sufficient cause." Yet it is neither efficient nor effective to have to specify in the collective agreement every possible scenario as to what is just. Thus, as Trudeau (2002) says, "The field in which arbitrators have enjoyed the greatest freedom from general law relates to disciplinary measures" (2002,

p. 40). Arbitrators, then, are called on to decide if discipline is warranted and what discipline is warranted. In doing so, arbitrators both reflect and shape how organizations control employee behavior.

Mills and Dalton (1994) examined the particular case of labor arbitration in the service sector, and argued that disputes pertaining to performance evaluation can be expected to be more prevalent and to stimulate more grievance activity. This is because, while performance issues are generally more ambiguous than other provisions of collective agreements, the imprecise nature of many activities performed by service workers creates even greater uncertainty. Further, the necessary but unpredictable involvement of customers in the creation of the service experience makes the definition of “good” performance (and in the case of discipline, “bad” performance) up to greater interpretation.

Finally, of importance to this chapter is the fact that the decisions of arbitrators in Canada are a matter of public record. These reports are filed in the jurisdiction, usually the province, which governs the collective agreement (in Canada Labour Law is a provincial responsibility, except for federally governed industries, such as communication, transportation, and so on). Although arbitrator decisions vary in format and style and length, they generally describe in more detail the matters to be decided, the terms of the collective agreement that apply, the arguments and evidence relevant to the facts of the case, often including the evidence provided by witnesses, and the arbitrator decision and the reasons for it. Therefore, in cases where the discipline is imposed as a result of failure to abide by expectations regarding behavior toward customers, they are a source of potentially rich data on organizational requirements for emotional display.

Data Identification

Canadian labor arbitration decisions included in the Quicklaw database (LexisNexis Canada, 2008) represented the overall population of cases for this study. This database includes the full-text decisions of federally and provincially³ governed arbitration cases in electronically accessible, full-text form.

As Diefendorff and Richard (2003) say “generally speaking, organizations have the implicit rule that positive emotions should be displayed and negative emotions should not” (2003, p. 284). Thus it is most likely that employees who face discipline are those who expressed negative emotion in violation of organizational expectations, although occupations clearly exist

where the opposite would be the case. Therefore, for the purposes of data identification, the question is how to determine the search terms that would uncover instances of inappropriate expression of negative emotion. Two approaches were taken here: First, prototypical negative emotion descriptors from the emotions literature were identified as search terms, specifically the following words were used: *happiness/happy, elation, surprise, sadness/sad, despair, guilt, shame, fear, anxiety/anxious, anger, angry, and disgust*, as well as the general terms *emotion/emotional*. Second, terms were identified that would be likely to capture an observer's depiction of the inappropriate expression of negative emotion. These were *discourtesy* (and its relatives *discourteous, courtesy, and courteous*) and *rudeness* (and its relatives *rude, polite, impolite*). For all of these search terms, to capture the expression in an interpersonal workplace context, a case was selected for inspection if the term appeared in the proximity (within 10 words) of the words *customer, client, passenger, or patient*.^{4,5}

The use of these search terms produced 507 cases, most spurious. For example, the term *anxiety* coincided with *patient* in grievances set in hospitals where the patient was suffering from a mood disorder, whether or not the grievance involved emotional deviance. Similarly the term "*anxious*" could be used to denote urgency in a general context, "*happy*" could denote general satisfaction, and so on. Or words included in the search could have an alternate meaning (e.g. "*courtesy/customer service desk*"). Therefore, the occurrence of each search term was inspected in the context in which it appeared to identify instances where it was evident that although the search term appeared, the case did not concern emotional deviance. Such cases were rejected. This occurred, for example, as a result of the inclusion in the text of company policies with respect to customer service, which tended to include the search terms as well as other policies, even though the reason for discipline may have concerned something other than emotional deviance (e.g. "treat coworkers, *customers*, visitors and all third parties with respect, *courtesy* and professionalism at all times"), or because the two terms were in proximity but were found in different sentences (e.g. "Medications would be removed from a *patient's* room for refilling or when discontinued. As a *courtesy*, nurses will often pick up medications for other nurses"). Cases were also rejected where there were multiple reasons for the discipline, and emotional deviance was only one of them. For example, a case involving employee theft might be accompanied by an inappropriate display of anger, and the rudeness might be accompanied by intoxication or insubordination. Since in such an instance it would be impossible to separate the treatment of different violations of rules, these cases were also eliminated from those

available for analysis. Similarly, where the inappropriate expression of emotion was strong enough to constitute harassment or verbal or physical abuse, the case was eliminated. In Robinson and Bennett's (1995) typology of workplace deviance, harassment or abuse constitute Personal Aggression or severe interpersonal deviance, inconsistent with the conception of emotional deviance as milder Political Deviance or Production Deviance. Finally a small number of decisions were written in French and so were excluded.

Twenty cases were selected for thorough analysis. The jobs represented in the dataset were of eight types: eight cases involved *customer service representatives* working in either a face-to-face or call centre customer service role (five of these worked for airline firms and three in account management centers), four cases involved *letter carriers* working for Canada Post, three were *cashiers* for supermarkets or in one case a municipality, two were *nurses* working in hospitals, and of the remaining three cases, one involved a *driving test instructor*, one a *bus driver*, and one a *supermarket produce department employee*. The distribution of these cases is not surprising given the kinds of jobs that are likely to occupy the intersection of the unionized Canadian workforce and those employees that do service work that brings them into contact with customers.

The initial discipline imposed by the employer in the 20 cases comprised 12 cases of termination, six cases of a temporary suspension and transfer, one case of demotion, and one case in which two separate penalties were grieved: temporary suspension and termination. In 10 cases the grievance was dismissed (i.e. the discipline was upheld), in eight the penalty was reduced (i.e. the employee was reinstated with a suspension, the duration of the suspension was reduced, or a suspension was reduced to a written notice of discipline), and in two cases the grievance was upheld. There was no systematic association between type of discipline and the grievance award.

RESULTS

Emotion Themes

The following themes emerged with respect to the control or display or discipline of emotion: (1) the nature of emotional deviance, (2) customer emotion as a mitigating factor in assigning blame, (3) employee defusing of expected customer emotion, (4) employee awareness of display rules, (5) display of emotion in the arbitration hearing, and (6) conflicting accounts.

The Nature of Emotional Deviance

It is noteworthy that despite the inclusion of many emotion words in the search process, in the cases selected for analysis only the terms “angry” (in four cases) and “emotional” (once) appeared, and they always appeared in the presence of the term rude or “rudeness.” Indeed, the terms “rude” or “rudeness” appeared in 17 of the 20 cases and “courtesy” in two. Clearly, the language that arbitrators use tends not to be the language of employee emotions, but rather that of customer reactions, and thus emotional deviance is couched in terms of a lack of courtesy and customer service.

Rudeness, in turn, was most often characterized by an inappropriate “tone of voice.” Telephone “hang-ups” and their face-to-face equivalent (curt, interrupted conversation) were also common. Being directly insulting, and being argumentative and inconsistent were less-common symptoms of discourtesy.

Tone of voice was often described without much in the way of detail. For example: “*His tone was ‘not very nice.’ He ‘seemed rude’*” was one customer’s description of a produce section employee’s behavior. In another case, an arbitrator commented that “*The essence of the dispute was the manner in which (the airline customer service representative) spoke to (the customer) and whether she was rude and insensitive in her comments.*”

In other cases some information was provided about what constituted a rude tone of voice, such as volume, hostility, lack of empathy, and a lack of friendliness to customers. Sarcasm was mentioned in one instance: “*As Customer Jones proceeded to her vehicle the Grievor told her in a sarcastic tone ‘goodbye, goodbye, goodbye.’*” And one instance of rude tone of voice concerned an allegation that a supermarket cashier “*mimicked*” the “*low and deep*” tone of voice of a customer. Further, an airline customer service representative was described as “*very vocal and loud. (The supervisor) said he has told the Grievor that her loud speaking upsets customers because they feel it is rude.*” In speaking in defence of the same employee, a coworker testified that he “*‘totally disagreed’ with the suggestion on the part of (the customer) that (the customer service representative) was loud. He testified that she spoke in a normal tone of voice and that she was diplomatic, explaining what was behind the concern.*” An airline customer described a service representative’s reply of “*No you can’t*” as having a “*hostile tone.*” The supervisor of a supermarket cashier testified “*the Grievor became loud and rude over the telephone.*”

Often what is perceived as rudeness is the inappropriate expression of anger. For example, the behavior of a customer service representative in a cable company service center was described as: “*consistent rudeness to customers, displaying tension and obvious frustration, jabbing at the paper*

with her pen in situations wherein invoices often needed patient explanation, particularly to older customers; intimidation of customers: 'I could tell from their faces, and one lady called me to tell me that she was intimidated.'" A driving test customer described the examiner's behavior as "he raised his voice at me and said "it doesn't take that long to open a car door for god sakes!" I thought that was totally uncalled for and rude. His comment just screwed up my frame of mind and made me even more nervous than I already was. In my opinion a tester like that should not be intimidating like that." A handicapped bus passenger said of her driver that he "continued to refuse to give her a slip and then became angrier, yelling that she was not behaving."

A unique case provided an example of the inappropriate display of sadness; a nurse was found to be "crying at the patient bedside." The employer's letter of discipline to the nurse stated further: "In this instance you were not composed enough to carry out appropriate patient care and another colleague, witnessing your distress, voluntarily relieved you of your duties."

Lack of empathy or interest was a feature of experienced rudeness in both face-to-face and telephone interactions. A telephone airline reservations agent was described by one customer as having "a very disinterested" tone and by another as "a monotonous tone." The arbitrator in this case commented "I had the opportunity to listen to the grievor's voice during testimony and on the quality check tape. I find that his voice matches the descriptions given by both (customers)." Lack of empathy or interest was observed by a supermarket customer who testified "the Grievor sighed heavily and had little empathy for the customer in front of her when questioned as to the pricing of an item."

Telephone "hang-ups" and their face-to-face equivalent (curt, interrupted conversation) were also common. In emotional deviance terms, these represented a failure to display care and concern. Most of the cases in which the employees interacted with customers through the telephone involved cases of "hang-ups." A customer service representative who handled billing account inquiries was found to have repeatedly and systematically hung up on customers over a period of months. Hang-ups were described as follows: "Any call that lasts less than 10 seconds is considered to be a 'short call'. Essentially if a call lasts less than 10 seconds there is not sufficient time for the customer service representative to initiate a greeting and assess the needs of the customer. (The supervisor) referred to these as 'hang-ups'." Electronic monitoring of the employee showed that she had more than 500 short calls or hang-ups in three months. After being informed about the incidence of short calls the employee changed her behavior – she began placing calls on hold (thereby causing the measurement of the average length of calls to increase) and would then after a period of time, hang up on customers.

Another employee was described as *“taking incoming telephone calls from customers (and) holding the handset away from her head and not actually listening to the customer at all; putting the handset down on the counter, rolling her eyes back and then picking up the phone again and saying ‘pardon me’ to the customer four or five times in succession, then hanging up. When the customer phones back, denying having hung up the phone.”*

Sometimes employees would hang up on the very customers who were calling to complain. For example, an airline telephone reservation agent was found to have hung up on three customers who complained. According to one, *“as soon as he introduced himself to the grievor and said ‘I was the one you just cut off,’ the grievor hung up again.”* Another customer service representative was found to pick up the phone receiver and lay it on the table. The testimony of the customer was that *“I spoke with (another employee) in Dental Claims first. She was pleasant and professional. When we were through I asked her to transfer me to the Extended Health Benefits. I could hear her patch me through to a man she called (the Grievor’s first name). He didn’t respond to her, so I assumed he couldn’t hear us. I tried speaking to him and asked ‘Can you hear me?’ He responded, ‘If you can hear me, I can hear you.’ I began to ask about my claim but there was a ringing noise on the line. I was mid-way through suggesting we try again, when he hung up on me. I’m fully aware this was not an equipment problem.”*

The equivalent of hang-ups in face-to-face interactions was also experienced as rudeness. For example, *“he continually ignores anyone who says good morning or thank-you to the carrier when he drops off the mail.”* A city hall cashier who was apparently trying to catch a 4:35 bus home was described by a customer appearing at her window at 4:25 as being *“somewhat abrupt.”*

This latter employee also evidenced rudeness by being directly insulting to this customer, although the arbitrator concluded that the customer did not hear her remark – the remark was heard by a coworker who reported it to the cashier’s supervisor. Specifically, the incident was described as follows: *“at the end of the interaction the customer left making some sarcastic comment such as ‘have a nice day’. As he was leaving (the cashier) allegedly made a statement under her breath calling him an ‘asshole’.”* In the second instance of direct insult, a customer asked an airline reservation agent to spell his first name (in preparation for the lodging of a complaint) and he did. The arbitrator described what happened next as follows: *“Then he asked the agent for his last name. The agent spelled out his last name as ‘F-U-C-K-O-F-F’. (The customer) was taken aback by that and he hung up.”*

Inconsistent display of emotions between customers and coworkers was seen as rude. A supermarket customer testified that *“when she approached*

the till she received no friendly welcome and that after ringing in her groceries and again still with no comment to her, the Grievor turned to a fellow employee at the next till, smiled and offered him a mint. (The customer) testified she felt she was treated as an inconvenience and was angry enough when she left the till that she stopped to fill out the comment card. The Employer also called ... a coworker at the next till who recalled the incident. (He) testified it was a busy afternoon and that the Grievor's demeanor when she spoke to him was 'happy, smiling and lots of energy'."

Customer Emotion as a Mitigating Factor in Assigning Blame

About half of the cases included displays of emotion, typically anger or frustration, by customers, which under some circumstances mitigated the assignment of blame. For example, a homeowner whose mailbox lid was knocked by a letter carrier responded by coming out of his home, and "raised his voice and used harsh and insulting language." The customer in his own testimony said that he was he was "irate and used an angry tone and had raised his voice," and "was also not pleased that the Grievor had walked across his front lawn everyday and he called the Grievor a slob and told him to 'keep his ass off his lawn'." In the case of such customer display of emotion, arbitrators sometimes indicated that employee displays of rudeness were the result of provocation by the customer and so were excusable. For example: "I do find that there was some provocation for the conduct of (the city hall cashier). (The customer) was agitated when he entered the premises and appeared some what aggressive and irritated by (the cashier's) inability to answer all his questions immediately. At some point in the conversation she had to check the computer and also on a hard-copy of a computer printout in order to get the information that (the customer) requested. He appeared agitated by this and seemed somewhat sarcastic at the end of the conversation. While I do not condone the conduct of (the cashier) I do find that there was some element of provocation by (the customer) in the interaction. It would have been very helpful in my determination to have heard from (the customer) and in the absence of his evidence which the employer could have called, I find in favour of (the cashier) on the issue of provocation for her conduct."

In another instance, a letter carrier's angry outburst was the result of being lunged at by a dog and then, when the letter carrier attempted to defend himself, being berated by the dog's owner. The arbitrator took into account both the provocation by the customer's display of emotion, and the employee's contrition: "The grievor admits that he should not have used rude language with the owner of the dog. I take that into account, as well as what I consider to be other mitigating factors in this case. While Mr. Gordon's angry

response to the customer who, it appears, was also shouting at him, cannot be justified, the gravity of what occurred is in my view somewhat mitigated by the unfortunate experience of this employee over the years, and his understandable fear and related reaction in the face of what appeared to be a vicious dog attempting to attack him. As unfortunate as the incident was, in my view there was a degree of fault on the part of the customer which, coupled with the other mitigating factors, would suggest that a reduction of penalty is appropriate.”

However, if the display of emotion by the customer was a result of the behavior of the employee then the customer display was not seen as a mitigating factor. In the case of the letter carrier and the mailbox described above, the arbitrator concluded that *“Even though the householder was irate and intemperately raised his voice and called the Grievor a slob, the incident itself was caused by the Grievor’s carelessness in knocking off the mailbox lid with sufficient force or noise to alert (the householder) who was sitting in his living room . . . to cause and continue an altercation with a house owner on the Grievor’s delivery route is misconduct, the circumstances of which can by itself lead to the penalty of discharge.”*

In other instances, employee rudeness was not seen as justified by customer emotion because of the express provisions of company practices: *“Despite my finding that the hang-up occurred only after (the customer) became verbally aggressive, that does not in my view make the grievor’s conduct any less culpable. The evidence is that it is well known among agents that under the company policy hanging-up on customers is an absolute “no-no” under any circumstances. The grievor admitted that hanging up was not allowed, but attempted to explain that he had no other choice. Other evidence however establishes that agents are taught in training that if a customer is being difficult and hard to deal with, the call should be referred to a supervisor or lead agent. The grievor failed to do this. His conduct was rude and clearly contrary to the professional service the employer is entitled to expect and was a breach of well established policy.”*

One arbitrator rationalized the emotional behavior of a customer as follows: *“My view of the events is that (the customer) had a strong emotional reaction to the suggestion that she was disabled and was very antagonized by the fact that (the employee) did not immediately accept her explanation. In my view, this emotional reaction resulted in her misinterpreting and misconstruing (the employee’s) statements.”* One reading of this text is that customer emotion is an acceptable justification for miscommunication. However, this clearly does not extend to employees. As the same arbitrator commented about the same employee: *“It is apparent that (the employee) has some difficulty controlling her emotions. If she is to continue to be*

employed by Air Canada in a customer service capacity she will have to deal with this difficulty.”

What is captured with clarity in these grievance arbitration cases is that employees are expected to accept a certain level of negative emotion from customers, and that employers see this as part of the very nature of the work being performed: For example, a supermarket training manual was quoted as saying: *“We will always have customers who are not in a good mood, or just rude. However, we should always maintain a professional attitude, no matter what the situation.”* And, in a call center: *“(The supervisor testified that) customers call the customer service unit because they need assistance or a ‘favour.’ The unit deals with customer accounts. The customers call because they can’t make their payments. Some customers are irate, especially if they don’t receive a favourable answer to their inquiry. Irate calls to the customer service unit are approximately 5 percent of all incoming calls.”* The appropriate employee response is either the suppression of emotion, or its relegation to the “back room”: *“... An employee... who is frustrated by a difficult customer should not take out her frustration in a public place but should deal with it by talking to fellow employees or supervisors in a manner that cannot be overheard by a customer.”*

Suppression of emotion also extends to the behavior of supervisors of employees behaving rudely: *“I accept (the supervisor) did challenge the Grievor on her past record and attitude in the manner described by (the shop steward) which I have set out earlier in this Award. While it was appropriate for (the supervisor) to discuss those issues, particularly in view of the Grievor’s past record, it should have been discussed in a less passionate manner. In my view, (the supervisor) was still upset by the treatment she received from the Grievor over the telephone. It was not appropriate for (the supervisor) to respond with words to the effect ‘if that’s what you feel you must do’ to the Grievor’s question whether management wanted her to quit. That remark predictably triggered the Grievor’s subsequent outburst and departure.”*

Employee Defusing of Expected Customer Emotion

In the presence of expectations that customers would, on occasion, themselves display negative emotions, organizations often expected employees to defuse those emotions, as described in the following: *“(The employee) initially upset the customer by directing her, in an unpleasant manner, to stop doing something with the bananas. He did not take adequate steps to defuse the situation e.g., by expressing his concern over the customer’s having to wait, or by calling a manager. (By his own testimony, he had been counselled on an earlier occasion of the importance of calming down an agitated customer, and told that summoning the manager can be a useful step in doing so).”*

And “(the supervisor) also testified that he made himself very clear that if any confrontation arose with a customer the grievor should walk away, defuse the situation, and inform his Supervisor who could then intervene.” In some instances, employees were provided with specific training on how to deal with angry customers: “the Grievor acknowledged that she had attended training courses that dealt with the proper ways to interact with both customers and coworkers and she also acknowledged that she recognized the importance of superior customer service in all circumstances, even if the customer is being irrational, rude, condescending or difficult.”

However, such dictates can place employees in conflict with other expectations. In one ironic instance, an employee was disciplined for being rude when he disengaged from a customer that was “irate”: “In accordance with (the Grievor’s) training, when a driver gets into a dispute that he cannot resolve, he is to de-escalate it and contact the supervisor. (the Grievor) in fact followed these instructions.”

Further examples of this explicit expectation that customers might behave inappropriately were captured in policies with respect to customer service, and are described in the following section.

Employee Awareness of Display Rules

In some organizations represented in the cases, it was evident that emphasis was placed on a strong customer service orientation and employees were aware of expectations to display appropriate emotions, whereas in other instances, awareness was apparently low. For example, a company representative testified that “all the Customer Service Representatives, including the Grievor, regularly attend customer service training sessions where the need for superior customer service is emphasized. (The firm’s Senior Human Resources Manager) referred to the following extract from the training materials that highlighted the importance of customer service: We are in the business to provide customer service. At all times we must maintain a professional appearance and positive attitude towards our customers.” In another instance expectations were made explicit in the collective agreement: “He also referred to Schedule “B” of the collective agreement; he noted in particular paragraph 21, which states: Direct communication and contact with customers shall be polite and courteous. Any problems or concerns a driver may have with passengers shall first be directed to FirstBus Canada Ltd. Dispatch, who in turn shall advise OC Transpo personnel.”

One grievance award where an employee was disciplined for being rude in telephone conversations demonstrated both the emphasis placed on customer service by the firm, and the acknowledgement by the employee

that they were aware of the expectation to behave appropriately: “*This telephone interface is a critical part of the Employer’s relationship with its clients. There is no doubt that telephone answering is a pressure type of position but there is absolutely no acceptable excuse for being rude to customers. (The Grievor) himself agrees that client relationships are absolutely critical in this business.*” In this case it was evident that the firm had successfully communicated the display rule.

In other cases, however, it was evident that employees were either not aware of display rules, or had a differing perspective of what represented deviation from them. One customer service representative was quoted as saying that “*(the company) doesn’t pay me to be nice to customers; I can treat customers any way I like.*” In the case of a supermarket cashier who, by the account of multiple witnesses, openly displayed anger toward customers: “*When asked if she was aware how important it was to be friendly to customers, the grievor testified that she was, fully aware*” however the same employee said, when asked “*if she thought she was rude to a customer, she said absolutely not. If being nice failed, then she said she would be straight forward. She felt that by being straight forward to customers, she was not being rude to a customer.*” So, although the expectation not to be rude was understood, what constituted rudeness was not. It is noteworthy that in this same instance, this awareness of the display rule was at best informally communicated. The same case revealed that “*there are apparently no written policies with regard to employees and customer relations, and no training or orientation for new employees that (the Industrial Relations Manager for the firm) knew about in the area of customer relations.*”

Organizational failure to make employees aware of display rules could also take the form of inconsistent communication as to whether the employee was meeting expectations. A number of cases contrasted the performance evaluations of employees, which reported at least satisfactory performance, with simultaneous and recurring complaints about the same employees’ behavior. One arbitrator concluded that “*this is undoubtedly a classic case of an Employer simply not stating in clear and unequivocal terms what it really felt about an employee’s performance. The Employer suggests that (the grievor) was being obtuse if he did not pick up on their dissatisfaction but there is no evidence that he was ever properly confronted with reality at least as seen by (the employer).*”

Emotion at the Arbitration Hearing

Although it occurred in only three cases, it is interesting that in these cases arbitrators took into account, or at the very least commented on, the display

of emotion by grievors at the arbitration hearing itself. For example, “further, the Grievor has demonstrated not only in her various meetings with management also during the course of her testimony that she tends toward an emotional demonstration of her feelings,” and, “there was a gritty independence about the grievor, both in her demeanor at the hearing and in her testifying.” Generally such comments were made when the behavior in the hearing was consistent with the behavior that gave rise to the discipline. For example: “in response to some aggressive questioning, (the Grievor) showed that he can react resentfully and angrily when he believes he is being pressured or criticized. His emotional response to aggressive cross examination was clearly registered in his tone of voice and facial expression. His demeanor lent plausibility to (the customer’s) recollection that she sensed his anger and hostility during the episode.”

Conflicting Accounts

At quasi-judicial proceedings, arbitrators hear submissions from both Union and Employer representatives, who may call witnesses as available and necessary. Witnesses may be other employees or customers. Typically grievors testify, as do representatives of the employer, and often supervisors. Grievors and their Unions, and Employers and their representatives, each want to “win” the case. Customers and other witnesses may be motivated by a desire to frame their behavior in the best-possible light. It is not surprising, then, that conflicting accounts arise. Consider the following (lengthy) account in which both the emotions of the customer and the employee are disputed:

(The customer) testified that he observed (the employee) standing behind the counter, apparently unoccupied. (The customer) testified that he moved toward the counter and, prefacing his comment with the words “excuse me,” asked her if he could ask her a question about his ticket. According to his testimony, (the employee)’s reply was “No you can’t” in what he described as a hostile tone. (The customer) testified that he then asked politely “Why not?” and that (the employee’s) response was “Because I said so.”

(The employee) testified that (the customer) first caught her attention when she heard him speak, asking if she could help him. She testified that she responded to him by saying “No I couldn’t.” According to (the employee), (the customer) responded by saying “Why not?” in a tone which she described as “quite aggressive.” (The employee) testified that she found it disconcerting to be communicating with (the customer) at some distance and did not want to continue the discussion.

(The employee) denied that she used a hostile and challenging tone. However, she acknowledged that her response was inappropriate and that she should have handled the matter differently.

(The customer) denied that he was experiencing any real concerns about his luggage going on to Ottawa without him and described himself as “patient” while he was waiting to be served. He testified that he was not upset when (the employee) told him that she could not help him and testified that he only pursued the matter with her because he was “curious.” He denied that he was aggressive or challenging in his tone or manner.

“(A coworker), who by all accounts was present at the time of the exchange between (the employee) and (the customer), testified that while dealing with another customer he observed (the customer) come into the area demonstrating the demeanour of someone who, in his words, “had a problem.” He described (the customer) as “nervous, fidgety and quick moving.” (The coworker) testified that he saw (the customer) approach an agent at position 11 who was serving another customer and that he was rebuffed. (The coworker) testified that a person in a hurry will not normally be allowed to be served before others waiting their turns, however, as lead, he may speak to the person and, depending on the circumstances, may allow the person to be taken care of right away.”

“(The coworker) testified that when (the customer) was rebuffed by the agent at station 11, (the customer) then turned his head to the direction of (the employee), raised his voice and asked her if she could help him. (The coworker) testified that (the customer) did not preface his question with the words “excuse me.” He testified that he heard (the employee) respond by saying “No I cannot.” He testified that he was not focused exclusively on that event as he was dealing with a problem but that he did hear what was being said. He testified that in response to (the employee’s) statement that she could not help him (the customer) said “Why can’t you?” (The coworker) described (the customer’s) tone as loud and demanding. (The coworker) testified that (the employee’s) tone in her first response was “normal for (the employee),” however, he testified that (the employee) is not soft spoken. He testified that in his view, the tone of her response was not hostile. (The coworker) testified that after (the customer) said “Why can’t you?” (The employee) responded by saying “Because I said I can’t.” He testified that her tone on this occasion was exactly the same as in her first response. Of the three versions of the events, I prefer the evidence of (the coworker). I agree with (the Union lawyer) that (the customer’s) claim that he was calm and polite at all times is unlikely. From his demeanour when he testified it was apparent to me that (the customer) is a very strong-minded and assertive individual. His suggestion that it did not matter to him whether his luggage went on without him and that

therefore he was not particularly upset about missing his flight does not strike me as credible. Moreover, given the fact that, on his evidence, his difficulties arose from an error of an Air Canada employee in Regina, it would not be surprising that he would be unhappy and demanding, thus acting in the manner that (the coworker) described."

Such conflicts were common in the cases examined. Arbitrators typically attempted to discern the most likely circumstance based on their evaluation of the credibility of witness and the application of a "reasonable person" standard. For example, in the account presented above, the arbitrator concluded that the customer was, in fact, demanding and that the employee was not hostile, although she did not exhibit the level of helpfulness that she should have.

What conflicting accounts also demonstrate, however, is the potential difficulty that participants in emotional deviance have in recognizing their own emotional experience and emotional display. Leaving aside the question of the intentional self-serving shading of testimony, employees (as well as customers) are evidently not always accurate in their perceptions of how they are behaving. This makes self-control difficult, even when there is awareness of which emotions are supposed to be displayed and which are to be suppressed.

From a methodological point of view, conflicting accounts can be thought of as a problem of reliability, even of inter-rater reliability, if you will. Multiple observers, not just viewing the same situation but participating in it, with the question being, "what happened?" Biases of perspective or of managing impressions may come into play. The grievance arbitration process is notorious for involving lengthy delays from discipline to decision (Ponak & Olson, 1992; Ponak, Zerbe, Rose, & Olson, 1996) raising concerns about recollection of initial events. In coming to a decision, the arbitrator's role becomes that of an expert, impartial judge. The positive side of the reliability of arbitration accounts is that they contain multiple sources of data, and so exceed the single source, self-reporting of data that researchers so often rely on. In a sense it represents a triangulation of results, with the arbitrator adding his or her own observations from the hearing itself. The negative side of this situation is that in fact these multiple observations are filtered through one medium – the arbitrator. The only author of the grievance award is the single arbitrator (except in some circumstances where the terms of the collective agreement calls for a three person arbitration panel). Some writers have questioned the impartiality of arbitrators, concluding that their decision are affected by factors such as their values (Gross, 1976), the gender of grievors (Bemmels, 1988), and the impression management tactics of grievors (Eylon, Giacolone, & Pollard, 2002).

However, such conclusions have been based on systematic differences in decisions as a function of difference in case characteristics. No evidence exists that arbitrators would be biased in their reporting of arbitration hearing events (they are often assisted in recollection by recording devices). Nevertheless arbitrators are as vulnerable as other experienced professionals to the operation of implicit theories of human behavior.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Among the list of standard qualifiers in most empirical studies is an apology that the sample that was studied may not be representative of the population being generalized to. When using grievance arbitration cases as the source of data to be sampled, the obvious problem is that only unionized employees and organizations are subject to study. In Canada, union density is 30% overall, 72% in the public sector, and 18% in the private sector. In the U.S. union density fell below 13% in 2003 with a mere 8% of private sector workers belonging to unions (Hurd, 2004).

Whatever the proportion of unionization among overall or service sector employees, two questions are relevant: First, does an admitted bias in the sampling frame create a systematic reason that results cannot be more broadly generalized. For example, a number of years ago the social psychology literature experienced a flurry of discussion about the use of students as subjects. Some writers argued vociferously that the mere fact that they were students made any generalization to other populations inappropriate. The relevant question that should be asked is if there is any reason to expect that the relation among the constructs being studied is likely to be different in the (biased) sample than in the population? To create an extreme example, we would not criticize studies of blood physiology among students as not generalizable to nonstudents unless theoretically relevant factors such as age, or ethnic distribution were at play. So we should not criticize studies in which students are used as proxies for employees unless we can name the theoretically relevant factors that make them poor representatives. In some instances, these clearly exist but in others they do not. The relevance here is that unless we can specify the factors relevant to organizational control of emotions through the imposition of discipline that are different among employees represented by unions from those that are not, labor arbitration cases make a perfectly appropriate source of data. For example, Adell (1993) points out that “unorganized employees have to make do, on the whole, with substantially weaker protection against arbitrary discipline than organized

employees – weaker substantive rights, weaker procedures, and weaker remedies” (1993, p. 583). At the same time, he also points out that standards bargained in the unionized sector “have an indirect effect on the standards used in the unorganized sector by courts, statutory adjudicators, and some employers” (1993, p. 588).

The second relevant question is whether, even if one cannot comfortably generalize from the unionized sector to the unorganized sector, we have learned something useful within the unionized sector?

First, the data presented here have shown that when organizations use discipline in response to employee emotional deviance it is typically cast in terms of rudeness or lack of courtesy. Contrary to the language of organizational theorists, employers, employees, customers, and arbitrators do not speak in terms of “display rules” or “emotions,” rather they speak of standards of interpersonal behavior. This may speak of a gap in the transmission of scholarly understanding about emotional labor to practitioners in the workplace. It may also represent a lingering discomfort among arbitrators or members of organizations to recognize the emotional character of organizations, much like the similar failing by organizational scholars up until quite recently. The opportunity is present, therefore, for the study of emotions as a new area of investigation in labor arbitration research. Bemmels and Foley (1996) criticize arbitration research as being largely atheoretical, unguided by systematic frameworks, and divorced from our understanding of human behavior. In their analysis of the theories represented in arbitration research, theories of equity and of distributive and procedural justice come closest to capturing elements of emotion. Clearly emotions are part of what brings employees and employers to the arbitration hearing and emotions are part of what happens at those hearings. Through analysis of arbitration cases we may learn more about both.

Second, this study has shown, in a deeper way than previously, how emotional deviance is subject to formal organizational discipline and the function that discipline serves, namely to serve as a warning to employees not to deviate. However, as is evident from the decisions of arbitrators, in order for discipline imposed by employers to be upheld, and thus for it to be an effective warning, employees must be aware of organizational expectations. Thus in many organizations display rules find their way into training programs, company policy statements, and even collective agreements. The disciplining of emotional deviance thus takes the form of two of the four emotional control tactics proposed by Ashforth and Humphrey (1995): “At least four somewhat overlapping means have evolved for regulating the experience and expression of emotion in work settings. . . . ‘neutralizing’ is

used to prevent the emergence of socially unacceptable emotions, ... ‘buffering’ is used to encapsulate and segregate potentially disruptive emotions from ongoing activities, ‘prescribing’ is used to specify socially acceptable means of experiencing and expressing emotions, and ‘normalizing’ is used to diffuse or reframe unacceptable emotions to preserve the status quo” (1995, p. 104). Negative sanctions, as formal social controls over deviant emotional display, are clearly examples of neutralizing (prevention) and prescribing (specifying).

However, despite discipline being a consequence of emotional deviance, this study has shown that employees are not always aware of display rules or, even when they are aware, they disagree as to the form that compliance should take, or they fail to comply anyway. In this way, this study supports the finding of Gosserand and Diefendorff (2005) that some individuals may be aware of display rules but nevertheless choose not to conform to them. Gosserand and Diefendorff (2005) found that the relationship between perceptions of display rules and “effective, positive emotional displays at work” was moderated by the degree of employee commitment to display rules (2005, p. 1261). Therefore, organizations must ensure that employees are aware of expectations, understand them in concrete, specific, behavioral terms, and are committed to them. Yet the literature on intrinsic motivation and affective commitment suggests that external consequences such as the threat of punishment are less effective in creating employee commitment than other means, such as informal socialization and norms.

Third, the cases described here show how organizations expect employees to tolerate customer emotions and to suppress their own emotional responses, consistent with the findings of other studies. However, this study has also shown that the use of formal discipline to enforce this expectation is constrained. Arbitrators saw customer emotion as a mitigating circumstance in the determination of appropriate discipline, unless the customer emotion was the result of employee behavior. This means that organizations seeking to discourage emotional deviance in settings where customers are likely to display unprovoked negative emotions would be wise to rely on mechanisms other than the threat of discipline. Again, the effectiveness of discipline as a control mechanism is limited.

This is especially important given the challenge facing employees to obey display rules in the face of customer emotion. As at least one case showed, sometimes even the most aware and committed employee can “lose it” in the face of an angry customer or an attacking dog. Rupp and Spencer (2006) studied this challenge using a simulation study in which they had study participants play the role of call centre customer service representatives

(CSR). Included in their training was explicit expectations to conform to the display rules of the fictional organization to display “courtesy and politeness” (2006, p. 974). In this simulation, participants interacted with customers that were either interpersonally fair or unfair. Interpersonally fair customers “interacted with CSRs in a manner that corresponded with the service they received from the CSR” (2006, p. 974), reciprocating friendliness with congeniality but displaying neutrality when treated similarly. Interpersonally unfair customers, however, displayed unprovoked disrespect, were impolite, and withheld important information about their problem. Rupp and Spencer found that the simulated employees had to exert much greater effort in managing their emotions when dealing with unfair customers and found it much more difficult to avoid emotional deviance.

In conclusion, this chapter has shown that labor arbitration cases represent a rich source of data about emotions in organizations. The control of emotions is one area of study; others are certainly also possible. For example, Fineman and Sturdy (1999) suggest that rather than study the control of emotions we should study the emotions of control. Fineman and Sturdy argue that emotion is central to control processes. Relevant questions therefore arise such as: how organizations use emotions to control employees and, conversely, how might employees use emotion to control customers, their work settings, and so on? Clearly, labor arbitration cases are a resource for investigating this latter question. Specifically, one of the cases that was rejected from this analysis, although present in the initial identification, concerned a bus company mechanic who systematically and repeated engaged in profane, verbal harassment of other mechanics and most frequently the bus drivers whose buses he repaired. This case was rejected because it was decided that little was revealed about the elements of organizational control of emotion in an instance that so egregiously represented harassment. The question changed from one of “how is emotion disciplined” to “what took so long to discipline this employee?” (Perhaps this is evidence of the unwillingness of organizations to deal with highly conflictual situations). Fineman’s point of view is that this case should be analyzed from the perspective of how this employee used (extreme) emotions to seek to exert control in his work environment.

