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ABSTRACT
                This document contains three papers on emotions and behavior
in the workplace and their implications for human resource development (HRD).
"Analyzing Training from an Emotions Perspective" (Darren C. Short) reviews
the empirical and theoretical literature on emotions and explains how the
literature can be used to analyze incidences in the training context. Two
short scenarios are presented that illustrate how the literature can be used
to provide insight on breakdowns during a training course and on building
emotions into the training design. "The Planned and Unintended Emotions
Generated by a Corporate Change Programme: Managing the Gaps and Their
Implications for HRD Practice" (Sharon Turnbull) discusses a study that
examined the implications of management of emotions through culture change
programs by investigating the emotional response of participants in one such
program at a large corporation. "Conceptualizations of Emotional Behavior in
Organizational Contexts: A Framework for Understanding the Implications of
HRD Research and Practice" (Jamie L. Callahan, Eric E. McCollum) applies
paradigmatic lenses to the study of emotional behavior in organizations. The
paradigmatic approaches are represented by the interconnection of
objective-subjective and emergent-managed continua regarding emotional
behavior. A scheme of four overlapping approaches (functionalist,
interpretivist, dialogic deconstructionist, structural determinist) to
emotional behavior practical interventions is also presented. All three
papers include substantial bibliographies. (MN)

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Analyzing Training from an Emotions Perspective

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Excitement, boredom, frustration, joy, anger, and other emotions are frequently present in the training room, and it is likely that they influence the involvement of trainees, group dynamics, learning, stress, relationships, and the effectiveness of the course. Given this potential impact, how can we use empirical and theoretical literature on emotions to analyze incidents in the training context, and so improve our understanding of emotions in training? This paper summarizes the relevant literature, and illustrates its application through the analysis of two short scenarios.

Keywords: Emotions; Training; Emotional Labor

Problem Statement and Research Objectives

In the Course Room

A trainee, frustrated at being sent on a course, jumps up mid-morning, announces to a room full of surprised trainees and two trainers that, "This is crap," and leaves the room. Another is so paralyzed with fear that she is unwilling and physically unable to complete a role-play. A third leaves the course enthusiastic to apply new learning after one-to-one coaching on how to deal with an aggressive manager. At another event a short time later, a different group of participants share written narratives and analyze personal critical incidents: the trainees have a high emotional attachment to the learning process and content, and feel committed to changing their behaviors as leaders.

In the Books and Journals

The term *emotion* has been defined to cover so-called basic emotions (joy, love, anger, etc.), social emotions (shame, guilt, jealousy, etc.), and related constructs like mood, sentiment, and affect (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995). Only recently though has the topic of emotion received significant attention from researchers in organizational behavior (Fineman, 1993) and in HRD (Turnbull, 1999; Callahan, 2000a). That lack of attention was highlighted by Flam (1993) who commented that, "a serious analytical interest in emotion in general, and in the negative emotions in particular, is almost entirely missing in recent study of work and organizational life" (1993, p. 68). In part, the neglect can be considered due to the emphasis placed to date on rationality in organizations, and the view that emotions are irrational and threatening to organizational effectiveness (Domagalski, 1999). Putnam and Mumby (1993) have labeled that view of workplace emotion as the myth of organizational rationality.

For a decade or so now, journal articles have provided empirical and theoretical accounts of emotions, predominantly related to emotion as a social phenomenon. In the organizational setting, scholars have considered how social norms affect the display of emotion in the workplace (Fineman, 1993), and how employees learn those norms (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995). They have considered the public management of emotion - situations where employees, because of the nature of their work, need to express an emotion different to the one they are feeling (Hochschild, 1983), how employees do that, and the implications for the individuals concerned (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Scholars have also considered the impact of emotions on learning (Boud, 1989; Brew, 1993), and the impact of emotions on organizational effectiveness (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995).

In HRD journals, two recent pieces have acted to place the study of emotion in the limelight. Turnbull (1999) used a case study of a large engineering company to explore the effects of corporate change programs on the emotions and performance of middle managers. Callahan (2000a) studied the purposes for which organizational members managed their experience, or expression, of emotion in a not-for-profit organization. However, neither authors addressed emotions in the training room.

In this Paper

In this paper, I seek to connect the two worlds of emotions in the training room and literature on emotions. My goals are three-fold:

- To illustrate how events in the training room can be analyzed from an emotions perspective using the empirical and theoretical literature on emotions;
- To reflect on the implications for training design of a greater awareness of the link between emotions and training; and
- To identify potential areas for future research on emotions in training.

The paper is structured into three parts: a literature review of the main scholarly work on emotions that could be used in an analysis of emotional events in the training context; that material is then applied to the analysis of two short scenarios; and the paper concludes with a summary and suggestions for future research.

Reflections on Emotions Literature from a Training Perspective

Rational versus Emotional

The vast majority of books about organizations and organizational change emphasize the rational over the emotional (Domagalski, 1999), with emotions frequently treated as inappropriate to organizational life, devalued, marginalized, and viewed as disruptive, illogical, biased, and weak (Putnam & Mumby, 1993). Using a common metaphor of 'the organization is a machine' (Morgan, 1997), authors of such books emphasize orderliness, precision, routinization, calculative processes, and technical efficiency.

Yet, 'training is a machine' could be a poor metaphor with which to design and run a training course. On a rational level, trainees may accept the learning need, the content, and the process; but their emotions from various sources could place significant barriers to their learning. Possible sources of emotions could include: those they bring into the training room from elsewhere, those generated by the course process, and those generated through interactions between and among trainees and trainers.

Learning the Script

Not all emotions are expressed or acted out in all situations, in part because *display rules* and *scripts* act as a social consciousness about what feelings to show (Fineman, 1993). Prescriptive social norms therefore dictate how, when, and where emotions can be expressed in a given culture. Some emotions are therefore likely to be considered acceptable in the training room, and others as unacceptable. Whether emotions are considered 'acceptable' or 'not' may therefore depend on such contextual factors as national and organizational culture, the training material, and the prior experiences of the individuals involved.

Exploring the script metaphor further, when in the training room both trainers and trainees can be viewed as *theater performers*, following their scripts by displaying particular emotions and not others (Domagalski, 1999). Trainers, for example, learn their script on how to behave, how to react to trainees, and how to deal publicly with their own emotions. They develop a public-face; learning it like other employees through observation, imitation, instruction, trial and error, feedback, reinforcement, and punishment (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995). Trainers then operate within bounds of acceptable emotional behavior, suppressing emotions where needed.

Some of the practical implications for training include: the importance of trainers understanding the display rules and scripts in cultures other than their own (national and organizational), and the need to question rules and scripts where they hinder the learning process.

Wearing the Mask

If trainers are managing their emotional displays, what are the implications for them, their work, and their personal lives? How reasonable is it that organizations require trainers to work with a script that limits the emotions they can show to their trainees? Three terms are useful for exploring these questions: emotion management, emotional labor, and emotional dissonance.

Emotion management is the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display (Hochschild, 1983). It can take two forms: *emotion work*, where actions are associated with use value and so not linked with earning money or gaining other goods; and *emotional labor*, where the emotion work is exchanged for something such as a wage or other type of valued commodity (Callahan & McCollum, 2000). The reasoning behind

trainers' emotional labor is that, like counselors, doctors, nurses, and social workers, they are paid to look serious, understanding, controlled, cool, and empathetic in their dealings with clients. Doing that can involve: suppression, by trying to eliminate or subdue an emotion (Hochschild, 1983); evocation, by trying to draw forth an emotion that is not present (Hochschild, 1983); and veiling, by using one emotion to cover for another (Callahan, 2000b). Trainers, for example, can hide feelings of frustration (suppression), appear enthusiastic about a course they actually have no feelings for (evocation), and be supportive of an organizational change they personally disagree with (veiling).

Emotional labor does not necessarily come easily or without a price, particularly given the energy required for trainers to wear their professional 'mask' in the training room. The price is likely to be greater where there are high levels of *emotional dissonance*, which is the conflict between genuinely felt emotions and emotions required to be displayed in organizations (Middleton, 1989). Stress can result where the dissonance is too great, or where trainers' inner feelings become fused with their organizational roles. In the face of risks from stress and poor mental health (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987), trainers have a choice to operate within their script or express their real emotions. The consequences of the latter can include criticisms, warnings, demotions, and firings; all of which can be used to sanction those trainers who deviate from appropriate emotional displays.

