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"You can never really be emotionally spontaneous":
Understanding emotion display at work through cross-paradigm dialogue

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Abstract

Intro & Rationale The thesis develops an understanding of emotion display at work that is stimulated by a cross-paradigm dialogue. Emotion and emotion display at work are subjects that have received increasing interest from psychology, HR and management scholars and from organisations. This is a topic that has been explored by different perspectives, each with differing emphases and there have been recent calls for greater integration of these 'lenses'. The thesis argues that meaningful integration requires a form of cross-paradigm dialogue, framed as engagement with four emergent, interconnected, strands of thought that advocate the 'contextually embedded' nature of experience, a conception of a 'dynamic, active individual', 'reflexivity' on behalf of the researcher and awareness of the 'transformative potential' of knowledge creation activity.

Methodology & Findings A Mixed Methods methodology is adopted to explore emotion display in a UK university. Emotion display within this context is suggested as a complex process where the individual acts as active and dynamic interpreter of the multiple influences, personal, situational and organisational, on emotion display and negotiator of tensions between them. The display of anger, emotion display in interactions with students and senior managers and emotion display in managers are highlighted in particular as revealing some of the subtleties and ambiguities present in this dynamic process.

Impact The thesis suggesting that a cross-paradigm dialogue offer some useful extensions of current understanding of the display of emotion at work and can also usefully prompt a review of current practice. Limitations of the study and directions for future research are also discussed.

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Chapter 1   Introducing the Thesis

1.1 Introducing the Thesis

Emotions colour every aspect of our human experience, including our experiences at work. Emotion display, or the outward, public expression of emotion, allows us to communicate how we feel, think and how we are likely to behave to others. Emotion display at work therefore acts as a powerful form of interaction between colleagues and between managers, leaders and their teams. The purpose of this thesis is to expand psychological understanding of emotion display at work by engaging with a form of cross-paradigm dialogue.

There is a long tradition of interest in emotion at work from across the social sciences. Attention has arguably increased further in both academic and organisational spheres in the last decade or so, with an increasing dominance of the mainstream psychological approach visible in both research and practice. Recently, there have been calls for psychology to demonstrate greater awareness of the multiplicity of perspectives that exist in the study of emotion display at work and calls for greater integration across approaches, discussed as adopting a 'multi-lenses' approach. The thesis argues that this integration is challenging as it requires exploration of the considerable philosophical, conceptual and methodological differences between approaches. In this respect, achieving an integrated approach requires psychology to engage with a form of 'cross-paradigm' dialogue. The aim of the thesis is to explore whether and how this form of cross-dialogue can be achieved in relation to emotion display at work.

The current chapter introduces the thesis by discussing its rationale in more detail, articulating its objectives and providing an outline of the thesis structure.

1.2   Rationale for the Thesis

The current section introduces the dominant mainstream psychological approach to emotion display at work. It then proceeds to a discussion of the need for a 'multi-lens' or integrated understanding of this phenomenon and the thesis' contribution to this debate.

1.2.1   The Psychology of Emotion Display at Work

The topic of workplace emotion has been the focus of psychological study for about 100 years (Brieff & Weiss, 2002). Both in distant and more recent past, the main concerns within this field have been the development and adoption of a clear taxonomy of emotional states and the exploration of cause-effect relationships between emotional states and individual outcomes (see Brieff & Weiss, 2002 for historical overview; Barsade et al., 2003; Briner & Keifer, 2009 for discussion of more recent developments). As examples, important questions have been the distinction between mood, emotion and feeling, the relationship between affective states, such as job satisfaction, and performance and the effect of individual differences in personality on affect at work and performance.

The study of emotion display at work has been characterised by similar concerns; first and foremost amongst these, concerns with definition and classification. Emotion expression, or emotion display, has been defined, by one of its most well-regarded researchers, as:

> "*the behavioural changes that usually accompany emotion, including the face, voice, gestures, posture and body movement*"
> Gross, John & Richards (2000:712).