NOTES

1. The term emotional deviance can also be used to describe a failure to feel appropriate emotions (c.f. Thoits, 1990). In practice the failure to display organizationally prescribed emotions can result from feeling emotions appropriate

to a situation (e.g. frustration at a complaining customer) but failing to suppress their display, or feeling inappropriate emotions in a situation (e.g. hostility at a polite customer) and again failing to suppress their display.

2. A comprehensive review of labor arbitration is well beyond the scope of this chapter. Interested readers are referred to the “Bible” of Canadian labour arbitration by Brown and Beatty (2006) and to the concise description in Adell (1993).

3. Arbitration awards in the province of Quebec were not included in this analysis as they are recorded in French.

4. Plural and singular forms of all terms were also searched.

5. Emotional deviance can also occur in interactions with coworkers, supervisors, or managers. Such interactions were not included in this study and will be the focus of a subsequent investigation.

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CHAPTER 7

EMOTION WORK: A STUDY WITH CALL CENTER OPERATORS

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ABSTRACT

This study inquires into emotion work performed by call center operators. Twelve call center operators were interviewed. Qualitative methodological strategies were utilized, where the focus of the thematic content analysis was on comprehension of the call center operator's work characteristics, the organization's display rules, and the emotional self-management strategies utilized. Two types of emotional self-management strategies were found: cognitive and behavioral. The organization acknowledged that people are not always able to handle the affective cost in relation to emotion work, offering emotional support and models concerning affective self-management strategies to be used. This organizational assistance strongly influenced the choice of strategies, for the call center operators most frequently used strategies taught by the organization. Emotion work was influenced by variables concerning the work context, factors that either favored or made the work, perceptions, evaluations, and the workers and the customers' affective states problematic. Emotion work was crucial in the call center operators' working routine, whenever the customers became aggressive, and social support made the task of displaying predominantly positive feelings less arduous.

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EMOTIONS IN ORGANIZATIONS: AN OVERVIEW

The principal aim of this study is to characterize the emotion work performed by call center operators. Emotion work is a frequent phenomenon in contemporary organizations, where it is required, especially in functions concerning the service section, where these workers are constantly in contact with customers and represent the company. In emotion work, the management of emotions is shifted from the private to the public arena, so it means the customer and the employer become the ones managing the worker's emotional displays and feelings, controlling patterns of affective behavior (Gondim, 2006).

There is a quest for rationality in the context of organizations. Predictability, ability to be directive, hierarchical, and controlling are crucial management instruments that guarantee the organization's identity and stability. However, if there is no space for spontaneity, for creation of social networks, for variability and impulsivity, or for affective states and their development, the organization loses some of its capacity to react to constant changes demanding fast adjustment. Rationality, so desired by organizations, may be better achieved when organizations try to include affective aspects. There is no way to achieve a level of rationality without taking into account the affective factors involved in the employees' routine and, therefore, in the organization's routine (Gondim & Siqueira, 2004).

In this sense, it is important to study affective states in a work context, since organizations and affections mutually influence each other. The same way organizations, being social contexts, interfere in displays of emotion, seeking to adjust them to several work situations, employees intervene in the organizational context through the expression and self-management of their affective states.

Notwithstanding, there is a gap in Brazilian research concerning emotion work, especially regarding call center operations, which is the scope of investigation reported in this chapter. For Organizational and Work Psychology, it is important to investigate affective states in new job scenarios of the service sector, especially in micro-organizational studies, which seek to understand the individual in his/her work context. This study attempts to reduce this gap by presenting a more substantial understanding of emotional behavior in organizations of different cultures.

Many researchers in this field base their ideas on the sociological studies done by Hochschild (1979, 1983), which activated interest in employment and organizational demands for affectionate displays in the working environment. In particular, they underscore subjective experience, where

the emphasis is on the individual and the impact that external pressures, coming from the work and employment environment, put upon the worker.

EMOTION WORK: UNDERSTANDINGS

Hochschild (1979, 1983) called *emotion work* the phenomenon of attempting to modify an emotion's intensity or quality in order to fulfill the organizational display rules, which are social and cultural rules that guide behavior and, therefore, guide publicly displayed affective states. According to the author, emotion work refers to an effort – the act of attempting – and not to its consequence, which might not succeed. In other words, the author perceives that emotion work is accomplished even when the desired result, such as selling a product, does not succeed.

Concerning display rules, Opengard (2005) reports that members of an organization may learn rules for emotional expression in formal or informal socialization, wherein punishments and rewards are at stake. Grandey (2000) reinforces these findings stating that display rules may be explicitly presented in selecting employees, in training, or may be learned when one observes one's co-workers. Display rules are tacit rules for emotional expression. When Goffman (1967) addressed rules of conduct, he stressed the importance of distinguishing between two classes of rules: the symmetrical and the asymmetrical. A symmetrical rule is one in which the individual has the same obligations or expectations as the interlocutor has. In the asymmetrical rule, the individual treats the other according to prescriptions the other cannot or should not follow. As an example, he mentions situations where doctors may give orders to nurses, whereas the latter do not do the same. This is the same situation for the call center operator in relation to the customer.

Nowadays, criticism of the original conception of emotion work conceived by Hochschild (1979, 1983) is already accepted. Bolton (2005) criticizes the fact that Hochschild does not make explicit that not all emotion work is necessarily accomplished in order to achieve an organization's strategic goals. Although Bolton (2005) supports the notion that expression of emotions is controlled by both employees and their superiors, it is thought to be done in different ways. It makes the employees active subjects in the process of expressing emotion. Notwithstanding, this influence does not occur passively, "people tend to resist, causing the process to be reformulated in order to include their needs and demands" (Gondim, 2008, p. 11).

Hochschild's perspective (1979, 1983) favors the *attempt* to do emotion work. It makes the comprehension of the phenomenon in empirical researches *ex post facto* more difficult. Even though Hochschild (1979, 1983) embraces a sociological perspective, she values the study of the subjective experience more than the investigation of social variables. In spite of this, social variables are very important for understanding this topic, which has relevant contextual aspects influencing employees' emotion work, such as the organization's culture of socialization, the display rules required by it, peer influence, and the customers' expectations (Opengard, 2005). Consequently, characteristics of the organization's context are revealed in the empirical data of this study.

Furthermore, after Hochschild's definition (1979, 1983), many authors have become interested in refining and developing the concept of emotion work (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Boyle, 2005; Grandey, 2000; Miller, Considine, & Garner, 2007; Morris & Feldman, 1996). One example of that is Grandey's (2000) attempt to integrate theoretical perspectives from Hochschild's (1979, 1983) emotion work, and Gross's (1998) emotion regulation. In this case, Grandey (2000) proposed the equivalence (a) between emotional regulation focused on previous facts and strategies of deep acting, and (b) between emotional regulation focused on the following facts and strategies of superficial action. In this present study, emotion work is perceived as the management of an affective state, or of its expression, through self-management in order to comply with the organization and the occupation's display rules. It has an intrinsic aspect related to subjective experience, and a part liable to observation and external control, which are the expressions of emotion.

It is important to clarify that, consistent with Bolton (2005), it is not considered here that emotion work is necessarily performed in order to achieve an organization's goals, since there are no guarantees that this performance will provide a positive result. It is believed that emotion work favors the achievement of organizational purposes, such as selling or maintaining the customer's fidelity, but it is not sufficient on its own to do so.

In this sense, we prefer to conceive emotion work as something accomplished in order to fulfill occupational and organizational demands, instead of considering it as being accomplished in order to achieve organizational goals, strictly financial ones, as in Hochschild's conception (1979, 1983). This is so because in some situations, it is used by the worker's own initiative, as formerly described (Bolton, 2005), in order to fulfill occupational demands, which are somewhat less related to direct financial gain than to organizational demands.

EMOTIONAL DISSONANCE AND DEVIANCE

Emotion work requires fast accomplishment of: (1) emotional sense, which means detecting the other's affective state and utilizing this information to restrict the alternatives in terms of how to respond; (2) analyzing one's own affective state and comparing it to the other's affective state; (3) judging how the alternatives of response will affect the other, choosing then the best alternative; and (4) controlling oneself in order to suppress or express an emotion with the purpose of eliciting a desired response in the other. In a nutshell, interactions in rendering services require from the worker a sense of utilizing the right tone of voice, expressing a feeling and determining if, when and how to act according to the analysis done (Härtel, Hsu, & Boyle, 2002). It demands flexibility, since the individual has to be alert to the needs of the other with whom s/he interacts, interpreting them according to the circumstances; s/he needs to be willing to respond to these needs in a personal way (James, 1989; Newman, Guy, & Mastracci, 2007).

Emotional dissonance occurs when the emotional states demanded and what is sensed are not congruent, resulting in emotion work. Emotional dissonance is related to an incoherence between the affective state and what the person should feel and desires to feel, generating an uncomfortable feeling, which usually stimulates the person to make an effort to change his/her affective state. The effort employed by the individual to accomplish emotion work increases as the dissonance between what s/he really feels and what is expected of him/her to feel or express increases (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Gondim, 2006). On the other hand, when a discrepancy between the rule of emotional expression and the emotion felt occur, and the worker expresses the emotion s/he is really feeling, despite what is prescribed, is called *deviance* (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Tschan, Rochat, & Zapf, 2005).

EMOTION WORK AS A PROCESS: BEFORE, DURING, AND AFTER RENDERING A SERVICE

Boyle (2005) maintains that emotion work is a process that happens in three differentiated situations: *front* or *onstage*, *backstage*, and *offstage*. The frontstage dimension circumscribes emotion work being performed, whereas the backstage dimension is one in which interaction among members of an organization occurs and where the process of emotion work also happens frequently. On the other hand, offstage situations are located outside the organization's physical environment.

Some authors, like Boyle (2005) and Tschan et al. (2005), emphasize the importance of social support in offstage and backstage situations. In the occupation studied by Boyle (2005), paramedics, *backstage regions* refer to stations and gas stations. In other occupations, they correspond to any place the worker is not actually working (*onstage*) and emotionally involved with the public. They represent areas of social support among co-workers or supervisors: coffee rooms, police cars, hallways, and parking lots.

Moreover, many paramedic participants in Boyle's study (2005) referred to the importance of social support outside the work environment (*offstage*), so they could deal with work. They referred mainly to the support received from their wives, which was considered crucial. In this aspect, co-workers, relatives, and other members of the community provide the emotional support demanded by the workers. Boyle (2005) considers this protection provided by family and other social networks is actually an extension of the working day, a facet of emotion work representing a substantial quantity of the emotion work process, since the paramedics had to wait until they got home in order to deal with the emotion and receive support, indicating a lack of recognition of emotion work as actual work. Thus, the process of emotion work occurs before, during, and after rendering a service and involves a number of strategies that enable the employee to maintain a normal emotional state (Boyle, 2005).

SELF-MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

Such strategies, known as self-management strategies, are those used to accomplish emotion work. Hochschild's (1979, 1983) definition of emotion work assumes that the accomplishment of emotion work necessarily entails the use of *surface acting* or *deep acting* as strategies to self-manage affective states. Some scholars in emotion work also conceive a third strategy: the *automatic one*. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) state that considering only the existence of the superficial and the profound actions does not include the moments wherein the individual spontaneously experiences and attempts to express the affective state demanded by the organization, which corresponds to the utilization of the automatic action. Surface acting is a self-management strategy of an affective state, which refers to the attempt by the employees to self-manage visible aspects of their affective states through attempts to change physical or somatic symptoms, gestures, and expressions. Deep acting occurs when the individual tries to influence his/her own

affective state – not only his/her expression, as in the surface acting – in order to experience a state which is demanded of him/her.

However, this classification of self-management strategies does not always fully match the data found in empirical research. This is why some authors need to devise a new categorization, based on their own data analysis, in order to arrive at more accurate interpretations, which propitiates a more substantial understanding of the contexts and the occupations investigated (as has been done in this study). Thus, Boyle (2005) reports that, among strategies identified in the study with paramedics, such as a sense of humor, avoidance of false expectations, emotional distancing, depreciative stereotypes, and the categorization of patients as meritorious or non-meritorious, are used to manage anxiety.

THE IMPORTANCE OF EMOTION WORK FOR ORGANIZATIONS

Recent theories (Grandey, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1996) and empirical studies (Gibson, 2006; Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991) suggest the management of emotions and emotional expressions are important for success in various jobs and have specific purposes. Employees might engage in emotion work in order to influence the others' emotions (co-workers, customers), to favor the achievement of goals at work (selling a product, making group decisions), and to induce customers to the service's interaction more positively (Gibson, 2006). Thus, the accomplishment of emotion work might play an important role in favorably influencing the customers to buy products, become loyal to the organization or tell others about the service provided (Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991).

Other authors support Hochschild's (1979, 1983) idea that, nowadays, emotion is perceived as an available resource for management (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Morris & Feldman, 1996). The recent tendency in organizations today is to prefer prescription, the management of feelings by the organization, where emotions are used as a resource to fulfill organizational demands, generating competitive advantage. The survival of an organization in the actual, competitive, and changeable market depends mainly upon the capacity of the organization's employees to develop several skills, including emotional skills, in order to offer quality service. Dealing with frustrations, controlling emotions, and having a good relationship with other people are crucial for an organization if it wants to make a difference in the workplace. In this context, the use of normative controlling and the

inclusion of surveillance techniques, so these goals can be successfully achieved, are now commonplace (Bolton, 2005; Goleman, 1995).

Paramedics (Boyle, 2005), cashiers (Rafaeli, 1989; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987), call center operators (Grebner et al., 2003; Totterdell & Holman, 2003; Zapf, Isic, Bechtoldt, & Blau, 2003), bill collectors (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991), and police officers (Drodge & Murphy, 2002; Morris & Feldman, 1996) are some of the workers focused on this field of investigation. Despite the fact the majority of workers should act politely, each occupation reveals its own peculiarity. Rafaeli and Sutton (1991) state that, at a hearing, a criminal interrogator will have a greater chance of succeeding if s/he initially displays negative feelings, and only later displays positive feelings. On the other hand, a bill collector will probably have a better outcome if s/he initially displays positive feelings, in order to stimulate interaction with the person in debt, and later displays negative feelings with the purpose of intimidating. In this sense, the purpose here is to characterize the call center operator's emotion work, in order to understand the idiosyncrasies of this occupation and its performance in a Brazilian company that offers its employees emotional support to help them perform emotion work.

CALL CENTER WORK

As this research was carried out in a Brazilian call center office, information on the occupation will be presented in this section, for a better understanding of the emotion work performed in this work context.

In order to improve the quality of the call center's answering service, it is expected in the focal organization that workers should always interact in a cordial way, evincing a pleasant and enthusiastic tone of voice. However, this creates an evident demand for emotion work (Boyle, 2005; Callaghan & Thompson, 2002; Newman et al., 2007; Taylor & Bain, 1999; Zapf et al., 2003). Consequently, conflicting goals of efficiency and excellence in the call center's service are often a part of a call center operator's work; the operator has to work with agility in order to maintain low cost, and to maintain (or trigger) customer satisfaction (Wallace, Eagleson, & Waldersee, 2000).

Expressing certain emotions and essentially positive feelings (integrative) is a way of influencing the customer's emotions (Grandey, 2000; Montgomery & Panagopolou, 2006; Wharton & Erickson, 1993; Zapf et al., 2003). The fact the operator cannot express negative emotions might explain why emotional dissonance, a dimension of emotion work, seems to be more frequent in call center services (Zapf et al., 2003). A particular characteristic of this service is

that the workers are expected to answer aggressive customers with courtesy and politeness. Besides, the performance is continuously monitored through CCTV systems or by the team supervisor, with the aim to control the time spent by the operator, as well as the operator's ability to solve the customer's problems and the quality of the interaction.

It can be seen that emotion work is demanded from call center operators in almost all their interactions, especially when they are supposed to demonstrate empathy, collaboration, or be friendly to customers displaying aggressive behavior (Wallace et al., 2000). Coping well with listening to stressed people complaining and frequently using obscene language for 6 h on end, on a daily basis, may be the occupation's biggest challenge (Iervese, 2006).

In Brazil, emotional demands are also increasing, and call centers have occupied a prominent position in generating new jobs in this country. According to data provided by the Associação Brasileira de Telesserviços (2007), these organizations employ approximately 640,000 workers, most of them in their first job. Call centers therefore represent the country's service sector with the most employees, and the one generating the most formal jobs in Brazil. Despite this, there are few studies investigating the psychological and social aspects of this occupation, especially concerning emotion work, where workers are required to express feelings compatible to their activities and, if not, they risk losing their jobs (Gondim, 2006).

METHOD

Context of the Investigation

The research was carried out in an organization which provides call center services to a bank and is located in the metropolitan region of Salvador in the State of Bahia, Brazil. The organization is an American multinational company, which has branches in several countries. The Brazilian branch has the fourth largest number of employees among all the branches. The office in Salvador operates nationwide, attending to the bank's customers calls from all Brazil.

Participants

Twelve call center operators participated in this study: seven women and five men aged from 19 to 39, who had been working in the company for a period of eight months to five years.

Instrument

Mixed interviews, which are interviews based on the construction of narratives and the use of complementary questions, were undertaken with the call center operators. In order to do this, two broad requests were made: (1) to narrate easy and difficult interaction events with a customer, based on the critical incident technique and (2) to answer complementary questions. Based on what the call center operator narrated, questions were asked in order to refine the phenomenon and to infer how the process of emotion work took place. This also took into account the theoretical referential which assumed the existence of self-management strategies and display rules in understanding the phenomenon. Narrative was used as a means to explore the phenomenon, so the participant would report events that brought up the process of emotion work. It was hoped that the participant, in narrating like this, would recall the affective states experienced in the reported situations.

Procedures for Collecting and Analyzing Data

The participants were invited to participate in the study in their work environment. The interviews happened with the participants' free informed consent and lasted an average of 30 min. The interviews were taped and later fully transcribed.

Concerning data analysis, a thematic content analysis was done in order to systematize and to integrate the participants' responses, so we could infer the self-management strategies used, the display rules and details of the work context. Interpretations and comparisons of the data to the theoretical assumptions formerly presented were used to understand the descriptions of the participants' responses.

The categorization was elaborated from the participants' responses, not previously defined. The material was constantly examined and reexamined, aiming to point out the nuances observed.

RESULTS

Based on the call center operators' reports, five thematic axes were grouped in order to favor the reader's understanding: (1) the work context,

Table 1. Thematic Axes Identified from Participant Discourse.

Thematic Axes	Categories
The work context	Organization's display rules Seasonal demands Balance between quality and quantity of work Risks resulting from mistakes Organization's social support Excessive monitoring
Self-management strategies	Behavioral strategies Cognitive strategies
The worker	Risks to well-being and health Social support from the co-worker Social support from the family Evaluations of the occupation Evaluations of the organization
Factors favoring work	Enjoyment in working with people Experience in the occupation/task Customer's positive state of humor Call centre operator's positive state of humor
Factors increasing difficulties at work	Co-worker's mistake Customer's refusal to accept the information transmitted Communication by telephone Call centre operator's negative state of humor Customer's negative state of humor

(2) self-management strategies, (3) the worker, (4) factors favoring work, and (5) factors increasing difficulties at work (see Table 1). Each one of the five thematic groups was subdivided into categories which reveal peculiarities of the responses.

The Work Context

The first thematic axis, called *the work context*, involves: (a) organization's display rules, (b) seasonal demands, (c) balance between quality and quantity of work, (d) risks resulting from mistakes, (e) organization's social support, and (f) excessive monitoring.

Organization's Display Rules

Four settings of *display rules* were found concerning the maintenance of (i) balance between standardizing and personalizing, (ii) cordiality, (iii) calm, and (iv) empathy. The first group has to do with balancing standardized versus personalized conduct in the call center operators' service; it aims at a differentiated relationship with the customer, wherein the operators must follow some preestablished interaction rules, but also must adjust themselves to the customer's demands.

The second set of display rules relates to maintaining cordiality in all interactions with the customer. When the organization requires the operator to always keep a cordial tone of voice, it demands the operator to continue being friendly to the customer, even though the latter displays aggressive reactions. Thus, during the call center service, tone of voice plays an important role in the interactions with the customer, since there is no visual emotional information (facial expressions, gestures). Of course, this is why tone of voice is especially monitored in this occupation and the workers have to demonstrate to the customer s/he is "smiling on the phone."

The third group of display rules refers to the importance for the call center operator to keep calm during work interactions, since the organization expresses this as the primary affective state demanded. The call center operators are instructed not to be affected by customers' negative affective displays, acting patiently, keeping calm in order to calm customers down.

The fourth and last set of display rules refers to developing empathy in the relations with customers, so the operator can understand the customer's problem and be able to solve it quickly and correctly. On this topic, the organization demonstrates that it expects from the operator an attitude of availability, not only physical (listening), but also affective (empathy), requiring a balance in this availability in the interaction with the customer.

It seems therefore that the organization expects these workers to always display positive feelings toward the customer in such a way that it generates a pleasant and welcoming interaction, which consequently will tend to trigger client satisfaction and fidelity toward the bank.

Furthermore, the display rules, though explicitly demonstrated by the organization to the operators under training, or observed by recently admitted employees in work interactions with their co-workers, were adjusted by the workers according to the singularities of the services they rendered. In rendering call center services, operators revealed they were active subjects in the emotion work process when they restricted the customers' aggressions by stating, "there is no way to hold the call with that

kind of attitude.” In accepting these adjustments, the organization demonstrated flexibility regarding the informally socialized display rules. This way, a call center operator could utilize an alternative similar to the one observed in a co-worker’s work interaction, thus minimizing difficult situations involving the customer.

Seasonal Demands

In the second category of the thematic axis called “work context,” the organization expects the call center operator to handle a variable quantity of calls at different times. The calls are more numerous during the first weekdays of the month; as it is the time the customers receive bills concerning charges for the services rendered by the bank (company hiring the call center services). Call center operators are expected to maintain the same quality standards stipulated for more tranquil moments. This way, in every call it is necessary to reconcile preciseness with speed, which, according to the employees, are sustained by being objective. However, the objectivity needed in the interaction is paradoxically perceived by the organization as rude: “Sometimes, when I am too objective in my answers, the evaluator thinks I am being harsh because I don’t have a ‘smile’ in my voice or because something is missing . . .”

Balance between the Quality and Quantity of Work

Finding the right balance between the quality and quantity of work in order to achieve quick but high-quality calls (i.e., not making mistakes when answering the customers and following the display rules), did not seem to be an easy task, as it required being attentive to a lot of information and external incoming information at the same time. In order to keep up with this, the participants reported they had to be calm, patient, and appropriate in their language to the customer. They also needed to express themselves clearly while performing procedures such as checking information on the system, asking the customer for information to assure the security of the procedure and avoiding pranksters, knowing how to perform the numerous procedures according to the type of card, and reconciling all this with accomplishment of emotion work: “Even if you take a deep breath, you have to put the phone on mute mode, so the customer doesn’t hear louder breathing, you have to think about everything you do.”

Risks Resulting from Mistakes

However, the high number of simultaneous demands made the work less spontaneous and tended to increase the possibility of errors. Thus, the first days of the month are considered to be the most difficult and tiring. During these days several demands increase, among them emotion work, as there is more dissonance between what one feels and what one is required to feel: “the first five weekdays of the month are horrible; one call after the other, there is no tolerance on the part of the call center operator toward the customer, sometimes the operators get nervous, that’s when the mistake issue appears the most.” When the organization’s general index of errors increases, the workers are tested more frequently, and risks resulting from error become more evident, as the coordinators call the operators questioning them about how certain procedures should be done, and to which they must give immediate responses.

Excessive Monitoring

The call center operators report that all their actions are monitored through Avaya software, which detects everything the worker does. Attributing names to the pauses – bathroom, snack – the software keeps track of the length of time of an action and how many pauses were solicited. When the worker utilizes a longer pause, s/he needs to solicit it from the sector called *field*, where there are employees controlling this software. If this procedure is not performed, those responsible for this sector must call inquiring which pause the operator is using. The operators added that the monitoring performed by supervisors, either electronic or in person is more frequent after an error is detected. Such reports indicate the details of the continuous monitoring to which the operators are submitted daily, and reveal they must pay attention to this information (besides several other influences).

Organization’s Social Support

On the other hand, many call center operators share their perception of the organization’s social support. It was found that when they referred to the empathy the one monitoring them displayed: “the one responsible for the monitoring understands because s/he is also human; it creates a certain protection, ‘I see the call center operator’s good intentions and I see

the customer is creating some resistance to him/her.'” This interpretation showed the organization is perceived as a place that respects the call center operators’ emotional limits, and notices the workers sometimes cannot handle the emotional demands; offering them alternatives so they can solve the customer’s problem.

Self-Management Strategies

In order to feel or display the affective states required by the organization, such as calm, empathy, and cordiality, two types of self-management strategies were identified (a) behavioral strategy (action not performed, corporal action, and interpersonal action) and (b) cognitive strategy.

It is important for us to clarify that the emotional self-management strategies mentioned by the call center operators were not always consistent with the automatic, surface, and deep acting categories that we identified from the literature earlier in this chapter. As a result, we also used an inductively constructed classification, based on the results, enabling a broader understanding of the phenomenon studied.

Behavioral Strategies

Behavioral strategies refer to what people do to manage the affective state. These strategies are those where the emphasis is focused on the intention to perform actions or on their execution. Cognitive strategies, on the other hand, concern those strategies where the use of beliefs, judgments, attribution of causality, interpretations, and construction of meanings predominates; their focus is on the thinking processes.

Concerning behavioral strategies, the *action not performed* was the one mentioned the least by the operators. In this strategy, one manages her or his affective state by displaying an intention to perform an action, but which is then not performed. The intention does not become an act because it would occasion consequences for the call center operator if s/he performed the action. Relating to this strategy, the workers’ intentions were (i) hang up during difficult interactions, wherein they could not strike customers back who disrespected them, (ii) abandon the service and go home, and (iii) leave the organization when they noticed they were going through more emotionally vulnerable phases, during which they felt tired, fatigued, and stressed.

The performance of *corporal action*, conceived as the management of an affective state or its display through actions involving the body, occurred when the call center operator took a deep breath, went to the bathroom, turned the eyes aside so as not to look at the computer screen containing the customer's information, or went to drink some water. These actions used the pause mechanism and took place during and after difficult calls.

The *interpersonal action*, the one most mentioned by the call center operators, involves the management of an affective state or its display through social interaction. The interpersonal strategy was strongly present in the organization's training and in the call center operators' discourse. Some interpersonal strategies were taught by the organization itself, such as the use of the mute button to (i) talk about an event to the co-worker next to the operator, (ii) transfer the call to a superior, or (iii) strike back at the customer without him/her listening: "When the call center operator cannot solve a situation, what does the organization propose There are other specific sectors We direct them to another specific sector, coordination, supervision."

The secret of the call centre is the mute mode, because if the customers knew what we say on mute mode We talk, complain, argue, swear, so we can let our feelings out When we return, we return more at easy The organization itself says we can do whatever we want while on mute mode.

Other call center operators who utilized the strategy of interpersonal action emphasized the act of managing the tone of voice to deal with aggressive customers, and the use of vocabulary in accordance with the type of customer with whom they are interacting, thus personalizing the service. The operators mentioned the strategy of changing the way they relate to the customer, using calm or objectivity ("by our manner of speaking, he understands, you succeed in dominating him If you speak in a calm way and it does not work, you have to be more objective"), asking for respect from the client, alerting him/her that the call is being taped ("if you keep behaving like this, using this tone of voice or keep using these kinds of words, horrible, I am compelled to end this call").

Cognitive Strategies

Cognitive strategy involved the management of an affective state or its display using cognitive resources, such as reflecting about oneself, the other, and/or the situation. Interpersonal strategies were identified as being taught

by the organization to the operators and so were cognitive strategies, according to the following statements:

I try to think I am there to help him. I am only working for the organization and I am here transmitting a rule of the bank. I learned in training that when the customer is offending us, he is offending the bank. I try to look at the situation as an outsider: if it were me at this moment, how would I be feeling?

In situations in which the cognitive strategies of the individual repertoire are predominant, the call center operators reported they “talk to God” in difficult moments and “listen” to His advice, they think of other things, remind themselves that the customer is someone not acquainted to them, so therefore it is not worth having unpleasant feelings toward him/her. Besides, they said they thought of the situation as momentary, they would never meet the customer again and that s/he would not be able to physically harm them.

Therefore, the importance of the successful accomplishment of emotion work in the organization is evident, otherwise the worker risks losing his job. Such risk increases if any small mistake is identified in the continuous monitoring system: “You might answer hundreds of calls, but that one in which you made a mistake might be the one monitored.”

The Worker

In relation to this thematic axis, the following will be discussed: (a) risks to well-being and health, (b) evaluations of the occupation, (c) evaluations of the organization, (d) social support from co-workers, and (e) social support from the family.

Risks to Well-Being and Health

Emotion work may represent an affective cost to the worker. It is especially identified in the operators’ responses when they do not succeed (“when I get one of these clients, I really don’t like it; there are clients that make my day miserable! Unfortunately, I get really involved with the situation”). It consequently generated concrete consequences caused by an increase in mistakes, leading to the possibility of dismissal, and subsequent risks to the operator’s well-being and health. These consequences could be observed when the operator displayed certain symptoms, became ill, could not let go of an episode or work for the rest of the day, or when s/he arrived home

(“that load stays inside, every time the memories come to my mind, at night it is even worse, I stay at home questioning myself. If I somehow made a mistake, I keep wondering, was I too rude to her?”).

The reactions, symptoms, and pathologies mentioned by the call center operators were stress, headaches, throwing up, crying, inability to think, pain, one side of the body feeling numb, panic syndrome, and pathologies in the spine and vocal chords. When these reactions were displayed by the operators, work was avoided, as work was perceived as the source of the problems that triggered such physical and mental consequences. A call center operator, when revealing his opinion, indicated the reason why this occupation has such a high turnover rate: “Rendering call center services is very complicated, other people might get stressed or become ill for reasons related to work in six, seven years; here we easily get sick in two years.”

Evaluations of the Occupation

In evaluating the occupation, negative images predominated. The call center operators reported that their work generates tension, is repetitive, tiring, competitive, stressful, and there is nothing to create or develop. These characteristics led to the call center operators viewing the occupation as temporary. However, one call center operator expressed different perceptions, which she believes are present in operators with more and less schooling: “People with less schooling think the call center job is wonderful, so you sit down, you put on the headset, do your job and go home . . . And people with more schooling think the job is alienating.”

Evaluations of the Organization

However, the *negative* evaluation of the occupation was tolerated throughout the working day, due to the *positive* evaluation they have of the organization (“there are a lot of people not satisfied, but it’s not with the organization”; “I personally consider this service the best there is in Brazil”). The positive aspects cited were: (i) continuous feedback to foster adequate ways of interaction; (ii) the possibility of speaking in a personalized way, not having to follow interaction scripts strictly; (iii) the fact that when they are unable to answer calls anymore, they may pass the work on to the coordination, or, in extreme situations, the organization sends the employee home to rest; (iv) receiving constant training; (v) friendly

relationships; and (vi) motivation is maintained by various means, such as campaigns for the achievement of goals. Some call center operators attributed such valued actions to the regional manager.

Social Support from the Co-Worker

The call center operators mentioned the importance of comprehensive feedback coming from coordinators and supervisors, as they feel better when their mistakes are addressed with the intention of alerting them. The operators, however, pointed out that compliments relating to some aspect of their work were indispensable, “to praise your qualities.” Therefore, they stressed the need for confidence, acknowledgement, and an exchange of experiences coming from their superiors (“you depend on being valued by your boss”). As for the co-workers in the sector they work in, “during the times we are not answering the customers, we are available, waiting for calls, that’s the time we rest a while, when it is possible talking, we don’t get too stressed.” In these situations, to talk about an incident that happened during the last call or about other subjects in order to forget it, helps them to recover for the next calls. Specifically in the organization investigated, the moments for social support at work (backstage regions) occurred in the bathroom, in the lunch room, and during interactions with co-workers and supervisors during the pauses between calls. The co-workers’ social support also appeared when one worker did not point out a co-worker’s mistake, not registering it in the control system but trying to minimize the customer’s complaint against the operator by informing the customer that a system error had occurred (i.e., removing the co-worker’s responsibility).

Social Support from the Family

The discourse of a call center operator was particularly enlightening in this respect. She associated her affective state, considered by her as difficult and very vulnerable during a certain period, to the fact that she came from the countryside and was living alone in Salvador.

Factors Favoring Work

Besides the positive perceptions regarding the organization, some facilitating factors were also identified in the reports. These were soon to

have contributed to making the working day more pleasant and revealing discourses involving positive and negative aspects of the work: (a) enjoyment in working with people, (b) experience in the occupation/task, (c) customer's positive state of humor, and (d) call center operator's positive state of humor.

Enjoyment in Working with People

Some call center operators revealed they were fond of the work because they enjoyed rendering services to the public. They enjoyed talking, were patient, were empathic regarding others' problems, and were able to offer solutions. Besides overall enjoyment in dealing with customers, they showed affection for their co-workers and friends, and expressing the idea that the work team was like a big family. In the following report, it is noticeable that emotion work cannot be interpreted as a factor that necessarily generated negative consequences:

I like to talk, being alone bothers me. You get to develop the capacity to verbalize and to communicate you have, actually you keep on evolving, sometimes you make a mistake, but sometimes you get it right, I think you succeed more than you make mistakes when you intend to seek the benefit from it.

Experience in the Occupation/Task

Experience in the occupation and in the task also facilitated the work in this field, as it was seen to give the worker more self-confidence who, when feeling well, communicates in a surer, more assertive way. This resulted in shorter calls, thereby reducing possibilities of conflict with the clients ("usually it goes like this, when you know a product, you are sure about it, the call goes easy"; "you don't keep searching for adequate words too much, you go straight to the point, without being too informal").

Call Center Operator's Positive State of Humor

According to the reports, the clients and call center operators' states of humor were at times also facilitators in the telephone interactions. The operators were very explicit regarding the fact that feeling good on a certain day contributes in being successful in the calls, that is to say when emotion work turned out well. They also acknowledged that having a good sense of

humor influenced the client's affective state ("if you are well, easy, you transmit it to the client, don't you?"). Thus, difficult interactions were better managed when the call center operators used their own affective state to influence the client's feelings, behavior, and perception.

Customer's Positive State of Humor

On the other hand, the client's positive state of humor also favored the interaction, since it occasioned quick calls, empathic interactions on both sides, and was a source of social support. "There are others who come with a tranquil spirit, cheer you up, compliment you and even bless you." Some clients asked the operator to transmit the compliments s/he received to their supervisors or to the operator's family, increasing the workers' self-esteem and positively influencing their feelings. It showed that social support for the accomplishment of emotion work did not come only from co-workers, supervisors, and the family. Interestingly, it also came from the clients themselves, when they acknowledged the quality of the service provided and "they please you because they compliment, give support."

Factors Increasing Difficulties at Work

Since factors favoring work have already been presented, it is appropriate to pinpoint the factors that hamper work in this field: (a) customer's negative state of humor, (b) call center operator's negative state of humor, (c) communication mediated by telephone, (d) a co-worker's mistake, and (e) customer's refusal to accept the information transmitted.

Customer's Negative State of Humor

The call center operators were also sensitive to the customer's negative state of humor, wherein the customer also influenced the worker's affective state, triggering diverse affective reactions during the working day that needed constantly to be self-managed.

In a nutshell, the call center operators felt that the customer's negative state of humor interfered with their mood, especially when they were not well ("the client becomes irritated and you get even worse"). The call center operators evidenced the importance of and difficulty in performing emotion work in their occupation. They also pointed out the emotionally vulnerable

situation in which they were, which demanded flexibility to act in different ways, according to the client's type of approach:

Because another client comes, in another mood, one has to try to forget and treat this one better. We have to have the same mind set when answering different clients, but one can't succeed at it . . . Each client is different, if it doesn't work one way, it works the other.

Call Center Operator's Negative State of Humor

The call center operator's state of humor may favor the interaction with the client, as formerly mentioned, but it can also be a hampering factor. When the operators did not feel emotionally well, they tended to forget where they could find the information in the computer operational system, and so the call took longer, making the client impatient. Mistakes and intolerance toward the client were reported as being most frequent during the days they were not well. Such days were especially mentioned by the women as those days in which they were going through premenstrual tension. They believed this situation strongly influenced their humor. Other reasons explaining their states of not being well were: (i) the occurrence of something at home or concerning the family or (ii) the occurrence of something at work, for instance a situation wherein the call center operator refers to a change in his work schedule made by the organization as the event triggering a negative mood. This was an extreme situation, in which the organization suggested the worker should go home.

Communication by Telephone

Some operators referred to the communication by telephone as a factor that hampered the interaction, as they did not receive any visual feedback from the caller. There is no exchange of paralinguistic communication (gestures and expressions), which usually facilitates interpersonal communication, especially recognition of the client's affective state so that the operators can accomplish emotion work. One participant believed the clients developed more empathy toward the worker when they interacted face-to-face.