Other than the risk of stress, emotional labor has been linked to: drug and alcohol abuse, absenteeism, and alienation from genuine feelings (Hochschild, 1983); the act going stale, private feelings leaking through the mask, anger, irritation, and rebellion (Fineman, 1993); and emotional exhaustion and reduced job satisfaction (Morris & Feldman, 1996). Trainers, who therefore learn their script and operate within the emotional bounds set by display rules, could eventually reach the point where their own feelings are at odds with those they have to display. The greater that dissonance, the greater the likelihood of health problems, reduced performance, and reduced job satisfaction. This emphasizes the need for trainers and training managers to consider trainers' emotions when designing courses, for example by seeking ways of minimizing experienced emotional dissonance, through work design, or by creating physical back-stages (Goffman, 1959), where the rigors of emotional labor are relaxed.

Emotions and the Impact on Learning

The whole person is involved in the learning process, including his or her feelings (Knowles, Holton, & Swanson, 1998), and so emotions are integral to learning. They can affect potential trainees before they enter the training room, for example as they come to terms with identified learning needs (or do not come to terms with them), and as they decide whether or not to attend a training course. Those decisions can be influenced by such factors as an individual's anxiety level (Hilgard & Bower, 1966), fear of what they do not know, or fear of knowing what they do not know (Brew, 1993), and past negative experiences of learning (Boud, 1989). These suggest a role for trainers and managers in supporting employees who face emotional challenges to entering potentially useful training events.

Once in the training room, emotions and feelings can act to severely inhibit learning of all kinds (Boud, 1989). Particular barriers include a lack of confidence or self-esteem, fear of failure, fear of the response from others, unexpressed grief about lost opportunities, previous negative experiences, and the general emotional state of the learner. Trainees may need the support of trainers to overcome these barriers if they are to make the most use of the learning opportunity. Trainers will also need to be aware that some emotional barriers to learning are more deep-seated, requiring intensive therapeutic assistance (Boud & Walker, 1993).

Despite this evidence, emotions are not necessarily a threat to learning. For example, there are implications for training courses of Ashforth and Humphrey's (1995) assertion that there are times when organizational effectiveness may be improved by celebrating rather than suppressing emotion, and that emotional engagement in the pursuit of goal-directed activities can generate employee motivation and work involvement. Similarly, Putnam and Mumby (1993) argued that the sharing of emotional experiences develops mutual affect, connectedness, and cohesion that break down anonymity; and Collins (1990) believed that emotional energy generates or determines a sense of belonging or solidarity in organizations. Emotions can therefore act to facilitate joint actions, and be the social glue that makes or breaks structures and gatherings (Fineman, 1993).

Using Emotions in the Training Process

If emotions can act to support or hinder the learning process in the training room, what are the issues for the design of training courses? How can trainers design and deliver training to encourage and generate an emotional engagement between trainees and the training content? Where training forms part of an organizational change, how

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can trainers use the training course to generate new levels of motivation for the change? Based on an analysis of the literature, here are five methods that trainers can consider to achieve these goals.

Helping Trainees to Overcome their Fear in Learning: Learning may require that trainees let go of certain beliefs, despite a fear of not knowing what replaces them or a concern that once the beliefs are removed there is nothing underneath (Isaacs, 1999). Trainers need to design supportive processes that help trainees to identify and question existing assumptions and beliefs. Trainers need to acknowledge the potential negative impact of fear and support trainees as they abandon judgments, avoid defending positions, and avoid being selective over the evidence to which they pay attention.

Creating the Right Environment for Discussing Emotions: In the same way that organizations can seek to generate cultures that support emotional expression (Putnam & Mumby, 1993), the environment in the training room can be designed to facilitate disclosure of emotions. The interactional context serves as a guide for disclosure of feelings, and so trainers should seek a context where participants can surface what they really think and feel, talk about where they stand on issues, notice and explore assumptions, connect with those who have different views, and eventually generate new possibilities. That context requires listening, suspending, respect, and voicing (allowing trainees to speak their voice) (Isaacs, 1999).

Trainer Self-disclosure of Emotions: Trainer self-disclosure is an important part of creating an environment for discussing emotions. Rogers (1969) provided guidelines for the facilitation of learning, including two suggestions for the facilitation of learning where emotions are present. The first was that the facilitator should share her feelings with the group, including her reactions to them as individuals and her personal satisfaction or disappointments. The second was that the facilitator should remain alert to deep or strong feelings held by individuals, seek to understand them, and communicate empathic understanding.

Recognizing Individuals' Different Emotional Needs: Postle (1993) set out ten criteria for emotional competence in the affective mode of learning. Those ten provided learners with a framework for reflecting on how they learn from their emotions, and offered trainers and learners a framework for enhancing learning effectiveness. As well as person-to-person variation, trainers should also be aware of research on how emotions vary by gender (Shields, 2000), and by national culture (Gerhards, 1989).

Helping Trainees to Explore their Emotions: Trainers can help trainees explore their emotions by drawing their attention to two key distinctions. The first is the distinction between what Bohm (1996) described as 'thinking' (fresh responses) and 'thoughts' (habitual reactions from memory). The second is what Garrett (cited in Isaacs, 1999) described as the distinction between 'feelings' (which form in the present moment) and 'felts' (which are memories of past feelings). Applying those distinctions in the training environment encourages trainees to explore sources of emotions, become engaged in the here-and-now emotions of the training process, and learn more effectively from the thinking and feeling that occurs during the course. To learn from (and with) their emotions, trainees must focus on their thoughts and feelings as they emerge, the sources of those thoughts and feelings, and their impact on learning. In contrast, felts (and to a lesser extent, thoughts) are historical, habitual, and likely to inhibit learning in the current moment.

Reflections on Training from an Emotions Perspective

Basis for the Analysis, and Limitations

This section focuses on applying the above literature to the analysis of two training scenarios. These were selected because of ease-of-access – as a researcher, I had been involved in writing past papers based on both scenarios. There are obvious limitations associated with this approach: for example, these scenarios may be atypical of those where emotions occur in the training context, and my description of the scenarios may be biased towards highlighting specific emotions. However, these limitations should be considered against the overall objective of the analysis, which is to illustrate how emotion theory and research can be applied to the analysis of training events. I leave it up to each individual reader to decide whether these scenarios involve events that occur (or are similar to those that occur) on a regular basis in training rooms around the world, and therefore to draw their own conclusions about the validity of the illustrations.

Both scenarios were originally published for reasons other than their emotional content. The first scenario (Short, Boroto, & Zahn, 2000) was an analysis of a critical incident from an assertiveness training course that ran in the UK in 1998. The two-day course was held for ten participants, and data were collected after the event through interviews with the trainers. The original study was published to illustrate how the incident could be analyzed for the impact of attitudes, relationships, language, experience, and structure.

The second scenario (Short & Jarvis, 2000) was an evaluation of a leadership development program designed to approach development at an emotional level (for example, through the discussion of personal critical incidents) and to develop participants' emotional attachment to the learning. The data collection took place from January to August 1999 at two locations in the UK using 18 participants in public sector managerial positions ranging from first-rung managers up to experienced senior managers of large teams. Data were collected through audio recordings of training sessions, trainee learning journals, during- and post-event questionnaires, and post-event focus groups with trainees.

The original data have not been re-analyzed for this paper. Instead, the descriptions of the scenarios were taken from the two published papers, considered from an emotional perspective using the theoretical framework described in the last section, and summarized for this paper.

Scenario #1: Breakdowns during a Training Course

The scene is a two-day workplace assertiveness skills course (Short, Boroto, & Zahn, 2000). The two trainers are working together for the first time, and have decided to adapt the standard course design by incorporating coached videotaped role-plays.

Ten trainees attend the course: all are either clerical staff or 'first-rung' managers. At the start of the first day, the trainees' energy levels are low and they make little eye contact with each other or with the trainers. During an opening exercise, some describe positive hopes for the outcomes of the course, some report feeling uncomfortable, and some express concerns about engaging in role-plays. In discussions on the purpose of the role-plays, some trainees become defensive and others angry. Some trainees exhibit signs of being in a state of panic or fear.

During the morning coffee break, two trainees tell a trainer that their manager had forced them to attend the course by threatening to withdraw their performance bonus if they did not comply. During the same break, another trainee explains that she gets physically sick during role-plays, that she does not intend to do one, and that she might as well leave at that point. After the break, the course-room situation deteriorates: some trainees express doubts about the usefulness of the course material, and others make such comments as, 'We don't need to change,' and 'We are happy how we are.' The trainers initiate a discussion of what course material would be helpful, but no suggestions are forthcoming. The trainers feel angry about the trainees' unwillingness to participate, and frustrated that they cannot find a way to convince them of the benefits of the course; they choose not to discuss their emotions with the trainees.

By the mid-afternoon coffee break, one of the trainees sent by his manager announces that, "This is all crap," and that he will not attend the second day. The trainers feel confused (and again keep those emotions to themselves), discuss a strategy in private, and decide to give a stronger lead from the front.