Emotion display has been linked to the process of emotion regulation (e.g. Grandey, 2000), broadly defined as the management of one's emotions (Gross, 2002); this is argued to be "*one of the most far-ranging and influential processes at the interface of cognition and emotion*" (Koole, 2009: 4). Locating the study of emotion display within the broader process of emotion regulation means, in practice, adopting a 'cognitive' model of emotion, a focus on the sequential progression of different emotional states and their consequences, as discussed by Affective Events Theory (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1997). In this context, emotion display is seen as the end point of a potentially well-definable and objectively knowable sequence of emotional events, starting from the 'trigger' event. The act of emotion display becomes understood as part of the individual's management of their emotional reactions (e.g. Grandey, 2000; Gross, 2002) and can therefore be linked to relevant personality traits or skills, such as emotional intelligence (e.g. Antonakis, Ashkanasy & Dasborough, 2009).

The 'cognitive' models of emotion are argued to provide the best theoretical foundations for an understanding of emotion at work (Elfenbein, 2007) and have slowly begun to dominate within the occupational psychology literature. They also provide the basis for the other dominant concern within occupational psychology and organisational behaviour, the interest in emotion display's possible consequences. From this perspective one person's emotion expression can also be the 'trigger' for another's emotional event, thereby emotion display offers the opportunity to influence others and their emotions (e.g. Weiss & Cropanzano, 1997; Niven, Totterdell, Stride & Holman, 2011). This line of interest is particularly strong in research on the emotion display of leaders and its impact on a number of outcomes, including perceptions of leadership effectiveness (e.g. Humphreys et al., 2009).

Therefore the psychological approach to emotion at work emphasises the definition of distinct stages in an individual's experience, broadly starting from a 'trigger event', through the individual's processes of emotion regulation and resulting in an outwardly expression of emotion, that then has clearly definable consequences.

1.2.2 The Need for a Different Approach

There are, however, other ways in which to study emotion at work. The last decade has seen calls for psychology to acknowledge the diversity of these perspectives and engage in greater dialogue with then (Barsade et al., 2003). For emotion display in particular, established psychology researchers in the field Grandey, Diefendorff & Rupp (2013) have called for researchers to improve their understanding by integrating the different 'lenses' adopted by sociology, organisational behaviour and psychology.

Interest in emotion display in particular arguably stemmed from sociological studies in the 1970s and 1980s, of which the most influential is Hochschild's (1983) analysis of airline staff's emotional labour. It continues to be a topic of keen interest within the sociology of work, as testified, for example by the interchanges between Bolton and Brook (Bolton, 2009; Brook, 2009). This tradition emphasises the work context of the emotion display, discussing emotional labour as a form of occupational requirement; the act of emotion display is therefore seen as the result of organisational efforts at controlling individual feeling and is interpreted as part of broader organisational control and management strategies. Though the initial studies on emotional labour are always acknowledged within the psychological literature, it can be argued that these two broad traditions of studying the same phenomenon have developed largely in parallel, with little clear, meaningful dialogue between them.

Grandey et al's (2013) argument is that "*problems begin when one lens is used to the exclusion of others*" (Grandey et al., 2013: 17) and that therefore approaches need to be mindful of other perspectives and attempt integration between different lenses. The thesis agrees but suggests that insufficient attention has been given, as yet, to an in-depth theoretical exploration of the challenges that such an integration would bring. This is particularly important as the thesis argues that such an integration is, in essence, a form of 'cross-paradigm dialogue', as defined by Modell (2010), in that it attempts to 'bridge

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the divide' between mainstream psychological approaches and alternative, more critical ones. The thesis argues that integration needs to stem from understanding the nature of paradigm divides in research generally (e.g. Burrell & Morgan, 1979) and within social science in particular (e.g. Molloy, Ployhart & Wright, 2011); it needs to emerge from meaningful engagement with the sociological lens on emotion display (e.g. Hochschild, 1983) and with critical voices within psychology and management studies (e.g. Willmott, 2009; Fox, Prilleltensky & Austin, 2009).