Co-Worker's Mistake

The participants reported that in a situation where a co-worker has made a mistake, usually involving a recently employed worker, the situation

becomes really tense in the interaction with the clients. These callers had already become irritated, offering few chances to the operator to speak, sometimes subverting these workers' cognitive resources:

During such moments, seems like you even lose the ability to reason, you know? Boy, I'm even being prohibited to think ... Because you have several thoughts, several other tools to solve that situation and you know there won't be a solution because the client will not listen to you!

Furthermore, besides the feeling of impotence induced by the caller not accepting possible solutions, the call center operators also reported they felt impotent when a mistake had already been made and the situation could not be rectified.

Customer's Refusal to Accept the Information Transmitted

Another circumstance in which the interaction between customer and operator was made difficult occurred when there was a customer's refusal to accept information; especially situations where the customer denied or distorted the information given by the operators. This was often done in such a way that the latter reported they had to change the way of transmitting the information, the tone of voice, or even repeat it until the customer accepted it. If this did not work, the call was transferred to someone hierarchically superior, who had the same information to transmit ("you do the same thing everyday, what varies is just the kind of customer, him accepting or not: you have to show arguments, reason ... So, the procedures are the same").

DISCUSSION

Affective self-management strategies used to perform emotion work were of two kinds: cognitive and behavioral. It was possible to observe that the use of self-management strategies in order to perform emotion work was marked by fluidity, wherein different strategies complemented each other, demonstrating the dynamic characteristics of the phenomenon studied. This data reveal how affective self-management strategies are part of the call center work routine, being central to the service interactions, in accordance with the results of Newman et al.'s (2007) research. It was observed mainly

in interactions considered difficult, as self-management strategies in interactions with the customers considered to be easy were not found.

In using different emotional self-management strategies, we noticed that emotion work appears to demand flexibility, due to the fact that the individual needs to pay close attention to the needs of the caller with whom s/he interacts, interpreting these needs according to the circumstances. Such reports evince the presence of variations in the accomplishment of emotion work, as each operator–client interaction is unique, requiring different self-management strategies.

It is important to point out the distinction between strategies taught by the organization and personal strategies for didactic purposes. It is recognized here, however, that they are overlapping, especially because, after being taught, a strategy tends to become part of the operator's personal repertoire. However, it is done with the purpose of demonstrating that the organization has alternative ways to manage problems that might occur in rendering such services. This occurs especially when the organization offers the call center operators possible solutions which they did not have before.

The cognitive strategies taught by the organization underpin the organization's expectations that call center operators are able to establish an empathetic relationship with the customer. This, they are expected to see themselves in the customer's shoes in order to minimize difficult situations, and reflect on the situation so as not to express negative feelings toward the customer. This stresses the demand for integrative feelings, mentioned by Wharton and Erickson (1993), Grandey (2000), Montgomery and Panagopolou (2006), and Zapf et al. (2003). In the case of the call center operators in this study, the accomplishment of emotion work was aimed at influencing the customer to purchase products or to become loyal to the organization, in accordance with what Hochschild (1983) and Rafaeli and Sutton (1991) stated.

Based on the results of our study, it seems that factors pertaining to the work context, such as those considered as favoring or causing difficulties, as well as the worker's individual characteristics, influence the choice of self-management strategies. Despite the varied use of both strategies, they are intertwined and displayed in a complementary way, as the simultaneous performance of several predominantly cognitive activities (e.g., reading, listening, speaking, writing) is filled with constant demands for emotion work accomplishment. This involves not only affective aspects, but also cognitive ones. Moreover, the act of complementing, which is present in the use of both strategies, could be observed in the call center operators' practice, since dealing with clients demanded knowing how to use cognitive resources, so the operator could reflect about him/herself, the other, or the

situation, in order to finally modify his/her own affective state. The results found are in agreement with recent studies which also found that feelings and cognitions are strongly intertwined processes, both being important to understanding human behavior in work contexts.

The call center operators had to feel or display integrative feelings, which are those considered to be positive for social interactions, as they favor the maintenance of relations and establish good closure for them, reinforcing the other's well-being. In order for emotion work to be characterized in this way, call center managers usually refer to the fact that call center operators need to demonstrate a "smile in the voice," meaning (specifically in the organization studied) being calm, courteous, and empathetic, with the purpose of keeping the customer loyal and satisfied. Thus, emotion work was required to exert an influence on the customers' feelings and perceptions toward the service.

Many scholars, mainly those focusing their investigations on the negative consequences of emotion work, warn that emotion work may cause personal cost, referred to by Ferreira and Mendes (2001) as *affective cost*. However, these scholars point out that this cost might be softened by concrete actions coming from the organization. Such actions were found in the organization investigated, when it perceived the call center operators could not always handle the affective cost of emotion work, offering them resources and teaching them self-management strategies.

This characteristic of the organization strongly influenced the choices of self-management strategies, as the operators used more the strategies taught by the organization (certain interpersonal and cognitive strategies) than their own personal repertoire. It leads us to believe that the call center operators were constantly attentive to the organization's display rules, seeking to fulfill the organization's demands, favoring the use of formal strategies, explicitly taught and legitimized by it, though they also used individualized strategies coming from their own personal repertoires.

The organization, co-workers, and family's perception of social support strengthened the affective bonds. This created possibilities for the workers to share their difficulties, diminishing the emotional impact with which they dealt when having to manage difficult interactions, and softening the experience of accomplishing emotion work.

Thus, we concluded that managing interactions, which would create tension in many situations, demanded personal effort. Such effort depends on the individual's traits and temperament, on tolerating the dissonance between what one feels and what one should feel, and on the process of socialization to which the worker is submitted, including the emotional support given to him/her.

We found there were often different reports regarding the emotional support offered by the organization. In particular, it has become clear from our findings that it is important for organizations to offer the worker alternatives and support (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Ben-Zur & Yagil, 2005; Boyle, 2005; Grebner et al., 2003; Montgomery & Panagopolou, 2006; Opengard, 2005). Furthermore, we found that a certain level of autonomy on the part of the worker is important, especially concerning ways to defend him/herself during interactions with aggressive customers by being assertive and establishing limits to the customer's behavior. This empowerment provides the individual with a psychological defense against aggression, as the workers have more evidence that the organization trusts, respects, and offers them support (Ben-Zur & Yagil, 2005).

Strengths and Limitations

The main limitations of this study is that our findings were derived from the idiosyncrasies of the organization studied, which teaches the workers' self-management strategies and is positively evaluated by them. It is not possible to assume that what happened in this specific work context will be found in other contexts. This especially applies to call centers where the organization and the working conditions are negatively perceived by the workers. Furthermore, the focus on one organization limits the possibility of generalizing the results to other populations, both within and beyond call centers. Another limitation has to do with the exclusive use of self-reports. Moreover, the phenomenon could have been better explored if, during the interviews, the call center operators had used more narratives, and offered more detailed information.

It is suggested, for future research, that other social actors involved in the emotion work process be investigated, such as the supervisors, the worker's family, and the customers, in order to broaden understanding of the phenomenon. Furthermore, taking into account that the emotion work is complex and multidimensional, involving socially constructed and subjective experiences, the carrying out of new Brazilian research with similar and different methodological designs is important, so the results may be compared and the phenomenon may be better understood.

One strength of the study is the fact that it focused, not only on the subjective aspects of the call center operators' emotional experience, but also on aspects dealing with the external control of the phenomenon based on a psychosocial perspective.

We believe that the results of the present study may stimulate further investigation of feelings in the Brazilian work context, especially embracing social interaction between workers of the service sector and customers. Moreover, the theoretical and empirical development of this field may generate medium and long-term contributions, involving training, acknowledging, evaluating, performing, and offering support to emotion work. Thus, this investigation creates new possibilities for empirical studies, which involve the construction of knowledge on emotion work, an ever-present phenomenon in the work context, though little explored in Brazil.

CONCLUSIONS

In this study, we intended to investigate feelings at work in Brazil, especially in the service sector, where managing feelings has become an important currency, as these organizations present display rules governing interactions with clients. To this end, we proposed a characterization of emotion work in call center services, and carried out an investigation to understand the dynamics involved in accomplishing emotion work in this occupation, the display rules required of the operator, the operators' work context in the organization, and the self-management strategies of the affective states utilized. As such, our study enabled an initial understanding of emotion work among call center operators in Brazil.

It is important to clarify the prominence given to the strategies taught by the organization, emphasizing the fact that it teaches the operators to deal more effectively with their emotions. This is a sign that the organization acknowledges that not all the employees, even though trained, will conform to the expected behavior. By doing this, the organization recognizes the probability of the existence of a negative emotional impact on the employee when s/he accomplishes emotion work. This is the reason why organizations need to offer support to their workers in order to reduce this negative impact. They can accomplish this by suggesting alternative ways of thinking and behaving to the call center operators so that they can deal better with situations of conflict.

Overall, the possible consequences for the worker evidenced the organizations' need to be alert to ways of reducing negative consequences and to be more concerned about providing support for the performance of emotion work. Some of the ways this can be done is by having employees go through systematic training, or by means of the training of coordinators and supervisors in order to offer emotional support to those working directly with the customer, of whom one requires more intense emotion work.

We found that, in order to accomplish work tasks successfully, the emotional process work must occur before, during, and after a service encounter. Workers need social support from co-workers of the same hierarchical or superior level (backstage regions) and from their families (offstage regions), besides support from the organization and from the customer. Social support is important to assure that the worker doing the emotion work maintains health and well-being. By posing a challenge, the successful accomplishment of emotion work can also provide a feeling of satisfaction.

By offering workers more freedom to personalize their attention to the customer, organizations do not see their employees as simple receivers of work orientation, but as active subjects, who could help minimize problems. This is because the operators' contact with the customers enabled them to foresee typical difficulties, to enhance their participative control in rendering, and to improve services. This was found in the reports of the call center operators participating in this study, when they informally used display rules. Thus, a game of forces, adjustments, and negotiations took place, wherein the employees followed the organization's rules, but sometimes also adapted them and transmitted them to their co-workers, using display rules informally.

In this sense, it is not appropriate to take into account only one side of the equation, wherein only the possible negative consequences of emotion work are evinced. This oversimplifies the comprehension of the phenomenon, since one would be granting the worker only the role of victim. On the other side, the call center operators in our study also seemed satisfied when they succeeded in accomplishing emotion work, since they were challenged in performing emotion work in a work day considered to be repetitive.

We conclude that failing to see workers as active participants in work relations, focusing only on the possible negative consequences of emotion work, and viewing the worker exclusively as the victim, limits comprehension of the phenomenon. In particular, the call center operators in our study also reported a sense of satisfaction when successfully accomplishing emotion work, a challenging task in a repetitive working day, and one subject to differing emotional demands with each operator–customer interaction.

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CHAPTER 8

ORGANIZATIONAL EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE AND PERFORMANCE: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

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ABSTRACT

In this chapter, we extend existing models of individual and collective emotional intelligence to the organizational level and provide an empirical study on the performance impact of organizational emotional intelligence. We propose that organizational emotional intelligence is composed of the average level of individual emotional intelligence of organization members and the collectively shared emotionally intelligent norms, values, and behaviors that shape their interaction. Across 156 organizations, we demonstrate sufficient within-organization consistency and between-organization difference to consider emotional intelligence a collective organizational characteristic. In addition, we show that the level of organizational emotional intelligence is positively associated with operational performance, financial performance, and innovation performance, and negatively associated with involuntary absence. Thus, organizational emotional intelligence can be considered a valuable asset for organizations.

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INTRODUCTION

While knowledge of affect at the individual and the group level has grown over the years (for reviews, see e.g., Barsade & Gibson, 2007; Brief & Weiss, 2002; Elfenbein, 2007), research on affective phenomena at the organizational level has remained relatively scant. Still, entire organizations ought to be seen and investigated as emotional entities (Ashkanasy & Ashton-James, 2007; Fineman, 1996, 2007), since “affect permeates virtually every aspect of organizational life” (Barsade & Gibson, 2007, p. 51). The first studies conceptualizing and investigating emotions and moods at the organizational level that have appeared discuss the role of affective climates and affective cultures in organizations (e.g., Albrow, 1997; Ashkanasy & Nicholson, 2003; Beyer & Niño, 2001; Bruch & Ghoshal, 2003; Cole, Bruch, & Vogel, 2005; Fineman, 2007; Liu & Perrewè, 2005; Ostroff, 1992). Conversely, the role of affective competences relevant for processing and managing affective states in organizations has hardly been addressed (for a notable exception on affective competences beneficial for realizing radical change in organizations, see Huy, 1999). In particular, there appears to be no empirical study on such affective competences at the organizational level.

On the individual level, affective competences are captured within the construct of emotional intelligence (Mayer & Salovey, 1997; Salovey & Mayer, 1990). Most researchers agree emotional intelligence includes the ability to recognize and express emotions adequately, the ability to make shrewd use of emotional states to facilitate performance, the ability to understand the causes and consequences of emotions for oneself and others, and the ability to regulate emotions (Davies, Stankov, & Roberts, 1998).¹ Emotional intelligence may also be a suitable concept to describe higher order affective competences. In this vein, researchers considered emotional intelligence on the group level (e.g., Côté, 2007; Druskat & Wolff, 2001; Elfenbein, 2005; Feyerherm & Rice, 2002; Jordan, Ashkanasy, Härtel, & Hooper, 2002). Group emotional intelligence² embraces, on the one hand, the emotional intelligence group members individually contribute and, on the other hand, the norms, values, and behaviors a group has internalized to behave in an emotionally intelligent manner (Elfenbein, 2005).

While these research efforts earn the merit for establishing an understanding of emotional abilities on a collective level, important limitations remain with regard to the organizational level. In particular, it is unclear whether the performance outcomes of emotional intelligence obtained at the

individual and group level also apply to the organizational level. Previous studies have shown group emotional intelligence is related with performance *within* organizations (e.g., Feyerherm & Rice, 2002; Jordan et al., 2002). However, empirical research on the relationship of collective emotional intelligence with performance *between* organizations is absent; although theoretically there are good reasons to assume that such an association exists. For instance, organizations with high levels of emotional intelligence may be able to facilitate more efficient collaboration (Sy & Côté, 2004), to resolve conflict more effectively (Yang & Mossholder, 2004), to create emotionally more appealing prolific work environments (George, 2002), to foster adequate emotion regulation to persevere in challenging times (Huy, 1999), to tune into creativity enhancing states (Zhou & George, 2003), and to provide a psychologically healthy work place (Jain & Sinha, 2005). If we could show that higher levels of organizational emotional intelligence are associated with better organizational performance, then the extent of organizational emotional intelligence becomes an important asset for organizations.

In the present study, we address these issues. We establish and test the assumption that organizations with high levels of emotional intelligence perform better than organizations with low levels of emotional intelligence. We intend to contribute to the literature on collective emotional intelligence and organizational performance in at least two ways. First, by establishing organizational emotional intelligence as a higher level construct that may be seen as a collective attribute of organizations, we aim to extend prior approaches to collective emotional intelligence. We empirically test the existence of organizational emotional intelligence in a diverse sample of 156 organizations. Second, we establish a link between organizational emotional intelligence and organizational performance. Drawing from previous research on affect, emotional intelligence, and performance (e.g., Arvey, Renz, Watson, & Ferris, 1998; Ashkanasy, 2004; Barsade & Gibson, 2007; Mayer, Roberts, & Barsade, 2008), we propose and examine that emotionally intelligent organizations have a better operational and financial performance and are more capable of innovations and less prone to involuntary absence. Thereby, we contribute to the search for links with organizational performance (e.g., Barney, 1991) and connect, specifically, to the literature on affect as such a link (e.g., Barsade & Gibson, 2007). To test the association between organizational emotional intelligence and organizational performance, we provide empirical results stemming from both subjective and objective organizational performance data.

HYPOTHESES DEVELOPMENT

Organizational Emotional Intelligence

While researchers have mostly investigated how individuals or groups are affected by emotions and moods at work (e.g., Elfenbein, 2007; Mannix, Neale, & Anderson, 2007), recently, affect has also been considered an organizational level phenomenon (e.g., Ashkanasy & Ashton-James, 2007; Barsade, Brief, & Spataro, 2003; Huy, 1999; Liu & Perrewè, 2005). For example, concepts such as emotional climate address collectively shared emotional experiences that may encompass entire organizations (Ashkanasy & Nicholson, 2003; De Rivera, 1992; Gordon, 1989).

Whenever affect is present, some sort of affect processing – and the competence to do so – must also be present (cf. George, 2002; Gross, 2007). For organizational affect, the processing occurs both in the individual experiencing the affect and in the collective sharing the affect. Thus, organizational emotional intelligence manifests in the combination of both (a) the average level of individual emotional intelligence of organization members and (b) the collective utilization of emotional intelligence through emotionally intelligent norms, values, and behaviors. In other words, for organizational emotional intelligence to emerge, organization members must not only possess emotional intelligence, but also need to express and apply their emotional intelligence in their interaction with others in the organization. In such interactions, organization members make use of and spread emotionally intelligent norms, values, and behaviors and thereby shape organizational life. Translated into a composition model, we propose that organizational emotional intelligence is reflected in the average level of emotional intelligence of individuals within an organization, provided that these scores are sufficiently similar (cf., Chan, 1998; Côté, 2007).

Organizational emotional intelligence is likely to be comparatively homogeneous within organizations due to attraction–selection–attrition and socialization processes. First, Schneider's (1987) attraction–selection–attrition model may help explain the accumulation of emotionally intelligent people within an organization. The attraction–selection–attrition model describes at the organizational level of analysis that similar individuals are attracted to and selected by organizations, while dissimilar individuals are likely to leave these organizations through attrition. Therefore, individuals with high emotional intelligence are likely to be attracted to and selected by organizations whose employees have high emotional intelligence. For instance, in selection interviews, emotionally intelligent individuals may

assess each other's emotional competences more adequately and may connect with each other more positively (cf. Elfenbein, Foo, Boldry, & Tan, 2006). In contrast, individuals with low emotional intelligence may leave the organization through attrition, because they feel incompetent in this environment, may have difficulties to connect emotionally with others in the organization, or may fall behind because they are not able use their emotions to facilitate performance. As a result, the attraction–selection–attrition process leads to an increase in homogeneity in emotional intelligence within one organization.

Second, socialization may explain the collective sharing of norms, values, routines, and behaviors that foster emotionally intelligent interaction. Socialization generally comprises learning processes that new members of organizations go through to appreciate and internalize important organizational values, norms, expectations, and manners (Fisher, 1986). Consequently, organization members may adopt the emotionally intelligent behavioral patterns from their colleagues as well as the norms and values that the organization fosters to create an emotionally intelligent way of working (Huy, 1999). For example, Gibson (1995) argued that organizations shape emotional scripts to encourage certain emotion regulation mechanisms among their employees. In a similar vein, Barsade and Gibson (2007) refer to research on affective cultures, which are normative systems of organizations shaping the way in which employees express their feelings. Within such a context, organization members may not only use, but also share, promote, and pass on the acquired emotionally intelligent behavioral patterns, norms, and values to colleagues and newcomers. As a result, socialization, too, causes an increase in homogeneity in emotional intelligence within one organization. In sum, attraction–selection–attrition and socialization processes may contribute to a high degree of similarity in emotional intelligence in organizations, leading to our first hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1. There is sufficient within-organization consistency and between-organization difference for emotional intelligence to be considered an organizational level construct.

Operational and Financial Performance

Emotional intelligence is supposed to serve a variety of important organizational goals (Abraham, 1999) and may contribute to higher levels of organizational performance. We draw from several lines of research to

argue that organizational emotional intelligence is associated with operational and financial performance. First, emotional intelligence may generally be employed to fulfill work-related tasks. For instance, individual emotional intelligence or dimensions thereof relate to workplace effectiveness (e.g., Elfenbein, Foo, White, Tan, & Aik, 2007) and to employee performance in general (e.g., Côté & Miners, 2006; Elfenbein & Ambady, 2002; Lopes, Grewal, Kadis, Gall, & Salovey, 2006; Lyons & Schneider, 2005). Similarly, collective emotional intelligence or dimensions thereof relate to performance. Feyerherm and Rice (2002) showed that two elements of group emotional intelligence (understanding emotions and managing emotions) were positively correlated with measures of group performance. Jordan et al. (2002) found a link between group emotional intelligence and team process effectiveness as well as team goal focus.

Second, emotional intelligence facilitates collaboration within organizations which in turn may enhance performance. Emotionally intelligent employees are able to express their own emotions and perceive other's emotions better and are, thereby, able to communicate more effectively (Elfenbein & Ambady, 2002). Since emotions often convey meaning, being able to decipher these meanings and to understand the ambitions and worries of others may considerably smoothen collaboration. Note that these competences are particularly helpful in the organizational context, in which people not only work with familiar others (as in teams), but often have to refer to more distal contacts within the organization to complete tasks. In addition, emotionally intelligent employees are supposed to develop better relationships and richer social networks, which in turn improve cooperation with others within their unit and across units (Sy & Côté, 2004). Collective emotional intelligence has also been suggested to reduce relationship conflicts, to enhance useful solutions to disagreements, and to avoid downward emotional spirals and escalating conflicts (Yang & Mossholder, 2004). Therefore, emotional intelligence facilitates to handle conflicts constructively and to counteract silo-thinking. Hence, we assume emotionally intelligent interaction among colleagues, groups, units, and departments is supportive for the success of organizations.

Third, emotional intelligence may help to create affective environments that are beneficial for certain organizational outcomes. For example, Mayer and colleagues note that the "creation of positive affect by people with higher EI may be especially important because it can spread among groups via emotional contagion" (Mayer et al., 2008, p. 524). Indeed, it can even spread beyond the group level throughout entire organizations (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008). Positive collective affect has been associated with, for

instance, higher levels of customer service, lower absenteeism, and better performance (Barsade, 2002; Fredrickson, 2003; George, 1996; Patterson, Warr, & West, 2004). In addition, positive collective affect is important for the activation and mobilization of organizations (Bruch & Ghoshal, 2003; Cole et al., 2005). Therefore, the extent to which members of an organization are emotionally intelligent may determine the degree to which they are able to generate and maintain adequate affective states that are beneficial for fulfilling work-related tasks and reaching organizational goals.

Fourth, emotional intelligence may be necessary to handle emotional situations crucial for the organization. For instance, organizational change periods have been shown to be particularly emotionally demanding situations (e.g., Huy, 2002; Kiefer, 2005; Matheny & Smollan, 2005). In such periods, adequate organization-wide emotion regulation and coping strategies are essential for the success of the change effort (Liu & Perrewè, 2005). For the scenario of radical change, Huy (1999) specified organizational emotional capabilities that are necessary for successful transformation. Thus, organizations depend on emotion regulation competences to master emotionally challenging situations. In sum, there are many ways in which organizations may benefit from accumulating emotional intelligence. These benefits should culminate in better overall organizational performance outcomes.

Organizational performance is generally assumed to consist of operational and financial performance (Combs, Crook, & Shook, 2005). Operational performance describes the proper functioning of organizational processes and pertains, for example, to productivity, efficiency, and retention. Financial performance refers to the results the organization obtains and includes, for example, accounting returns, market returns, and growth. Operational performance is supposed to relate closer to the abilities, attitudes, and behaviors of employees than financial performance (Dyer & Reeves, 1995). Financial performance is a more remote outcome of abilities and behaviors, since a wide variety of other factors such as strategy and market dynamics have a considerable impact, too (Becker & Huselid, 1998; Combs, Yongmei, Hall, & Ketchen, 2006). Still, based on the multiple beneficial performance effects discussed above we assume organizational emotional intelligence relates to both operational and financial performance.

Hypothesis 2a. Organizational emotional intelligence is positively associated to operational performance.

Hypothesis 2b. Organizational emotional intelligence is positively associated to financial performance.

Innovation Performance

Beyond the overall performance relationship, innovation performance may be a more-specific association of organizational emotional intelligence. Innovation is defined as the development and implementation of new ideas (Lawson & Samson, 2001; van de Ven, 1986), and describes a critically important factor for organizational success (Damanpour, 1991; James, Brodersen, & Jacob, 2004). While organization's innovation performance relies on a variety of aspects (Pierce & Delbecq, 1977; Shib-Chang, 2004; van de Ven, 1986), one particularly important aspect is creativity, that is the creation of a valuable, useful new products, services, or ideas (Amabile, 1988; Woodman, Sawyer, & Griffin, 1993; Zhou & Shalley, 2003).

As the creative process is laden with emotions, it may benefit substantially from emotional intelligence. Specifically, experiencing positive affect has been associated with enhanced creativity (Fredrickson, 1998; Isen, 1999). Recently, research findings have cast doubt on a straight association between positive affect and creativity, though (for a review, see James et al., 2004). For example, George and Zhou (2002) found a positive relationship between negative affect and creativity. An approach that combines both positive and negative affect has been brought forward by Fong (2006). In her thinking, creativity results from emotional ambivalence (i.e., a mixture of positive and negative emotions). These research streams reveal, on the one side, how intertwined affect and creativity are and, on the other side, how complex the relationship between affect and creativity is. Therefore, the intelligent use and regulation of affective states in the creative process may be key to a successful creative output (Zhou & George, 2003). We hold that organizations that are emotionally intelligent employ affective states adaptively to enhance the creative process. That way, they facilitate the development of valuable, useful new products, services, or ideas, strengthening the innovation performance of the organization.

Hypothesis 3. Organizational emotional intelligence is positively associated to innovation performance.

Involuntary Absence

Involuntary absence refers to the number of days employees call in sick. It is a critical organizational variable, since lost employee time is very costly. The

health of employees is determined by their individual physical and psychological constitution as well as by the physical and psychological harmlessness of their work place. We propose that organizational emotional intelligence is associated with employee health, because emotionally intelligent individuals are usually healthier and the organizational environment these individuals create is psychologically safer.

First, higher levels of individual emotional intelligence are related to better mental health, better psychosomatic health, and better physical health (for a recent meta-analysis, see Schutte, Malouff, Thorsteinsson, Bhullar, & Rooke, 2007). Generally, adequate perception, understanding, and management of emotions prevent the development of maladaptive emotional states. In a work context, emotional intelligence has been associated with general employee health (Jain & Sinha, 2005). Also, the ability to effectively manage emotions in the workplace helps employees to successfully cope with occupational stress (Oginska-Bulik, 2005). Finally, managers with high scores of emotional intelligence suffer less from subjective stress and experience better health and well-being (Slaski & Cartwright, 2002). In sum, emotionally intelligent individuals are less likely to suffer from psychological disorders, psychosomatic disorders, or physical diseases. At the same time, they are more likely to successfully deal with stress and engage in healthier behaviors. As a result, the involuntary absence rate of individuals with high emotional intelligence should be lower than the involuntary absence rate of individuals with low emotional intelligence.

Second, the collectively shared emotionally intelligent norms, values, and behaviors should contribute to a psychologically pleasant work environment. For example, George (2002) considers a sense of cooperation and trust, a win-win mentality, a shared optimism, and collective coping, if necessary, as the characteristics of collectives with high emotional intelligence. The emotionally intelligent norms, values, and behaviors inherent to these characteristics (e.g., treating others with respect, asking quite organization members for their opinion; Druskat & Wolff, 2001) are likely to reduce stress and increase positive affect. They may prevent mobbing and associated psychological problems such as burnout. In addition, greater optimism, better social relationships, more social support, and more satisfaction with social support are assumed to serve as buffers to physical illness (Schutte et al., 2007). Therefore, highly emotionally intelligent organizations are likely to provide a healthier psychological environment for employees, resulting in lower involuntary absence rates. In sum, the individual employee propensity to healthy living and the shared

psychological environment should result in lower involuntary absence in organizations with high organizational emotional intelligence as compared to organizations with low organizational emotional intelligence.

Hypothesis 4. Organizational emotional intelligence is negatively associated to involuntary absence.

METHOD

Sample Description and Data Collection Procedures

Of 189 organizations that initially showed interest in the study, in response to a marketing campaign 156 provided sufficient data over the course of the study, resulting in an organizational level response rate of 84%. Participating organizations were located in Germany, ranged in size from 18 to 4,503 employees (*median* = 132), and represented companies from a variety of industries, including services (52%), manufacturing (28%), trade (15%), and finance and insurance (5%). Each organization received a detailed technical benchmarking report in return for their participation.

Data were collected from several sources in three steps. First, at initial contact with the organizations, we gathered general information including organizations' size and industry affiliation from the organizations' HR executives or a member of the organizations' top management teams. Second, employee survey data were collected to assess emotional intelligence. Participating organizations sent a standardized e-mail invitation to all employees through their HR departments (if applicable) or through a top management team member's e-mail address, describing the study's purpose and providing a link to a web-based survey hosted by an independent third company (in a few instances, computer terminals were installed to enable the participation of employees without own company e-mail address). Based on an algorithm programmed in the survey web-site, 25% of the respondents were randomly directed to the survey about emotional intelligence, while the remaining respondents were directed to surveys not relevant to the research questions here inquired. Respondents were assured full anonymity. Third, between two and three weeks after the employee surveys were completed, we ran a web-based key informant survey to obtain performance data, hosted by an independent third company. These surveys were completed by organizations' HR executives or a member of their top management teams, who were assured confidentiality of their

responses. Across all organizations, all procedures were standardized to ensure equivalence of data collection.

The average within-organization response rate was 61% (*standard deviation* = 23%), with a total of 4,723 employees responding to the survey on emotional intelligence. Individual respondents represented more males (54%) than females (39%), with 7% choosing not to indicate their gender. The majority of respondents were between 25 and 50 years old (87%), and has been employed with their organization for more than 3 years (67%). The respondents to the key informant survey similarly represented males (54%) and females (46%); the majority were between 35 and 50 years old (69%) and has been employed with their organization for more than 5 years (74%).

Measures

All survey versions were translated to German through professional translators following a double-blind back-translation procedure to ensure semantic equivalence with the original English items (Schaffer & Riordan, 2003).

Organizational Emotional Intelligence

To capture organizational emotional intelligence, we used the Wong and Law Emotional Intelligence Scale (WLEIS: Law, Wong, & Song, 2004; Wong & Law, 2002). The WLEIS is a 16 item measure rooted in the ability model of emotional intelligence assessing four dimensions of emotional intelligence, namely *self-emotions appraisal*, *others-emotions appraisal*, *use of emotion*, and *regulation of emotion*. We adopted Law and colleagues' mode of other-ratings (Law et al., 2004), asking each participating employee to answer the emotional intelligence items with regard to the person that is currently supervising his or her work on a seven-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). With this approach, we managed to measure not only the level of individual emotional intelligence of the targeted person, but also how much emotional intelligence is expressed in this person's interaction with the rater. Prior research has employed this measure and revealed both its psychometric soundness and its utility for management studies (e.g., Law et al., 2004). Based on the rationale of a direct consensus model (Chan, 1998), we aggregated individual employees' emotional intelligence ratings into a single organizational-level measure of organizational emotional intelligence to create an organizational emotional intelligence score and to test Hypothesis 1.

Performance

The dependent performance variables include operational performance, financial performance, innovation performance, and involuntary absence. While we used subjective ratings to measure operational and financial performance as well as innovation performance, we used objective data to assess involuntary absence. Aware of the potential concerns regarding the use of subjective performance measures (Starbuck, 2004), we would like to emphasize that scholars recommend the use of a subjective assessment when using a cross-industry sample of different sized companies (e.g., Bamberger, Bacharach, & Dyer, 1989; Huang, 2001; Venkatraman & Ramanujam, 1987) and when examining medium-sized organizations (e.g., Dess & Robinson, 1984; Sapienza, Smith, & Gannon, 1988; Strandholm, Kumar, & Subramanian, 2004). In addition, previous research has demonstrated that there is substantial agreement between subjective and objective performance measures (Dess & Robinson, 1984; Wall et al., 2004), and thus, using subjective performance information has become common practice in research settings similar to ours (e.g., Acquaah, 2007; Bae & Lawler, 2000; Bowman & Ambrosini, 1997; Roca-Puig, Beltran-Martin, Escrig-Tena, & Bou-Lluser, 2007; Tan & Peng, 2003).

Respondents were asked to judge the organization's performance relative to that of their main competitors within the same industry on a seven-point scale from 1 (*weak*) to 7 (*strong*; cf. Wall et al., 2004). According to a recent description of operational and financial performance (Combs et al., 2005), operational performance was assessed through ratings of the organization's *productivity*, *efficiency*, and *retention*, and financial performance was assessed through ratings of the organization's *accounting returns*, *market returns*, and *growth*. To measure innovation performance, we used a similar approach and asked respondents to rate the *development of new products, services, and programs* and the *innovation strength*. Finally, to assess involuntary absenteeism, we asked respondents to report the *average number of sick days*. This objective indicator is sufficiently comparable across industries and company sizes. We performed a log transformation on the number of sick days, to reduce skewness in the distribution of this measure.

Control Variables

We control for organization size, because organization size has been shown to be related to various employee characteristics (e.g., Pierce & Gardner, 2004; Ragins, Cotton, & Miller, 2000; Schminke, Cropanzano, & Rupp, 2002) and might, therefore, bias our study findings. In line with other

research, we measured organization size by asking for the number of employees in the respective organization (converted to full-time equivalents). This measure is largely interchangeable with alternative operationalizations of organization size, such as companies' total assets (Agarwal, 1979; Koene, Vogelaar, & Soeters, 2002). A log transformation on the number of employees was performed to reduce skewness in the distribution.

Furthermore, we considered organizations' affiliation with one out of four broad classes of industries (i.e., services, manufacturing, trade, and finance and insurance) as a control to prevent industry differences from biasing relationships, following prior research (e.g., Dickson, Resick, & Hanges, 2006; Sine, Mitsuhashi, & Kirsch, 2006). Participant organizations were assigned four dummy-coded variables indicating their affiliation with each of the above industry categories (1 = belongs to the respective industry; 0 = does not belong to the respective industry).

Data Analyses

First, intraclass correlation coefficients (ICC[1] and ICC[2]; Bliese, 2000) and inter-rater agreement statistics (rwg; James, Demaree, & Wolf, 1984) were calculated to test Hypothesis 1 (i.e., the viability of aggregating emotional intelligence to the organizational level). While there are no absolute standards for these indices, ICC(1) values that are based on a significant *F* statistic from a one-way analysis of variance, ICC(2) values of more than 0.60, and median rwg values of more than 0.70 are usually considered sufficient (Bliese, 2000; Chen, Mathieu, & Bliese, 2004; Kenny & la Voie, 1985).

Since this study investigates the relationship between a single independent variable (organizational emotional intelligence) and four dependent variables (operational performance, financial performance, innovation performance, and involuntary absence), we conducted the data analyses using structural equation modeling. This approach allows to investigate several dependent variables simultaneously (Bollen, 1989). Following the two-step procedure suggested by Anderson and Gerbing (1988), we first estimated the fit of the expected measurement model, and second assessed the fit of structural models against the observed data. The proposed associations between organizational emotional intelligence and operational performance, financial performance, innovation performance, and involuntary absence were inspected as part of the structural model testing. A graphical illustration of our model is depicted in Fig. 1.

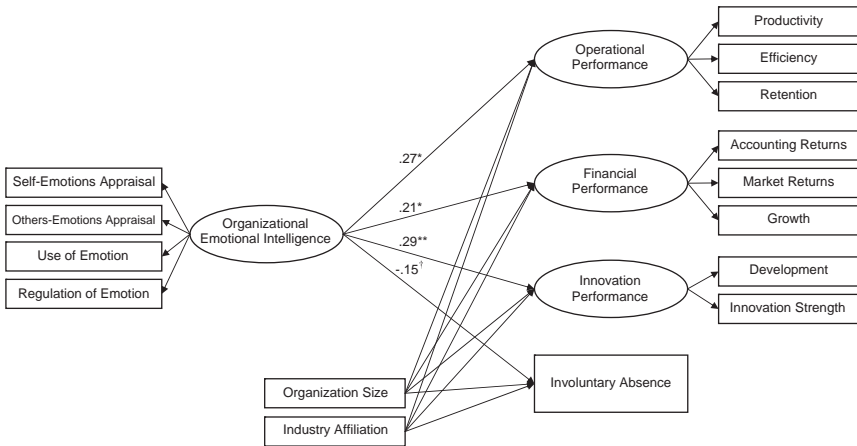


Fig. 1. The Proposed Model. Note: ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; † $p < 0.10$.

The analyses were conducted using AMOS 17. We employed the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA; Browne & Cudeck, 1993) to assess goodness-of-fit. The RMSEA examines the degree of divergence between the model-implied and the observed covariance matrix. A RMSEA value below 0.08 indicates that the specified model fits well with the observed data. We also inspected Bentler’s (1990) comparative fit index (CFI), which is relatively invariant to sample size. The suggested CFI threshold is 0.90. In addition, we calculated the adjusted χ^2/df ratio (Boruch & Wolins, 1970), with a 5:1 ratio or less indicating acceptable model fit (Schmitt & Bedeian, 1982).

RESULTS

Aggregation Statistics and Descriptive Statistics

Aggregation to the organizational level was appropriate for the measure of organizational emotional intelligence. In particular, we obtained acceptable values for both $ICC[1] = 0.07$ with $F[155, 4418] = 3.09$, $p < 0.001$ and $ICC[2] = 0.68$. The median $rwg = 0.77$ corroborates the plausibility of organizational emotional intelligence as an organizational level construct. Together, these aggregation indices provide support for Hypothesis 1.