Scenario #2: Building Emotions into the Training Design

The scene is a leadership development meeting (Short & Jarvis, 2000), with ten people sat in a circle; one of the ten is a trainer although it is not immediately obvious which. The ten have all been through leadership development programs before that mainly covered models and theories. They have signed up for the current program because their past training failed to produce the desired change in leadership behaviors.

The program involves the ten participants meeting for three hours every three weeks over a six-month period. The process exposes them to an emotional experience; the aim being to create within each participant a passion for changing themselves as leaders, in addition to a cognitive understanding of the need to change behavior. At the core of the program is a reading list of books and articles selected to challenge participants on an emotional level. Authors include a combination of world leaders from the past (Gandhi and Martin Luther King) and present (Vaclav Havel and Nelson Mandela), writers on leadership (Warren Bennis and Robert Greenleaf), and philosophers (Erich Fromm). The list also includes Mitch Albom's 'Tuesday with Morrie' as an illustration of a mentoring relationship.

The trainer avoids didactic delivery, and in so doing allows participants the space they need to react to the reading material and to personal reflection. The trainer, instead, uses a variety of alternative methods to encourage a personal connection to the material, including: critical incident analysis, journal writing, group discussions, and personal biographies. Differences of opinion within the group are raised in dialogue and are explored openly and with respect.

This is the last of the group's eight meetings, and individuals are sharing what each feels s/he has gained from the program. It is a highly emotional session as each describes a personal commitment to develop as a leader,

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how s/he intends to deliver on that commitment, and how s/he can continue to use the group as an ongoing learning network. Participants not only talk about their commitment to change behaviors, but also about specific examples of how they are already acting from a new paradigm on leadership. The meeting finishes with a discussion of how participants can spread their passion for change around the organization.

Reflections on the Scenarios

Rational versus Emotional. The first scenario illustrates the differences between rational and emotional actions: the rational design of the program; the trainers' rational justification of their actions; the trainers' experience of frustration, and confusion; and the trainees' experience of fear, panic, and anger. These have been brought into the training room from elsewhere (the trainees' anger towards their manager), been generated by the course process (the one trainee's reaction to role-plays), and been generated through interactions between and among trainees and trainers (the trainers' frustration with the trainees). In this particular case, it appears that the emotions have the upper hand, even though the vast majority of books about organizations emphasize the rational over the emotional (Domagalski, 1999).

Learning the Script. In the first scenario, when the one trainee said, 'This is crap,' consider what emotions the trainers might have experienced but not verbalized (perhaps frustration, anger, or confusion). Similarly, why did the trainees begin the course by withholding information about the exact nature of their feelings? Why did they instead choose the coffee machine as the place to talk about 'being sent,' and 'being under threat,' and to discuss their feelings? How did the trainers and trainees determine which emotions to express and how? These events hint at the influence of display rules on behavior, perhaps through the organizational cultural norm for the display of emotions. The trainees' initial reluctance to share their emotions also emphasizes the importance of trainers creating an environment in the training room where trainees can discuss their feelings openly and honestly, which may run counter to the scripts the trainees are used to in the workplace.

Wearing the mask. If trainers are managing their emotional displays, as the two in the first scenario appeared to be doing, what are the implications for them, their work, and their personal lives? How reasonable is it that organizations require trainers to work with a script that limits the emotions they can show to their trainees? The behavior of the two trainers suggests emotional labor driven from an attitude or belief that trainers should appear to be in control; as such, the two trainers are suppressing and veiling their emotions as described by Hochschild (1983) and Callahan (2000b).

Emotions and their Impact on Learning. Both scenarios illustrate the impact of emotions on learning. In the first, learning was affected in ways described by Hilgard and Bower (1966) and Boud (1989) with trainees' anger towards the manager who sent them, and anxiety around role-plays (possibly generated by past negative experiences, fear of failure, or fear of responses from other trainees). In the second, emotional reactions to course content (reading materials) and design (critical incident analysis and journal writing) appear to have contributed to a passion for learning and a commitment to behavior change. The second scenario reflects some of what Putnam and Mumby (1993) described as the development of mutual affect, connectedness, and cohesion through the sharing of emotional experiences. It also reflects Fineman's (1993) description of emotions as the social glue that makes or breaks gatherings.

Using Emotions in the Training Process. The two scenarios provide illustrations of the need for, and means of using, the five methods for working with emotions in training described earlier in this paper. The first highlights the need for helping trainees to overcome their fears, to create the right environment for discussing emotions, for trainer self-disclosure of emotions, and for helping trainees to explore their emotions (for example, where they inhibit learning). The second case highlights the benefits for the training environment of trainees catching each others' positive emotions for training, and also for the use of a variety of methodologies for encouraging learning that results from emotional attraction to the training content.

Implications and Further Research

Emotions are integral to training: they can influence employees' attitudes towards learning needs and affect decisions about whether or not to attend training courses. They can be brought into the training room, and be generated in response to course material, course process, course context, and social interactions. As the two scenarios illustrated, those emotions can act to hinder the performance of trainers, trainees' learning, and the effectiveness of course designs. They can also act to support learning and behavior change.

Given the evidence of the two scenarios, it would be inappropriate for trainers to assume that training is a solely rational process; that training succeeds only through rational designs and content, and that trainees always

react rationally to their need for learning and to the learning process. Avoiding the emotion inherent in training could mean threatening the effectiveness of the training, the well-being of trainees, and the long-term health of the trainers.

- Increasing awareness of emotions in training suggests that trainers could take steps to support trainees as they deal with emotions raised by their learning needs, and by their experiences before, during, and after courses. It also suggests the need to explore:
- Display rules and scripts, and their impact on trainers;
- The extent of emotional labor and dissonance, its consequences, and the support mechanisms needed to help trainers;
- Course designs, to determine the emotional reactions generated in both trainers and trainees, and take actions where those reactions inhibit learning or have negative consequences for trainees or trainers;
- The redesign of courses to use emotions as a way of motivating learners, developing a sense of belonging, and facilitating individual and joint actions. Seven actions trainers could take to redesign courses include: helping trainees to overcome their fear in learning; creating the right environment for discussing emotions; trainer self-disclosure of emotions; recognizing individuals' different emotional needs; helping trainees to explore their emotions; recognizing how trainees catch emotions from each other; and using different training methodologies.

At this stage, it may be too early to state what specific actions trainers should be taking in any given context. For example, there are likely to be situations where the deliberate generation of certain emotions would benefit the learning process, but what are those situations, which emotions should be generated, and how should the emotions be dealt with? There are also such questions to be addressed as:

- How open should trainers be about their own emotions while in the training room, and at what point could disclosure threaten learning?
- Should trainers design processes that deliberately generate certain emotions in learners where it is believed they will aid the learning process, and what if those are negative emotions such as fear or anxiety?
- How should training designers deal with the likelihood that different individuals or groups of people may have different emotional responses to the same situation (e.g. responses differing by gender or culture)?

These are just a few of the many questions likely to be raised by the content of this paper. My hope is that the paper initiates dialogue and further research that answers these and other questions, and therefore enables trainers to better understand the impact of emotions in their training rooms and processes.

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This study investigates the implications of the management of emotions through the increasingly popular culture change programmes on which many large organizations have embarked in recent years. Based on a case study of one such organization, it examines the extent to which the emotional responses of the participants on this programme were congruent with the programme's intentions and the emotive elements designed into the programmes. It finds considerable differences, which it argues are important areas for future HRD research.

Key words: Emotion, Change, Culture.

Research Problem

Managing emotional behaviour as a leverage point for organization change is an increasingly popular concept. This paper investigates the implications of the management of emotions through planned corporate change programmes. It suggests that the emotions produced by such programmes are not always congruent with those desired and invoked by the organizations engaging in such programmes, and that the deliberate managing of emotion may instead lead to unintended and unexpected emotions within the participants of such programmes. Drawing on data from an in-depth study of one such programme, the paper comparatively analyses the emotions *designed* into the programme, comparing these with empirical evidence of the emotions *displayed* by the participants on the programme.

Since the early eighties and Peters and Waterman's (1982) proposition that so-called "excellent" companies are those in which the members are enthusiastic about their work and the goals of the organization, organizations have been endeavouring to discover the most effective means of tapping into emotions within organizations in order to produce enhanced motivation, commitment, and loyalty. Certainly it has now been well demonstrated (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Callahan, 1999; Fineman, 1993; Huy, 1999; Newton, 1995; Turnbull, 1999; Watson, 1994; Wharton & Erickson, 1993) that organizations are emotional places and few scholars would now argue that the rationality and logic once ascribed to organizations by followers of Taylorist thought reflect the lived experience inside organizations.