1.2.3   The Current Thesis

The question for the thesis is therefore whether and how psychological understanding of emotion display at work can become more integrated; whether mainstream psychological understanding can be 'stretched' by engaging in meaningful cross-paradigm dialogue with alternative perspectives. The rationale for the thesis is that progress towards greater integration is still in its infancy and that the challenges this brings should not be under-stated but rather explicitly discussed and addressed. More particularly, the thesis argues that there are considerable ontological, epistemological, theoretical and methodological tensions between approaches that require explicit attention and exploration and that therefore integration requires a form of meaningful 'cross-paradigm' dialogue. It requires psychologists to 'stretch' to engage with debates usually largely absent within their community of reference; the focus is therefore on suggesting a "strategy for inter-paradigmatic engagement" (Modell, 2012:126), not the articulation of a multi-paradigmatic or cross-paradigmatic approach, defined as a 'meeting-in-the-middle' or a complete integration across two separate paradigms.

1.3   Thesis Aim & Objectives

The purpose of the thesis is to expand psychological understanding of emotion display at work through engagement with cross paradigm dialogue.   In order to achieve this, the following research objectives have been set:

Research Objective 1. To develop a framework that stimulates cross paradigm dialogue about emotion display at work.

Research Objective 2.   To investigate existing psychological literature in the light of this framework.

Research Objective 3. To apply the understanding thus gained to an investigation of employee emotion display at work in the case study organisation.

Research Objective 4. To apply the understanding this gained to an investigation of managers' emotion display at work in the case study organisation.

Research Objective 5. Drawing on the research, to develop prompts for practitioners to think beyond the boundaries of current practice.

1.4   Thesis Structure

This thesis is presented in six chapters.

Chapter 2.   The chapter explores existing literature to frame the thesis's strategy for cross-paradigm dialogue in relation to emotion display at work. It then proceeds to critically review current psychological understanding of emotion display at work in relation to this framework, concluding with the research questions to be addressed in the empirical study.

Chapter 3.   This chapter discusses the study's Methodology in respect of the ontological and epistemological challenges involved in engaging with cross-paradigm dialogue. It includes discussion of the pilot study, the data gathering and analysis process and reviews the study against suggested quality criteria.

Chapter 4.   This chapter discusses the results from the empirical study. The first section presents the findings in relation to emotion display at work at the case study organisation, with the second focused on the experience of managers in particular.

Chapter 5.   This chapter presents a discussion of the empirical study's findings in terms of the thesis's main question, aim and research questions.

Chapter 6.   The thesis concludes by revisiting the thesis aim and objectives and by providing a critique of the study against quality criteria. A summary of perceived contributions to knowledge and practice is also presented, alongside suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2   A Review of the Psychological Literature on Emotion Display

2.1   Introducing the Chapter

The thesis's main aim is to explore whether and how a 'multi-lens', integrated yet psychological understanding of emotion display at work can be developed and to trace its application in practice. This chapter contributes to this by, firstly, outlining a possible 'pathway to integration', mapping out debates that psychology needs to engage with (Research Objective 1) and, secondly, reviewing the psychological literature on this basis to understand its ability to provide the foundation for an integrated understanding (Research Objective 2).

The current chapter starts with an exploration of the dominant, mainstream psychological approach to emotion at work, contrasting it with some alternative perspectives on emotion display at work in order to identify the main debates that psychology needs to embrace to engage with a form of cross-paradigm dialogue. These debates are referred to as four critical, interconnected and emergent strands, or conversational prompts, that psychologists need to consider more explicitly when discussing emotion display at work. The chapter will then proceed to a discussion of current psychological understanding and practice in the areas of emotion display at work and emotion display in leaders in particular informed by these strands. The chapter concludes by articulating the implications of the review for the thesis's own understanding of emotion display at work and outlining the empirical study's research questions.