Means, standard deviations, reliabilities, and bivariate correlations for all study variables are presented in Table 1. As expected, organizational emotional intelligence is positively correlated with operational performance

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations.

Variable	Correlations											
	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
1. Organizational emotional intelligence	3.67	0.33	(0.96)									
2. Operational performance	5.90	0.64	0.28**	(0.66)								
3. Financial performance	5.63	1.05	0.12	0.48**	(0.78)							
4. Innovation performance	5.78	1.10	0.20*	0.46**	0.31**	(0.84)						
5. Involuntary absence ^a	1.07	0.66	-0.21**	-0.01	0.08	-0.01						
6. Organization size ^a	5.07	1.16	-0.16†	0.00	0.18*	-0.03	0.28**					
7. Service ^b	0.52	0.50	0.22**	0.09	0.08	-0.16†	-0.15†	0.05				
8. Manufacturing ^b	0.28	0.45	-0.22**	0.03	0.13	0.14†	0.07	0.03	-0.65**			
9. Trade ^b	0.15	0.36	0.00	0.01	-0.01	0.05	0.09	-0.07	-0.44**	-0.27**		
10. Finance and insurance ^b	0.05	0.21	-0.04	-0.13	-0.08	-0.01	0.07	-0.05	-0.23**	-0.17†	-0.09	

Note: ** $p < .01$; * $p < 0.05$; † $p < 0.10$ (two-tailed). Internal consistency reliabilities are shown in brackets (Cronbach, 1951).

^aTo reduce skewness in the distribution, we performed a log transformation on this measure.

^bTo dummy code, we assigned a 1 to organizations belonging to the respective industry.

($r = 0.28$; $p < 0.001$) and with innovation performance ($r = 0.20$; $p < 0.05$) and negatively correlated with involuntary absence ($r = -0.21$; $p < 0.01$). Organizational emotional intelligence has no bivariate correlation with financial performance. The subjective performance dimensions (i.e., operational performance, financial performance, innovation performance) are moderately correlated ($r = 0.31$ to $r = 0.48$, $p < 0.001$). Thus, we run a confirmatory factor analysis to ensure that these dimensions are distinct. In comparison to a one factor model, in which all performance indicators loaded on a single latent performance variable, the model with three factors reflecting operational performance, financial performance, and innovation performance had a significantly better fit ($\Delta\chi^2 = 103.7$, $df = 3$, $p < 0.001$), thus confirming the three-dimensional structure.

It should be noted that both organizations' size and industry affiliations show significant bivariate correlations with several of the substantive study variables. Organizational emotional intelligence is less pronounced in larger organizations ($r = -0.16$; $p < 0.10$, marginally significant) and in manufacturing organizations ($r = -0.22$; $p < 0.01$) and more pronounced in service organizations ($r = 0.22$; $p < 0.01$). Financial performance is more enhanced in large organizations ($r = 0.18$; $p < 0.05$). Innovation performance is, with marginal significance, more amplified in manufacturing organizations ($r = 0.14$; $p < 0.10$) and less amplified in service organizations ($r = -0.16$; $p < 0.10$). Finally, involuntary absenteeism is higher in larger organizations ($r = 0.28$; $p < 0.001$) and reduced in service organizations ($r = -0.15$; $p < 0.10$, marginally significant). It was, therefore, both justified and necessary to control for organizations' size and industry affiliation in testing the study Hypotheses 2–4 (Becker, 2005).

Measurement Model

The measurement model consisted of two control variables (organization size, industry affiliation) and five focal variables: (1) Organizational emotional intelligence was estimated as a unidimensional construct, based on item parcels representing the four facets of emotional intelligence, namely self-emotions appraisal, others-emotions appraisal, use of emotion, and regulation of emotion. (2) Operational performance was estimated with three indicators representing organization's productivity, efficiency, and retention. Similarly, (3) financial performance was estimated with three indicators representing organization's accounting returns, market returns, and growth. (4) Innovation performance was estimated with two indicators

Table 2. Model Comparison.

Models	df	χ^2	χ^2/df	CFI	RMSEA
<i>Measurement model comparison</i>					
Independence model	153	963.43	6.30	0.00	0.19
One-factor model	109	495.51	4.55	0.52	0.15
Overall-performance model	103	241.38	2.34	0.83	0.09
Measurement model	88	111.50	1.27	0.97	0.04
<i>Structural equation model</i>					
Hypothesized model – main effects	95	128.85	1.36	0.96	0.05

for development of new products, services, and programs, and for innovation strength. Finally, (5) involuntary absenteeism was included in the analyses as a manifest variable representing the average number of sick days. All item indicator loadings were significant ($p < 0.001$). The average standardized item loadings were for organizational emotional intelligence 0.82, for operational performance 0.64, for financial performance 0.76, and for innovation performance 0.86.

Table 2 provides an overview of the obtained fit indices. The measurement model is a substantially better fit to the observed data than a one-factor model or a model with a single performance dimension. Results indicated $\chi^2 = 111.50$ ($\text{df} = 88$, $n = 156$, $p < .05$), with the adjusted χ^2/df ratio being 1.27:1. The RMSEA was 0.04, with a 90% confidence interval of 0.01–0.06, thus being well below the critical threshold. Similarly, the CFI of 0.97 suggests an appropriate fit of the measurement model to the observed data. In sum, the measurement model is acceptable.

Structural Model

The hypothesized paths between the latent constructs represent a main effects model, in which various dependent variables (i.e., the performance dimensions) are predicted by a single independent variable (i.e., organizational emotional intelligence), controlling for the influence of two control variables (i.e., organization size and industry affiliation). As shown in Table 2, we obtained a good model fit for the hypothesized pattern of associations ($\chi^2/\text{df} = 1.36$; CFI = 0.96; RMSEA = 0.05, with a 90% confidence interval of 0.02–0.07). Tests of the standardized path estimates between the latent constructs were mostly significant and in the expected directions, as illustrated in Fig. 1. Specifically, organizational emotional intelligence was

positively linked to operational performance ($\beta = 0.27, p < 0.05$), financial performance ($\beta = 0.21, p < 0.05$), innovation performance ($\beta = 0.29, p < 0.01$), and negatively linked to involuntary absence ($\beta = -0.15, p = 0.056$). For involuntary absence, the result is not significant; however, given that it exceeds the desired threshold by 0.006, it may be considered marginally significant. The variance explained in each endogenous variable was as follows: 10% of operational performance, 16% of financial performance, 15% of innovation performance, and 11% of involuntary absence. In conclusion, the analyses provide support for Hypotheses 1–4.

DISCUSSION

Previous research conceptualized and observed collective emotional intelligence on the group level and showed its association with group performance (e.g., Côté, 2007; Druskat & Wolff, 2001; Elfenbein, 2005; Feyerherm & Rice, 2002; Jordan et al., 2002). Our study has now taken collective emotional intelligence to the next level, arguing that entire organizations may be characterized as emotionally intelligent. In particular, we proposed and demonstrated empirically that there is sufficient within-organization consistency and between-organization difference to consider emotional intelligence a collective attribute of organizations. Emotionally intelligent organizations are likely to accrue emotionally intelligent individuals who develop, adopt, and spread emotionally intelligent norms, values, and behaviors shaping collective interaction. This, in turn, is associated with important performance outcomes. Our results reveal a positive relationship between the level of organizational emotional intelligence and the level of operational performance, implying that processes in emotionally intelligent organizations are more efficient and more productive, and that these organizations are more capable of retaining their employees over a longer time. In a similar vein, results reveal that organizational emotional intelligence is in line with financial performance. Employees' emotional competences and their collective emotionally intelligent interaction are associated with the organization's growth and its accounting and market returns. Furthermore, organizational emotional intelligence is associated with the organization's innovation performance. Apparently, organizational emotional intelligence enhances the creative process and fosters a beneficial environment for innovations. Finally, organizational emotional intelligence also proved to be relevant for employees' health. In particular, we found a marginally significant negative

association of organizational emotional intelligence with the number of sick days. Fascinatingly, organizational emotional intelligence has thus an impact on both subjective and objective organizational outcome measures. As organizational emotional intelligence contributes to a change in organizational performance and employees' health, it may alter the competitiveness of organizations and the life quality of their employees. In sum, our research shows empirically, for the first time, that organizational emotional intelligence is a useful and a valuable concept.

Practical Implications

There are several ways by which organizations can strengthen their collective emotional intelligence. First, to accumulate individual emotional intelligence, organizations may employ adequate selection and promotion mechanisms. For example, job candidates could be asked to complete an emotional intelligence test. In addition, interviewers could question candidates in job talks specifically about emotional situations and how they handled these situations, assessing the degree to which their actions fit the emotionally intelligent norms, values, and behaviors shared within the organization. Furthermore, the promotion of employees to higher positions should be dependent on their emotional abilities, especially since employees in higher positions exert considerably more influence on the affective climate within the organization than employees in lower positions (cf. George, 2002). Consequently, their emotional intelligence is comparatively more important.

Second, organizations may want to engage in the development of emotional intelligence. Measuring the specific competences associated with emotional intelligence may specify areas for improvement, both on the individual and on the aggregate level. Emotional intelligence trainings could further foster emotional skills and could potentially contribute to emotionally intelligent interaction (e.g., Lopes et al., 2006). For example, a study on the individual level demonstrated emotional intelligence training of managers resulted in increased emotional intelligence and better health and well being (Slaski & Cartwright, 2003).

Third, organizations should foster emotionally intelligent norms, values, and behaviors. For example, organizations could encourage open communication, a sense of identity, and mutual respect (Druskat & Wolff, 2001; Elfenbein, 2005). In addition, organizations may want to install healthy emotion expression norms. Finally, organizations should extend a culture

that generally recognizes the legitimacy of emotion (Ashkanasy, Härtel, & Zerbe, 2002).

Limitations and Future Research

Although this study has some methodological strength (e.g., independent data sources for focal study variables, objective and subjective performance data) and the results are encouraging, there are limitations that may call for attention in interpreting the results. First, although there was a certain time lag between assessing the independent and the dependent variables, the study design can not render causal inferences. In particular, it remains unclear whether organizational emotional intelligence is an antecedent or a concomitant of organizational performance. It appears less likely that organizational performance causes higher levels of organizational emotional intelligence. Future studies may want to employ a longitudinal design tapping into the causalities in the organizational emotional intelligence and organizational performance linkage.

Second, we did not assess emotional intelligence with an ability test, potentially making our results vulnerable to judgment biases (Mayer et al., 2008). Given the difficulties associated with obtaining and using ability tests in a business environment (Côté, 2007), we chose to assess emotional intelligence in the other-report mode, a feasible solution to ameliorate concerns about self-report (Brackett, Rivers, Shiffman, Lerner, & Salovey, 2006; Mayer et al., 2008). In addition, using the WLEIS to assess organizational emotional intelligence seemed particularly favorable to us for at least three reasons. With 16 items, the WLEIS was short enough to be included in a large-scale study with several thousand employees. Also, the WLEIS has previously been shown to have sufficient ecological validity to be applicable in management studies (Law et al., 2004). Most importantly, though, by employing the WLEIS in the other-report mode, we measured not only the individual emotional intelligence of organization members, but we measured the degree to which they actually use their emotional intelligence at work. That is, the WLEIS allowed us to assess the combination of the individual emotional intelligence and the behaviors, norms, and values in which it is reflected and shown by the rated person. Future studies may want to validate our findings using different methods to assess organizational emotional intelligence.

Third, we did not assess the emotional intelligence of all employees, but rather we assessed the perception of the emotional intelligence of employees with some supervising or leadership function. While this measurement

approach may not fully capture all facets of organizational emotional intelligence, it offers several benefits. First, given that every employee has someone supervising his or her work (but not necessarily someone to collaborate with at the same level or someone to lead at a lower level), asking the responding employee to refer to the person who is currently supervising his or her work allowed a crystal clear description of who exactly was to be rated. Specifying the person to be rated avoids confusion and arbitrary self-selection by employees which could have biased our results. Furthermore, by choosing a specific person as the referent for answering the questions about emotional intelligence, we fulfilled the requirements of a direct consensus model. Although somewhat more speculative, we finally assume that, by capturing the emotional intelligence of employees with some supervising or leadership function, we assess a sufficiently large part of organizational emotional intelligence, given that researchers agree that employees with a supervising or leadership function have a particularly important impact on the affective states of their followers and the collectives in which they work (e.g., Dasborough, 2006; George, 2000, 2002; Humphrey, 2002; Mayer & Caruso, 2002; Prati, Douglas, Ferris, Ammeter, & Buckley, 2003; Sosik & Megerian, 1999). Nonetheless, future research should assess organizational emotional intelligence more comprehensively.

Fourth, the generalizability of our findings is limited, because all participant organizations were located in Germany. With cultural factors potentially influencing the impact of emotional intelligence (cf., Shipper, Kincaid, Rotondo, & Hoffman, 2003), the relationships found in this study might follow different patterns if measured in other countries. Scholars could achieve greater cross-cultural validity by sampling organizations from diverse national backgrounds. In a similar vein, we caution readers that our sample was limited to organizations with no more than 5,000 employees. Potentially, there are limits to the aggregation of emotional intelligence, if organizations are very large and are geographically dispersed. To generalize the findings, researchers could gather data from large multinational organizations.

Beyond addressing the limitations of this study, we would like to suggest other interesting directions for future research. Scholars could explore in the direction of identifying mediating mechanisms that explain the organizational emotional intelligence and organizational performance linkage. For example, organizational emotional intelligence may lead to a more positive affective tone in organizations which then contributes to operational performance (cf., George, 2000, 2002). Also, scholars may want to investigate the boundary conditions under which the organizational emotional intelligence and organizational performance linkage unfolds. For example, the effect of

organizational emotional intelligence on organizational performance may be more pronounced in changing environments than in stable environments, given the emotional challenges during periods of change (Huy, 1999). It would also be fascinating to investigate organizational emotional intelligence as a dependent variable (searching for antecedents of organizational emotional intelligence) or as a moderator variable (searching for relationships that are contingent upon organizational emotional intelligence). Finally, we would find it enthralling to learn more about the specific norms, values, and behaviors that emotionally intelligent individuals engage in at work. While the abilities associated with emotional intelligence have been clearly defined (Davies et al., 1998; Mayer & Salovey, 1997), we do not know much about emotionally intelligent norms, values, and behaviors. Observational studies or qualitative research may help identify such norms, values, and behaviors. These insights could then be used to help organizations become more emotionally intelligent and to teach future business leaders. We hope our study provides a valuable foundation for such research and stimulates further studies on organizational emotional intelligence.

NOTES

1. Nonetheless, there is an ongoing intense debate as to which model best captures emotional intelligence (Daus & Ashkanasy, 2005; Mayer et al., 2008; Mayer, Salovey, & Caruso, 2000).

2. Researchers refer to emotional intelligence at the group level as team emotional intelligence (e.g., Elfenbein, 2005; Feyerherm & Rice, 2002) or (work-)group emotional intelligence (e.g., Côté, 2007; Jordan et al., 2002). Since all teams are also groups, but not all groups are necessarily teams (George & Jones, 2002), we adopted the broader term group emotional intelligence to refer to both conceptualizations.

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CHAPTER 9

THE ROLE OF EMOTIONAL SELF-EFFICACY, EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE, AND AFFECT IN WORKPLACE INCIVILITY AND WORKPLACE SATISFACTION

Beverley Kirk, Nicola Schutte and Donald Hine

ABSTRACT

The links between emotional self-efficacy, emotional intelligence, positive and negative affect, workplace incivility (from the target and perpetrator perspective), and job satisfaction were explored in a model of workplace functioning. Two hundred and seven adults participated in the study. As expected, emotional self-efficacy significantly predicted trait or dispositional emotional intelligence, which in turn was a significant predictor of participants' negative and positive affect. The relationship between low emotional intelligence and high negative affect was especially strong. Also as expected, individuals with higher levels of negative affect were more likely to be perpetrators of workplace incivility than individuals with lower levels of negative affect. Individuals who engaged in higher levels of incivility perpetration were more likely to be victims of incivility than individuals who never or rarely engaged in uncivil behavior. Being a victim of incivility was associated with higher levels of negative affect and lower

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levels of job satisfaction. Counter to the original predictions, positive affect was unrelated to either incivility perpetration or victimization.

INTRODUCTION

Changing workplace conditions have necessitated a reexamination of the impact that everyday emotions and emotional intelligence have in the workplace (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Ashkanasy, Hartel, & Zerbe, 2000). For example, at one time the workplace was considered to be a mainstay of civility (Johnson & Indvik, 2000). The workplace was perceived as a place where contact between co-workers was formal yet friendly, distant yet polite, and where a shared understanding and respect among associates was evident (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Johnson & Indvik, 2000). However, as the workplace increases in complexity with associated sometimes overwhelming workloads, extended working hours, and increased unresolved conflicts (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Johnson & Indvik, 2000, 2001) there may be a need to focus more extensively on workplace emotional functioning and how emotional competencies impact on workplace outcomes (e.g., Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995).

Recently, emotional competencies have been operationized through the construct of emotional intelligence (e.g., Salovey & Mayer, 1990; Schutte et al., 1998) and have been found to have relevance to workplace functioning (e.g., Härtel, Gough, & Härtel, 2006; Jordan & Ashkanasy, 2006). The construct of emotional intelligence has four branches that facilitate workplace investigation. These are the ability to correctly perceive emotion, use this emotion to facilitate thought, and then to understand and manage the emotion (Salovey & Mayer, 1990; Mayer, Salovey, & Caruso, 2004).

Research on emotional intelligence has shown that adaptive emotional functioning is related to a variety of positive outcomes both inside and outside of the workplace. Prior research also indicates that individuals who have greater self-efficacy for a realm of behaviors have better functioning in this realm. Self-efficacy entails a person having the confidence and belief in him or herself to organize and execute a course of action to produce a given attainment (Bandura, 1986, 1997). Given that emotions are an inseparable part of organizational life it may be necessary to examine just how confident or self-efficacious members of the workplace are in using their emotions intelligently. The combining of these two concepts into the one construct, namely emotional self-efficacy, may answer key questions that have not previously been addressed regarding the links between emotional self-efficacy, emotional intelligence, positive and negative affect, workplace

incivility (from the target and perpetrator perspective) and workplace satisfaction.”

Emotional Self-Efficacy and Trait Emotional Intelligence

Self-efficacy theory suggests that individuals who have self-efficacy for the functions comprising emotional intelligence will be more likely to score high on trait emotional intelligence. Petrides and Furnham (2003) suggested that trait emotional intelligence can also be termed “emotional-self-efficacy.” As Petrides and Furnham (2003) pointed out, trait emotional intelligence includes dispositions as well as self-perceptions related to emotional functioning. Thus, emotional self-efficacy may be an aspect of trait emotional intelligence, but may not be identical to what Petrides and Furnham (2003) described as trait emotional intelligence.

Recent research found that trait emotional intelligence was strongly related to emotional self-efficacy; however, the constructs were not redundant (Kirk, Schutte, & Hine, 2008). Emotional self-efficacy was also related, though less strongly, with an ability measure of emotional intelligence.

Emotional Intelligence, Affect, and Workplace Functioning

Emotional intelligence has been associated with greater clarity and attention to feelings, greater mood repair, greater optimism, less pessimism, as well as less impulsivity (Schutte et al., 1998). Higher emotional intelligence has also been found to be associated with positive mood, positive mood states, and higher self-esteem, (Schutte, Malouff, Simunek, McKenley, & Hollander, 2002). These authors suggest that people with high emotional intelligence may be able to maintain higher positive mood states and higher self-esteem states because their ability to regulate or manage emotions counterbalances the effects of negative situations. It has been argued that positive and negative affect are two dominant and independent mood dimensions (e.g., Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), with different antecedents and consequences (Basch & Fisher, 2000), and distinctive features and correlates (Watson, 2002).

Negative Emotions

Basch and Fisher (2000) found that negative emotions were quite prevalent in the workplace and argued that the dominance of negative emotions indicated that employees and managers may not understand how their actions affect those around them. As positive and negative emotions and their

consequences have important implications for workplace functioning (George, 1989; Härtel & Panipucci, 2007) it would be fruitful to explore the influence these emotions have in a model of workplace functioning. Basch and Fisher (2000) explored which types of events were linked to specific emotions and found that negative emotions were associated with being the target of two types of events, negative Acts of Colleagues and negative Acts of Management. The behaviors associated with these event categories were described as backstabbing, refusing to carry one's share of the load, not cooperating, and frequently causing frustration, disappointment, annoyance anger, unhappiness, sadness, disgust, and hurt. Even if a person is not a direct target, the hostile emotions directed toward another employee can have a negative affect on employees' well-being (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004).

The relationship between negative emotions and workplace factors may be bi-directional. For example, outward-focused negative emotions, such as anger and hostility in response to perceived violations, can increase a need to right a wrong or engage in retaliatory behaviors (Barclay, Skarlicki, & Pugh, 2005; Poulson, Duncan, & Massie, 2005). A core reaction to anger is to externalize blame (Thompson, 1985), which may shift the locus of responsibility away from the accusing person (Snyder & Higgins, 1988).

Negative emotions can increase interpersonal conflict such as uncivil behavior (Basch & Fisher, 2000). Abraham (2000a) argued that individuals who are predisposed to view life through a negative cognitive and emotional lens are likely to view themselves as victims of inequity even in situations that do not merit such a judgment. Cynical beliefs and negative emotions may be both overtly and covertly expressed through harsh criticism of the organization. With such beliefs, it is unlikely that cynics will engage in pro-social behavior to further the well-being of the organization (Abraham, 2000a), in contrast, they may engage in uncivil behavior.

Uncivil Workplace Behavior

Organizations have a legal responsibility to provide a safe work environment for their employees, which can include an obligation to ban uncivil behavior (Burler, 2003). For example, psychological harassment has been banned from the workplace in Quebec, Canada after the province of Quebec's Labor Standards were changed in December 2002 (Namie, 2003). The Labor Standards define psychological harassment as any vexatious behavior, such as repeated, hostile, or unwanted conduct that affects an employee's psychological or physical integrity, including unwanted attitudes, comments, and gestures (2003).

Perpetrating incivility in the workplace can be viewed as an antisocial behavior that is used as a means of control (Namie, 2003). Those individuals who have been targets of workplace incivility may experience negative affect and try to regain a sense of control by themselves becoming perpetrators of workplace incivility. Those who are perpetrators of uncivil behavior may be retaliated against and themselves become targets of incivility.

Emotional Intelligence, Emotions, Incivility, and Job Satisfaction

Emotional intelligence has been found to predict variance in job satisfaction (e.g., Abraham, 2000b). Further, emotions such as negative affect have important implications for the workplace (George, 1989). Most jobs have both positive and negative aspects and individuals who have strong negative emotions may focus closely on the unfavorable features of the job (Kraiger, Billings, & Isen, 1989). Being the victim of workplace incivility may be a source of negative affect. Negative affect may also impact upon an employee's level of job satisfaction (e.g., Levin & Stokes, 1989; Weiss, Nicholas, & Daus, 1999).

Being the target of workplace incivility may be associated with lower job satisfaction. For example, Martin and Hine (2005) using the Uncivil Workplace Behaviour Questionnaire (UWBQ) found workplace incivility to be associated with lower satisfaction with co-workers and supervisors and lower levels of well-being and health satisfaction. The types of workplace incivility examined by Martin and Hine were behaviors that can render the target unproductive, such as, for example, not consulting an employee in reference to a decision he or she should have been involved in, being unreasonably slow in seeing to matters which the co-worker was reliant on, intentionally failing to pass on information which the co-worker should have been made aware of, talking about others, reading others' emails, going through others' desks and files, and intentionally not telling another when a meeting was to be scheduled. These behaviors are further explored in a model of workplace functioning.

A MODEL OF WORKPLACE FUNCTIONING

The model proposed that

- (1) Low emotional self-efficacy will be associated with reduced levels of trait emotional intelligence.
- (2) Individuals who are deficient in emotional intelligence will report higher levels of negative affect and lower levels of positive affect.

- (3) High levels of negative affect and low levels of positive affect will increase individuals' propensity to engage in uncivil behavior in the workplace.
- (4) Engaging in uncivil behavior will increase and individual's likelihood of becoming a victim of incivility.
- (5) Being a victim of incivility is predicted to be associated with two distinct outcomes. First, it may initiate a feedback loop in which victim status increases negative affect and decreases positive affect, which in turn increases the likelihood of workplace incivility perpetration, and subsequently victimization. Second, incivility victimization may lead to reduced job satisfaction.

METHOD

Participants

Two hundred and seven adults (125 females, 74 males, and 8 not specified), recruited from various states in Australia, including New South Wales, Western Australia, and Queensland, volunteered to participate in the study. At the time of the study respondents were employed in full-time or part-time work. Respondents ranged in age from 18 to 72 years ($M = 38.42$, $SD = 14.44$). Regarding education, 6.5% indicated they had some secondary schooling, 13.6% indicated they had completed the school certificate (4 years high school), 29% received a High School Certificate (6 years high school), 13.6% possessed a Diploma, 2.4% a graduate certificate, 16.6% a Bachelor's Degree, 15.4% had some postgraduate training, 1.1% had obtained a doctorate, and 1.8% did not specify.

Respondents had been employed by their current organization between 1 month and 47 years ($M = 4.20$, $SD = 2.03$). The majority of respondents (57.7%) were employed in nonmanagement positions, 19% were line-managers, 17.3% were middle managers, and 6% were senior managers. Most of the respondents (68%) were recruited at their workplaces. An additional 18% were recruited through word of mouth, and 14% were employed first year university undergraduates at an Australian university.

MEASURES

Self-Efficacy for Emotional Intelligence

This was assessed using the ESES (Kirk et al., 2008). Item development for the 32-item scale involved three stages. First, an initial pool of items were

generated which covered the main dimensions in the Mayer and Salovey (1997) and Mayer et al. (2004) four-factor mental ability model of emotional intelligence. The format of the individual items, as well as the general instructions for the measure, followed the guidelines outlined by Bandura (2001). Following these guidelines, instructions directed respondents to rate their *confidence as of now*, in being able to carry out functions described by the 32 items.

The ESES had a Cronbach's alpha of .96. Two-week test-retest reliability was .85. The ESES showed preliminary evidence of validity in that it correlated with a measure of trait emotional intelligence and with a measure of ability emotional intelligence.

The ESES showed evidence for incremental predictive validity in that it remained associated with positive and negative mood after dispositional emotional intelligence was controlled.

Trait Emotional Intelligence

This was assessed using Schutte et al.'s (1998) 33-item Assessing Emotions Scale, which is based on Salovey and Mayer's (1990) original model of emotional intelligence. The most widely used subscales derived from the 33-item Assessing Emotions Scale are those based on sub-factors identified by Petrides and Furnham (2000), Ciarrochi, Chan, and Bajgar (2001), and Saklofske, Austin, and Minski (2003). These factor analytic studies suggested a four-factor solution for the 33 items. The four factors were described as follows: perception of emotions, managing emotions in the self, managing others' emotions, and utilizing emotions.

Two-week test-retest reliability for the measure was .78 and the measure has evidence of concurrent, predictive, and discriminant validity (Schutte et al., 1998). Schutte et al. (1998) report that the measure exhibits good internal consistency with Cronbach's alpha ranging from .87 to .90 across several samples. In the present sample, Cronbach's alpha for the scale was .95.

Positive and Negative Affect

Respondents' mood state at the time of testing was assessed using the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson et al., 1988). The PANAS consists of two scales that assess positive and negative affect respectively. Each scale consists of 10 emotion descriptors and respondents are required to rate how well each descriptor reflects their current emotions (1 = not at all, 5 = extremely). Scores on the PANAS can range from a low

of 10 to a high of 50 for each subscale. Watson et al. (1988) reported that both subscales show excellent internal consistency. Cronbach's alpha for the development sample for present moment time instructions for the positive and negative affect were .89 and .85 respectively (Watson et al., 1988). Internal consistencies for present moment time instructions for the positive and negative affect in the current study were .86 and .94 respectively.

Uncivil Workplace Behavior

Two aspects of workplace incivility were assessed in the study: victimization and perpetration. Workplace incivility victimization was assessed using the UWBQ (Martin & Hine, 2005). The UWBQ assesses how often respondents were the target of four types of uncivil behaviour: hostility, exclusionary behaviour, gossiping, and privacy invasion during the past 12 months (1 = never, 5 = very often). A total incivility victimization score was computed by averaging responses across the 17 items that comprise the measure. Cronbach's alpha for the overall UWBQ was .92 in the development sample and .94 for the current study.

Martin and Hine (2005) report that the UWBQ exhibited good convergent validity by explaining unique variance in co-worker satisfaction, job withdrawal, work withdrawal, health satisfaction, psychological well-being, and psychological distress after statistically controlling for demographics and job stress. Additionally, the UWBQ exhibited divergent validity as it was not significantly related to extrinsic workplace motivation.

A modified version of the UWBQ (the UWBQ-P) was used to assess workplace incivility perpetration. The item content for the new measure was identical to the original UWBQ, with the exception that respondents were asked to indicate how often, in the past 12 months, they had engaged in each uncivil behavior listed in the measure (1 = never, 5 = very often). Like the UWBQ, the UWBQ-P exhibited excellent internal consistency ($\alpha = .96$).

Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction was assessed using the 25-item Abridged Job Descriptive Index (JDI; Smith, Kendall, & Hulin, 1969) developed by the JDI Research Group (JDI: 1980, Bowling Green State University, BGSU). The five facets examined were satisfaction with work (5 items), pay (5 items), promotions (5 items), supervision (5 items), and co-workers (5 items). Cronbach alpha

coefficients for these facets have exceeded .80 (Parks, Russell, Wood, Robertson, & Shewokis, 1995). Cronbach’s alpha for the scale in the current study was .74.

RESULTS

Path analysis, using AMOS 6.0 (Arbuckle, 2005), was used to test the theoretical model proposed in Fig. 1. Means, standard deviations, and correlations for the variables in the path analysis are presented in Table 1.

Multiple indices (Kline, 1998) were used to evaluate the goodness of fit of the model. These included the Goodness of Fit Index (GFI; Joreskog & Sorbom, 1996), the Comparative Fit Index (CFI; Bentler, 1960), Tucker–Lewis

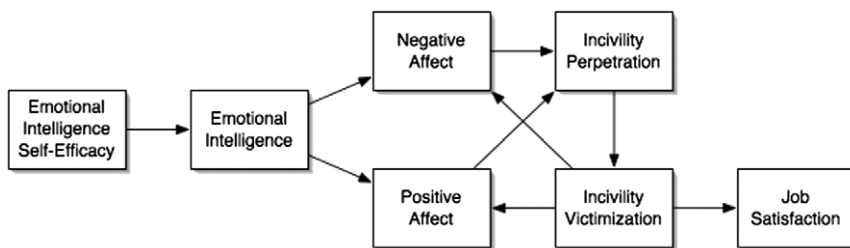


Fig. 1. Proposed Model of Workplace Functioning: Linking Emotional Intelligence, Affect, and Workplace Outcomes.

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations for Variables in Path Analysis.

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Self-efficacy (ESEQ)		.73**	.40**	-.35**	-.11	-.31**	.06
2. Emotional intelligence (AES)			.28**	-.66**	-.30**	-.59**	.21**
3. Positive affect (PANAS)				-.01	-.02	.00	.01
4. Negative affect (PANAS)					.54**	.77**	-.22**
5. Incivility victimization (UWBQ)						.62**	-.33**
6. Incivility perpetration (UWBQ-P)							-.24**
7. Job satisfaction (JDI)							
<i>M</i>	108.43	119.61	29.40	18.45	36.68	32.76	46.84
<i>SD</i>	19.51	18.83	6.30	8.23	12.12	12.58	11.48

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Index (TLI; Tucker & Lewis, 1973), Standardized Root Mean Squared Residual (SRMR; Joreskog & Sorbom, 1996), and Normed Chi-Square (χ^2/df). These indices were selected following the recommendations of Kline (1998). The values of the GFI, CFI, and TLI generally range from 0 to 1, with values above .90 indicating good fit. For the SRMR, a value of 0 represents perfect fit, and values under .10 are generally interpreted as favorable (Kline, 1998).

Although most of the specified paths in the initial model were statistically significant, two of the five fit indices indicated the fit of the model not acceptable (i.e., χ^2/df was greater than 3, and TLI was lower than .90). In addition, examination of the path coefficients revealed nonsignificant paths from positive affect to incivility perpetration, and also from incivility victimization to negative affect. Finally, modification indices indicated that model fit could be improved by adding a direct path from emotional intelligence to incivility perpetration, and also by correlating the errors between positive and negative affect.

Therefore, a second path analysis was run on a revised model in which non-significant paths for the initial model were deleted, and the new path and correlated errors recommended by the modification indices were added. A summary of the fit indices for the initial and revised models is presented in Table 2.

The revisions improved the fit of the model. The GFI, CFI, and TLI were all well above .90, χ^2/df was less than 3, and the SRMR was below .10; all suggesting acceptable fit. The revised path model, along with standardized path coefficients and squared multiple correlations for all endogenous variables is presented in Fig. 2.

The numbers associated with the one-headed arrows in the model are standardized path coefficients. Squared multiple correlations are reported in the top right hand corner for each endogenous variable. The correlated errors for negative and positive affect are not shown in the figure ($r = .24$).

Given that: (1) two of the endogenous variables, negative affect and perpetrator of incivility were positively skewed and (2) the use of non-

Table 2. Summary of Fit Indices for Initial and Revised Path Models.

	Normed Chi-Square	Goodness of Fit Index	Comparative Fit Index	Tucker-Lewis Index	Standardized Root Mean Squared Residual
Initial model	4.88	.93	.93	.87	.07
Revised model	2.99	.95	.96	.93	.06

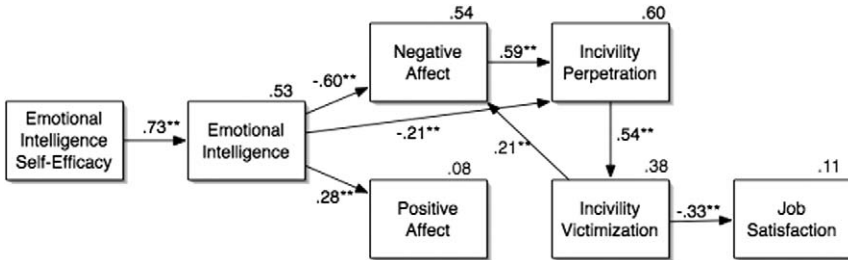


Fig. 2. Revised Model of Workplace Function Describing the Relationships between Emotional-Self-Efficacy, Emotional Intelligence, Positive and Negative Affect, Workplace Incivility, and Job Satisfaction. The Numbers Associated with the One-Headed Arrows in the Model are Standardized Path Coefficients. Squared Multiple Correlations are Reported in the Top Right Hand Corner for Each Endogenous Variable.

normal variables in path analysis can produce biased standard errors and significance tests, all significance tests for the model were computed using bias-corrected standard errors based on 1000 bootstrapped samples (see Byrne, 2001). The decomposed effects for the revised path model are presented Table 3.

DISCUSSION

Overall, the results of the path analysis were consistent with the hypotheses, although the initial model required several minor modifications to adequately fit the data. As predicted, emotional self-efficacy significantly predicted dispositional or trait emotional intelligence, which in turn was a significant predictor of respondents’ negative and positive affect. The relationship between low emotional intelligence and high negative affect was especially strong.

Negative Affect and Incivility in the Workplace

Also as predicted, individuals with higher levels of negative affect were more likely to be perpetrators of workplace incivility than individuals with lower levels of negative affect. Negative affect includes emotional states such as fear and anger (Watson et al., 1988). Anger, whether passive or aggressive, verbal or non-verbal, may be an emotion that is the precipitator of the

Table 3. Standardized Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects for Revised Path Model Endogenous Variables.

	Emotional Intelligence	Negative Affect	Positive Affect	Incivility Perpetration	Incivility Victimization	Job Satisfaction
<i>Causal variables</i>						
Emotional self-efficacy						
Direct	.73**					
Total		-.48**	.20**	-.43**	-.24**	.08**
indirect						
Total	.73**	-.48**	.20**	-.43**	-.24**	.08**
Emotional intelligence						
Direct		-.60**	.28**	-.21**		
Total		-.07**		-.39**	-.32**	.11**
indirect						
Total		-.67**	.28**	-.60**	-.32**	.11**
Negative affect						
Direct				.59**		
Total		.07**		.04**	.34**	-.11**
indirect						
Total		.07**		.63**	.34**	-.11**
Incivility perpetration						
Direct					.54**	
Total		.12**		.07**	.04**	-.19**
indirect						
Total		.12**		.07**	.58**	-.19**
Incivility victimization						
Direct		.21**				-.33**
Indirect		.01**		.13**	.07**	-.02**
Total		.22**		.13**	.07**	-.35**

Note: ** $p < .01$. All effects were tested using bias corrected standard errors derived from 1000 bootstrapped samples. Empty cells indicate that the effect in question was constrained to equal zero in the revised model.

feedback loop in which victim status increases negative affect, which increases the likelihood of workplace incivility perpetration, and subsequently more victimization.