The concept of emotion, however, has long been problematic, with debates raging between positivists (Kemper, 1981, 1990), psychoanalysts (Schwartz,1987; Sievers,1986) and social constructionists (Fineman, 1993; Hearn, 1993; Hochschild, 1979,1983) about the nature, origins and controllability of emotion. This disagreement about the meaning, origin, and controllability of emotions may be one explanation for the limited number of studies which endeavour to uncover and advance our understanding of the nature of emotions in organizations. Yet it is clear that this lack of research into our understanding of the emotional life of organizational players has not hindered or deterred the continuing enthusiasm in organizations for change programmes and initiatives which appeal to the emotions in a number of ways.

This 'cultural approach' to managing organizations proposes a range of techniques for managing change through the management of meaning and symbols (Deal & Kennedy; Kotter & Heskett; Schein, 1985). Missions and visions, the symbolism of excellence and enterprise; self- actualisation and achievement are all laden with semiotic and emotional meaning designed to create change in organizations at the most fundamental level: the level of feelings, beliefs and deep-rooted values. However, the lack of scholarly research into the implications of this trend for the individuals within these organizations has also been problematic for the HRD community who seek to measure and evaluate the benefits and impact of such programmes. This has meant that support for the conscious management of emotions has often been a matter of "blind faith", with little empirical evidence beyond the persuasive

arguments of the gurus (Deal & Kennedy,1982; Covey, 1992; Goleman, 1996; Peters & Waterman, 1982) that such initiatives are able to produce the desired emotional outcomes and in turn the required results.

In this paper I wish to raise the profile of this research agenda, and to stress the need for scholars to focus on the emotional *outcomes* of such programmes, in order to better understand the responses of their recipients to the messages contained within them. I will suggest that it is both limited and limiting for the HRD community to consider in isolation the most effective means of managing and controlling emotion for instrumental purposes, and that attention should first be paid to the impact of such programmes on those participating in them and the implications of this for the organizations in which they work. In particular, I will raise issues relating to the long term impact of these programmes on the well-being and emotional stability of those subjected to them, particularly in organizations with a tendency to engage in the repeated and indiscriminate use of "initiatives" and fad-following.

Theoretical Frame

Stephen Fineman's seminal book "Emotion in Organizations" (1993) has argued for a major research agenda to shape our understanding of how emotion affects organizational life. Drawing on both social constructionist and psychodynamic theory, he argues that "emotions are within the texture of organizing" and "that emotions are central to the constitution of the realities that we so readily take for granted in our working and organizing." (Fineman, 1993, p. 1). Hosking and Fineman reinforce this argument, lamenting the omission in organizational theory of emotional processes in organizations (1990). Since Fineman's plea for more attention to the affective domain within organization life a number of scholars have begun to address this issue. The emotive power of the excellence and enterprise discourses over the members of an organization has, for example, been explored by Du Gay (1996) who suggests that the current success by organizations in appealing for self directed, enterprising individuals may be due to an alignment between this discourse and the natural desire for individuals to create their own identities. Indeed organizations are often seen as providing a sense of identity, belonging and a clear focus in return for increases in motivation, commitment, productivity, and reductions in turnover and absenteeism. Casey (1995) warns, however, that such an apparently simple formula can have wide ranging and counter-productive effects when it is associated with the management of emotions. She notes, for example, that some work environments in their attempts to motivate their employees seem to foster the unhealthy use of aggression, competitive behaviours and "the excessive pursuit of power and grandiosity" to achieve the commitment and effort they seek, and argues: "The implications of corporate workers suffering from "modern madness" in their places of work are considerable" (Casey, 1995, p.84).

This concern is echoed by Fineman (1995) who warns: "Stressful feelings may occur in two ways. The first is when...the mask cracks. The tension between inner feeling and the requirement of outward display is simply too great. The second is when the masks and the inner feeling become fused; the company's message is taken to heart to the extent that people begin to lose touch with their own feelings" (p. 130).

An important ethnographic study by Kunda (1992) explores the management of emotions in the Tech Corporation[1] in the USA. This company possesses a very strong normative culture with deeply embedded symbols and structures that control the emotions and values of those within this culture. Kunda expresses concern at the strength of feeling which he encountered during his research in Tech, and asks a number of important questions in relation to the planned and unintended emotions generated by the organization's strong culture: "Are the people whom we encounter there happy automatons? Do they think of their experiences at work as authentic expressions of themselves or as stylized roles? Is the Lyndsville engineering facility a prison or a playground?" (Kunda, 1992, p. 17). Kunda also encounters confusion about roles and identity as a result of such tight organizational control on emotions: "Although they exhibit signs of acceptance, they also indicate considerable wariness and even a degree of cynicism about the company's expectations, even as they are investing their efforts, planning to get ahead, or contemplating the price of failure. They all seem just as much observers as actors...many are in the potentially confusing situation of being at once agents and subjects of this kind of control" (Kunda, 1992, p. 21).

This paragraph resonates with many of the concerns of this paper, and illustrates the complexity of using emotional behaviour as a leverage point for organizational change. Indeed, Kunda's study found that the organizational members had developed a range of methods for coping with the emotional pressures imposed by the extreme expectations of the Tech Corporation. He found that managers in Tech often denied any emotional

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[1] a pseudonym

attachment to their work; depersonalized their work actions, seeing them as driven by different moral codes from those adopted in their personal lives; and often dramatized events for a purpose. Kunda labels these behaviours *denial, depersonalisation* and *dramatization*

Research questions

This study investigates the implications of the management of emotions through the increasingly popular culture change programmes on which many large organizations have embarked in recent years. In particular it investigates Casey's concerns that through emotional control we are creating a "modern madness" and "maladaptive" employees in our organizations, Fineman's warnings about the potential stress of following "feeling rules" and the danger of losing touch with our inner feelings, and Kunda's findings that the employees in his study were resorting to various distancing techniques to cope with the emotional pressure .The research sought to elicit accounts of the responses of a group of these participants in order to understand the emotional impact of this programme and to examine how it affected their beliefs, values and self-identity. It examines the connection between the deliberate managing of emotion through a predetermined and planned programme, and the emotions felt and exhibited by the participants on the programme. It then investigates the extent to which the emotions triggered were those desired by the organization, and explores the implications of any gaps identified between the planned and the realised outcomes for HRD practitioners.

Research design

This study focuses through a single case study on a major corporate change programme designed to introduce five new "values" to fifteen hundred "middle managers" in Aeroco, a large UK-based engineering corporation. The research adopts a social constructionist approach to interpret the responses of the participants. It does not seek to generalize, but to understand and interpret the case in order identify issues of potential significance HRD theorists and practitioners dealing with similar issues in other organizations.

The Programme

The programme was designed and run by a leading consultancy, and run over a twelve month period. Each manager was required to attend all five three day workshops--one for each of the newly declared corporate Values. The Values were labelled *Innovation and Technology, Customers, Partnerships, Performance,* and *People.* Beyond these brief labels the participants had little idea of how these might be interpreted prior to embarking on the programme.

The *Innovation and Technology, Customers, Partnerships,* and *Performance* modules were large scale residential events run for 100-150 managers over three days. The style of these modules was one of considerable drama. The sessions were designed to arouse emotions such as passion, excitement, and loyalty in the delegates. Hence rousing music, special stage effects, and dramatic sequences were prevalent in the plenary sessions, a style which was alien to many of the attendees whose backgrounds were predominantly engineering or technical and who were 95% male.

The *People* module was run for groups of eight, each with its own psychologist as facilitator. The content was based on a few psychological models of human interaction. eg. transactional analysis (Berne, 1996). The sessions were intense, self-revelatory, and emotionally-charged.

The purposes of the programme were to bring about major cultural change by fostering a more collaborative style of management, greater cross business-unit collaboration and a common sense of identity.

The programme's style was designed to appeal to the emotions of the participants in a number of ways. It openly encouraged a shared passion and enthusiasm for the goals and missions of the organization, a strong sense of loyalty and commitment to colleagues, feelings of belongingness such as those felt at the heart of a family, a sense of pride, and a trust in top management to deliver a higher ideal.

The empirical research spanned 20 months. 56 in-depth interviews were carried out across 8 business units and 14 sites, prior to and during the early months of the programme. In addition all five modules, each lasting two or three days, were attended as a participant observer, providing the opportunity for numerous discussions and deeper contact with 48 further participants. Second interviews were conducted twelve months after the initial interviews with fifteen of the original interviewees. The shift in the values, beliefs, attitudes behaviours and emotions expressed

as a result of the programme were then analysed thematically, drawing directly from the transcripts of the accounts of the participants.