Negative Affect, Incivility, and Job Satisfaction

The present research found that both victims of uncivil workplace behavior and perpetrators of uncivil workplace behavior had lower job satisfaction.

Low job satisfaction was especially linked to being the victim of uncivil workplace behavior. Being a target and a perpetrator of incivility were strongly linked, and that both were associated with negative affect.

Positive Affect

Counter to the original predictions, positive affect was unrelated to either incivility perpetration or victimization. This may be related to the general findings that positive and negative affect are two independent mood dimensions (e.g., Watson et al., 1988), with different antecedents and consequences (Basch & Fisher, 2000) and distinctive features and correlates (Watson, 2002).

CONCLUSIONS

The findings show the need to focus more extensively on emotional workplace functioning and how emotional competencies impact on workplace outcomes.

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CHAPTER 10

BUILDING POSITIVE RESPONSES TO BULLYING: ESTABLISHING THE FRAMEWORK

Tui McKeown, Melanie Bryant and Luise Raeder

ABSTRACT

Perhaps no other workplace issue represents better the harm that can come of neglecting emotional experiences in organizations than workplace bullying. Organizational interventions aimed at the reduction of workplace bullying generally emphasize the identification of negative employee behaviors and the punitive consequences associated with the manifestation of these behaviors at work. While such interventions raise awareness of the unacceptability of workplace bullying, we argue that they generally adopt a “compliance” approach aimed solely at dealing with bullying after it has occurred rather than developing strategic initiatives that proactively promote workplace wellness. We detail a project within the Victorian public sector, which developed a proactive framework for the prevention of workplace bullying based on the principles of positive psychology. The chapter concludes with the view that the Positive Workplace Environment framework we develop is clearly applicable to a much wider range of issues than bullying and that embedding any call for organizational change within such a framework is likely to find resonance with both practitioners and researcher alike.

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INTRODUCTION

The issue of workplace bullying presents a highly charged topic within emotions research. Grounded for many in memories of childhood bullying (see for example Harvey, Heames, Richey, & Leonard, 2006), emotions associated with bullying range from shame to anger and isolation for those subjected to it. Those accused of bullying may experience denial and vehement justification, which we argue are often substantiated in organizational systems of promotion and reward. The past decade has seen a growing literature identifying the need for bullying interventions as a major area of research. This need has been clearly and consistently demonstrated in both Australian (Hutchinson, Vickers, Jackson, & Wilkes, 2006; Rutherford & Rissel, 2004; Sheehan, Barker, & Rayner, 1999) and international studies (Thomas, 2005).

While organizational investment in bullying interventions continues to grow, there has been little empirical evidence of any reduction of bullying behaviors (Harvey et al., 2006; Hoel & Beale, 2006). A key difficulty appears to be the perception that such interventions are imposed and that organizations have to implement them to ensure legislative compliance in managing a minority of offenders (Hoel & Beale, 2006; Lewis, 2006; Rayner & McIvor, 2006; Salin, 2003). Consequently, organizational practices and the broader framework in which bullying events occur have been largely ignored (Walton, 2005) and the development of proactive and strategic initiatives, such as changes to organizational culture and structure, which promote workplace wellness have been largely overlooked (Rayner & McIvor, 2006; Salin, 2003). A number of writers suggest that there seems to be little progress towards meaningfully addressing the issues which actually create, promote, and sustain workplace bullying (e.g., Dutton & Ragins, 2007; Glendinning, 2001, p. 296; Graves, 2002), while Rayner, Hoel, and Cooper (2002) argue that, once entrenched, workplace bullying is very difficult to remedy as it becomes embedded in the overall functioning and culture of an organization.

While the combined weight of a compliance mentality and embeddedness in everyday organizational life would seem to suggest that strategies to deal with workplace bullying are as unlikely to succeed as those we saw used as children at school, recent studies have adopted new approaches to study and prevent workplace bullying. For example, Heames and Harvey (2006) developed a cross-level approach that explores interaction between individual, group, and organizational levels to reveal explicitly how such interactions contribute to bullying. Rayner and McIvor (2006) also use a trilevel

approach but focus on a typology that enables organizations to assess current practices used to prevent and manage bullying and compare these with the state in which they would prefer to be. These transformational approaches to bullying resonate with the principles of positive psychology and underscore the focus we present in this chapter – that of the need to move beyond the traditional themes of reactively managing bullying after it occurs to proactively develop a positive work environment (PWE) in which bullying is not tolerated. We believe this shift in thinking about and acting on bullying prevention will better assist organizations with understanding, managing, and implementing more effective bullying prevention practices.

This chapter commences with a brief overview of the theoretical concepts underlying the notion of a PWE. This is followed by an outline of the organizational setting for the model we develop, including a discussion of both the theoretical and empirical contributions underpinning it. We conclude with a presentation of the model and recommendations for future research and development.

A PWE Approach to Bullying

At the conceptual level, a PWE refers to an organizational culture that promotes a rewarding, healthy, and productive workplace (Härtel, 2008). International research is conclusive that the most successful workplaces are those in which all individuals – from senior executives to all levels of employees – work well together to create a PWE (Bagshaw, 2004; Dutton & Ragins, 2007; Peyton, 2003). Perhaps surprisingly, given the diverse range of individuals who can be involved in a single workplace, several common features within the literature contribute to a PWE. For example, there is explicit recognition that relationships and interactions at work require a high degree of individual self-awareness of our beliefs and behaviors and how these can be monitored to suit the needs and characteristics of others. Thus, it is arguable that an emotionally intelligent workforce is a key ingredient for the development of a PWE. Achieving a PWE is clearly an ongoing process rather than a short-term initiative and requires an understanding and development of the procedures, policies, and behaviors that need to deliver it at all levels of the organization. In this sense, the PWE concept extends well beyond standard human resource management themes such as loyalty and commitment to embrace the notion of all individuals within the workplace having shared responsibility and playing their part (Parsons & Newcomb, 2007).

Research, such as that by Frederickson and Losada (2005), demonstrates that emphasizing strengths rather than weaknesses of an organization within a PWE approach yields larger practical improvements. For example, display of positive emotionality and behavior rather than focusing solely on negative emotions and behaviors is known to result in fewer injuries at the workplace, reduce the impact of various stressors at work, and is positively related to job satisfaction, engagement, commitment and negatively related to job burnout, absenteeism, and intention to turnover (Weik & Quinn, 1999). In addition, international research is conclusive that the most successful workplaces are those in which individuals, from senior executives to all levels of employees, work well together to create a PWE (Bagshaw, 2004; Bakker & Schaufeli, 2008; Dutton & Ragins, 2007; Peyton, 2003).

While it makes sense that confident, happy workers are more productive, the shift towards a focus on the positive is still received with skepticism by some academics and practitioners who continue to view positive organizational behavior PWEs as either “feel good altruistic fluff” or the latest managerial fad (Luthans, 2002, p. 695). This is due largely to the misconception that a positive approach is only concerned with strengths and ignores problems or weaknesses. However, a strength of the positive approach is its ability to deal effectively with difficult to manage issues such as emotional labor requirements of individuals within workplaces or the existence of toxic emotions (Avey, Wernsing, & Luthans, 2008; Bakker & Schaufeli, 2008) that can lead to problems such as bullying. Further, the PWE approach explicitly identifies and addresses the role of broader organizational characteristics including subtle and not so subtle negative behaviors that play a role in the entrenchment of bullying practices (Agervold, 2007; Einarsen, 2000). In establishing a holistic, positive workplace environment all organizational members engage fully with the cultural values of respect and dignity, rather than seeing a workplace bullying culture as simply another policy that is espoused but never recognized (Liefoghe & Mackenzie-Davey, 2001).

A key tenet of PWEs is the belief that people are unable to perform at their best unless they work within a positive working environment (Rayner & Hoel, 1997). Thus, Sheehan (1999) suggests that it is time for managers to respond to workplace bullying using the positive constructs of emotional intelligence and personal mastery as a way of deriving enhanced and credible trust, loyalty, and commitment, which are key ingredients for the development of a PWE. This positive, organization-wide perspective removes the “blame/shame cycle” ultimately associated with the limited success of prior bullying initiatives thus proactively discourages bullying

behaviors (Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2002, p. 400). With this in mind, the chapter now explains the development of a framework aimed specifically at proactively minimizing bullying and harassment within a real organizational context through a PWE-based intervention.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT – ESTABLISHING THE NEED FOR A PWE

The State Services Authority (SSA) of Victoria, Australia, leads the Victorian public sector in improving services and standards. Section 74 of the *Public Administration Act* requires the SSA to submit an annual report to the Victorian Premier reporting on issues such as adherence by public officials to the public sector values and employment principles as outlined in the Act. The *People Matter Survey* (PMS) is one such reporting requirement and has been undertaken annually since 2002. As demonstrated in Fig. 1, bullying within the Victorian public sector has been revealed as providing a compelling prompt for action.

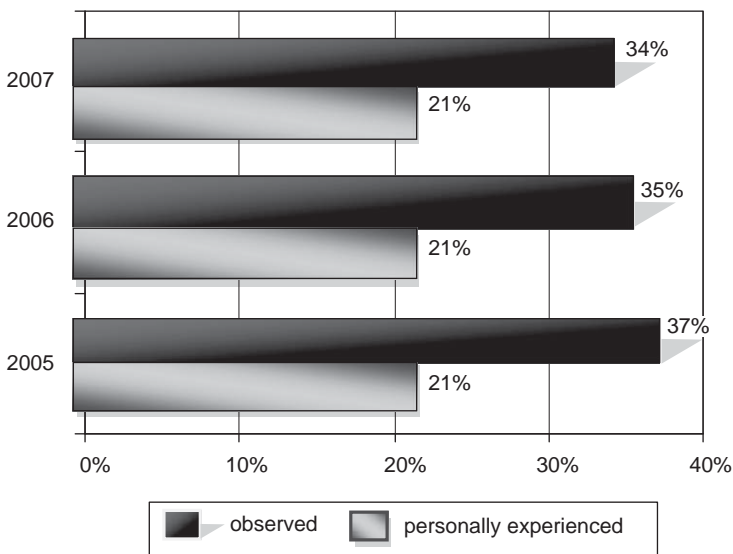


Fig. 1. Incidences of Bullying in the Victorian Public Sector. Source: State Services Authority’s People Matter Survey (2006).

For the past three years, 21% of employees have reported that they have personally experienced bullying in the workplace. These rates generally compare unfavorably with bullying reports across the state of Victoria at 14–15%, across Australia at 17–19%, in New Zealand at 20%, and the United Kingdom at a rate of 11–15%.

The 2006 PMS data included 153 responses from 266 Victorian public sector organizations with 71 having an organization-specific response rate of greater than 30%. Of significance within this data were responses to questions surrounding a variable focusing on “respect” (for colleagues and members of the Victorian community). Within the survey, exploration of the variable “respect” included questions about presence and tolerance of bullying and harassment with workplaces. In exploring the data further, it was evident that those who indicated that higher levels of respect (and positive treatment by/of workplace members including management) were present within their workplaces reported lower levels of bullying. This clear association between the variable of respect and occurrences of workplace bullying was an important finding and a key motivator for the 2006–2007 work plan for the SSA to include a project aimed at developing and supporting PWEs across Victorian public sector workplaces.

The objective of the project was to promote policies and practices that effectively diminish the risk of bullying by firstly conducting research into the factors that influence the incidence and perceptions of workplace bullying and harassment, and secondly, identifying the most effective means of increasing organizational effectiveness and productivity through management of bullying. With these objectives in mind, the SSA contracted the authors to work on these issues in mid 2007. The project team set out a three-stage program that did the following: (1) prepared a PWE framework through synthesis and analysis of existing contextual data; (2) developed a toolkit/intervention focusing on how to approach and prevent bullying through emphasis on a PWE; and (3) refined and trialed the PWE intervention with the SSA and volunteer public-sector organizations. The remainder of this chapter presents the organizational data and evidence as well as the theoretical underpinnings drawn from the literature that were used to produce the framework developed in Stage 1 of the research project.

Reviewing the Evidence

Much of the traditional workplace bullying literature concentrates on individual factors that may cause one to bully and the effects that such

behavior may have upon the target (Einarsen, 1999; Stephens & Hallas, 2006). The extant literature on interventions has generally emphasized the identification of negative employee behaviors and the punitive consequences associated with the manifestation of these behaviors at work (Peyton, 2003; Rayner & Hoel, 1997). We believe that concern about punitive consequences for the organization, rather than the consequences of bullying to an individual, may have led organizations to develop a legislative compliance approach in terms of developing bullying prevention strategies rather than a proactive, strategic initiative aimed at preventing bullying in the first place. Consequently, organizational practices and the broader framework in which bullying events occur may not be considered in the development of prevention strategies. With this in mind, the aim of Stage 1 of the project was to review and work with existing SSA data and practices to avoid imposing an “academic” model that may not have addressed specific characteristics of the Victorian public sector. The materials supplied to the project team to undertake are discussed below.

Workplace Bullying Research Report

This report provided the SSA’s review of largely government-generated literature, comprising predominantly of reports from half a dozen workers compensation organizations from Australia and New Zealand. These reports primarily considered both the drivers and moderators of bullying. The key insight generated from this material was the rejection of the broader model of bullying as a procedural matter. Instead, the need for a systems view of bullying – that is, bullying as a symptom of organizational and cultural issues – was advocated. It is a view reflected in the literature where researchers such as Burnes and Pope (2007) and Holme (2006) who assert that negative organizational environments assist in creating a bullying culture and require a focus beyond the dyadic interactions of the bully and target to look at the characteristics of the “bullying-prone” workplace. Namie (2003, p. 4) identifies these characteristics as: an extremely competitive obsession with outcomes; recruitment, promotion, and reward systems which focus on individuals “strong assertive leadership;” interpersonal aggressiveness and tenure (while ignoring emotional intelligence); a focus on short rather than long-term planning; internal codes of conduct that narrowly define illegal incidents; misuse of performance appraisals; and, the promotion of fear as a dominant desired workplace emotion. The role of some of the above characteristics in bullying behavior in the Victorian public sector was examined in the following source of data.

The Public Sector Organization Survey 2006

This survey is a self-assessment survey questionnaire, which measures the efforts of public sector organizations in applying and promoting the values and employment principles that underpin and sustain an ethical, high-performing, and trusted public sector. The 2006 survey was distributed to 219 Victorian public sector organizations with 20 or more employees and achieved a 100% response rate. Chief executives provided an assessment of their progress in establishing structures, systems, and processes to embed the values and employment principles. The findings revealed that the majority of organizations (97%) reported having taken some form of action to minimize the risk of bullying and victimization of employees. However, there was suggestion that a strategic and systematic approach to bullying should include formal identification of organizational risk factors, assessment of their significance, and development of specific prevention strategies. This approach should include factors such as the quality of management and accountabilities for people-related outcomes at all levels of management.

These results resonate with the academic literature in which writers such as Fox and Spector (2005), and Vartia (1996) argue that cultural organizational norms, rather than individual psychopathology, is responsible for promoting negative behaviors. In addition, Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, and Cooper (2003) recognize that positive relationships between bullying and a range of organizational factors including unconstructive socialization processes, autocratic leadership styles, deficiencies in work design, role conflict, and work control exist. Needham (2003) and Einarsen et al. (2003) also demonstrate that the workplace bully flourishes best within organizations that include characteristics such as low morale, low levels of perceived organizational support, hierarchical power bases where teamwork is discouraged, hierarchy is used for power and status; length of service is used as opposed to performance as a success marker; and upward potential attainment is revered as opposed to goal achievement. Overall then, both the Public Sector Organization Survey 2006 and the literature provide a view that acknowledges organizational and managerial roles as well as the individual as contributors to bullying behaviors.

Selected Organizational Interviews

As an additional phase of data collection, the SSA conducted a series of interviews aimed at exploring issues of bullying raised within the surveys discussed above in more depth. The interviews found that participants believed that refocusing bullying prevention strategies to incorporate positive language and the promotion of PWEs was necessary. Participants

highlighted a preference for language that could be considered more meaningful such as “healthy workplace,” “a sustainable workplace,” and even “safe” and “healthy” work environments. The importance of senior executives in the development and promotion of a PWE was also highlighted with participants suggesting that managers needed to “walk the walk” if they were serious about preventing bullying. Interview data also revealed a common perception that visible, high-profile activities integrated with clearly articulated values, defined behaviors, and performance objectives, actively managed at the top of organizations were critical components in the development of a PWE. Finally, participants called for swift and unbiased action in addressing unacceptable behaviors.

The interview results accord clearly with the literature on bullying, particularly the need for all employees to be encouraged to engage with their work and be given the self-command and autonomy to make decisions and openly voice their opinions without negative repercussions in a climate of respect with an emphasis on equal opportunity and organizational well-being (CIPD, 2007; Namie & Namie, 2000; Rayner & McIvor, 2006).

The interview data also flagged variation in the perceptions of what constituted bullying behavior as well as a diversity of strategies and interventions for managing it within each organization. It was very clear that while most were interested in developing a PWE, organizations were at very different stages. For example, some organizations felt that they did not need assistance with PWE development, while others were very interested in “how to do this better,” rather than “what to do.” This variation was an important variable to consider in developing a strategy that was applicable to all organizations yet able to be tailored to suit the various needs and stages of a PWE. These findings again echo that of the wider literature where international research is conclusive that the most successful workplaces are those in which individuals, from senior executives to all levels of employees, must work well together to create a PWE (Bagshaw, 2004; Bakker & Schaufeli, 2008; Dutton & Ragins, 2007; Peyton, 2003).

The Model

The model encapsulated in Table 1 below represents the original SSA analysis and synthesis of the results of the material above. Table 1 presents a model with a three-stage process whereby organizations define the elements of a positive workplace; establish the critical success factors underlying each to enable the measurement of their level of risk; and the identification of priority areas for improvement.

Table 1. Elements for Building a Positive Workplace to Prevent Bullying.

Definition	Critical Success Factors		Action
	Contributes	Detracts	
Elements			Tips ^a
Leadership	Consultative, models values, self-aware	Autocratic, inconsistent behavior	Management training, Leading the Way, capabilities card Set
Organizational cohesion	Compelling mission, clear direction, collaboration, focus on whole	Competition, professional segregation, focus on parts	Team building, reward system
Communication	Open, informal, accepts and adapts to different styles	Hierarchical, expects conformity	Feedback, discussion
Workflow management	Autonomy, flexibility, support, challenge	Tight time frames, limited resources, poor skills match	Business planning, job design, performance management
Change management	Involved, planned, informed, win-win	Uncertainty, constant inexplicable change, win-lose	Planned change
Risk management	Accepts risk: learns from mistakes	Risk averse: blames	Risk assessment
Workplace disputes	Raise safely, most solved informally	Adversarial, issues not raised	Redress guidelines

^aNote: Materials and resources already available within the Victorian public sector.

Table 1 also proposes that organizations evaluate themselves against seven critical success factors, which determine their areas of risk and need for further action. Divided into the drivers and inhibitors for success, the factors which either “Contribute” or “Detract” are explicitly identified to establish the basis for action. Courses and “tips” for action are then linked to existing human resource functions and resources, such as the public sector management training program. The seven elements presented in Table 1 can thus be measured against the critical success factors to provide organizations with an assessment of where they are at as well as providing comparisons before and after specific interventions.

A clear aim of Table 1 is to provide the basis for the development of a generic framework responsive to the diversity within the Victorian public sector and that makes clear linkages to existing sources of information.

Summary of the Evidence

Studies suggest that bullying behaviors are particularly prevalent within public sector and community-based organizations and that the historic “macho” culture of the public sector presents an interesting context in which to examine the issue and link psychological findings (Lee, 2004; Lewis, 2006; McCarthy & Mayhew, 2004; Salin, 2003; Strandmark & Hallberg, 2007; Thomas, 2005). Common suggestions amongst this research are that increased demand and higher expectations placed on most public services inevitably increases the stress and work pressures for all members of staff. In addition, the public sector worldwide has seen radical changes in the past decade in relation to cost reductions, restructuring, increased workload, and the emergence of a generally more aggressive style of management, which have facilitated negative behaviors within the sector (Rayner & Cooper, 2003). Overall, the evidence for the Victorian public sector reveal a diverse range of PWE contexts in which Victorian public sector organizations are currently operating at. Combined, the wider academic literature, we are provided with valuable insight in terms of the “bigger picture” in which bullying issues exist within the public sector providing us with a sound basis from which a framework for action could be developed.

BUILDING A FRAMEWORK FOR ACTION

Our findings from the review of the information sources resonate with existing PWE literature that indicate a need to shift the focus away from a solely reactive approach to managing bullying (Adams, 2007; Dutton & Ragins, 2007; Parsons & Newcomb, 2007). Further, both the data and the literature call for a balanced, multilayered approach (Heames & Harvey, 2006; Rayner & McIvor, 2006) to developing a PWE. A key aim of our framework was to develop a strategic focus on organizational responsibility for work environments that create-both directly and indirectly-the aberrant behaviors of workplace bullying and harassment. This aim is underscored by a major strength of PWE, the emphasis on individuals developing an awareness of, and taking responsibility for, their own actions (Parsons & Newcomb, 2007; Sutton, 2007; Sweet, 2005).

One of the key features central to the success of organizations in many studies of bullying (see for example Bolton, 2007; Rayner & McIvor,

2006, p. 24) was the acceptance of bullying and harassment as something “most likely to occur when ordinary people are working in negative environments” – and acknowledgement that the problem belonged to and should be owned by the organization, not the individual. This “no-blame” mentality is reinforced within the larger notion of PWE by an individual acceptance of self-responsibility. It is indicative of the deep cultural base necessary for PWE to be achieved, where certain beliefs and practices are embedded in the organization and support systems are there for individuals. By explicitly placing the SSA material into a framework of the broader context of the PWE and embedding it in the structural foundations of the three levels suggested independently by Heames and Harvey (2006) and Rayner and McIvor (2006), the model depicted in Fig. 2 illustrates this typology in terms of underlying operational factors identified in Table 1, thus synthesizing and enhancing the original view.

Using the well-accepted organizational development process of participative evolution in line with this typology, the stages of *beginning*, *emerging*, *consolidating*, and *established* of the general model of planned change is adopted (Weik & Quinn, 1999). This meets the need for an approach where bullying moves from being individually oriented to becoming a strategic and



Fig. 2. A Framework of the Positive Work Environment.

organizational. In line with the wider literature and specifically building on the typology suggested by Rayner and McIvor (2006), the model illustrated in Fig. 2 first isolates and then brings the varying workplace interests perspectives together to reveal the interplay between the role of managers, the systems in place in an organization, and the often neglected role of individual factor of support (Adams, 2007; Dutton & Ragins, 2007; Luthans, Norman, Avolio, & Avey, 2008; Parsons & Newcomb, 2007).

Table 2 then extrapolates the model into a framework, which provides a more detailed explanation, delivers the basis for organizations to assess their level of PWE development against the four key stages, and provides a starting point for organizations to develop their own strategy for minimizing bullying.

Briefly, the four stages provide distinct characteristics and attributes. Firstly, an organization within the “*Beginning*” stage is where the organization may not recognize issues pertaining to bullying, or may not consider their organization experiencing bullying problems. High exit rates and other significant costs act as indicators within this stage as to the failure to recognize problems or a reluctance to report problems. The second stage of the framework identifies the “*Emerging*” stage in which the organization recognizes bullying problems and has taken some action to work towards prevention. However, such action may be ad hoc and fragmented in nature and therefore, unconvincing to employees. For example, development of policy in compliance with OH&S legislation may be apparent but proactive strategies are not. Consequently, it is unlikely that organizations in this stage would see any reduction in exit rates or other costs. “*Consolidating*” organizations are likely to be engaging in many of the PWE type of activities, which typify strategically focused organizations, but need development in two specific areas. First, they maintain an individual rather than broader organizations focus, and thus could seek out individual traits that link to bullying behaviors. Second, clearly integrated systems and support are lacking within the organization so, while the expenditure may be as great as the fourth type of organization, “*Established*,” the benefits are not all there. The “*established*” organization considers bullying to be an organizational issue rather than an individual problem. Further, they adopt a strategic approach that evaluates measures and reviews organizational practices at least annually through broad and representative communication channels to all levels in the organization. They set out to proactively identify problems and then to resolve them at an early stage, with an ongoing focus on trust and respect at all levels of the organization.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has drawn together the literature on bullying and positive psychology as well as empirical research and information from the Victorian public to develop a conceptual framework for dealing with bullying in a proactive and positive way. Traditional organizational interventions aimed at the reduction of workplace bullying tend to emphasize the identification of negative employee behaviors and the punitive consequences associated with the manifestation of these behaviors at work. While such interventions have raised awareness of the importance of this issue, the strong emotions the topic of bullying engenders have often made it easier to promote a “compliance” approach aimed at dealing with offences rather than a strategic initiative aimed at broader workplace wellness.

This chapter provides the background and first stage of a project within the Victorian public sector in which a proactive workplace bullying intervention from a PWE perspective was developed. This PWE framework offers the opportunity for a new area of study to emerge, which counteracts the unsuccessful negative approach within existing workplace bullying initiatives. By establishing a holistic, positive workplace environment all organizational members engage fully with the cultural values of respect and dignity (Härtel, 2008), rather than seeing a workplace bullying culture as simply another policy that is espoused but never recognized (Liefoghe & Mackenzie-Davey, 2001). The strategies underlying a PWE go beyond the formulation of a minimal workplace bullying policy by including a range of strategies to facilitate holistic, united change. In summary, we suggest that Table 2 articulates the PWE framework implicit in Fig. 2 such that the three perspectives of organizational, managerial and individual factors involved in dealing effectively with workplace bullying emerge and provide an explicit and workable model for change. The framework extends well beyond the issue of bullying – as complex as this is. The essential focus is much broader and rests on the recognition that a positive corporate culture is one of the main drivers of employee commitment, innovation, teamwork, and engagement. Strategic interventions are necessary to align individual and corporate values and thus, achieve the benefits of the creation of a PWE (Brown & Harvey, 2006; Burnes & Pope, 2007; Härtel, 2008; Luthans et al., 2008; Sadri & Lees, 2001). The framework also avoids a *one-size-fits-all* approach while providing a systematic organizational development structure that is articulated in terms of communications emphasizing that this is part of a larger, long-term strategic approach – that PWE is far more than just about prevention rather than cure. It is about what makes work a meaningful and positive part of all of our lives.

Table 2. Summary of PWE Characteristics from Three Perspectives.

Key Characteristics	Beginning	Emerging	Consolidating	Established
Organization	Negative work environment accepted as part of the culture and not seen as a problem	Recognition that the environment is negative or has problems causes concern, but overall approach is passive and focused on individuals as the cause of the problem	Values of PWE recognized with coherent and well-articulated policies but focus remains on the "individual"	Consistent and coherent, well-articulated policies, procedures, and PWE practices embedded in organizational culture. Any negative behaviors are seen as organizational problem
Managers	Managers consistently reinforce negative behaviors through inaction, complacency or neglect	General management approach is to avoid, be complacent, or ignore although occasional positive actions do occur	Managers take some responsibility and actions to achieve a PWE	Responsibility for achieving and sustaining a PWE starts with managers
Individuals	Individuals reinforce negative behaviors through inaction, complacency, or neglect	Individuals take action but only when there is a problem	Some individuals take responsibility for achieving a PWE	All individuals take responsibility for achieving and sustaining a PWE

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CHAPTER 11

USING AN EMOTION REGULATION FRAMEWORK TO PREDICT THE OUTCOMES OF EMOTIONAL LABOR

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ABSTRACT

Because our emotions are crucial determinants of how well we function in our personal and professional lives, researchers from different perspectives have sought to understand how emotions can be best managed for optimal functioning. In this chapter, we focus on two research traditions that have examined this issue, the emotion regulation (ER) tradition and the emotional labor (EL) tradition. This effort is predicated on the belief that a more fundamental research tradition such as ER can inform and complement a more applied research tradition such as EL, first by extending our understanding of the various processes by which employees deal with their emotions, and second, by permitting a more accurate prediction of the consequences of these emotions. A case is presented that discriminating more finely between the various emotion management strategies may help to resolve some of the paradoxical findings observed in the EL literature.

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INTRODUCTION

It is now widely appreciated that emotions facilitate adaptation by improving the detection of threatening stimuli (e.g., Ohman, Flykt, & Esteves, 2001), preparing the organism for specific behavioral responses (Frijda, 1986), enhancing memory for significant events (Luminet & Curci, 2009; Phelps, 2006), assisting and accelerating decision-making processes (e.g., Damasio, 1994), signaling the confirmation or disconfirmation of one's identity (Lang, 1995), and guiding social interactions (Keltner & Kring, 1998).

Despite their adaptive nature, emotions are not *always* functional (e.g., Parrott, 1993; Salovey & Mayer, 1990). They can even lead us to behave inappropriately. This is the case, for instance, when anger toward a stubborn administrator only worsens our situation, when envy reduces cooperation, or when excitement leads us to buy something that we cannot afford. Thus, emotions may be said to be *maladaptive* in a particular context when they are of the wrong type, when they come at the wrong time, or when they occur at the wrong intensity level (Gross, 1998). At such times, we need to *manage* our emotions.

In the past decade or so, organizational researchers have taken an increased interest in emotions and have examined their effects on economic decisions (Lerner & Tiedens, 2006; Loewenstein & Lerner, 2003), work attitudes and behaviors (Fisher & Ashkanasy, 2000; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996), customer attitudes and behaviors (Brotheridge & Zyglidopoulos, 2006; Menon & Dube, 2000), and organizational learning (Scherer & Tran, 2001). Within this broad interest in emotions, a growing body of literature concerns the study of emotion management. Emotion management refers to the processes by which individuals modify the trajectory of one or more component(s) of the emotional response (Gross, 1998). Emotion management can thus serve to influence the type (i.e., which emotion one has), intensity (i.e., how intense the emotion is), time course (i.e., when the emotion starts and how long it lasts), and quality (i.e., how the emotion is experienced or expressed) of one's emotion. Emotion management can involve decreasing negative emotions (e.g., hiding one's anger to an impolite customer), decreasing positive emotions (e.g., regulating one's laughter before speaking to a client), increasing negative emotions (e.g., expressing shame and guilt to calm a customer's anger), or increasing positive emotions (e.g., increasing our amusement at a client's supposedly funny joke).

Organizational life abounds with examples of emotion management. Different industries are characterized by different emotional cultures that dictate which emotions need to be expressed, which need to be inhibited,

and to what extent (see, e.g., Mann, 1999). The emotional cultures of banks, cosmetic business units, engineering companies, funeral homes, and advertising agencies usually differ drastically. Employees must therefore manage their emotions in order to fit with their organization's emotional culture and climate. Interactions between employees and customers represent another important source of emotion management because of the influence of employees' emotions on clients' purchase behaviors (Rind & Strohmetz, 1999), the need to maintain the organization's image (Gutek, Cherry, & Groth, 1999), and the stress that may be associated with interactions such as incivility or aggression (e.g., Grandey, Dickter, & Sin, 2004; Lee & Brotheridge, 2006a). Finally, emotions are also managed to maintain good relationships with colleagues, superiors, and subordinates. Emotion management puts oil in the wheels in case of conflicts, and allows the pursuit of collaborations.

Because our emotions are crucial determinants of how well we function in our personal and professional lives, researchers from different perspectives have sought to understand how emotions can be best managed for optimal functioning. In this article, we focus on two research traditions that have examined this issue. The first one is the emotion regulation (ER) tradition, which has, for the most part, tried to model and understand the various processes that individuals use to manage their emotions. This fundamental research tradition has not focused on emotion regulation in applied (e.g., organizational) contexts so far. The second is the emotional labor (EL) tradition, which has focused on how employees manage their emotions as a means of meeting organizational display rules. This applied research tradition has narrowed its focus down to two emotion regulation processes: the modulation of emotional expression (surface acting, SA) and the alignment of felt and expressed emotions (deep acting, DA). In this chapter, we attempt to bring these two traditions together in the hope that they could both inform and benefit from each other.

This effort extends previous research that builds bridges between the emotional labor and emotion regulation literatures. Grandey (Grandey, 2000; Grandey & Brauburger, 2002) was one of the first authors to bridge EL and ER literatures. She emphasized the need to go beyond the surface acting/deep acting categorization, and to consider specific emotion regulation strategies. Her theoretical claims received recent empirical support in a recent study by Diefendorff, Richard, and Yang (2008), who showed that focusing on specific strategies, rather than categories, of emotion regulation does enhance our understanding of how employees manage their emotions at work. This is especially true as they found that surface acting and deep acting

were not even the most commonly reported strategies among the participants. Côté (2005) completed this (intrapersonal) picture by adding an interpersonal perspective to it. He suggested, namely, that the relationship between the use of a specific emotion management strategy and strain was often mediated by the interlocutor's response.

Taken together, this research has shown the necessity and promise of linking the EL and ER literatures. Although these authors have emphasized the need for a more complete – and complex – picture of emotion management at work, they have not provided a full picture of the ER strategies available to employees, nor systematically considered their (sometimes divergent) consequences for well-being, health, and performance. This paper completes previous efforts by examining in a more in-depth fashion the emotion regulation strategies available to employees when they are performing emotional labor and their effects on individuals and the organization.

The current effort is predicated on the belief that a more fundamental research tradition such as ER can inform and complement a more applied research tradition such as EL, first by extending our understanding of the various processes by which employees deal with their emotions, and second, by permitting a more accurate prediction of the consequences of these emotions. Moreover, as will be evident later, discriminating more finely between the various emotion management strategies may help to resolve some paradoxical findings that have been observed in the EL literature.

EMOTIONAL LABOR

Whereas all employees perform emotion management at work, some of them (i.e., those in the broad category of “service workers” such as call operators, sales persons, nurses, cashiers, stewards, etc.) are especially called to comply with emotional display rules. These employees are sometimes referred to as “emotional laborers” (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Kruml & Geddes, 2000). Employees perform emotional labor when they attempt to manage their emotions and emotional expressions in order to be consistent with organizational display rules, defined as the organizationally required emotions during interpersonal transactions (Glomb & Tews, 2004; Hochschild, 1983).

According to Hochschild (1983), emotional labor is said to occur when: (1) employees are in *direct* contact with clients (“voice to voice” or “face to face”), (2) the organization explicitly or implicitly *specifies* which emotions

must/can be expressed and how they have to be expressed (e.g., via training, organizational culture, or charters such as “Put a smile in your voice”), and (3) the organization directly or indirectly *controls* its employees emotional expressions. Such emotional display rules create a pressure toward emotion management whenever an employee’s inner and required emotions do not match, namely, every time employees find themselves in a situation of *emotional dissonance*. The negative emotions clashing with the positive ones to be expressed may be directly caused by the service transaction (e.g., the client is impolite), may be caused by the organization but not by the service transaction (e.g., altercation with supervisor or colleague), and may even be unrelated to the organization (i.e., altercation with spouse or children). Whatever the source of the dissonance, the pressure toward emotion management remains the same and its goal is similar: bringing expressed emotions in line with display rules. Emotional labor can thus be defined as emotion regulation performed in and for the benefit of the organization.

Although initial research in EL classified work into high or low emotional labor jobs (see, e.g., Hochschild, 1983; Wharton, 1993), subsequent research considered EL from the perspective of the internal emotion management processes that employees used to create the expected emotional expressions (e.g., Brotheridge & Lee, 2002). It builds on Hochschild’s (1983) perspective that emotional laborers confronted with emotional dissonance have the choice between two primary strategies. The first one, “*surface acting* (SA),” refers to modifying *outward* displays so that they are consistent with display rules. Thus, SA consists both in hiding felt emotions and masking or faking unfeeling emotions. In these two cases, the behavioral expression does not concord with inner feelings. SA is usually presented as a maladaptive strategy in that it increases emotional dissonance and is associated with feelings of inauthenticity, burnout, and depression (Brotheridge & Lee, 2002, 2003; Grandey, 2003; Totterdell & Holman, 2003).

The second strategy, “*deep acting* (DA),” consists of an attempt to *deeply modify* internal feelings so that they become consistent with display rules. Whereas some studies have found null correlations between DA and emotional exhaustion or depersonalization (Brotheridge & Lee, 2002, 2003; Totterdell & Holman, 2003) and a small positive correlation between DA and personal accomplishment and a sense of personal authenticity (Brotheridge & Lee, 2002, 2003), other studies found *positive* correlations between DA and emotional exhaustion or depersonalization, and a small *negative* correlation between DA and job satisfaction (Grandey, 2003; Mikolajczak, Menil, & Luminet, 2007). It is, however, noteworthy that the correlations between burnout’s dimensions and DA were weaker than the

correlations between burnout and SA, suggesting that DA might be less detrimental, if at all, than SA. As explained earlier and as it will become obvious later in this paper, these contradictory results may be due to the nature of the strategies that are employed to deeply modifying one's emotional state. The effects of these strategies can be drastically different, hence the need to distinguish between them.

Besides SA and DA, the EL literature considered a third possible strategy for dealing with emotional dissonance: "negative consonance" (as opposed to "positive consonance"). Positive consonance refers to situations in which expressed, felt, and required emotions match: the employee spontaneously feels and expresses what she/he is required to express (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Kruml & Geddes, 2000). In such situations, employees do not experience emotional dissonance, and, thus, express their genuine emotions (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998). In contrast, negative consonance, or "emotional deviance," refers to situations in which felt and expressed emotions match but are at odds with organizational display rules: the employee deliberately chooses to ignore the latter and to express her/his inner feelings (Brotheridge, 2006a; Mikolajczak et al., 2007). The effect of this strategy seems to be neither deleterious nor protective but rather null (*ibid.*), as it probably mixes protective (emotion expression) and deleterious (at odds with organizational rules) elements.

In their quantitative review of the emotional labor literature, Bono and Vey (2005) found that, besides being associated (to varying extents) with psychological distress, emotional labor is associated with lower levels of role identification, lower levels of job satisfaction, a reduced sense of personal authenticity, a reduced sense of personal autonomy and control, increased voluntary turnover, as well as increased physical strain. However, the strength and, in some cases, the direction of EL's association with these variables differed according to the dimension of EL being measured. Surface acting typically had the strongest detrimental effects, which is not surprising given that emotional suppression, a component of surface acting, is associated with a variety of negative outcomes such as, increased sympathetic nervous system activity (Gross & Levenson, 1993, 1997) and poorer rapport with partners (Butler et al., 2003).

EMOTION REGULATION

The emotion regulation tradition has aimed to understand the myriad strategies that individuals use to regulate their emotions. One critical part of

the study of ER has been the conceptual analysis of emotion regulation strategies and the development of a model to organize them. The process model of emotion regulation (Gross, 1998) provides a framework for analyzing emotion regulation processes.

This model categorizes strategies according to the point at which they have their primary impact in the emotion generative process. During the milliseconds and seconds following the occurrence of a potentially emotion-eliciting situation (micro-level), there are five points in time at which individuals might intervene in order to modify their emotion trajectory. These five points represent five families of emotion regulation strategies. Although sequential at the micro-level, these strategies can be used in parallel or in any order at the macro-level (i.e., at the level of minutes, hours, or days following the emotional situation). That is, if the emotion trajectory was not altered or if the emotion was ill-regulated at the micro-level, one can still regulate it later by using any of the five families of strategies.

The process model of emotion regulation offers a framework to organize the strategies proposed in both the regulation and associated research traditions (i.e., coping, stress). It arranges them into five families of strategies, corresponding to the order in which they occur at the micro-level. *Situation selection* encompasses the strategies that involve choosing or avoiding some activities, people, or places as a function of their expected emotional impact. It affects the situation to which a person is exposed, and thus shapes the emotion trajectory from the earliest possible point. *Situation modification* encompasses the strategies aiming at modifying the situation so as to alter its emotional impact. *Attentional deployment* comprises the strategies that alter how we feel by modifying the information we attend to. *Cognitive change* refers to reappraising the situation in a way that changes its emotional impact. *Response modulation* occurs late in the emotion-generative process, after the emotion has been fully generated. This family includes strategies targeting the bodily manifestations of emotion (e.g., physiological, behavioral).

Each emotion regulation family comprises several strategies that can either decrease or increase the emotion, hence stopping or stimulating the emotion generation process. Although a given strategy cannot be judged “good” or “bad” a priori (because some a priori bad strategies can be functional in some contexts; see, e.g., Southam-Gerow & Kendall, 2002), specific emotion regulation styles (i.e., repeated use of a given regulation strategy) can be deemed generally functional or dysfunctional (Power, 2008). Indeed, the various instances of emotion regulation are not totally independent of one another within a given individual. On the contrary,

individuals show some consistency in their regulation habits (i.e., when, how, and which emotion component they regulate). Each individual can thus be characterized by a certain emotion regulation style, which contributes to make him/her predictable in the eyes of others, but also carries certain consequences for long-term adaptation (e.g., Gross & John, 2003; Mayer & Salovey, 1997; Bar-On, 1997).

Before concluding this section, it is noteworthy that ER strategies may be implemented in a controlled fashion (consciously, effortfully) or in an automatic fashion (unconsciously, effortlessly) (Mauss, Evers, Wilhelm, & Gross, 2006). The notion that relatively high-level self-regulatory processes such as emotion regulation can be performed automatically may seem counterintuitive (Fitzsimons & Bargh, 2004). However, there is ample evidence that the full sequence of goal pursuit – from goal setting to the completion of the goal – can proceed outside of conscious awareness. For instance, Bargh, Gollwitzer, Lee-Chai, Barndollar, and Trötschel (2001) have shown that priming the goal of achievement led research participants to outperform a control group on a variety of tasks, and subliminal priming of cooperation led participants to make a greater number of cooperative responses in a “commons dilemma” situation. Even more remarkable, the outcomes were the same when the goal was primed and operated outside of awareness as when the goal was explicitly stated in the task instructions (see Fitzsimons & Bargh, 2004 for a review). The few studies having investigated whether emotion regulation could also operate automatically have provided support for this idea. For instance, Mauss, Cook, and Gross (2007) have shown that participants primed with emotion control reported less anger than participants primed with emotion expression following an anger-induction manipulation.

TOWARD A BROADER CONCEPTION OF EMOTIONAL LABOR

The ER and EL traditions each capture an important aspect of emotion management. The ER tradition has shed light on the myriad emotion regulation processes at the disposal of individuals who want to regulate their emotions (Gross, 2008). However, it has not examined the consequences of these processes within organizational settings. By contrast, the EL tradition has examined emotion regulation within organizational settings, particularly those that expect their employees to regulate their emotions. However, the EL tradition has adopted a somewhat restricted perspective in focusing on

only two broad regulation strategies: surface acting and deep acting. In this section, we discuss how the most common regulation strategies in the emotion regulation model might enhance or, alternately, hamper employees' well-being or job performance as employees perform emotional labor. As will be demonstrated, some of the strategies encompassed in DA (i.e., strategies aimed at putting inner feelings in line with required feelings) are positively related to well-being and performance, whereas others are negatively related to well-being and performance. This most probably explains why DA, and its over-general measure ("I am doing an effort to feel the emotions that I must show"), lead to inconsistent findings across studies.

Situation Selection

Situation selection aims at defusing the emotion *before* it is even triggered. It involves forecasting the emotions that various situations are expected to produce, and taking these emotions into account when selecting the situations to which one will be exposed (Gross, 2008; Loewenstein, 2007). One can then use any of the three strategies that fall under this family: confrontation, procrastination, and avoidance. The costs and benefits in the short and long term have to be carefully weighed before making the choice.

Confrontation involves choosing to face a situation in spite of the negative emotions it might potentially elicit. This strategy is particularly efficient if the situation is likely to bring long-term benefits. Speaking in public often induces negative emotions in the short term, but avoiding oral presentations in front of one's team might turn counterproductive for future promotions. Suls and Fletcher (1985) showed that in order to maximize long-term (rather than short-term) happiness, a person is better off confronting rather than avoiding phobia-inducing situations. However, the interests of employees and those of the organization may sometimes differ, such as situations in which employees might refuse to do something in order to preserve their well-being (e.g., helping a difficult client or collaborating with colleagues one does not get along with (Diefendorff et al., 2008), thereby potentially prejudicing organizational interests. However, if difficult situations do not arise often, employees are much more likely to confront them rather than avoid them in order to keep their job, thus preserving their long-term well-being. Service employees do not always have the opportunity to avoid undesirable situations (Grandey, 2000), but leaders have greater latitude. Wong and Law (2002) demonstrate that being able to select situations or

people in regard to their emotional impact affects positively the way leaders can promote creativity or intellectual growth among their collaborators.

Procrastination involves deferring the confrontation with a situation in order to avoid the associated anxiety. Procrastination is clearly understudied but has been shown to result in lower stress in the short term but increased stress, increased drugs/alcohol consumption, and reduced health levels in the long term (Sirois & Pychyl, 2002; Tice & Baumeister, 1997). The relationship between procrastination and performance is complex. Although many studies found it to be strongly negatively associated with academic performance (e.g., Steel, Brothen, & Wambach, 2001; Tice & Baumeister, 1997), it sometimes constitutes a performance-enhancing strategy (Steel, 2007). Chu and Choi (2005) found that active procrastinators are a positive category of procrastinators (vs. passive procrastinators): they prefer to work under pressure and make deliberate decisions to procrastinate; thus, they appear to exhibit similar characteristics as non procrastinators in terms of self-efficacy beliefs, coping style, and performance.

Avoidance refers to the escape of the situation as a whole. If a situation is unlikely to bring future benefits and if there is no avoidance-related side effects (or if a situation has more detrimental than beneficial effects), then avoidance is often the best strategy. For instance, if a person is offered two jobs, a very well-paid job but in a distant location and reporting to a tyrannical boss, or a slightly less lucrative job but appearing to fit to one's emotional needs, that person may be better off avoiding the former and preferring the latter. In any other cases, avoidance is likely to turn out dysfunctional. Research has shown that the avoidant regulatory style was associated with poor indicators of long-term well-being and health (see Suls & Fletcher, 1985 and Penley, Tomaka, & Wiebe, 2002 for reviews). Social withdrawal, which is a specific form of avoidance, refers to a deliberate choice to avoid contact with the people involved in the emotional situation. While social withdrawal may be an adaptive, short-term strategy for both employees and their environment, over time, repeated instances of withdrawal tend to corrode feelings of closeness and lead to feelings of resentment and negative interactions (Repetti, 1992; DeLongis & Preece, 2002). The effect of withdrawal on job performance has not been studied but it is probably null when the task is to be performed individually but negative when the task involves the collaboration of team members.

Although situation selection may be a very efficient strategy, one cannot always avoid negative situations/emotions. The families of ER strategies presented next are useful in three main classes of situations: (1) situations that are expected to induce negative emotions but that cannot be avoided due to

positive long-term benefits, (2) unexpected situations that cause an unwanted emotion, and (3) situations that induce a conditioned negative emotion.

Situation Modification

Situation modification encompasses the strategies aiming at modifying the situation so as to change its emotional load (Gross, 1998). There exist two kinds of such strategies.

Direct situation modification (also called problem-focus coping in the stress tradition; Folkman & Lazarus, 1980) involves taking some practical actions that impact directly on the situation (e.g., fixing the broken printer; rehearsing one's presentation). This strategy is associated with increased well-being (Billings & Moos, 1981) and better health outcomes (see Penley et al., 2002 for a meta-analysis). Moreover, this strategy has been associated with better work performance, both in academic (Struthers, Perry, & Menec, 2000) and organizational (Lee, Ashford, & Jamieson, 1993) settings.

Indirect situation modification involves seeking others' assistance in modifying the situation (e.g., asking a colleague for some help as a means of finishing a report by the deadline, asking a colleague to take over a difficult client). Help-seeking points toward a complex profile. On the one hand, help-seeking does decrease negative emotions through the modification of the (previously) emotional situation. Moreover, the ability to seek – and obtain – help from others has long been found to have adaptive value by clinical and educational psychologists (see Newman, 1994 for a review). On the other hand, this strategy might backfire because help-seeking elicits perception of personal inadequacy, incompetence, and immaturity, both in the self and others (Rosen, 1983; Shapiro, 1983).

Although situation modification strategies impact early on the emotion generation process, it is not possible to modify every emotion-eliciting situation: one cannot prevent a sick colleague from coughing loudly every 5 min, and one cannot easily get rid of a tyrannical boss. Hence, other strategies need to be considered.

Attention Reorientation

Attention reorientation involves altering how we feel by modifying our attentional focus (Gross, 1998; Nolen-Hoeksema & Morrow, 1993). The two best-researched strategies in this family are distraction and rumination.

Distraction involves diverting one's attention from the situation altogether or from the emotional aspects of it. Distraction may be internal (e.g., thinking to a happy memory, imagine the upcoming holidays) or external (engaging in some pleasurable activity such as listening to music, surfing the web, etc.). This strategy is one of those that might have contradictory effects on employees and the organization. From the employees' standpoint, distraction can be deemed functional because it decreases negative emotions (Nolen-Hoeksema & Morrow, 1993; Rusting & Nolen-Hoeksema, 1998; Trask & Sigmon, 1999). However, from the organization's standpoint, this strategy might be deleterious. It is possible, indeed, that distracting oneself induces a lack of concentration and thereby a drop in task performance. Conditions under which distraction occurs might bring some nuance to this hypothesis. A longitudinal study by Shimazu and Schaufeli (2007) has shown that blue-collar workers with a high problem-focused coping and high distraction combination in high stress jobs have lower stress responses and better performance.

Rumination involves continuously brooding and reflecting on the situation, with an excessive attention to its negative aspects and aroused emotions. It increases the duration and intensity of negative emotions (Bushman, 2002; Morrow & Nolen-Hoeksema, 1990) and predicts the onset, number, and duration of depressive episodes over a 2.5 years follow-up of initially nondepressed individuals (Robinson & Alloy, 2003). Rumination has also been found to impair the generation of random numbers in a laboratory study (Watkins & Brown, 2002), thus suggesting that it may impair job performance (probably by interfering with executive functions).

Cognitive Change

Cognitive change refers to modifying our emotions by changing the way we think, either about the situation itself or about our capacity to manage its demands (Gross, 2008).

Positive reappraisal is probably one of the most researched regulation strategies. There are four main reappraisal strategies: (a) putting things into perspective, (b) looking for the silver lining, (c) infusing the situation with a positive meaning, and (d) searching for and rectifying the distortions that affect our perception of reality (i.e., examining what are the arguments in favor of what we feel and think, and what are the arguments that

contradict what we feel and think). The findings regarding the efficiency of reappraisal point toward a complex profile. In the short term, the use of reappraisal decreases the subjective intensity of negative emotion but not the activation of cardiovascular or electrodermal systems (Gross, 1998). This strategy also seems to have some cognitive costs (decrease in memory performance), although not in every circumstance (Richards & Gross, 2000). In the long term, however, the use of this strategy has been associated with positive outcomes in terms of affective and social functioning (Gross & John, 2003). Reappraisal has also been found to predict better academic performance (Leroy & Grégoire, 2007). The impact of reappraisal on job performance is often studied (e.g., Holman, Chissick, & Totterdell, 2002; Fritz & Sonnentag, 2005), namely in the context of coping with stress (Côté, 2005; Jordan, Ashkanasy, & Hartel, 2002; Latack & Havlovic, 1992), but we expect it to be rather complex. It is possible that the cognitive costs associated with reappraisal impair performance when reappraisal has to be performed at the same time as the task. However, the use of reappraisal should be positively correlated with performance on any delayed task.

Acceptance refers to accepting the situation and/or one's incapacity to deal with it. It is especially useful in those situations whose benefits appear only several months/years later or situations that are so terrible that they cannot be easily reappraised (e.g., a call operator hearing about an atrocious car accident having killed a whole family). The acceptance of uncontrollable negative events and the emotions that they elicit has been found to be protective at both psychological (decreases negative emotions) and physical (protects immunity and decreases pain) levels (e.g., Burns, Carroll, Ring, Harrison, & Drayson, 2002; McCracken & Eccleston, 2003). This is not surprising as by accepting the situation and/or the associated emotions, one is less likely to experience secondary emotions (e.g., guilt about feeling sad). One of the few studies addressing acceptance in the workplace has shown that this strategy is negatively correlated with computer input errors, thus suggesting that its cognitive costs might be small enough to leave performance intact (Bond & Bunce, 2003). Although not significant, there was, however, a negative correlation between acceptance and tenure in the organization in the latter study, suggesting that acceptance might share some variance with more passive ways of being.

Others-blame refers to rejecting on others the responsibility for the occurrence of the problem and/or our incapacity to solve it. The use of this strategy has been associated with poor outcomes in terms of psychological adjustment (Affleck, Allen, McGrade, & McQueeney, 1985; Bulman &

Wortman, 1977). To our knowledge, its impact on job performance has not been studied but we expect it to be positive if the task is individual, but deleterious if the task involves the collaboration of a team.

Response Modulation

Response modulation encompasses all of the strategies that target the physical component of emotion and that, therefore, act directly on the body.

Relaxation includes a range of techniques (based mainly on breathing and movements) aiming at inducing a direct muscular relaxation. The two most common relaxation techniques are those proposed by Schultz (1958) and Jacobson (1987). Relaxation techniques do not necessarily suppress negative thoughts but, by allowing the body to relax and by providing the individual with an opportunity to get back in touch with one's inner self, one more easily finds the energy to modify the situation or cognitively reappraise it. Relaxation has been found to decrease the psychological and physiological manifestations of work stress (see Murphy, 1996 for a review). It also has positive effects on the emotional and physical adjustment of individuals suffering from various diseases such as cancer, headaches, or hypertension (see Carlson & Hoyle, 1993 and Luebbert, Dahme, & Hasenbring, 2001 for meta-analyses). The effect of relaxation on job performance has been understudied but at least one study shows that the daily use of relaxation impacts positively on job performance (Peters, Benson, & Porter, 1977). Further studies are needed, however, because animal and neurobiological studies have shown that efficient performance requires a minimal level of physical and cortical activation (e.g., de Kloet, Oitzl, & Joels, 1999).

Substance abuse refers to exaggerated consumption of alcohol, drugs, or medicines in order to induce muscular relaxation, drop in heart rate and/or blood pressure. Although moderate alcohol consumption can have health benefits (for a review, see Baum-Baicker, 1985), alcohol used as a regulation strategy (and thus abused) is associated with poor outcomes in terms of mental and physical health (e.g., Single, Rehm, Robson, & Van Truong, 2000). In addition, alcohol also alters performance (Mangione et al., 1999). Dawson and Reid (1997) showed a significant (negative) linear correlation between individuals' mean blood alcohol concentration and their mean relative performance on a laboratory-tracking task. For each 0.01% increase in blood alcohol, performance decreased by 1.16%. Thus, at a mean blood alcohol concentration of 0.10%, mean relative performance on the task

decreased, on average, by 11.6%. It is worth mentioning that low blood alcohol levels are sufficient to impair performance: divided attention and information processing tasks show evidence of impairment beginning at 15mg/dl (Moskowitz, Burns, Williams, 1985). Whereas on-the-job alcohol use alters performance, off-the-job abuse can also have deleterious consequences (even when the alcohol concentration is zero during the workday) since hangovers affect cognitive and occupational performance (see Wiese, Shlipak, & Browner, 2000 for a review). Cannabis is another substance used to defuse the physiological tension associated with emotions. It enhances well-being in the short term, but at the cost of a drop in cognitive and motor efficiency. Short-term memory and attention, motor skills, reaction time, and skilled activities are impaired while the user is intoxicated (see Hall & Solowij, 1998 for a review). Whereas it is likely that on-the-job cannabis use impairs performance in most occupations (see Kagel, Battalio, & Miles, 1980 for a counterargument), the effects of off-the-job cannabis use on job performance use still need to be investigated. Along with alcohol and drugs, tranquilizers are the third most commonly used substance to regulate emotions. They are usually taken in order to increase well-being, reduce sleeping disorders related to job, and enhance job performance (Ngoundo-Mbongue et al., 2005). Whereas tranquilizers do increase well-being and sleep quality for most people, their effect on job performance is ambiguous. The performance of highly anxious individuals may be better when they are on rather than off medication. However, as with many medications, tranquilizers can affect alertness, judgment, motor skills, and other abilities required for safe driving and potentially hazardous work (Aronoff, Erdil, & Hartenbaum, 2005). Thus, further studies are needed to determine the conditions in which the use of tranquilizers improves/decreases performance.

Expressive suppression refers to masking the behavioral manifestations (e.g., facial expression, gesture . . .) associated with the unwanted emotion. It is one of two components of surface acting in the EL tradition (the other one being faking an unfeelt emotion). Whereas suppression decreases observable behavior, it does not change the negative emotion experience, and it actually *increases* sympathetic activation of the cardiovascular system (e.g., Gross, 1998; Gross & Levenson, 1993). This strategy also bears significant cognitive costs (for instance by decreasing memory performance; Richards & Gross, 2000) as well as important social costs (by disrupting communication and closeness, and magnifying blood pressure in the suppressor's interlocutor; Butler et al., 2003). In the long term, the use of this strategy has been associated with poor psychological and social adjustment (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Grandey, 2003; Gross & John, 2003). The impact of expressive

suppression on job performance has been understudied but one study at least shows that suppression is negatively related to task performance in a service transaction (Grandey, Fisk, Mattila, Jansen, & Sideman, 2005). This study also found that suppression was negatively related to indicators of corporate image such as client satisfaction.

Verbal/physical aggression is ordinary used in order to diffuse the body tension that arouse from the situation Although many studies demonstrate that expressing one's emotions is generally beneficial for both mental and physical health (e.g., Taylor, Bagby, & Parker, 1997), a number of studies suggest that hostility – and especially its “expressive” dimension – leads to exaggerated cardiovascular reactivity in response to provocative stressors (Suls & Wan, 1993), and that it increases the possibility of developing coronary-heart disease (see Miller, Smith, Turner, Guijaro, & Hallet, 1996 for a meta-analysis). It is likely that verbal or physical aggression hampers job performance and corporate image.

THE BENEFITS OF INTEGRATING EL AND ER RESEARCH TRADITIONS

In recent research, Lee and colleagues (Lee & Brotheridge, 2006b; Lee, Lovell, & Brotheridge, 2009) demonstrated the importance of separately measuring and testing surface acting's two dimensions: suppressing felt emotions and faking unfeelt emotions. In their research, these two dimensions were differentially related to variables in EL's nomological network. This research yielded a three-dimensional perspective of EL that retained a broad notion of deep acting. The current paper advocates the separate measurement and testing of the individual emotion regulation strategies that employees use in the process of performing deep acting. Combining both perspectives offers a broader and deeper conceptualization of EL, comprised of faking emotions, suppressing emotions, and the emotion regulation strategies undertaken to perform deep acting. This approach offers several benefits.

Accounting for Discrepant Findings

As discussed in previous sections, there are many ways to regulate one's emotions beyond the two broad approaches that were originally envisaged by Hochschild (1983). Although Hochschild's work and typology has

stimulated much informative research, it would be beneficial to incorporate more specific emotional regulation strategies in the measurement of emotional labor. This is especially important given that the strategies currently included in the deep acting factor have dissimilar effects, which may explain the unexpected and inconsistent results that have been observed. Indeed, whereas the use of deep acting was originally thought as preventing emotional exhaustion (e.g., Hochschild, 1983), current research has found only partial support to this idea. Although some studies (e.g., Kruml & Geddes, 2000) found that DA was negatively associated with emotional exhaustion and depersonalization, others studies have found no correlation between DA and emotional exhaustion or depersonalization (Brotheridge & Lee, 2002, 2003; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). Finally, a few studies have even found positive correlations between DA and emotional exhaustion or depersonalization (e.g., Grandey, 2003; Mikolajczak et al., 2007). These mixed results are all the more surprising given that deep acting has often been compared to reappraisal, which has been associated with positive outcomes in the emotion regulation literature (see, e.g., Gross & John, 2003). A possible explanation for these mixed results may be that the items aimed at measuring deep acting do not typically specify the precise emotion regulation being used. For example, items such as “*I make an effort to actually feel the emotions that I need to display to others*” and “*I try to actually experience the emotions that I must show*” (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003) do not indicate whether an employee is using distraction, reappraisal, social sharing, or other emotion regulation strategy. As such, measures of deep acting can potentially capture very different processes, with dissimilar effects on personal and organizational outcomes.

Predicting the Effects of Emotions at Work

Applying the emotion regulation framework to emotional labor not only allows for a better *understanding* of emotion management at work, but also for a better *prediction* of the impact of emotions on both the individual and the organization. Different regulation strategies indeed moderate the effects of emotions in different ways. This is because the various ER strategies have different cognitive and physiological correlates, but also because they have a divergent impact on the interlocutors, whose response retroacts on the individual (Côté, 2005). Determining the specific regulatory style of an individual permits a much more fine-grained prediction of how emotions will affect his/her well-being, health, job performance, and work

relationships. It is noteworthy that this holds true not only for emotional laborers (i.e., people in service work) but for any employee. The ER tradition emphasizes that there are many more instances of emotion management at work than those on which the EL tradition has focused so far. That is, employees often need to regulate their emotions besides service interpersonal transactions (i.e., in front of the clients). As a matter of fact, they sometimes need to manage on the job emotions having their roots in their private lives, in order not to let them interfere with work. They also need to manage emotions arising in the context of interactions with superiors or colleagues (e.g., anger but also inappropriate love), in order to keep their job and/or to allow the smooth pursuit of collaborations. Finally, they often need to regulate emotions induced by the task itself (e.g., boredom) in order to sustain performance. This means that the study of emotion management at work should take all instances of emotion management into consideration and could (should) be extended to all kinds of employees, even those who are never in contact with clients (see also Côté, 2005; Totterdell & Holman, 2003 for similar pleas).

Providing a Basis for Training

Such an extended conceptualization of emotional labor is not only useful for research, but it is also essential for practice. If employees have to be trained to manage their emotions at work so as to improve both their well-being and the corporate performance and image, distinguishing between surface acting and deep acting is not sufficient. Training focused on specific strategies that have been shown to have positive effects on both individuals and organizations is necessary. The current paper provides the basics for such training.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS IN THE STUDY OF EMOTIONAL LABOR AND EMOTION REGULATION

The previous discussion took stock of the various emotion regulation strategies and their differential outcomes in organizational settings. In addition to highlighting the need to broaden EL conception and ER research, the present review also opens broader avenues for future investigations. In the following sections, we consider four promising new directions, each of which seems likely to broaden and extend the way that

we think about emotion management in organizations. The first concerns the comparison of the various ER strategies. The second is related to the automatic and effortful forms of emotion regulation and their consequences for the communication of emotional display rules. The third focuses on the study of individual differences in the process of emotional regulation. The fourth relates to the emotional labor of the client.

Comparing the Effects of the Various Emotion Management Strategies

Future studies would benefit greatly from investigating not only the unique effect of a particular emotion regulation strategy on organization-related variables (performance, image, . . .) but also from *comparing* the efficiency of various adaptive regulation strategies in order to determine if one should be recommended over the others. As shown in the present paper, employees seeking to regulate their emotions have a whole range of strategies at their disposal. They can anticipate emotion regulation via situation selection or situation appraisal. They can engage in attention reorientation, and focus their thoughts on something pleasant or listen to music as a means of shifting their emotions while or after performing emotional labor. They can try to reframe the way they think about the emotional demands of their work and their ability to meet them (cognitive change) through any of the four types of situational reappraisal strategies presented earlier. Finally, they may solicit social support, engage in physio-relaxing techniques prior to, during, and after performing emotional labor. Future research will have to determine which strategy (or combination of strategies) is the most beneficial for the employee and the organization, on both the short and long term. The hypothesis that strategies' efficiency may be moderated by individual differences and job role will have to be taken into consideration in the analyses.

Explicit or Implicit Display Rules? Automatic versus Effortful Emotion Management

The emotional labor literature has often assumed that EL was always effortful (Hochschild, 1983). It also assumed that the amount of effort required by EL was a direct function of the duration of interactions and the variety of emotions to be displayed (Morris & Feldman, 1996) and that deep acting would be more effortful than surface acting. Brotheridge and Lee (1998) found support for the view that masking one's felt emotions through

surface may also require much effort. Yet, is emotional labor always effortful?

There is now much evidence that complex goals can be pursued and achieved outside of conscious awareness (see Fitzsimons & Bargh, 2004 for a review), and that emotion regulation is among them (Mauss et al., 2007). Based on their review of available evidence, Bargh and Williams (2007) have shown that automatic emotion regulation processes are much more consistent and reliable than conscious processes and have the advantage to operate effectively even in the presence of cognitive load (because automatic processes do not require attentional resources). Thus, given that employees must regulate their emotions while frequently being under cognitive load (because they have to do something for the client at the same time, e.g., organize and book a city trip), and that emotion regulation in response to explicit display rules has been found to hamper task performance (Goldberg & Grandey, 2007), this literature strongly suggests that organizations might benefit from communicating emotional display rules implicitly instead of explicitly, so as to make the pressure toward emotion regulation implicit instead of explicit. Should this hypothesis be supported, it would have practical implications for employee training and monitoring. For instance, random recorded calls in call centers should be replaced in favor of less explicit monitoring methods.

Taking Emotional Competencies into Account

Although there are many ways to regulate one's emotions, individuals markedly differ in the strategies they choose. The constructs of "affective style" (Davidson, 1998), "emotional competence" (Härtel, Gough, & Härtel, 2006; Saarni, 1999), and "emotional intelligence" (Mayer & Salovey, 1997; Petrides & Furnham, 2003) have served as frameworks for this idea. It has already been hypothesized (Grandey, 2003) and shown (Mikolajczak et al., 2007; Totterdell & Holman, 2003) that the level of emotional intelligence would reduce the risk for burnout through the mediation of emotional labor strategies. In her research with service workers, Brotheridge (2006b) found that respondents' level of emotional intelligence was not directly associated with surface or deep acting; rather, it influenced their appraisal of the emotional demands of their jobs, which, in turn, was associated with surface and deep acting. However, our understanding of the phenomenon is limited by the fact that (1) only two strategies were investigated (SA and DA) and that (2) only two dependent variables

were considered (burnout and somatic complaints). Future studies would benefit greatly from investigating individual differences, as being able to accurately predict who uses which strategy(ies) can be valuable in both selection and training. Regarding the former, it may be useful to (re-)orient low emotionally intelligent people toward less emotionally demanding jobs. As far as the latter is concerned, organizations would certainly benefit from training low emotionally intelligent people already hired in the use of emotion regulation strategies that have been shown to have positive effects on well-being, task performance, and interpersonal relationship alike.

The Emotional Labor of the Client

How many times have we felt ill-treated in shops, restaurants, administrations and yet felt compelled to manage our emotions so as to avoid bad quality service (or even worse)? So far, the organizational literature has restricted the focus on *employees'* EL. But employees are not the only ones to manage their emotions during interpersonal service transactions; clients do so too (Tran, 2008). While employees manage their emotions in exchange for wage, clients manage their emotions in exchange for service quality. The burden of such EL for the client and its consequences on organizations has never been investigated. To what extent does client's EL influence service satisfaction? Does it decrease it (because of the increased emotional load) or does it increase it (because of the regulation)? How does the chosen emotion regulation strategy moderate the effects? And, most importantly: How does the client's EL interact with the employee's EL? As pointed by Côté (2005), emotion management strategies bear consequences not only for the individuals, but also for their interlocutors. Studies that investigate the interactive effects of employees and clients' EL are thus necessary. Once the best/worse combinations will have been brought to the light, the ways to implicitly promote/avoid them will have to be found.

Concluding comment

In this paper, we have extended past efforts (Grandey & Brauburger, 2002; Côté, 2005; Diefendorff et al., 2008) by drawing together two research traditions that concern emotion management. The ER tradition has shed light on the various emotion management processes, while the EL tradition

has documented the consequences of two emotion management strategies in occupational settings. This paper used the ER conceptual framework as a means of discussing the possible consequences of emotion management strategies for employees' well-being and organizational performance. We believe that our understanding of how emotional labor is performed in organizations would be strengthened by incorporating research pertaining to emotion regulation processes. First and foremost, this added level of specificity sheds some light on past contradictions in the emotional labor–outcomes linkage. Then, this refined framework should lead to more accurate predictions of the individual and organizational consequences of emotions at work. Finally, identifying the particular emotion regulation strategies that are beneficial (or at least not harmful) for both employees and organizations could be helpful in employee development efforts. In addition to highlighting these benefits, the current paper points to several new directions. First, future studies should determine in what circumstances emotional labor would be automatic and, thus, less taxing, in order to guide organizational practices. Second, research would benefit from examining the moderating effect of individual differences in the choice and efficiency of ER strategies. Third, future investigations of emotion management at work should broaden its scope so as to include not only employees (for which the focus should expand beyond interpersonal service transactions) but also clients.

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CHAPTER 12

DOES CULTURE INFLUENCE INTELLIGENCE? A STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

Recently scholars have been interested in examining social intelligence, emotional intelligence, and cultural intelligence, but none have examined all these in a comparative study of cultures. Here an empirical examination is conducted of a high-context culture, India, versus a low-context culture, the United States. Linear regression was conducted and findings indicate that the hypothesized relationships, that high-context cultures will have a higher social, emotional, and cultural intelligence, are not supported. In fact, social intelligence was found to be higher in the U.S. sample. Managerial implications and avenues for future research are presented.

INTRODUCTION

Does culture influence intelligence? While some argue that it does not (Mayer, Salovey, & Caruso, 2002); others have posited that there could be a cultural difference in some forms of intelligence (Ilangovan, Scroggins, & Rozeh, 2007). For instance, some have posited that Indians will have a higher level of emotional intelligence (EI) because they will be more likely to be empathetic because of their desire to help others (Ilangovan et al., 2007). If this is true, how does this impact the business world? Thus, this article aims to fill a gap in the research by investigating whether based on how social intelligence (SI), EI, and cultural intelligence (CQ) are defined and measured if they are influenced by culture. The focus is on examining high-context cultures versus low-context cultures; specifically examining India and the United States.

Understanding the effect of culture on SI, EI, and CQ is especially crucial because of the increasing globalization of business. An individual working with those who are outside his or her cultural may not realize that if the level of SI, EI, and CQ are influenced by the culture then this may effect their interactions. Moreover, if culture influences these intelligences then individuals from certain cultures may have an advantage in the business world while others may be at a disadvantage. Additionally, some business interactions may be hindered if these intelligences vary by culture. For instance, if an individual from the United States misinterprets the social cues presented by an Indian colleague, then he or she may not react appropriately or may even react inappropriately which could hinder the two from doing business effectively. This may cause failure or straining of relationships, miscommunication, or missed opportunities, which may impact negotiations, business deals, and training opportunities, just to name a few. So organizations will want to understand these differences so that they can take advantage of the workers that may have higher intelligences and aid those who may have lower intelligences.

UNDERSTANDING CULTURAL CONTEXT

In the late 1970s, Hall (1977) began discussing the importance of context in communication because “in real life the code, the context, and the meaning can only be seen as different aspects of a single event” (90). He determined that there were two types of communications that occurred: high-context

and low-context. In addition, he believed a culture could be categorized based on what type of communication was more dominant and the general-level awareness of the “selective screen” placed between individuals and the world, where the selective process increases on the high side of the scale (Hall, 1977).

A high-context culture is one in which the majority of the information is embedded in the physical context or internalized in the person (Dsilva & Whyte, 1998; Hall, 1977); thus, information shared through simple messages may actually carry deep meaning (Kim, Pan, & Park, 1998). When the communication is occurring, the individuals must draw meaning from the context of the situation to effectively and accurately understand the message being conveyed. This may include information such as an individual’s status or past experience. This can even be seen in written language of these cultures; for example, some state that to truly understand the Chinese dictionary an individual would have to have knowledge of Chinese history because it is necessary to understand the over 200 Chinese radicals to correctly interpret the meaning of words (Hall, 1977). High-context cultures have also been found to be typically eastern nations (Adair, 2003), for instance India, Japan (Würtz, 2006), and China (Adair, 2003; Adair & Brett, 2005; Hall, 1977; White, Härtel, & Panipucci, 2005).

The Japanese court system is an example of high-context because it puts all involved in the case including the public and the court on the same side so they can work to settle things; while the U.S. court system has been cited as an example of a low-context communication, because only established facts are admissible as evidence often without including the context of the facts being conveyed (Hall, 1977). Therefore, at the other end of the communication spectrum are low-context cultures where messages are conveyed in the explicit code (Dsilva & Whyte, 1998; Hall, 1977). The communication is based on the concept that thoughts of the individual are unknowable unless stated in words (Kitayama & Ishii, 2002). Often low-cultural context can be seen when there is a tendency for a culture to try and make everything explicit (Hall, 1977). In a business environment this can be seen in the nature of contracts developed between business partners (White et al., 2005). The necessity for these partners to have the terms written out explicitly to make every point in the partnership clear shows the low-context nature of the communication between them. While no culture is on the extreme end of the high-context/low-context continuum, typically, Western nations (Adair, 2003), such as the United States and Germany (Hall, 1977), are considered to be low-context cultures.

SOCIAL INTELLIGENCE AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

SI has been defined as “the ability to understand men and women, boys and girls – to act wisely in human relations . . . the ability to perceive one’s own and others’ internal states, motives, and behaviors, and to act toward them optimally on the basis of that information” (Salovey & Mayer, 1990, p. 187). It has also been described as “the ability to understand the feelings, thoughts, and behaviors of persons including oneself, in interpersonal situations and to act appropriately upon that understanding” (Marlowe, 1986, p. 52). It is thought of as the ability to accomplish interpersonal tasks (Kaukiainen et al., 1999). Others discuss it as having knowledge of social rules and social life, accurately reading nonverbal cues, decoding social situations, being flexible in different social situations, and being sensitive in complex situations (Fredáková & Jelenová, 2004). It involves skills related to all social interactions and acting appropriately in these interactions (Brislin, Worthley, & Macnab, 2006; Kaukiainen et al., 1999; Marlowe, 1986; Salovey & Mayer, 1990; Silvera, Martinussen, & Dahl, 2001) or acting optimally in a situation (Marlowe, 1986; Salovey & Mayer, 1990; Silvera et al., 2001). Silvera et al. (2001) discussed three components of SI, including social information processing, social skills, and social awareness. Social information processing consists of activities such as understanding others’ wishes, predicting others’ reactions, and understanding how one’s actions influence others. Social skills include the abilities to get along with new people, fitting in easily in social situations, and the speed of getting to know others well. Social awareness involves the ability to understand others choices and anger.