It was recognised that this separation of the cognitive from the affective was a necessarily artificial distinction applied for the purposes of the research. The choice of semantics to describe the specific emotions encountered in the research was drawn as often as possible from the participants' own words. However, it is acknowledged that at times where this was not possible it was necessary to act as interpreter and to make linguistic choices in order to express these emotions.

The research focused specifically on the *consumption* of the messages of the programme, therefore detailed questions relating to the *production* and intent of these messages from the perspective of the corporate management was largely beyond the scope of the study. However, the research did include an analysis of the emotional style, content and delivery of the programme.

Research Findings

This section will focus specifically on comparing the emotions *designed into* and *invoked by* the programme with the *emotional* responses displayed by the managers.

The emotional responses of the managers at the beginning of the programme were diverse. These responses ranged from the complete capitulation to the corporate message in the form of a religious conversion of those I have labelled the *evangelists*, to various forms of detachment such as *open cynicism*, slightly more ambivalent *scepticism*, or *play-acting*. In addition there were *detached professionals,* groups of scientists, lawyers, and accountants who believed that the programme did not apply to them but was good for others; and finally a small group of *critical thinkers* who were able to intellectualize about the rational of the programme, and its inherent problems.[2]

Many of the positive responses reflected the intentions of the programme's design: excitement, hope, and trust; but others were less positive, rejecting the appeals for enthusiasm , instead displaying fear of failure, cynicism and "fad fatigue" (Pascale, 1990). Most of the disagreements surrounding the initial responses were concerned with whether this programme was likely to be any different from earlier initiatives with similar purposes, all of which had eventually failed. Many were prepared to trust the words of the CEO that this time the programme would be enduring, and "not just another initiative" but others were much more cautious. The following summarises some of the key differences between the planned and unintended emotional responses to the programme.

1. Planned Emotional Response to Programme: High levels of trust leading to openness, sharing, risk-taking and innovation.

Unintended Emotional response: Mistrust and fear of blame leading to risk-averse behaviours.

This programme was being introduced into an organization in which strong feelings of rivalry and mistrust across the sites and functions were much in evidence: "There's still a lot of in-fighting, very competitive...There's a lot of point scoring, there's still a lot of status around this organization" (Steve).

Such strong preexisting feelings were found to be highly significant in affecting the emotional responses of the managers to the content and style of the programme.

Political rivalry had also been the norm as described by Ian in summing up the game-playing he had experienced when he moved into a new business unit: "There are some very clever people in this division, outstandingly clever people and they play intellectual games, they play intellectual one-upmanship, challenge and all sorts of strange things and the first time you meet them you have to prove you can hack it like they can intellectually or you can't be considered to be worthy to come to the table, and they play very hard."

2. Planned Emotional Response: Strong feelings of loyalty to the organization.

Unintended Emotional Response: Confusion and tension between desire to belong and fear of being controlled.

"He is bonded to them in displays of rejection" (Mangham & Overington, 1987, p. 45) This paradoxical description of the relationship between a senior manager and his middle management team is illuminating. Despite the

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[2] See Turnbull (1999) for a full discussion of these response types.

many displays of resistance on the part of the managers throughout the programme, they nonetheless demonstrated enormous displays of loyalty and commitment to these same hero figures in the organization.

Paul, a recent recruit into the organization indicated the turbulent emotional experiences he had encountered when dealing with senior management, drawing on all of Kunda's coping techniques. First he *denies* that he cares, then he talks of *detaching* himself in order to cope more easily with being criticised at work, and he is very prone to *dramatizing* in the strongly emotive language that he deliberately employs: "What strikes me constantly... and this is a personal observation, is the duplicitousness of senior management in any organization, I mean sheer (pause) I've overstepped the mark with some of the things I've said, but it's almost the sheer dishonesty of senior managers in the way they operate, the ruthless ability to manipulate people. Now if you're sensitive you're not going to survive for that long...I am sensitive but at the end of the day I don't care enough any more...It's self -protection. If I did care I couldn't cope with the job. I will go much further in the job if I preserve an element of independence of spirit and I do think that's an element for success. I suspect that most successful managers in this company leave the office behind them when they leave it. Now they will deny that I suspect, but I suspect that they're not as emotionally attached to the business as some of the less senior managers. I don't know, but that's just a hunch...Then there's the other side of management, which is that when they sit back and rationally think about the business and the future of the business as opposed to the day to day stresses of the business, they do look at what makes a successful business and at the end of the day if you are loyal to your company and if you have a passionate desire for your company to succeed (and I think all the senior management have both of those qualities) even if they leave it behind them when they leave, you can see that you have to engender that spirit of devotion to the company".

The interviews with the managers suggested an ambivalent relationship between the middle managers and the executives of the company (a distinction which has often been overlooked by previous research.) On the one hand the programme was creating feelings of comfort and security: "We need this programme desperately", yet simultaneously the middle managers could be heard questioning the motives of those responsible for the programme. *Can they be trusted? Are we being brain-washed? Do they mean what they say* were leitmotivs throughout the programme.

3. Intended Emotional Response: Spontaneous passion for organization's ideals and commitment to the programme.

Unintended Emotional Response: Self-consciousness and embarrassment.

A great deal of self-consciousness and embarrassment was evident as the managers began to display the behaviours and adopt the language of the programme. This embarrassment was demonstrated and often diffused by the use of humour and in particular irony as demonstrated below.

Researcher: "Which modules has your Director been on?"

John: "Well he's been on this one, oh dear, this sort of psychology one, where they've been...getting in touch more with their emotions or something (laughs)"

Embarrassment at complying too readily with the new values and feeling rules was often alleviated by self-mockery or to mock the behaviours of others:

"They're all key, they're all inter-dependent and the five values have got to be worked with in unison, in harmony. Gosh! I'm not sure what's coming out! (laughs)....and you know the thing that is important is that if we are going to be successful, yeah, is that from the top to the bottom people don't actually recite it like I'm doing at the moment, OK. Because reciting something is dead easy, anybody can do it, yeah. Believing it and actually acting it is something different"

Clearly humour was very powerful mechanism for assisting the Aeroco managers to communicate their feelings of embarrassment or self-consciousness without the risks associated with direct or explicit confrontation.

4. Planned Emotional Response: Enthusiasm for new corporate values and full assimilation into beliefs, values and behaviours of all corporate members.

Unintended Emotional Response: Stress as a result of feeling pressure to display behaviours not matched by feelings.

"You have to aim to be someone else" (Ian).

One of the recurring frustrations of the managers in Aeroco was the perception that they were expected to adopt the behaviours specified by the senior management of the organization, irrespective of whether this represented their "true selves". In the past, competitive, loud, and "macho" style behavior had been rewarded. The rhetoric of the change programme, however, was now demanding that they adopt a new set of "feeling rules"

(Hochschild, 1983) with an emphasis on openness and trust. These messages, reinforced by the "People" module, were encouraging the sharing of feelings and causing considerable discomfort for these managers, most of whom had operated successfully under the old feeling rules, which had demanded the suppression of emotions and the emotional resilience to withstand blame, anger, criticism and aggression.

Ian complains about the stress imposed by role playing: "I mean I know Phil quite well socially and he feels what I feel, that you can't be yourself in this place. You can't facilitate changes doing it in the interactive way you want to. You have to be more forceful. You have to aim to be someone else. The team that I have got at the moment have realized now I think, which is a shame."

Whilst some chose to comply with the demands of the programme as a way of coping with the pressure on them, others were found to be resorting to *mental distancing* or *resisting* (Knights & Willmott, 1999) which may illuminate the often contradictory behaviours of the Aeroco managers, and explain their often paradoxical behaviours. The positive responses to the programme when it was launched, yet the ambiguous and uncertain responses to being part of it, the enthusiasm for the intimate style of the "People " module, yet the simultaneous fear at the level of disclosure required by this event; the desire to "network" across the organization, yet the fear that others are not to be trusted are all seen to be emotional pulls on the Aeroco managers which were not predicted nor taken into account when the programme was designed.

Conclusions and implications of the study for HRD

One of the most unexpected but perhaps inevitable outcomes of the programme was to cause the managers in the study to think very deeply about their roles and their relationship with the organisation. In reality this meant considering their relationships with colleagues, subordinates, senior managers and with the organizational rhetoric and symbolism in which they were playing an integral part. It was also frequently found to lead to a reconsideration of their self-identities.

This increased reflexivity in role, however, remained largely undisclosed in the company of peers, as it was still considered to belong to the private domain. Consequently, much change appeared to be taking place in the cognitive and emotional lives of the managers on the programme that was neither visible nor indeed measurable by the various evaluation instruments adopted by the company, as even those managers who said that they had undergone a personal transformation or "conversion" were unable to or fearful of carrying out the changes they desired in a workplace which was paradoxically hostile to the new management style it was seeking to introduce.

This conclusion adds to the earlier finding of Ogbonna and Wilkinson (1990), whose study of a corporate change programme established the popular view that many corporate change programmes achieve little more than "resigned behavioural compliance". The present study also found many examples of resigned behavioural compliance, but missing from Ogbonna and Wilkinson's findings is the notion of personal transformational change which took place for a number of individuals in Aeroco, but was never expressed in the workplace due to the cultural constraints already outlined. This is an important discovery of the Aeroco study, as it implies a change in underlying values which is not translated into behaviour, the converse of Ogbonna and Wilkinson's concept.

It was clear from this study that the managers were finding it very difficult to change in the way anticipated by Aeroco. Many of them were long servers, and had been rewarded and promoted for many years on the basis of the old style "macho" behaviours. To change these behaviours was felt by the majority to be both embarrassing and difficult to achieve, resulting in much evidence of "reverting to type", which unfortunately often resulted in anger, cries of hypocrisy, and increased mistrust between senior and middle managers. Certainly there was some evidence of the Aeroco managers having become "maladaptive" in Casey's terms as a result of the deeply embedded "macho" culture. Learning to express feelings in the workplace and to develop interpersonal sensitivity was felt to be very awkward for these managers. Even those who appeared to have undergone radical personal transformations as a result of the programme were finding it very hard to change their behaviours, fearing that they might be mocked.

The managers' accounts demonstrated numerous examples of Kunda's *emotional distancing: denial, depersonalisation and dramatization. Dramatization* was a constant feature of the five modules themselves which were deliberately hyped up to create emotion in the participants. This had the desired effect on some, but for an organization which has for many years repressed its emotionality and is 90% composed of male engineers it was perhaps unsurprising that many rejected this call for overt expression in favour of employing a *distancing* from the event which then led to many hours of self-justification and explanation to peers, superiors and even to themselves to account for their non-participation in what was deemed an important display of loyalty to the organization.

The emotions generated by the Aeroco programme were intense, but in many cases varied considerably from those intended by the initiators of the programme. This raises some important issues and questions for those involved in understanding emotional behaviour as a leverage point for organizational change, in particular the extent to which emotional response can be planned and controlled, the factors which influence these responses, the impact of communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) on the social construction of the emotions, and the impact of the unforeseen emotional responses on both the individuals themselves and the organizations to which they belong. It also raises a number of ethical issues regarding our understanding of the long term repercussions of such programmes on the participants, and indeed on the long term sustainability of values imposed in this way, particularly in organizations which themselves are constantly changing in shape and membership.

The impact of corporate change programmes such as the one introduced by Aeroco is clearly more complex than is implied in much of the current literature on organization change. Emotions do play an important part in leveraging organizational change, but as illustrated in the Aeroco case, there are likely to be unforeseen and unexpected emotional responses as a result of any HRD interventions, and these require a deeper understanding than has previously been acknowledged. Greater awareness and attention to the consequences of such changes, will lead to more informed and more effectively executed change programmes and more sensitive handling of human emotions in the process. Whilst this study has focused predominantly on the short term emotional responses of managers undergoing the Aeroco change programme, there is clearly a need for further research into the impact and long term consequences of emotional labour in organizational change programmes. Although there are obvious problems with such studies, not least the difficulty in identifying and interpreting emotion, this study has demonstrated the importance to the HRD community of understanding the emotional responses and behaviours produced by such programmes.

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Conceptualizations of Emotional Behavior in Organizational Contexts: A Framework for Understanding the Implications of HRD Research and Practice

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This paper explores paradigmatic lenses to the study of emotional behavior in organizations. These paradigmatic approaches are represented by the interconnection of objective-subjective and emergent-managed continua regarding emotional behavior. We contend that the ways in which we conceptualize the nature of emotion and its role in organizations have profound effects with regard to both theory development and practical interventions. A schema of four overlapping approaches to emotional behavior practical interventions are also presented.

Keywords: Emotional Behavior, Paradigms, HRD Interventions

"We teach and preach on organizational life and management, usually acknowledging that our subject matter can be a bit messy--because people are not like machines. But at the same time we fail to square up to the essential emotionality of organizational processes..."
(Fineman, 1993, p.1).

In the organizational context, the study of emotion has often been focused on such elements as job satisfaction and employee stress. Since the late 1980s, however, journals in fields related to organizational theory have increasingly published empirical and theoretical articles related to the role of emotion as a distinct phenomenon vital to organizations. As a result, a wide variety of perspectives regarding the research of emotion have surfaced. A number of articles have attempted to categorize these streams of research (e.g., Domagalski, 1999; Gallois, 1993; Hochschild, 1983). However, each of these articles, whether implicitly or explicitly, uses the distinction of psychological and sociological approaches to the study of emotion to distinguish between streams. We argue that another approach to capturing the streams of research is more applicable to the multidisciplinary field of Human Resource Development.

Background

Because HRD is traditionally grounded in organizational contexts, much of the theory associated with the field has been influenced by the rational traditions of theorists such as Weber, Taylor, and Fayol (Sashkin, 1981). These traditions call for the cognitive "dehumanization" of organizations. However, recent physiological findings regarding emotion in individuals have revealed that cognition does not operate alone (Damasio, 1994; Derryberry & Tucker, 1992). In fact, Damasio, among others, claims that emotion is as indispensable to effective functioning as is reason. Clearly, HRD theory must expand to include the emotional component of human systems, both individual and collective. By providing a multidisciplinary perspective of the subject of emotional behavior and organizational change, this paper offers new ways for HRD professionals to theorize about emotional behavior as it relates to fundamental organizational actions.

While we speak of "emotion" as if it were a clear and commonly understood term, in fact, this is not the case. As we noted earlier, HRD scholars have approached the study of emotion in the organizational context from a variety of viewpoints. Associated with each viewpoint, however, are particular sets of theoretical biases. It is our contention that the ways in which scholars and practitioners conceptualize the nature of emotion, and its role in individual and organizational functioning, can have profound effects. Scholars ask questions, and practitioners intervene, based on how they conceptualize the nature and role of emotion in organizations. Thus, different conceptual frameworks can take us in very different directions. Unfortunately, little work has been done to either describe the ways in which emotion has been viewed in the HRD literature, or the scholarly and practical

implications of these various views. This paper will provide a framework within which approaches to the study of emotion in organizations can be located and the theoretical biases of each approach explicated. Most importantly, this paper provides a mechanism to answer the calls made for the need to explicitly link emotional behavior with organizational dilemmas (Fineman, 1993; Morris & Feldman, 1996).

This paper also has a more fundamental connection to the advancement of theory in HRD. Weick (1999) noted that some theories "seem to matter more than others" (p. 134) in influencing the practice in and study of organizations. After an overview of some of the most powerful or "moving" theories in organization studies, he and Peter Frost concluded that one of the common factors in all of these theories was that they centered on emotion. By making emotional concepts explicit in a multidisciplinary understanding of organizational phenomena, the schema presented in this paper will enable HRD scholars to better incorporate the emotion that contributes to powerful theories.

Whether one makes the case for learning as core to the HRD profession (Watkins & Marsick, 1995) or for performance as core to HRD (Swanson, 1995; Swanson, 1999), emotion is integrally connected to each. Dewey (1916/1944) pointed out that the development of intellect cannot be separated from the emotions, that how we perform in the course of "doing" is tied to our subjective feelings about the action. Indeed, in some learning theories, emotion drives learning directly, as is the case with Mandler's interruption theory (Bower, 1994). From a collective perspective, emotion has critical importance to group functions. As early as 1925, Lindeman (1925) argued that,

The real meaning of the group and its processes is presumed to be something which is affected by what the group actually does and its rationalizations of what it does. Emotions, prejudices, habits, customs, mores, sentiments--all of these enter into the rationalizations. To assume that they are unimportant parts of the group's behavior-pattern is to eliminate some of the very mainsprings of human action and behavior (p. 193).

Some authors would go so far as to claim that the division of human activity into thoughts, feelings and actions obscures their fundamental unity, be it within or without organizations (for example, see Efran & Blumberg, 1994). From this perspective, debates about the "place" of emotion in organizational functioning are nonsensical since emotion pervades all human activity and is inseparable from it. Attempts to partial out the effects of arbitrarily determined components leads to the danger that the emergent properties of human enterprises will be missed. While we agree with this view in principle, we concur with Efran's contention that it is "both permissible and necessary to make conceptual distinctions in order to map a terrain, but these cleavages must be acknowledged as human-made and artificial. They should be maintained only as long as they are useful to the task at hand" (p. 191). In this spirit, we offer the framework in this paper as a tentative map of the territory, one that needs constant evaluation and refinement to move us closer to a holistic understanding of human organizations.