Amongst all the research in the field what seems fairly consistent is that SI is an ability to interact effectively with others, which requires some level of knowledge of the social situation, the skill to perceive and interpret the situation accurately, and the ability to successfully behave and interact in the situation. Individuals who are from high-context cultures may have higher levels of SI because they are more likely to pay attention to the various cues displayed in a social interaction, since their communication tends to be less direct (Adair, 2003).

Since SI is thought to encompass decoding social information (Fredáková & Jelenová, 2004), this should include the context of the situation. Some of the important components of it which may be related to context comprise understanding others’ feelings, thoughts, or behaviors (Marlowe, 1986; Salovey & Mayer, 1990; Silvera et al., 2001), reading non-verbal cues (Fredáková & Jelenová, 2004), and accomplishing interpersonal

tasks (Kaukiainen et al., 1999). In high-context cultures nonverbal cues play a greater role and the vocal tone is more critical (Kitayama & Ishii, 2002), and any face-to-face communication is based on extensive nonverbal strategies (Würtz, 2006). This may be related to SI, since it involves reading of nonverbal cues and decoding social information. Since SI involves the ability to perceive one's "internal states, motives and behaviors" (Salovey & Mayer, 1990, p. 187) this perception requires the ability to read nonverbal cues. Individuals who are from high-context cultures use the ability to read cues more often in communication; therefore, they should be more likely in an interaction to more accurately recognize the cues that are not found in the explicit code. Support of this was found by Adair (2003), whose study showed that individuals from high-context cultures are more skilled at inferring meaning in negotiations than those from low-context cultures. Thus, the negotiations may be more effective between individuals from high-context cultures because they are more able to accurately interpret the cues, which should facilitate negotiations.

Additionally, individuals from high-context cultures are able to switch from one form of communication to another more easily than those from low-context cultures, based on Hall's characteristics of high-context and low-context (Adair & Brett, 2005). Thus, since appropriate social interaction may require one changing his or her behavior, those from high-context cultures may be able to accomplish this more easily than those from low-context cultures. For instance, in a leadership situation a manager from a high-context culture may show a higher level of SI because of an ability to adjust his or her communication style to appropriately fit the situation and effectively lead his or her subordinates.

Individuals who are from low-context cultures are likely to have lower levels of SI because the communication is based on the concept that thoughts of the individual are unknowable unless stated in words, and communication usually favors verbal content (Kitayama & Ishii, 2002). Thus individuals from these cultures are more familiar with gaining meaning from words (Dsilva & Whyte, 1998), and nonverbal cues serve a minor role (Kitayama & Ishii, 2002). Most messages conveyed tend to be context free (Kim et al., 1998). Therefore, an individual from a low-context culture is not as familiar with reading and interpreting the contextual cues, and thus are less likely to interpret these cues accurately. Since accurate interpretation of these cues is an aspect of SI, they are less likely to be high on this intelligence.

To summarize, individuals from high-contexts cultures take much more into account during a social interaction (Hall, 1977). Evidence of this was

seen in a study which found that individuals from high-context cultures derive implicit meanings from visual images in print ads, more than those from low-context cultures (Callow & Schiffman, 2002); therefore, they did not need explicit code to understand the meaning being conveyed. It is expected that the more accurately they detect the cues in an interaction, the more likely they are able to accurately read the cues displayed and to react more effectively. Thus, it is anticipated that:

Hypothesis 1. Individuals from high-context cultures will have higher social intelligence than individuals from low-context cultures.

EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

EI has been defined as “the ability to perceive and express emotion accurately and adaptively, the ability to understand emotion and emotional knowledge, the ability to use feelings to facilitate thought, and the ability to regulate emotions in oneself and in others” (Salovey et al., 2003, p. 263). It is believed to lead to the accurate appraisal and expression of emotion in oneself and others, the effective regulation of emotion in self and others, and the use of feelings to motivate and plan, to be able to achieve goals (Salovey & Mayer, 1990). Some describe EI as recognition of emotion, reasoning with emotions and emotion-related information, and processing emotional information (Mayer & Geher, 1996), which includes verbal and nonverbal communication of emotion in oneself and others, as well as regulation of emotion (Salovey & Mayer, 1990).

EI is composed of four components. The first is perceiving emotions, which involves one’s ability to accurately decode and perceive emotions in oneself and others (Mayer et al., 2002; Mayer, Salovey, Caruso, & Sitarenios, 2003; Salovey & Pizarro, 2003). The second, facilitative thought, is one’s ability to generate, use, and feel emotion to communicate feelings or use them in their cognitive processes (Mayer et al., 2002, 2003). Understand emotions, the third, involves not only one’s ability to understand emotional information (Mayer et al., 2002, 2003; Salovey & Pizarro, 2003), but also how emotions “combine and process through relationship transitions, and to appreciate such emotional meanings” (Mayer et al., 2002, p. 7). It entails accurately labeling emotions (Salovey & Pizarro, 2003). Finally, the last component is one’s ability to manage emotions, which includes being open

to feelings and to regulate them in oneself and others to promote personal understanding and growth (Mayer et al., 2002, 2003; Salovey & Pizarro, 2003). It is thought that each component builds on the creating of a hierarchy of skills (Mayer & Caruso, 2002).

Individuals from high-context cultures are expected to have higher levels of EI because of the importance of nonverbal cues in their communication (Dsilva & Whyte, 1998; Kim et al., 1998; Kitayama & Ishii, 2002), as well as other skills associated with EI. Additionally, face-to-face communication is based on extensive nonverbal strategies (Würtz, 2006). Looking specifically at the aspects of EI, the ability to accurately perceive and understand emotions in others involves accurately decoding and labeling the emotional expression (Salovey & Pizarro, 2003), which seems likely to involve understanding the context of the interaction. Additionally, much research indicates that emotional expression can vary by culture (Elfenbein & Ambady, 2003; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Marsh, Elfenbein, & Ambady, 2003; Matsumoto, Kasri, & Kooken, 1999; Tsai & Chentsova-Dutton, 2003). For instance, in one study, it was discovered that participants could more accurately identify the nationality of individuals in pictures at above-chance levels when the person in the photo was expressing emotion versus being expressionless (Marsh et al., 2003). This study indicates that if one can correctly distinguish an American who is expressing happiness from a German who is expressing happiness, then there is something distinctly “American” about the expression that is different from the “German” happiness expression.

Furthermore, most scholars agree that emotions are cognitive appraisals of situations based on cultural beliefs and norms (Menon, 2000; Ratner, 2000), and that emotions are situation-specific reactions (Ben-Ze'ev, 2002), hence context is important in interpreting and understanding emotion. Therefore, since EI involves the accurate perception and understanding of emotions, those who are from high-context cultures, where they are more in tune to interpreting meaning from the nonverbal cues associated with an interaction, are more likely able to perceive the nonverbal cues related to emotions; hence, they will have higher levels of EI. Also, individuals from high-context cultures are more often able to keep feelings under control (Kim et al., 1998), which is related to the emotional regulation aspect of EI.

Individuals from low-context cultures gain meaning from words (Dsilva & Whyte, 1998) and use more direct forms of communication (Adair, 2003). These cultures are more used to emphasize logic and rationality in interactions (Würtz, 2006), which are not often associated with emotions. Additionally, because of mostly considering only the explicit code in the

communication, they may ignore the emotional cues being conveyed. Even in negotiations it is found that they are more likely to use explicit verbal messages (Adair, 2003). Thus, they are less likely to recognize and accurately interpret the nonverbal cues present, which may hinder the negotiations. For instance, an individual may be upset with a proposal being presented and while he is not stating an objection, the body language may be signaling his anger. If the other person in the negotiation does not recognize these cues, then this could hinder the negotiation and may even hurt the relationship between the business partners.

To summarize, individuals from high-context cultures are more likely to understand the nonverbal cues presented in interactions, because they are more accustomed to examining and interpreting cues in an interaction. Therefore, they are also more likely to accurately interpret emotional cues, which is an aspect of having higher levels of EI. Additionally, they are more able to control their feelings, which is a component of EI. In low-context cultures, logic and rationality are more of the focus (Würtz, 2006) and direct forms of communication are utilized (Adair, 2003). Thus individuals from these cultures are not as familiar with the interpretation of nonverbal cues, which would include emotional cues. Therefore, it is anticipated that:

Hypothesis 2. Individuals from high-context cultures will have higher emotional intelligence than individuals from low-context cultures.

CULTURAL INTELLIGENCE AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

The ability to interact effectively in multiple cultures has been recently labeled CQ, which is thought to be grounded in multiple intelligence theory (Alon & Higgins, 2005; Ang, Van Dyne, Koh, & Ng, 2004; Earley & Ang, 2003). It is defined as a “multifaceted competency consisting of cultural *knowledge*, the practice of *mindfulness*, and the repertoire of *behavioral skills*” (Thomas & Inkson, 2004, pp. 182–183). It is a capability that allows individuals to understand and act appropriately across a wide range of cultures (Thomas, 2006), by adjusting to the cultural setting (Ang, Van Dyne, & Koh, 2006; Earley & Ang, 2003; Ng & Earley, 2006), which thought to improve cross-cultural interactions (Earley, 2002; Peterson, 2004). Brislin et al. (2006) conclude that “CQ addresses a set of skills, from basic to advanced, that allow an individual to become effective at eventually

transferring social skills from one cultural context to another” (p. 53). It involves understanding one’s own cultural knowledge and information processing (Ang et al., 2004, 2006; Earley & Ang, 2003; Thomas, 2006).

CQ is thought to be composed of four facets: meta-cognition, cognition, motivation, and behavioral (Ang et al., 2004, 2006). Meta-cognition is defined as knowledge and control of mental cognitions and adjusting mental models (Ang et al., 2004), and involves understanding one’s own cultural knowledge and information processing (Ang et al., 2004, 2006; Earley & Ang, 2003; Thomas, 2006). Cognitive CQ refers to self-knowledge, cultural knowledge, and information handling (Ang et al., 2006; Earley & Ang, 2003). Motivational CQ also contains *intrapersonal* components because of an individual’s personal motivation to learn about a culture (Ang et al., 2004, 2006) is something internal to an individual. Behavioral CQ contains some of the same skills involved in EI, such as exhibiting appropriate action and being flexible in behaviors, including verbal and nonverbal behaviors (Ang et al., 2004, 2006; Earley, Ang, & Tan, 2006; Earley & Peterson, 2004; Peterson, 2004; Thomas, 2006). CQ impacts one’s ability to “gather, interpret, and act upon...radically different cues” (Earley & Peterson, 2004, p. 105)

In high-context cultures, the communication practices are based in contrasting cultural assumptions where the context is specific to the utterance (Kitayama & Ishii, 2002), therefore understanding the context will aid in understanding the meaning. Since CQ involves the ability to interact effectively in multiple cultures (Brislin et al., 2006), than having the ability to understand how the context influences the words conveyed is critical to accurately interpreting the meaning. So a manager who is attempting to motivate workers in another culture has to be aware of how the context influences the words she selects and how they will be interpreted by her subordinates. Additionally, she has to read the cultural cues of the situation and determine how she can be most effective. Thus an individual who is from a high-context culture may be more effective because he/she will be more in tune to recognizing the contrasting cultural assumptions in the interaction.

In addition, since cultural context involves selective attention to the characteristics of various aspects of culture (Hall, 1977), individuals who are familiar with interpreting nonverbal cues in their communications, would be more likely to be aware of them during an interaction. Hence, as they are interpreting a communication and completing their process of determining what to select in an interaction, they would recognize the importance of nonverbal cues and use them to understand the meaning of

the communication. This is particularly relevant for CQ because being mindful of other cultures (Thomas & Inkson, 2004) is a key element, and this mindfulness should include understanding how context influences the communication. Additionally, since CQ involves adjusting behavior to the cultural setting (Ang et al., 2006; Earley & Ang, 2003; Ng & Earley, 2006), and individuals from high-context cultures are able to switch from one form of communication to another more easily than those from low-context cultures (Adair & Brett, 2005), it is more likely that they will be aware of how to adjust their communication when it is not being effective in a cross-culture situation. This is particularly important in organizations because there is no one style of managing that is effective in every culture and with the ever-increasing globalization the ability to adjust communication styles and behaviors to fit the situation becomes an essential skill of managers.

In low-context cultures, where the communication is less likely to take into account the context of the situation (Hall, 1977), individuals will not recognize the importance of the context in a cross-cultural interaction. They are less likely to recognize the nonculture cues during an interaction because of their focus on the explicit code. This is particularly problematic in cross-cultural situations where the level of implicit meaning may vary based on the culture. Additionally, one study found that low-context entrepreneurs tend to deny positive effects from cultural diversity in teams, which may be an indication of not using their CQ to be aware of the value of the cultural differences (Bouncken, 2004). Therefore, it is likely that individuals from low-context cultures will have lower levels of CQ.

To summarize, individuals from high-context cultures are more likely to have higher levels of CQ because cultural intelligence requires understanding the context of the situation; therefore, those from high-context cultures will be more able to read the cues, than those from low-context cultures. Thus it is expected that:

Hypothesis 3. Individuals from a high-context culture will have higher cultural intelligence than individuals from low-context cultures.

METHODOLOGY

Sample

The sample included 59 participants of which 35 of the surveys were collected in the United States as part of an MBA course at a small

northeastern university, and the rest were collected in Mumbai, India. The Indian individuals were contacted by a graduate business school and were currently enrolled in one of the professional programs. All of the participants from India were of Indian citizenship, while four of the participants from the U.S. sample were not U.S. citizens (one from Liberia, one from Saudi Arabia, and two from Taiwan, with one of the Taiwanese participants indicating dual citizenship). Since this study was assessing Indian citizens versus U.S. citizens the four non-U.S. citizens from the sample collected in the United States were eliminated; therefore, there were 31 usable U.S. surveys. The Indian sample had a median age of 30.88 years and was composed of 19 males (79.2%); the U.S. sample had a median age of 27.9 years and was composed of 12 males (38.7%). In both samples, all had completed at least an Associates degree, with most indicating completing at least a Bachelors degree. Additionally, even though the U.S. sample was completed as part of a graduate course, 25 participants (80.6%) indicated that they were currently employed; and the entire Indian sample was currently employed.

Procedure

A web-based survey of SI, EI, and CQ was conducted. Data was collected in India and in the United States. The sample from India was accessed through a graduate business school, which sent out information via e-mail notification to those who had been participating in a business program. The U.S. sample was collected during an MBA course where it was a course requirement to complete the survey. These participants were also provided the link to the web survey by e-mail. All students completed the survey on their own time and at a location with internet access. The participants from the United States were given approximately a week to complete the survey, since it was a part of a course. The Indian sample was given several weeks. All surveys were conducted in English.

Measures

The Tromos Social Intelligence Scale (TSIS) was utilized to assess SI because, its three factors were shown to be internally reliable and consistent (Friborg, Barlaug, Martinussen, Rosenvinge, & Hjemdal, 2005; Silvera et al., 2001). The measure contains 21 total items that assess three areas of SI: social information processing, social skills, and social awareness. Each subscale contains seven items and participants respond on a seven-point

Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Some items on the scale were reverse scored.

To measure CQ, the measure developed by Ang et al. (2004) was used. This same measure was used in a later study by Ang et al. (2006) and showed validity. It consists of 21 items that measure four subscales: Meta-cognition, cognition, motivation, and behavior. Participants were asked to respond to the statements on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

To assess EI for this study, the Wong and Law Emotional Intelligence Scale (WLEIS) was used. This 16-item assessment was selected because the items were generated based on the definition of EI selected for this study (Wong & Law, 2002). Additionally, it was more practical to use, since it is shorter than the MSCEIT. The measure assesses EI on four subscales: self-emotional appraisal, others emotional appraisal, use of emotion, and regulation of emotion. Participants were asked to respond to the statements on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

Various control measures were assessed, including demographic information such as age, gender, and education completed, as well as whether the individuals were from the U.S. or Indian sample. Additionally, social desirability tendency was assessed using a shortened version of the measure (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964) developed by Paulhus (1991), which was found to have good reliability (Metzler, 2005). This control was included since all the measures were self-report.

RESULTS

Each of the measures showed good reliability. SI had an $\alpha = 0.9050$, EI $\alpha = 0.8436$, and CQ $\alpha = 0.9019$. The means and standard deviations were also calculated. SI had a mean of 104.53 with a standard deviation of 17.659, EI had a mean of 94.36 with a standard deviation of 9.417, and CQ had a mean of 96.24 and a standard deviation of 16.895.

To test for response bias, a correlation analysis was conducted to determine if social desirability influenced the survey. Results indicated that social desirability did not significantly correlate with any of the intelligence variables in either of the samples. Next, a correlation analysis was conducted on the combined sample, on only the U.S. sample, and on only the Indian sample. Tables 1–3 present the findings. In an examination of the relationship amongst SI, EI, and CQ, significant correlations were found in the combined sample and the U.S. sample between EI and SI, but no

Table 1. Combined Correlation Table.

	US Citizen	Age	Gender (Male)	Education Completed	EI	CQ	SI
US citizen							
Pearson correlation	1						
Significance (two-tailed)							
<i>N</i>	55						
Age							
Pearson correlation	-0.255	1					
Significance (two-tailed)	0.060						
<i>N</i>	55	55					
Gender (male)							
Pearson correlation	-0.405 ^a	0.164	1				
Significance (two-tailed)	0.002	0.233					
<i>N</i>	55	55	55				
Education completed							
Pearson correlation	-0.064	0.124	0.151	1			
Significance (two-tailed)	0.644	0.367	0.271				
<i>N</i>	55	55	55	55			
EI							
Pearson correlation	0.140	-0.014	-0.249	0.072	1		
Significance (two-tailed)	0.307	0.920	0.067	0.602			
<i>N</i>	55	55	55	55	55		
CQ							
Pearson correlation	0.037	-0.229	0.019	-0.018	0.123	1	
Significance (two-tailed)	0.791	0.093	0.891	0.898	0.369		
<i>N</i>	55	55	55	55	55	55	
SI							
Pearson correlation	0.301 ^b	-0.062	-0.281 ^b	0.206	0.589 ^a	0.189	1
Significance (two-tailed)	0.026	0.655	0.037	0.131	0.000	0.168	
<i>N</i>	55	55	55	55	55	55	55

Note: EI, emotional intelligence; SI, social intelligence; CQ, cultural intelligence.

^aCorrelation is significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed).

^bCorrelation is significant at the 0.05 level (two-tailed).

correlation among these intelligences was found when just the Indian sample was examined.

Hypotheses Testing

To test the hypotheses presented, linear regression was conducted. Hypothesis 1 posited that individuals from a high-context culture would

Table 2. Indian Correlation Table.

	Age	Gender (Male)	Education Completed	EI	CQ	SI
Age						
Pearson correlation	1					
Significance (two-tailed)						
<i>N</i>	24					
Gender (male)						
Pearson correlation	0.215	1				
Significance (two-tailed)	0.313					
<i>N</i>	24	24				
Education completed						
Pearson correlation	-0.073	0.087	1			
Significance (two-tailed)	0.734	0.685				
<i>N</i>	24	24	24			
EI						
Pearson correlation	-0.059	-0.116	0.126	1		
Significance (two-tailed)	0.784	0.589	0.557			
<i>N</i>	24	24	24	24		
CQ						
Pearson correlation	-0.466 ^a	-0.238	-0.035	0.306	1	
Significance (two-tailed)	0.022	0.262	0.873	0.146		
<i>N</i>	24	24	24	24	24	
SI						
Pearson correlation	0.008	-0.287	0.179	0.263	0.349	1
Significance (two-tailed)	0.969	0.174	0.404	0.215	0.094	
<i>N</i>	24	24	24	24	24	24

Note: EI, emotional intelligence; SI, social intelligence; CQ, cultural intelligence.

^aCorrelation is significant at the 0.05 level (two-tailed).

have higher levels of SI than from a low-context culture. Results indicate that there was a significant difference in SI levels between the samples, but it was the opposite than was hypothesized. That is those from the U.S. sample scored significantly higher on SI. Thus Hypothesis 1 was not supported. See Table 4 for regression results. When EI was examined, results indicated that there was also no significant difference between the samples; therefore Hypothesis 2 was also not supported. See Table 5 for regression results. Finally, CQ was also analyzed and no significant difference was found between the samples. Thus Hypothesis 3 was also not supported. (See Table 6 for regression results.)

Table 3. United States Correlation Table.

	Age	Gender (Male)	Education Completed	EI	CQ	SI
Age						
Pearson correlation	1					
Significance (two-tailed)						
<i>N</i>	31					
Gender (male)						
Pearson correlation	-0.021	1				
Significance (two-tailed)	0.909					
<i>N</i>	31	31				
Education completed						
Pearson correlation	0.262	0.175	1			
Significance (two-tailed)	0.155	0.347				
<i>N</i>	31	31	31			
EI						
Pearson correlation	0.075	-0.266	0.050	1		
Significance (two-tailed)	0.687	0.148	0.790			
<i>N</i>	31	31	31	31		
CQ						
Pearson correlation	-0.078	0.188	-0.002	0.012	1	
Significance (two-tailed)	0.677	0.310	0.993	0.947		
<i>N</i>	31	31	31	31	31	
SI						
Pearson correlation	0.021	-0.130	0.281	0.749 ^a	0.102	1
Significance (two-tailed)	0.910	0.485	0.125	0.000	0.586	
<i>N</i>	31	31	31	31	31	31

Note: EI, emotional intelligence; SI, social intelligence; CQ, cultural intelligence.

^aCorrelation is significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed).

Table 4. ANOVA for Social Intelligence Regression.

Model 1	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	Significance
Regression	3109.214	4	777.303	2.831	0.034 ^a
Residual	13,730.495	50	274.610		
Total	16,839.709	54			

^aPredictors: (constant), education completed, collected in the United States, age, gender (male).

Table 5. ANOVA for Emotional Intelligence Regression.

Model 1	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	Significance
Regression	367.039	4	91.760	1.038	0.397 ^a
Residual	4,421.688	50	88.434		
Total	4,788.727	54			

^aPredictors: (constant), education completed, collected in the United States, age, gender (male).

Table 6. ANOVA for Cultural Intelligence Regression.

Model 1	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	Significance
Regression	855.441	4	213.860	0.734	0.573 ^a
Residual	14,558.486	50	291.170		
Total	15,413.927	54			

^aPredictors: (constant), education completed, collected in the United States, age, gender (male).

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this research was to examine whether culture had an influence on SI, EI, and CQ. Since these constructs have become increasingly important in research and practice, it is critical to understand what may influence them and how they may influence global business. While the findings did not support the relationships posited, some important knowledge has been gained, since no previous research examined these three intelligences in a comparative study of high-context versus low-context cultures.

First, while some have posited that there would be a differences in some intelligences based on culture (Ilangoan et al., 2007), others have made efforts to show cultural differences do not exist (Mayer et al., 2002). This study shows evidence that SI may vary by culture, but emotional and CQs may not. This is a particularly interesting result since SI and EI were significantly correlated with a Pearson correlation of 0.589 for the combined correlation table (See Table 1) and in the U.S. population with a Pearson correlation of 0.749 (See Table 3). In the Indian sample, SI and EI were not

significantly correlated. Thus, more research needs to be conducted and this study may aid in the development a more detailed discussion to generate a deeper understanding of these intelligence constructs; and culture and specifically examine why SI and EI were not correlated significantly in the Indian sample, but were in the U.S. sample.

Second, this article expands the research on India, which has become a hotbed for multinational organizations since its economic liberalization in the early 1990s. With a median age in India just under 25 years, over 500 million workers in the labor force, and over half of their GDP coming from the services industry (CIA, 2007), India represents great economic potential in the world marketplace. Thus, it is essential to understand the Indian people to assess how they fit in to the global labor market, especially since many organizations are outsourcing services to India. Recently, because of the rise of importance of India, a review of human resource management literature focused on India (Pio, 2007), but few have examined other key constructs such as SI, EI, and CQ. With some exceptions (Bhattacharya, Dutta, & Mandal, 2004; Crowne & Phatak, 2005; Mayer et al., 2003; Pant & Prakash, 2004), most researchers have examined EI in India, but to date, none have examined EI in conjunction with SI and CQ. Thus this article fills a void in the literature, because it highlights differences that exist between U.S. citizens and Indians on SI, but shows that there is no support for differences between these two samples on EI and CQ. Thus there is some aspect of SI that does not transfer across cultures between the United States and India. This is crucial to understand when conducting business in India, because what might be perceived as socially unintelligent may actually just be a cultural difference. So organizations need to be aware of these differences so that they do not misinterpret the interactions with other cultures and so that they can train their employees to be aware of the cultural differences in SI; especially since in 2006 the United States represented India's largest exporting partner and second largest importing partner, and, with it estimated that India exported over \$123 billion and imported over \$182 billion (CIA, 2007).

Additionally, understanding how Indians compare to U.S. citizens in these intelligences is essential because leadership skills have been linked to SI, EI, and CQ (Alon & Higgins, 2005; Huy, 1999; Kobe, Reiter-Palmon, & Rickers, 2001; Prati, Douglas, Ferris, Ammeter, & Buckley, 2003). As India increases in importance in global business, there will be increasing opportunities for Indians to become leaders at multinational organizations, therefore leadership skills will become essential.

Managerial Implications

The findings presented here have some practical implications for organizations particularly in human resource management. One study which examined selection based on EI found that selection of expatriates with high levels of EI may lead to more successful expatriation (Rao, Southard, & Bates, 2005). Thus, since this study showed no differences between culture on EI, which may aid in minimizing managerial concern of a possible culturally bias by using these assessments for selection.

Furthermore, both researchers and practitioners have been interested in training individuals on EI (Ciarrochi & Mayer, 2007; Hays, 1999; Laabs, 1999; Slaski & Cartwright, 2003) and CQ (Earley & Peterson, 2004), since these findings found no significant difference between high-context and low-context cultures, it could be argued that both will benefit from training. Since SI did vary by culture, organizations should consider culture-specific training programs, to more effectively target the population being trained.

Several studies have linked each of these intelligences to leadership (Alon & Higgins, 2005; Caruso et al., 2002; Huy, 1999; Kobe et al., 2001; Prati et al., 2003; Zaccaro, Riggio, Murphy, & Pirozzolo, 2002); thus, since no cultural differences were found between cultures for EI and CQ, organizations can consider using these assessments as a component of leadership development in multiple cultures. Although organizations should be cautioned against using SI assessments, since it was found that those from the U.S. sample performed significantly better than those from the Indian sample.

To summarize, it was posited that high-context cultures, would have higher levels of SI, EI, and CQ as compare to low-context cultures; yet the findings did not support this. Even so, there are some important managerial implications as a result of this study, such as an increased understanding of the lack of influence of culture on EI and CQ and new research questions that have been generated by finding an existence of a cultural difference for SI.

Limitations and Future Research

First, this study is limited because the samples collected were relatively small, thus it is not generalizable. Therefore, future studies should use larger samples including multiple high-context and multiple low-context cultures, so that the findings can be more generalizable. Additionally, the Indian

sample had a small percentage of females, so future research should have a more even distribution of males and females.

Second, other factors may influence these variables, thus mediating the impact of culture on each of the intelligences. For instance, one study found that various types of exposures to other national cultures, such as working abroad and studying abroad, increased levels of CQ (Crowne, 2008). So it is possible that individuals in the samples had more of these types of exposures, thus influencing their culture intelligence scores, but since this information was not gathered it cannot be determined the impact of cultural exposure on the CQ scores. Moreover, other cultural variables influence these intelligences more than contextual sensitivity. Some researchers have classified some cultures by whether they are affective and emotional, or emotionally neutral (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). Thus, it is possible that this cultural dimension may be more important a factor than contextual sensitivity.

Third, while other researchers have used India to represent a high-context culture (Wüertz, 2006), it is a very diverse culture that has been characterized in multiple ways (Panda & Gupta, 2004). India has over a billion people, and while English is widely the form of communication for national, political, and commercial purposes, Hindi is the official national language, and the country has 14 other official languages, as well as several unofficial languages (CIA, 2007), indicating the diversity present in the country. Researchers have stated that it is culturally similar to Anglo cultures, while others have found cultural similarities to Latin American cultures, and still others uncovered evidence that would associate the culture as most similar to South Asia (for a summary see Panda & Gupta, 2004) and it has been suggested that India does not clearly fit into any of the general cultural patterns that currently exists (Budhwar, Woldu, & Ogbonna, 2008). So, it may not be the best representation of a high-context culture. Although, context sensitivity was found to be one of the pan-Indian culture traits (Panda & Gupta, 2004), thus indicating a sensitivity to the place, time, and persons involved in an interaction, and how that impacts meaning (Sinha & Kanungo, 1997). Therefore, future research should examine the relationships posited here in other high-context cultures.

Also, an interesting finding in the combined sample and the U.S. sample was that SI and EI were significantly correlated, which is similar to past research findings (Fredáková & Jelenová, 2004). Others found that EI did not add significant variance beyond SI (Kobe et al., 2001). Therefore, future researchers should examine this relationship more closely with respect to culture, in particular since this correlation was not found in the Indian

sample. Additionally, from the arguments presented, it appears that all of these intelligences involve accurate recognition of cues in communication, thus future researchers should examine the similarities among these constructs.

Finally, future research should examine if culture has any interactive impact on each of these intelligences and various performance outcomes, such as job performance and leadership, which are variables particularly important for organizations.

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CHAPTER 13

CROSS-NATIONAL CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH OF EMOTIONS AT WORK: A REVIEW AND SOME RECOMMENDATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Within the last two decades there has been an increased interest in the issue of work and emotion within work and organizational psychology and related fields. Although the cross-cultural perspective has a long tradition in research on emotions, organizational behavior researches on the dynamic of emotions at work have devoted surprisingly little attention to cross-cultural issues. In this paper, an attempt is made to show how important and useful a cross-cultural perspective is for understanding the role of emotion in the workplace. First, a review of recent publications of cross-national cross-cultural research of emotion at work is presented. In this, the focus is exclusively on cross-national organizational behavior studies of specific emotions with national culture as an explanatory variable. The aim of this is to identify core findings of cross-cultural research on emotion in

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organizational behavior and some gaps in this burgeoning literature. Second, a review is presented of findings on cross-cultural similarities and differences in emotion, culture-specific norms, and values and their effect on emotion. The aim of this is to identify the implications of these findings for future research on emotion at work. Third, a review of methodological issues in cross-cultural research is presented followed by some recommendations to further advance this area of research.

INTRODUCTION

A number of studies over the past 20 years signal increased interest in the subject of work and emotion (Ashkanasy, Härtel, & Daus, 2002; Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Briner, 1999; Fineman, 1993, 1996; Fisher & Ashkanasy, 2000). Emotion is intrinsic to work behavior. Emotions are experienced and felt at work, emotions are proposed to affect work, and moreover, emotions are explicitly required to be recognized, experienced, and expressed in various work roles. The first issue refers to emotion as a dependent variable, a reaction to various aspects of the organizational environment. The question here is how emotions such as pride or anger might be affected by work conditions, work events, and a worker's personality (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). The second issue refers to emotion as an independent variable, a source of various work outcomes. The question here is how emotions might affect work behavior, job-related attitudes, and job performance (Spector & Fox, 2002). The last issue refers to the concept of emotional labor which implies that the recognition, experience, and expression of certain emotions are job requirements. The question here is how organizational requirements to express and conceal emotions as part of the work role affect workers (e.g. well-being, performance, Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002), customers/clients (e.g. customer satisfaction, customer loyalty, Barger & Grandey, 2006), and organizations (e.g. sales volume, growth rates; Hennig-Thurau, Groth, Paul, & Gremler, 2006).

Recent knowledge of emotional processes has been greatly influenced by studies of emotions across cultures (Eid & Diener, 2001; Elfenbein & Ambady, 2002a, 2002b, 2003; Matsumoto, 2002; Mesquita & Frijda, 1992; Scherer, Banse, & Wallbott, 2001). The history of emotion research is a history of cross-cultural emotion research (Bateson & Mead, 1942; Darwin, 1970; Ekman, 1973; Ekman & Friesen, 1969; Izard, 1971). Despite the

controversy on universal vs. culture-specific emotions, this research tradition has helped researchers understand the nature and process of emotion and particularly the importance of culture and acculturation/socialization (Härtel & Härtel, 2005). However, although the cross-cultural perspective has a long tradition in research on emotions, organizational behavior research on the dynamic of emotions at work has devoted surprisingly little attention to cross-cultural issues (Earley & Francis, 2002; Elfenbein & Shirako, 2006; Liu & Spector, 2004). In times of globalization, where organizations increasingly cross-cultural boundaries, it is obviously important to study emotions at work in an intercultural context. International management, including human resource management of multicultural work groups and expatriates as well as customer relationship management in various national marketplaces, would highly benefit from examining the role of emotion in these cross-national work environments. Moreover, a cross-cultural perspective of emotion and work is also greatly helpful in understanding emotion in the workplace in general, i.e. even within a specific culture. To date, researchers have focused on cross-cultural aspects of leadership, international work groups, conflict, negotiation, expatriate adjustment, and stress and have investigated how related nonspecific affective states (e.g. satisfaction and distress) are influenced by cross-cultural factors (i.e., House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004; Earley & Erez, 1997; Earley & Francis, 2002; Elfenbein & Shirako, 2006; Liu & Spector, 2004). However, there is surprisingly little research focusing on *specific emotions* (i.e. anger or surprise) and *culture-specific norms and values for experiencing and expressing emotions* in an international work context.

I attempt to show in this paper how important and useful a cross-cultural perspective is in understanding the role of emotion in the workplace. First, recent publications of cross-national cross-cultural research on emotion at work are reviewed. I focus on cross-national organizational behavior studies of specific emotions with national culture as an explanatory variable, with the aim of identifying core findings of cross-cultural research on emotion in organizational behavior and identify gaps in the literature. Second, I review findings on cross-cultural similarities and differences in emotion, culture-specific norms and values and their effect on emotion. The implications of these findings for future research on emotion and work are then discussed. Third, I review methodological issues on cross-cultural research and, finally, offer some recommendations to further advance this line of research.

CROSS-NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR STUDIES OF EMOTION

I relied on Tsui, Nifadkar, and Ou's (2007) review of cross-national cross-cultural organizational behavior research to identify a list of leading management journals and cross-national organizational behavior studies of emotion published in the last 10 years. In addition, I reviewed titles in PsychInfo and EBSCO using the keywords emotion and culture and work (and related alternative keywords: cross-national, cross-cultural, organizational behavior). Finally, I identified five articles that fit our criteria with three published in a leading management journal (Bagozzi, Verbeke, & Gavino, 2003; Grandey, Fisk, & Steiner, 2005; Liu, Spector, & Shi, 2007), one further journal article (Mann, 2007), and one book chapter (Fischbach, Meyer-Gomes, Zapf, & Rank, 2006). Even though every effort was made to be thorough in the search, some papers may unintentionally have been missed.

All of these studies hypothesized that cultural values account for differences in emotion dynamics. Bagozzi et al. (2003) found self-regulation of shame differed across Dutch and Filipino salespeople; Grandey et al. (2005) did not confirm stressor-strain relationship in emotional labor to be stronger for US than for French workers; Liu et al. (2007) found differences in psychological strain across cultures with American university employees reporting more anger and frustration and Chinese university employees reporting more anxiety and helplessness while working; Mann (2007) found differences in display rule perceptions across an American and British student sample; and Fischbach et al. (2006) demonstrated differences in emotional job demands of US and German travel agents.

CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON THE EMOTION PROCESS

Most recent definitions of emotion (for an overview see Elfenbein, 2007; Grandey, 2008) include to some extent (a) an emotion-eliciting event, (b) a cognitive reaction chain (event coding, event appraisals), (c) physiological changes, (d) overt emotional behavior, and (e) emotional regulation. Thus, it is not easy to determine whether emotion is an independent or dependent variable. Moreover, emotion is a dynamic variable, a sequence of cause(s), various reactions and interactions (Scherer, 2001). Thus, it is more

appropriate to look at emotion in terms of processes and transactions than in terms of simple causes and effects. There is evidence that cultures differ in frequency and intensity of emotional experiences and expressions (for an overview see Mesquita & Frijda, 1992). Cross-cultural studies show that this is related to cultural differences in norms for experiencing and expressing emotions (Eid & Diener, 2001), related culture-specific value systems (Schwartz, 1999) which affect differences in the appraisal process of emotions, differences in self-construals (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989), and national differences in economic, political, and social factors (Argyle, 2001; Diener, Diener, & Diener, 1995; Scherer, Wranik, Sangsue, Tran, & Scherer, 2004).