A whole host of issues associated with learning and performance fall under the rubric of HRD and can be informed by an understanding of the influences of emotional behavior. For example, Maddock and Fulton (1998) argue that the substance of leadership is motivation and the essence of motivation is emotion. This stance is consistent with research in the field of psychology, which posits motivation as one of primary functions of emotion (see Oatley & Jenkins, 1992 for a review). Taking an organizational approach, Cooper and Sawaf (1996) argue that emotional intelligence influences creativity, communication, teamwork, and customer loyalty. Deming (1986) proposed that one of the most crucial elements of improving overall organizational productivity and quality was driving fear out of the workplace. Watkins and Marsick (1993) continue that thought when they suggest that fear in the workplace "threatens the very fiber of the learning organization" (p. 254). The list can go on and, as seen in the examples above, can be found in both scholarly and popular literature. All of these issues can be informed by a better understanding of emotional behavior in organizations. Thus, the function of HRD professionals as developers of individual and collective performance and learning provides a unique perspective on the emotional component of organizational life.

Multidisciplinary Approach to Emotion Research

Traditionally, organizational researchers have focused on cognition to the relative exclusion of emotion. However, in more recent years, that focus has begun to expand to include conceptualizations of emotion. The growing literature in emotional intelligence suggests that there is some link between cognitive and emotive processes (Daus & Tuholski, 2000). Further, research has demonstrated that emotions can both positively and negatively related to cognitive processing (e.g., Damasio, 1994; Fineman, 1993; Mayer & Salovey, 1997; Thoits, 1996). As the referenced examples indicate, this interconnectedness of emotion and cognition can be found in literature from psychology, sociology, neurology, and more.

This paper offers a new way to conceptualize the study of emotion management in organizations or other social systems. Rather than artificially separate the approaches to emotion research along disciplinary lines, this paper provides a framework for the study of emotion that combines both psychological and sociological approaches under the rubric of paradigmatic lenses of emotion research. We see this framework as the intersection of two continua rather than as the construction of separate conceptual boxes into which a theory or an approach must fit cleanly. One axis of the framework describes the relative emphasis on the subjective experience of emotion versus the objective observation of it. The other axis is used to locate the view of emotion in the organizational context as either being something to be controlled and managed, or something that should be helped to emerge to promote optimal organizational functioning. For heuristic purposes, we have chosen to describe "pure" or polar representations of each of the quadrants in this paper. We remind the reader that most approaches to dealing with emotion in an organization will fall nearer the mid-point of the two axes of our framework and, in fact, may share aspects of each of the four quadrants.

Each of the four perspectives offered in the framework can incorporate what might be considered "psychological" and "sociological" approaches to the study of emotion management. The following subsections include a description of each approach and offer suggestions for future research that incorporates both individual and collective perspectives of emotion management. The four representations can be depicted as in Figure 1 below:
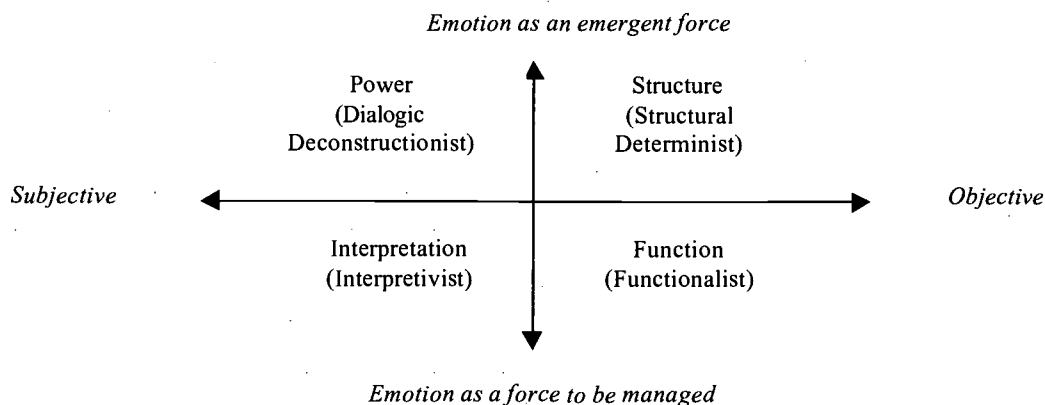
Emotion as an emergent force

Power (Dialogic Deconstructionist)	Structure (Structural Determinist)

Subjective ⟵—————————————————⟶ *Objective*

Interpretation (Interpretivist)	Function (Functionalist)

Emotion as a force to be managed

Figure 1. Paradigmatic Perspectives of Emotion Management Research

Function

This perspective emanates from the fundamental question of "What is the function of emotional behavior in this organization?" The more traditional, 'functional' approach to emotional behavior in organizations is grounded in the biological or organismic (Gallois, 1993; Hochschild, 1983) conceptualization of emotion. This paradigm looks at emotions from a more objective, or "outsider," perspective and perceives emotion as a force that must be managed in order to achieve greater effectiveness. The objective orientation associated with this perspective tends to view emotion as a non-rational, and therefore potentially disruptive, force. Because the biological or organismic focus of this paradigm is more explicit, it may be perceived as a psychological paradigm.

Nevertheless, from a social or relational perspective, this paradigm may be interpreted such that emotions are extant phenomena that must be managed to maintain order. Emotions are a part of organizational life, so we need to have a basic understanding of them and measure their effects in order to manage them better. Further, because of emotion's presumed disruptive nature and interference with cognitive functioning at higher levels of intensity (Oatley & Jenkins, 1992), individuals cannot be expected to accurately report on the emotional forces they experience. Thus, the objective observation and measurement of emotion and emotional behavior by an outsider makes the most sense from this perspective. Because this paradigm incorporates an inherent 'outsider' perspective, the management of the emotions of *others* in the social context is an important area of study within this stream. Also, the categorization of rules of emotion management, similar to Goffman's (1959) presentation rules, would have an outsider's perspective of how social systems deal with the management of emotions in order to maintain order and stability.

From a psychological approach, this representation of emotion is aligned with scholars such as Darwin, Freud, and Bowen who argue for rational supremacy. This approach holds that emotions are relics of earlier evolutionary states and, therefore, are generally maladaptive in current circumstances. The implication of this psychodynamic tradition is that emotions must be managed or controlled in order for healthy functioning to occur.

A counter-perspective that also falls in this representational quadrant holds that emotions are indeed part of our evolutionary legacy but are nevertheless adaptive in current circumstances. This tradition, associated with attachment theorists such as Johnson and Greenberg (1994), holds that emotions help govern goal priorities within people and communicate intentions between people in ways that promote survival and positive adaptation. Emotions act as a signaling system that can be managed in order to organize social interaction.

Interpretation

This perspective focuses on how and why organizational members interpret emotional behaviors and their subsequent responses as a result of that interpretation. The 'interpretive' approach to emotional behavior is more closely aligned to the social constructionist (Gallois, 1993; Hochschild, 1983) conceptualization of emotion. This is a more subjective, or "insider," position; it looks at emotional states as social performances rather than basic states of the individual. This paradigm seeks to understand the nature of emotion in social contexts while still perceiving emotion as a force in the organization that is, or needs to be, managed. From the relational perspective of this paradigm, emotions are created or constructed as part of a common sensemaking process in social structures. In order to maintain or appropriately recreate the common meaning, these emotions must be managed. This approach can be seen as the roots of the sociology of emotion stream of research. Much of the early work associated with this stream emanated from this interpretive perspective of the management of emotions in social contexts.

In individual psychology, social constructionism knits together the realm of the personal and the social. Provisional realities emerge from the interplay of personal constructions of the world and their usefulness and congruence in the social context. From this perspective the individual is seen as an open system whose boundaries with the social context are somewhat diffuse. Weick's (1995) concept of sensemaking is an example of this approach to understanding organizational behavior.

Hochschild's seminal work can also be seen from this perspective (Hochschild, 1983) as well as Rafaeli and Sutton's research on the management of emotions among clerks, law enforcement professionals, and bill collectors (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991). While this research did not explicitly emphasize the creation of common sensemaking, it did focus on interpretive patterns of emotion management. On the other hand, the research by Pogrebin and Poole (1988, 1991) does explicitly highlight how police offers use the management of emotion to create and maintain a culture unique to the law enforcement profession. Callahan's (1999) study of a military nonprofit association revealed the strength of emotion management in maintaining cultural patterns perhaps to the detriment of the organization.

Power

The power approach also takes a social constructionist perspective, but views emotion as an emergent force that facilitates organizational change as opposed to a force that needs to be managed in order to achieve organizational change. The roots of this perspective are closely tied Freire's (1970) conceptualization of dialogue. In this conceptualization, emotion is an emergent force underpinning dialogue that cannot "serve as a crafty instrument for the domination of one man by another" (Freire, 1970, p. 77). In attempting to understand emotion from this perspective, dialogue is both the subject and the object of the deconstruction of organizational action. Thus, we call those who act within the power paradigm of emotional behavior "dialogic deconstructionists."

A key distinction seen in the sociological perspective of this paradigm is that the management of emotion is a manifestation of domination by power structures. This power domination minimizes the human power of emotion as a force for development both individually and collectively. This perspective dominates current sociology of emotion research. Examples include Turnbull's (1999) assessment of power influences over middle managers contributing to emotion management and Fineman and Sturdy's (1999) study of the interaction between power structures and emotion management.

At the individual level, various approaches look at the influence of social power structures as determinants of individual experience. Narrative therapists, such as White and Epston (1990), for example, draw on the work of Foucault and other deconstructionists and examine how dominant societal narratives provide the structure in which individuals are forced to locate their experience. Narrative therapists are especially interested in how dominant narratives become oppressive, that is, how they create the experience of abnormality in people whose individual

experience do not fit cultural norms. Feminist therapists (for example Walters, Carter, Papp, & Silverstein, 1988) have looked specifically at how social constructions of gender limit individuals' perception, and expression, of certain aspects their own experience.

Another individual level approach associated with dialogic deconstruction is the humanistic tradition. From this perspective, emotions are the product of a deep inner self and act as the guideposts for authentic action. Emotions act as emergent properties that must be expressed in order to achieve optimal organizational effectiveness.

Structure

Finally, this perspective emerges from a desire to understand both the concrete and abstract organizational structures that influence and are influenced by emotional behavior. Those that follow this approach could be considered 'structural determinists.' This approach looks at emotion from an outsider's more "objective" perspective while continuing to see emotion as a positive force for change. The collective level perspective of this paradigm holds that emotions are inherently embedded in the unequal structures of society and the management of those emotions creates the energy that drives change. This perspective can be seen in Martin, Knopoff, and Beckman's (1998) overview of bounded emotionality at The Body Shop. This research highlights the importance of knowing when and how to use emotions in order to facilitate change for individuals and organizations. Another classic example of this paradigm is Collins' exchange conflict theory that focuses on the exchange of emotional resources between those in differing structural positions in the social system and the use of rituals to diffuse tensions between those with unequal positions (Turner, 1991).

The individual level of this perspective sees emotion as a fundamental component of the narratives people use to explain life as it happens to them. As individuals, we tend to 'couple' with social structures through the medium of language such that who we are and what we feel changes depending on our context. For example, Efran (1994) argues that people belong to a variety of interpersonal 'clubs', or structures they are coupled to, each of which prescribe a range of actions and experiences. Sometimes the rules of the various clubs we belong to conflict resulting in predicaments known as 'emotional 'contradictions.' This is seen in particularly vivid detail when cultural expectations conflict. As one of our students, a Latino man, said, "At work, I'm supposed to put work first, while at home I'm supposed to put my family first. I can never satisfy everyone."

Contributions to the practice of HRD

This paper is most relevant to helping organizations solve problems associated with rapid change by revealing and resolving a critical source of *resistance* to change. Schein argued that the emotion fear was the underlying factor in the failure of all organizational change efforts (Quick & Gavin, 2000). If practitioners can minimize the negative effects of emotion and maximize the positive effects of emotion, organizational change efforts can be more effective and efficient for both individual and collective.

In general, these varying perspectives of emotional behavior have a number of implications for HRD interventions. Because the development of both the individual and the organization are fundamental to the core beliefs of HRD (Ruona, 2000), the integration of psychological and sociological perspectives should guide our interventions associated with emotional behavior. Certainly the perspectives offered here demonstrate that emotional experience and expression is a powerful tool for reorganizing interactional positions within the organization. Another implication grounded in our interdisciplinary framework is that new feelings produce change; the way we experience and express those feelings can be manifested in different ways and yet still result in individual and organizational change. Finally, making explicit the various theoretical perspectives creates "theoretical flexibility" for both scholars and practitioners. For example, when practitioners find themselves "stuck" in an organizational change effort, this schema could help them make an informed decision about what alternative interventions might be useful, thereby avoiding a "more of the same" cycle.

Although they differ in their approach to emotional behavior, as a whole, the four perspectives offered here demonstrate that emotion provides information necessary for optimal functioning in human systems. Each of the represented perspectives works with the information that emanates from emotional behavior in different ways. Again, the application of these paradigmatic lenses is not mutually exclusive; it is reasonable, and perhaps desirable, to consider incorporating interventions that are oriented to multiple perspectives of emotional behavior.

Interventions associated with the functionalist perspective would be oriented toward controlling emotions by means of cognitive or rational understanding in order to facilitate smoother interaction in the organization. A practitioner working from this perspective might emphasize such things as individual stress management based on a cognitive-behavioral framework in hopes of dampening the effects of individuals' emotion experience on the

organization. Other types of employee wellness interventions might include the establishment of Employee Assistance Programs or family friendly policies such as child or elder care support. Another typical functional approach to addressing emotional behavior might include a review and possible reallocation of resources. An imbalance of resources might lead to emotionally laden conflict that a functionalist would want to minimize. Finally, a very simple functional approach to dealing with emotional behavior would be to ensure information is readily available on issues that may otherwise lead to undesired emotions. A functionalist would argue that, if people had accurate information, rumor and gossip would be unable to generate unfavorable emotional behavior.

Interventions in the interpretivist tradition would explore the contextual issues associated with the creation and presence of extant emotions in order to manage those emotions that are in conflict with optimal organizational functioning. Interventions from this perspective might focus on understanding, and changing, the organization's culture. For example, an intervention might include the purchase of corporate art in an attempt to generate a particular mood or emotion in the organizational environment. Another culturally based approach would be to change key organizational symbols, such as the logo, letterhead or uniform, as a means to manage their attendant emotions. Yet another approach that accomplishes both the interpretive exploration of issues and initiation of action is to ask organizational members to journal about their feelings and to reflect on how they might change their actions based on their reflections.

Dialogic deconstructionists would argue from their 'power' perspective that emotions need to be surfaced in order to break down the barriers of power and create an atmosphere conducive to the dialogue that facilitates change. A practitioner using this perspective might organize an "action research" (Yorks, O'Neil, & Marsick, 1999) experience for the organization he or she was consulting to. One goal of this approach is to help surface the unspoken concerns in an organization and use these as part of the engine that drives change. Because dialogue is so crucial to this approach, another intervention might be to initiate "Town Hall" meetings to encourage interaction between members of differential power positions. Weisbord's Future Search Conferences (Weisbord, 1992) are one example of a specific technology designed to help all stakeholders have as voice in the direction of organizational change. Another approach from the power perspective might be to remove or re-create the symbols of power in the organizational culture that lead to emotional reactions. For example, assigned parking might be reallocated or corporate dining room privileges might be extended to all employees.

Finally, structural determinists would seek to alter the interrelationships of organizational structures or 'clubs' from which emotions emerge in order to create new rituals and rule sets for organizational members. Changing the arrangement of offices to promote more informal contact between members of two groups who are having trouble resolving conflict is an example of one such structural intervention. More formally, an over-involved manager might be coached to let subordinates settle differences themselves, or she might be encouraged to change reporting relationships to decrease triangling. Another typical, but more abstract, structural change might include changing the organizational reporting structure (e.g., from a matrix structure to a networked structure) in order to alter the nature of the interrelationships between organizational members.

At a more fundamental level, the context of the organization has taken a central role of importance in adult life. Hochschild (1997) argues that the organization has, for many, become the surrogate family; the relationships we maintain with organizational colleagues have assumed more importance in our lives than ever before. As family therapists point out, "Emotion is so central in this context [of personal relationships] that if there is no emotional response there is no relationship" (Johnson, 1998, p. 3). Even if our connections to organizations are not as extreme as Hochschild (1997) contends, emotions are still crucial to organizations. Gergen (1994) holds that "Emotions do not 'have an impact on' social life; they constitute social life" (p. 222). Professionals who work with human resources must become more adept at identifying, understanding, and using emotions in the best interests of *both* the individual and the organization.

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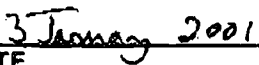## ONLY ONE AUTHOR IS REQUIRED TO SIGN THE FORM.

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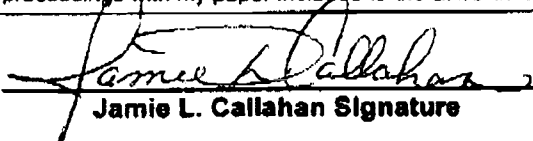### ONLY ONE AUTHOR IS REQUIRED TO SIGN THE FORM.

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