Culture strongly influences the emotion process through *values and norms for experiencing and expressing emotions*. Thus, emotions differ across cultures in their desirability and perceived appropriateness and therefore in their social consequences. Societies were found to have *generalized expectations* for emotional experiences and expressions across situations (Eid & Diener, 2001), *display rules* which regulate the expression and suppression of emotions in specific situations (Ekman & Friesen, 1969; Izard, 1980), and *feeling rules* which regulate the experience of emotions (Hochschild, 1983). These differences in emotional norms can be predicted from *culture-specific value systems*. In cross-cultural psychology it has been proposed that cultures are characterized by the dominance of at least five value types (Hofstede, 1980, 2001; House et al., 2004; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Schwartz, 1999; Triandis, 1989). These values pertain to fundamental societal questions about whose interests should take predominance (autonomy vs. interdependence), to what extent tradition is emphasized (maintenance vs. change), how power should be distributed in a society (egalitarianism vs. inequality), what level of uncertainty within a society should be tolerated (rule orientation vs. openness for variety), and how humans should relate to the social and natural world (mastering vs. fitting in). Finally, it has been proposed that *objective national differences* influence the emotion process and cultural values regarding emotion (for an overview see Argyle, 2001). For instance, average national satisfaction and subjective well-being correlate with average national income and national income in turn correlates with specific economic, political, and social factors (e.g. wealth, equality, income dispersion, human rights, and democracy; see Diener, et al. 1995; Ouweneel & Veenhoven, 1991; Veenhoven, 2000). These differences may be explained by differences in the natural rate of occurrence of certain events eliciting positive emotions (see Mesquita & Frijda, 1992). However, empirical findings regarding objective factors

influencing the emotion process are less clear as some differences in national satisfaction can be better explained by considering display rules and emotional socialization processes. For example, the average level of national satisfaction is correlated with a nation's average rating of the ideal level of satisfaction and this correlation is still high even after controlling for average national income (Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999). In the following sections, I attempt to highlight some recent findings on cultural influences on emotion which I propose to have implications for the understanding of emotion in the field of work and organizational psychology.

Cross-Cultural Similarities and Differences in Emotion

Surprise, sadness, anger, disgust, fear, and joy were found to be elicited by the same sort of *antecedent events* across cultures in many studies (Mesquita & Frijda, 1992). However, cultures differ in the prototypicality of the antecedent event. In a study conducted by Scherer, Wallbott, and Summerfield (1986), the most frequent antecedents of anger for Israelis were "interactions with strangers" and "injustice," whereas for Europeans it was "relationships." Common emotional issues were found to be subsumed under general event types across cultures. For instance, events that were seen as a threat to an exclusive relationship were summarized as "jealousy generating events," and events which were seen as self-deprecation were summarized as "envy generating events." However, differences were found for "shame generating events." For instance, Japanese have a strong display rule of hiding, unexpressing, and unobtrusiveness of the self in public (Argyle, 2001). In Japanese culture, there are well-defined situations and behaviors which violate this rule and which are perceived as immodest. These events are called *focal* as they represent clearly socially defined and shared concerns. Thus, in Western cultures self-exposure might also elicit embarrassment but situations are less well-defined and not consistently categorized as shame events.

Appraisal dimensions that refer to implications for well-being, such as pleasantness, attentional activity, coping ability, and certainty, have been reported to be similar across cultures in many studies (Mesquita & Frijda, 1992). However, cross-cultural differences have emerged with respect to more complex appraisal dimensions such as responsibility, norm/self compatibility, and legitimacy. Thus, differences in experienced and expressed emotions that are more complex (e.g. anger, shame, and guilt) might be explained by culture-specific appraisal propensities.

Across cultures, similarity in self-reports of *physiological responses* accompanying particular emotions were found. However, Japanese report considerably fewer physiological symptoms. This might be explained by differences in physiological reactions, or differences in self-report styles, or by differences in the awareness of physiological activation.

Many empirical studies examine cross-cultural similarities and differences in the expression and *recognition* of overt emotional behavior. Across cultures, there is similarity in spontaneously produced facial expressions of so-called basic emotions (i.e. happiness, fear, surprise, anger, disgust, and sadness). Moreover, facial expressions of these emotions can be recognized across cultures at above-chance accuracy (Ekman, 1972; Izard, 1971; Matsumoto, 2002). Cross-cultural agreement was also found concerning the recognition of emotional voice intonations of joy, anger, fear, sadness, and surprise. Agreement was also found on other behaviors including sadness accompanied by crying with the absence of expressive hand movement and joy accompanied by smiling, laughing, expansiveness, and approach behavior (Mesquita & Frijda, 1992). However, recognition accuracy for facial expression and voice intonation was found to be higher when emotions were both expressed and perceived by members of the same cultural group (Elfenbein & Ambady, 2002a, 2002b).

Large cultural differences were found in self-reports of frequency and intensity of reported facial, vocal, and other emotional behaviors. For instance, Japanese report fewer voice reactions accompanying anger and fear than European and Americans. Hand and arm movements and whole body activities were found to be high in American, lower in European, and even lower in Japanese samples. In the classical experiment by Friesen (reported in Ekman & Friesen, 1969), Japanese spontaneously produced expressions of emotions similar to those of the American sample while watching a disgusting movie alone. However, there was a large cultural difference in facial expression found during the following face-to-face interview. Japanese exhibited positive expressions while Americans showed a significantly higher level of negative affect.

Cultural Similarities and Dissimilarities in Norms and Values and their Effects on Emotion

Culture is a theoretical concept which describes value dimensions shared within one social entity such as a nation or organization. Cultural dimensions consist of prevailing attitudes, beliefs, norms, values, and behaviors

within one cultural group which have been suggested, in turn, to affect the individual group members. Cultural dimensions are organized around central themes and are found among speakers of one language, in one time period, and in one geographic region (Schwartz, 1999; Triandis, 1997). Several cultural dimension models exist in the literature (Hofstede, 1991, 1994, 2001; Schwartz, 1999, 2002; Triandis, 1994, 1995, 1996). There are several ways in which discrete cultural dimensions may affect the emotion process (Earley & Francis, 2002; Schwartz, 1999). However, to our knowledge no direct empirical tests exist so far. Moreover, cultural dimensions are often used as a framework for describing, understanding, and interpreting findings of cross-cultural similarities and differences. This is particularly true in research on emotion. (e.g. Eid & Diener, 2001; Mesquita & Frijda, 1992, Rafaeli, Fiegenbaum, Foo, & Tan, 2004).

Summarizing this literature, I assume cultural dimensions affect the emotion process mainly through three highly correlated cultural aspects: (1) culturally sanctioned view of the self as independent or interdependent (i.e. self-construals), (2) situation-unspecific norms for experiencing and expressing emotions, and situation-specific feeling and display rules, and (3) culture-specific value placed on positive versus negative emotions, high arousal, and emotional expressiveness (see Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Eid & Diener, 2001; Hochschild, 1983; Schwartz, 1999).

Several authors have distinguished between independent and interdependent self-construals in individualistic and collectivistic cultures respectively (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). Markus and Kitayama (1991) propose that in independent cultures (e.g. North America) there is a strong culturally shared belief in independence of the self from others. Thus, the self is made meaningful by a set of internal attributes such as abilities and personality traits. The major cultural task in independent cultures is to discover, actualize, and confirm these internal attributes of the self. This is reflected in an emphasis upon socially disengaging behavior (asserting and protecting one's own rights, acting on the basis of one's own attitudes or judgments, and separating or distinguishing the self from the context). In contrast, in interdependent cultures (e.g. Japan), there is a strong culturally shared belief in interdependence of the self among those within an ingroup. Thus, the self is made meaningful in reference to the relationships of which the self is part. The major cultural task in interdependent cultures is to discover, actualize, and confirm this relatedness of the self. This is reflected by an emphasis on socially engaging behavior (taking one's proper place, perfecting one's own roles, showing empathy with others and acting on the basis of others' expectations and needs, and blurring the distinction between

self and others in the social context). Kitayama, Markus, and Kurokawa (2000) proposed in a more recent paper that self-construals might be an important component of subjectively “natural” and “authentic” ways of emotional experience. By acting in accordance with the culturally predominant mode of being, one should be able to fully participate in social relationships. Thus, this behavior may have positive, adaptive consequences on an individual’s well-being. Consequently, the likelihood of emotional experiences complying with culturally predominant modes of being is higher within a culture than the likelihood of emotional experiences conflicting with this mode. Their results from a survey support these propositions. Psychology undergraduate students were asked how frequently they experienced various emotions. The authors used a list with emotion terms including (1) *situationally unspecific, positive* (i.e. calm, elated, relaxed) and (2) *situationally unspecific negative* (i.e. bored and sleepy), (3) *interpersonally disengaged, positive* (i.e. superior, proud, top of the world, feel good about one’s self), and (4) *interpersonally disengaged, negative* (i.e. angry, frustrated, sulky feelings), (5) *interpersonally engaged, positive* (i.e. close, friendly feelings, respect, feel happy for another), and (6) *interpersonally engaged, negative*, (indebted, ashamed, guilty, sad for another, sorry for another). Using multidimensional scaling they confirmed the hypothesized dimensions (pleasantness, interpersonal orientation, and arousal). Furthermore, the five proposed types of emotions were represented on the dimensions of pleasantness and interpersonal orientation as predicted. These findings demonstrate the underlying structure of emotional experiences, particularly that the two dimensions are quite powerful in organizing emotional experiences. Furthermore, the positive adaptive result of acting in accordance with the cultural mode was demonstrated. In sum, Americans elaborate, highlight, or emphasize interpersonally disengaged positive feelings much more than interpersonally engaged emotions, which can be explained by the dominant cultural self-construal as independent. Japanese appear to elaborate, highlight, or emphasize interpersonally engaged emotions more than disengaged emotions. This can be explained by the dominant cultural self-construal as interdependent.

Cross-cultural similarities and differences in situationally unspecific norms for experiencing and expressing emotions were investigated by Eid and Diener (2001). They investigated such norms in collectivistic cultures (China and Taiwan) and compared them with individualistic cultures (the United States and Australia, two Anglo cultures) by asking how desirable and appropriate various emotions are perceived. They found for example that all the positive emotions were perceived as highly desirable and

appropriate in the Australian and the US samples but perceived as less desirable and appropriate in the Chinese sample. Furthermore, the Australian and American samples were highly homogenous in their perception of appropriateness and desirableness of all positive emotions. By contrast, the Chinese sample was highly heterogeneous. Sixteen percent perceived all positive emotions as undesirable and not appropriate. From the remainder of the sample, approximately one third perceived all positive emotions including pride and contentment as desirable and appropriate. An additional one third of this remainder perceived only joy and affection as desirable and appropriate, but pride and contentment as indifferent. And a final one third of the remainder perceived joy and affection as desirable and appropriate but pride as undesirable and contentment as indifferent. The main findings on the perceived appropriateness and desirability of negative emotions showed that a major portion of the respondents from individualistic cultures perceived all negative emotions, including sadness and guilt, as inappropriate and undesirable (44% in the US and 40% in the Australian sample). However, only a minor portion (5% in the US and 8% in the Australian sample) perceived sadness and guilt as appropriate and desirable. By contrast, the Chinese sample was again highly heterogeneous. However, the percentage of respondents who perceived sadness and guilt as inappropriate and undesirable was significantly lower while the percentage of respondents who perceived sadness and guilt as desirable and appropriate was significantly higher than in the individualistic cultures (14% and 15% respectively). In addition to the findings of Kitayama et al. (2000) that socially disengaged positive emotions (i.e. pride and to some extent contentment) and socially engaged negative emotions (i.e. guilt) were determined by interdependent orientation (they were less frequently experienced and less strongly correlated to general positive emotions in the collectivistic culture of Japan compared to the individualistic culture of the United States), Eid and Diener (2001) showed that culturally shared norms regarding the appropriateness and desirability of these emotions differed in collectivistic and individualistic cultures. Thus, considering Kitayama et al. and Eid and Diener, one may conclude that positive, socially disengaged emotions were seen as highly desirable in the individualistic cultures and as less desirable in the collectivistic culture, whereas negative, socially engaged emotions were more often seen as desirable and appropriate in the collectivistic culture (China). Furthermore, Eid and Diener investigated how norms for experiencing and expressing emotions affect the frequency of experienced and expressed emotions. General findings were that norms for reported emotions (i.e. perceived appropriateness and

desirability) were only moderately correlated with actual emotional experiences. Thus, people did not automatically infer norms from their own emotional experiences. However, positive emotions were moderately related to norms such that respondents reported more frequently experiencing emotions they found desirable. However, this link between norms on the one hand and frequency and intensity of emotions on the other hand was not found for negative emotions. People who thought negative emotions were desirable, as well as people who thought that negative emotions were undesirable, reported feeling them moderately frequently and intensely. Eid and Diener speculate that norms affect the self-regulation process of emotions through an individual seeking or avoiding situations where these emotions are likely to occur. However, this proactive self-regulation might be less applicable to negative situations. Furthermore, within the individualistic cultures studied, there is substantially more agreement on how desirable and appropriate various emotions are. Particularly regarding positive emotions I find a high level of homogeneity within the American and Australian cultures. Thus, there seems to be great pressure in these societies to follow these norms, particularly to highly value positive emotions. In comparison, the China sample reported a much broader range of opinions on desirability and appropriateness of emotions. Thus, their norms appear weaker with corresponding greater tolerance for deviation. With regard to norms for experiencing and expressing emotions, China can be termed "loose," but the United States and Australia would be termed "tight cultures."

In summary, this study showed that cross-cultural differences in norms for experiencing emotions exist, that the individualistic cultures studied (United States and Australia) value positive emotions more than negative emotions, that the collectivistic culture China values positive emotions less, particularly pride, and values socially engaged emotions more, particularly guilt. Additionally, it was shown that norms moderately affected the frequency and intensity of experienced positive emotion but not of negative emotions. Moreover, there was a high level of homogeneity found in the individualistic cultures' perception of which emotions were seen as appropriate and desirable. Particularly, a high level of conformity in the desirability and appropriateness of positive emotions was found. Conversely, the Chinese perception of which emotions were appropriate and desirable was noticeably looser and more heterogeneous.

Thus, while cultural differences for socially engaged and disengaged emotions can be explained by differences in self-construals and cultural norms, additional relationships can be proposed depending on how cultures

value positive versus negative emotions, high arousal, and emotional expressiveness. In this vein, Argyle (2001) argued that cultural differences in display rules and feeling rules can be summarized to some extent as having culture-specific positive versus negative *emotional biases*. He explains these biases through several culture-specific belief systems and behavior patterns. For instance, he proposed a general *positive happiness bias* in the United States and Japan. In the United States, self views are more frequently positive, self-serving information is more focused on, and self-enhancement is more practiced. In Japan, it is not acceptable to show negative emotion in public and there is a strong display rule for encouraging smiling in public. Furthermore, he proposed a general *negative happiness bias* in China. In China there is a stronger focus on negative events. People are less optimistic. There is a strong display rule for modest demeanor and a strong feeling rule for modest happiness, while punishment by fate is expected if one is too happy. Cross-cultural differences in the intensity of reported emotions might be interpreted as general cultural differences in the value of high versus low arousal. For instance, after controlling for the effect of emotion norms on emotion experience, Eid and Diener (2001) still found significant differences in the experience of emotion across cultures. In the China sample, lower frequency and intensity of positive emotions and lower frequency and intensity of negative emotions were reported compared to the American and Australian sample. The strongest difference was found for anger. Even after controlling for norms of appropriateness and desirability of anger, the Chinese sample reported lower frequency and intensity of anger than the American and Australian sample. Expression of emotions is generally highly valued in the United States. In contrast, in China and Japan, moderation and suppression of emotions is generally highly valued. This can again be interpreted as the result of differences in self-construals (individualistic vs. interdependent). To summarize, in individualistic cultures, emotional behavior is focused on experiencing and expressing the self, whereas, in collectivistic cultures (with interdependent self-construals), emotional behavior is focused on maintaining social relationships and thus inconspicuous emotional behavior intending to redeem and restrain the self.

Fewer differences might be expected within individualistic cultures, or within collectivistic cultures, given the proposed strong influence of differences in self-construals. However, within individualistic and within collectivistic cultures differences in the emotion process can be expected which might be affected by particular dissimilarities in norms and values (Fischbach et al., 2006).

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Researchers who try to conduct meaningful studies in the area of cross-cultural research are at least challenged by two issues: (1) the comparability problem and (2) the level of analysis problem. The first refers to the need for instruments (e.g. tests, questionnaires) which allow meaningful comparisons across cultures, i.e. identifying similarities, dissimilarities, and specificities across cultures. However, a well-established instrument from one culture might not work in another culture, whereas culture-specific instruments might work in each culture but do not allow for comparisons (Triandis, 1989). The second issue refers to the need for collecting data from individuals. While very few variables can be measured directly at a cultural national level (e.g. gross national product) most variables of interest to psychologists need to be collected from individuals (e.g. subjective well-being). Individual responses allow for aggregation to characterize cultural groups (teams, organizations, ethnic groups, or nations) if there is sufficient agreement across individuals. However, there is no reason why the relationship between variables found at an individual level are the same at a group-level of analysis and vice versa. For instance, a cultural-level characterization of a certain group does not allow researchers to explain the relationship between variables at the more familiar individual level within this group.

The Comparability Problem

Usually, a measure developed in one culture is applied to other cultures. However, it is insufficient to administer an emotional competence test, emotion experience scale, behavior or personality inventory etc., translate it, and use it in other cultures. Stimulus features can unintentionally and systematically distort observed cross-cultural differences. *Bias* is the basic term in cross-cultural research for all the factors that challenge the validity of cross-cultural comparisons. Three types of bias are commonly recognized: construct, method, and item. *Construct bias* is characterized by dissimilarity of constructs across cultures. This includes incomplete overlap of definitions of the construct across cultures, differential appropriateness of (sub) test/instrument content, poor sampling of all relevant behaviors, and incomplete coverage of the construct. Strategies for identifying and dealing with construct bias are the decentering approach (simultaneously developing

the same instrument in several cultures) and the convergence approach (independent within-culture development of an instrument and subsequent cross-cultural administration of all instruments). *Method bias* is a name for all sources of bias emanating from methodological–procedural aspects of a study and is divided in three subtypes. The first is *sample bias*, subsuming all cultural differences in scores that are related to specific aspects of a sample. The second is *instrument bias*, which is induced by instrument characteristics such as familiarity and cultural differences in social desirability or response styles. The third is *administration bias*, which is triggered by communication problems (e.g. poor mastery of the testing language by one of the parties), interviewer characteristics (e.g. sex and cultural group), or other procedural aspects of data collection. Method bias should be avoided or controlled for, for instance by using experts in local culture and language, assessment of response styles, use of test–retest systems, training, and/or intervention studies, and using demographic and context control variables. *Item bias* refers to anomalies of an instrument at item level such as poor translation, inadequate item formulation, incidental differences in appropriateness of the item content. Strategies for identifying and dealing with item bias are translation-back translation, judgmental methods of item-bias detection (e.g. linguistic and psychological analysis), psychometric methods of item-bias detection (e.g. differential item functioning analysis), and error or distractor analysis.

Bias can be seen as a threat to the validity of cross-cultural studies in that it can lead to *inequivalence*. *Construct inequivalence* refers to the incomparability of constructs across cultures. *Construct equivalence* (functional equivalence/structural equivalence) is the most basic level of equivalence. Construct equivalence is given when the same construct occurs in each culture although it may be measured in a different manner (items or methods). Construct equivalence can be affected by construct biases (e.g. nonidentical constructs across cultures, lack of overlap in selected behaviors) and demonstrated by comparison of nomological networks across cultures addressing the question of construct validity (e.g. exploratory factor analysis, confirmatory factor analysis, multigroup latent class analysis). *Measurement unit equivalence* is given if the measurement unit is identical across groups while the origins might differ (assuming the measurement is at the interval or ratio level). This equivalence is affected by construct biases, *nonuniform* method biases (response styles such as stimulus familiarity are different within individual cultures), and *nonuniform* item biases (e.g. items are understood differently within individual cultures). Differences in the origin might arise if a *uniform* item bias and/or a *uniform*

method bias influences the measure (equal individual biases within one culture). In this case measurement unit equivalence still remains. Measurement unit equivalence can be tested within the framework of item response theory, thus item parameters should not differ between individuals or subgroups of individuals (Drasgow & Kanfer, 1985; Eid & Diener, 2001). Scalar equivalence is the strictest type of equivalence, allowing for full score comparability (the same interval or ratio-level units apply to measures in the cultures compared). To make such strong statements the absence of any bias is assumed.

To summarize, to reach the highest level of equivalence, bias should be fixed or controlled for in each stage of an empirical cross-cultural project. A detailed description of strategies for identifying and dealing with bias in cross-cultural assessment can be found in van de Vijver and Tanzer (1997).

The Level of Analysis Problem

The key assumption in cultural research is that culture influences individuals. The focus on the culture level enables researchers to characterize the broader environmental and social context in which individuals are socialized. For instance, Diener et al. (1995) found that subjective well-being varies across cultures and that the richer a nation, the higher the national aggregated level of subjective well-being. Hui, Triandis, and Yee (1991) found that the nations reported by Hofstede to be highly individualistic are the ones in which greater job satisfaction is reported. Individualistic countries are the rich countries (Argyle, 2001). Thus both results can be interpreted in the same way. Employees in rich countries are rather well paid and receive a wider range of resources with which to do their jobs than employees in poor countries. However, on an individual level of analysis within each culture different predictors of subjective well-being and job satisfaction were found. For instance in the Diener and Diener study, in poor countries wealth was still a significant predictor whereas in rich countries satisfaction with home life was found to be a stronger predictor of subjective well-being. This can be explained by less variation in the cultural predictor (e.g. wealth) within than between cultures. Thus, within a culture other issues might be more important in determining aggregation of individual outcomes than is the case between cultures. A way of linking individual-level and cultural-level approaches is to develop parallel sets of concepts applicable to each level of analysis. For instance, Schwartz (1992, 1994) developed a value survey and asked respondents

(students and schoolteachers in 60 nations) to rate 56 values as to their importance as “guiding principle in my life.” He conducted individual-level analyses within separated cultures and chose those values consistently related to one another across cultures for cultural-level analyses. Using these types of comparable individual-level and cultural-level measures, he showed different relations at these levels. For instance, at the individual level, persons that report “authority” as a guiding principle are not the same persons who report “humility” as guiding principle; indeed, these variables are negatively related at the individual level. In contrast, at the cultural level, nations in which authority is strongly endorsed are also nations in which humility is strongly endorsed. These examples furthermore illustrate that within cultures large variations in the variables of interest might exist. If means across cultures are compared, individual profiles are not visible.

To interweave cultural and individual differences Eid and Diener (2001) conducted a multigroup latent class analysis with which they were able to detect (1) universal patterns of norms for emotions (i.e. types that exist in all cultures) and culture-specific patterns, (2) within-nation differences between individual patterns of norms for emotions, and (3) between-nation differences of patterns of norms for emotions within classes. In accord with and exemplary of the first point, they found in all nations a pattern of valuing all four negative emotions (anger, fear, sadness, and guilt) as desirable and appropriate, and a pattern of valuing these negative emotions as undesirable and inappropriate. For instance, Chinese as well as Americans were found to have a high probability of valuing all negative emotions highly desirable and appropriate or highly undesirable and inappropriate. However, more Americans than Chinese belong to the class where all negative emotions are negatively valued. Thus these patterns exist in all surveyed cultures. But the pattern of valuing guilt as undesirable and inappropriate was not found in the Chinese sample but only in the other three surveyed nations (Australia, America, and Taiwan). In contrast, a pattern of ambivalence (valuing guilt undesirable and inappropriate, or neutral, desirable and appropriate with nearly equal probabilities) was only found in the Chinese sample. Thus, this pattern was found to be culture specific for China. Analyzing the second point (within-nation differences between individual types of patterns of norms for emotions) Eid and Diener (2001) found that within cultures the mean frequency and intensity of reported emotions were larger in classes in which these emotions were considered desirable. Analyzing the third (between-nation differences of patterns of norms for emotions within classes), they found significant international differences in the frequency and intensity of positive emotions. For instance China was

found to have the lowest frequency and intensity of positive emotions even when analysis was corrected for national differences in the desirability of emotions.

To summarize, all of these examples show how fruitful and important the distinction of cultural-level and individual-level analyses in cross-cultural research is. Both levels must be clearly distinguished when analyzing and interpreting cross-cultural data. Consistent findings of relationships of two or more variables within cultural groups on an individual level across cultures can lead to conclusions about cultural universal relationships of these variables. Distinct findings of relationships of two or more variables within a cultural group on an individual level across cultures can lead to conclusions about cultural specificity of these relationships. Furthermore it is a misinterpretation if one concludes that a relationship found at a cultural level of comparison (by aggregating individual-level scores within cultures and comparing them between cultures) can be automatically interpreted as a relationship at an individual level of comparison. It is important to note that it does not follow from the aforementioned that individual and cultural-level analyses *always* lead to contrasting results. But when conducting cross-cultural studies and reading about these studies one needs to guard against the fallacy that a relationship that has been established at one level of analysis can be assumed automatically to prove something at another level of analysis.

IMPLICATIONS FOR WORK AND ORGANIZATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY RESEARCH IN EMOTION

So far I have summarized important aspects and previous findings regarding cross-cultural differences in emotion experience, expression, and recognition (Eid & Diener, 2001; Mesquita & Frijda, 1992). Cultural differences in self-construals, general norms and values, and display and feeling rules highly influence the emotion process (Hofstede, 2001; Kitayama et al., 2000). Ideally, cross-national affect research will incorporate several of the reported control techniques above and adopt the so-called *N*-way (as opposed to one-way) approach to cross-cultural I/O research which involves a dialog of researchers from various countries (Brett, Tinsley, Janssens, Barsness, & Lytle, 1997). To compare cultures it is important to control for biases such as construct, method, and item biases and assure a maximum of equivalence

(construct, method, and scalar equivalence) while accounting for differences in level of analysis (individual and cultural-level) (Eid & Diener, 2001; Smith, 2002; Triandis, 2002; van de Vijver, 1998, 2002; van de Vijver & Leung, 1997; van de Vijver & Tanzer, 1997).

Thus, knowledge and application of the emotion process, cultural similarities and differences, and methodological challenges in doing cross-cultural research is important for researchers planning, conducting, reading, or reviewing such studies. So far in the field of work and organizational psychology there are only few empirical cross-cultural emotion studies (see above for our review of five studies). I expect this to become a growing field in the next decade given the challenges of understanding emotions in the work context more deeply (Briner, 1999; Earley & Francis, 2002; Fisher & Ashkanasy, 2000) and the considerable practical importance of this type of research in our increasingly globalizing world. Next, I try to develop a research agenda for studying emotion and work across cultures by developing a few propositions. These are illustrated with four research projects on emotion at work: Affective Events Theory (AET, Weiss, & Cropanzano, 1996), a study conducted by Fisher (2002); a study conducted by Bagozzi et al. (2003), and an empirical field study by the author (Fischbach et al., 2006).

Proposition 1. Given that theories and theoretical frameworks for assessing emotion in a work context are developed in a specific cultural context, application of these theories and research frameworks to other cultures should generally start by showing evidence that these frameworks describe a *basic universal* emotional process and structure rather than take this for granted (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 2003).

The importance of Proposition 1 can be illustrated by the following. In work and organizational psychology, an influential and fruitful framework for assessing emotion at work is the AET of Weiss and Cropanzano (1996). In short, this theory proposes stable work environment features (e.g. working conditions) affect particular types of real-time work events (e.g. feedback of a supervisor) as well as work attitudes (e.g. positive attitudes about supervisor). Real-time work events are proposed to affect affective reactions (e.g. guilt) which in turn influence affect-driven behavior (e.g. employee's withdrawal). Furthermore, the cumulative experience of real-time events are expected to lead to work attitude changes (e.g. less positive attitudes about supervisor), which in turn affect judgment-driven behavior (e.g. employee's helping to supervisor). Furthermore, affective dispositions (e.g. trait negative affect) influence the affective experience as well as the reactions toward a

real-time event. AET is an affect theory developed and validated in a Western context (Fisher, 2002; Weiss, Ashkanasy, & Beal, 2005). It would broaden our understanding of emotion processes in the work context to apply this framework to other cultures (e.g. East Asian cultures). For instance, with regard to the findings about cultural similarities and differences reported in this paper several hypotheses can be derived about similarities and differences in affective reactions, work attitudes, affect-driven behavior, as well as judgment-driven behavior across individualistic and collectivistic cultures. However, according to Proposition 1, such a study should not start by using a target group without undertaking evaluation of the universality and cultural specifics of this framework in general. Otherwise the validity of the cross-cultural findings would have to be questioned.

Proposition 2. Emotion processes are strongly influenced by culture. Thus any framework for studying emotion in a work context should account for cultural influences.

I want to illustrate this proposition once more by AET. AET suggests affective dispositions influence momentary state affect and this influences affective reactions to real-time affective events. This is expected to influence affect-driven and (indirectly through their influence on work attitudes) judgment-driven behavior. On an individual level of analysis, this dispositional variable might be highly relevant and powerful in explaining interindividual differences in the emotion process. However, from a cross-cultural perspective at a cultural level of analysis further variables can be expected to be highly relevant and powerful in explaining cross-cultural differences in the emotion process including culture-specific appraisal styles, or positive versus negative happiness biases (see above). Furthermore, AET proposes that work environmental features affect work events and work attitudes, and thus affective reactions, directly and affect-driven and judgment-driven behaviors indirectly. These might be highly relevant in explaining similarities within and differences between work environments within one culture. For instance high versus low job autonomy might affect the probability of positive versus negative work events. However, from a cross-cultural perspective at a cultural level of analysis the influence of broader environmental variables related to the culture of teams, organizations, industries, nations, and broader geographic entities such as North America, Western Europe, Australia, and East Asia can be proposed to be highly relevant and powerful in explaining cross-cultural differences in work events and work attitudes on a cultural level of analyses. For instance, safe working conditions will probably vary less within a nation and other issues

might be more important in explaining affective events at work. However, at a cultural level of analysis safe working conditions might be an important variable in explaining work events and related affective reactions. In this vein, Earley and Francis (2002) presented a framework for assessing emotion and work from a cross-cultural perspective in which the general societal context, the industry and organizational context, work unit and group characteristics, and their distal, proximate, and direct influence on the emotion experience and expression at work are included.

Propositions of how cultural values might affect work attitudes were presented by Schwartz (1999). For instance, Schwartz proposes that goals or rewards people seek through their work differ across nations. Cross-cultural differences might be expected if this cultural value emphasis model of Schwartz is adapted to the AET Model. For instance, while power (e.g. prestige, authority, influence) is compatible with cultural value emphasis on hierarchy and mastery, this work value conflicts with cultural value emphasis on egalitarianism and harmony. Adapting this to AET, a work event such as moving into a bigger and newer office might affect judgment-driven behaviors more strongly in a culture emphasizing hierarchy and mastery (e.g. China) than in a culture emphasizing egalitarianism (e.g. Denmark) due to strong cultural differences in work attitudes regarding prestige and status at work. I propose that the cultural influence on the emotion process at work makes a work event more or less significant and focal within one culture. Thus a particular work event might be an important predictor of judgment-driven behavior in one culture but an irrelevant event in another culture. Thus, in accordance with Proposition 2, emphasis is placed on the importance of including cultural variables for fully understanding emotion processes at work even within one culture.

Proposition 3. Significant and focal work events which evoke particular emotions with reasonable frequency could differ across cultures. Thus, researchers using events and accompanying emotional reactions should be aware of the high probability that their findings might be culturally specific and not automatically applicable to other cultural research contexts. For instance, Fisher (2002) asked university students with work experience which feelings from a list of 135 feeling terms they experienced with a reasonable frequency while at work. She showed that the most frequently experienced positive feelings at work were happiness, enthusiasm, enjoyment, optimism, cheerfulness, pride, joy, amusement, and pleasure. From a cross-cultural perspective, self-construals are an important component of emotional experience (Markus & Kitayama,

1991, 2003, Triandis, 2001). At least some of the emotional experiences found in the study by Fisher (2002) might be typically experienced in individualistic cultures where an independent self-construal is dominant. Following the findings of Kitayama et al. (2000, see above) pride can be classified as a socially disengaged positive emotion and can be expected to be a significant positive emotion at work in individualistic cultures (such as Australia, see Hofstede, 2001). However, following the findings of Kitayama et al. (2000) it can be expected that in collectivistic cultures, where an interdependent view of self is dominant, socially engaged positive emotions such as respect and friendly feelings might be more significant at work. Applying the emotional experiences list found by Fisher (2002) to a collectivistic culture would overlook important emotional experiences while working in this cultural context. I propose that this might have been the case in a study conducted by Bagozzi et al. (2003). These researchers investigated how culture (collectivistic vs. individualistic) affects the self-regulation of shame and its effect on performance. They conducted a pilot study to discover how frequently shame was experienced at work and concluded that “shame occurs frequently and is felt to be of sufficient intensity to warrant investigation of its nature and effects in a field study” (p. 223). Furthermore, they conducted focus group interviews asking salespersons to imagine what takes place in a sales encounter when they experience shame. These interviews built the basis for developing questionnaire items for measuring experience of shame and behaviors as consequences of shame. Salespersons from the Philippines and the Netherlands were asked to rate items such as, “I tend to avoid eye contact with the customer” which follow the introductory statement, “During a sales conversation it sometimes happens that the customer says or suggests something (for instance that you made a personal mistake). At such moments . . .” on a seven-point scale reaching from “totally disagree” to “totally agree.” The weakness of this study is that no information is given where the information about frequency and intensity of shame experiences originates, as well as the focus group interviews were conducted. These are important but missing aspects of cross-cultural research design according to Proposition 3 and should at least be discussed in a paper focusing on cross-cultural similarities and differences. Moreover, given that the pilot study and focus group interviews were conducted in the Netherlands, it must be questioned, whether this customer behavior is likely in collectivistic cultures and how significant and focal shame evoking events are in sales interactions within a collectivistic work

context. This could affect the whole ecological validity of the reported findings. Again, in line with Proposition 3, researchers should control for these possible validity constraints when designing a cross-cultural study.

Proposition 4. While emotion is highly affected by cultural variables, applying an affect inventory, developed in one culture and language, to other cultures and target groups with different languages is always challenged by biases and equivalence constraints. Thus, from a validity perspective, each multilingual application study carried out must deal with questions of how the construct of the source instrument can be measured in the other cultures and target groups with a maximum of construct equivalence, method equivalence, and item equivalence. Thus Proposition 4 goes far beyond simple questions of the translation of an instrument. Rather, it is necessary to compare nomological networks across cultures and address questions of bias and equivalence. One example of our own empirical field research illustrates the claims of Proposition 4.

The Frankfurt Emotion Work Scales (FEWS Zapf, Vogt, Seifert, Mertini, & Isic, 1999) represent a comprehensive inventory assessing emotional labor requirements, including the need to display positive emotions, negative emotions, neutrality, sensitivity, and empathy. A study involving 67 American and 209 German teachers revealed similar internal consistencies but slightly different factor structures. In the US sample, most of the FEWS requirement scales are more highly inter-correlated than in the German sample. These findings demonstrate that cultural differences might exist in the importance of distinct emotional display in service encounters. A positive happiness bias in the US culture might require the basis of any service encounter and situation to be “positive and friendly.” Such a tight norm probably does not exist in the German culture. Thus, service encounters and situations might be more diverse in Germany than in the United States. Furthermore, specifically, the neutrality requirement scale, which measures the demand to appear impartial and exhibit a neutral affective state, emerged as a less distinguishable dimension in the United States, where it was more strongly correlated with most of the other FEWS scales. This finding demonstrates that cultural differences might exist in the significance and meaning of being neutral and detached in service interactions. Service encounters in the United States might be explained again by a cultural bias to experience and express positive emotions which are seen as being in conflict with a neutral stance. Thus, construct equivalence

of the neutrality scale has to be questioned. While “neutrality” was found to be a significant facet of emotion work for teachers in Germany, future qualitative and quantitative research is needed to better understand “neutrality” in a cross-cultural context.

After controlling for construct, method, and item biases, I compared the means obtained in the German and US sample for positive emotion display requirements and negative emotion display requirements. As hypothesized, these comparisons revealed lower means in positive emotion display requirements and higher means in the negative emotion display requirements in the German teacher sample even after eliminating the biased items. Thus, the results support our value-based cross-cultural-difference hypotheses regarding positive and negative affect.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, culture significantly influences the emotion process. Thus, cross-cultural similarities and differences in emotion can be explained by cultural determinants such as general norms for experiencing and expressing emotions and culturally determined self-construals. These differences challenge researchers who try to conduct meaningful studies on cross-cultural emotion in the work context. Researchers should especially be aware that theoretical frameworks for assessing emotion in a work context might be culture specific, that any framework for studying emotion in a work context should account for cultural influences, that significant and focal work events could differ across cultures, and that applications of affect measurements are always challenged by bias and equivalence constraints.

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