2.2　A Framework for Cross-Paradigm Dialogue

This section explores how current mainstream psychological understanding needs to be 'stretched' to engage meaningfully with the debates that underlie these alternative perspectives, or lenses. It starts with a discussion of mainstream psychological approaches to emotion at work before contrasting these with Hochschild's approach to emotional labour, examining both through the lens of paradigm frameworks to better contrast their features. This enables a clearer articulation of the four emergent, interconnected strands of thought, akin to conversational prompts, that psychology needs to meaningfully engage with in order to stimulate cross-paradigm dialogue in relation to emotion display at work.

2.2.1　The Psychology of Emotion at Work

This section presents a summary of key trends in psychological research on emotion at work and a broad overview of the current research landscape. The aim is to identify the key characteristics of psychological research into emotion at work from this particular research tradition as these will also define the mainstream approach to emotion display at work.

The roots of 'scientific', psychological enquiry into emotion at work are usually argued to start in the 1930s, a decade characterised by insightful research conducted with a range of methodologies, exploring a wide variety of research questions (Weiss & Brief, 2001; Brief & Weiss, 2002; Barsade, Brief & Spataro, 2003). These early studies seemed to foretell the emergence of a richly diverse field of enquiry; this early potential, however, was not fulfilled and many have argued that what followed was essentially a

conceptual and methodological narrowing of the field (Barsade et al., 2003; Brief & Weiss, 2002). The focus of research narrowed from a broad exploration of both 'subjective' and 'objective' aspects of affective experience to investigations of specific constructs, such as job satisfaction; methods also became increasingly restricted to self-rated questionnaires.

The following decades were characterised by numerous, correlation-driven studies of affect-related antecedents and, largely, organisational performance consequences, with few attempts at conceptual integration of data gathered (Weiss & Brief, 2001). In the first broad area of interest, the performance consequences of concepts such as job satisfaction (e.g. Judge et al., 2001) or more recently engagement (e.g. Saks, 2006; MacLeod & Clarke, 2008; Bakker et al, 2011) or work-related stress (e.g. Rick et al., 2002; MacKay et al, 2004) was discussed. In a second, related, area, the possible impact of individual differences on emotional experience was explored through concepts such as Positive Affectivity (PA), described as the tendency of the individual to experience more active, positive affective states (e.g. Weiss & Cropanzano, 1997; Barsade et al., 2003; Elfenbein, 2007); affect intensity (e.g. Larsen & Diener, 1987; Weiss et al., 1999) and, more recently (e.g.), extraversion and neuroticism (e.g. Costa & McCrae, 1995 & 1997; Nemanick & Muntz, 1997; Cooper & McConville, 1993). As an example, the following table shows the sub-facets of each of these super-traits, highlighting the ones that hold particular significance for affective experience. Within organisations, the individual difference variable that has received most attention is emotional intelligence (EI) and its possible causal relationship with performance generally and leadership effectiveness in particular (e.g. Goleman, 1996; Mayer & Salovey, 1997; Salovey, Caruso & Mayer, 2004; Daus & Ashkanasy, 2004; Jordan, 2008; Antonakis, Ashkanasy & Dasborough, 2009).

Table 1 Five Factor Model: Extraversion & Neuroticism

Extraversion	Neuroticism
Gregariousness	Anxiety***
Assertiveness	Angry hostility***
Activity	Depression***
Excitement-seeking***	Self-consciousness
Positive emotions***	Impulsiveness***
Warmth	Vulnerability

Adapted from Mahoney (2011: 62)

Overall, this an area of investigation where findings are rarely well integrated (Amati & Donegan, 2011) and were the main rationale for research is the search for generalisable patterns of relationships. It is a field that is also often criticised for assuming simple linearity of relationships in the face of evidence for multiple, cumulative, dynamic patterns of cause-effect (Rick et al., 2002; Daniels, 2006; Bakker et al, 2011) and mixed or ambivalent reactions (George, 2011). The start of the new millennium was argued to bring a clear turning point in the study of affect at work, equivalent to an "affective revolution" (Barsade et al., 2003:1). Barsade et al.'s description of the new paradigm highlighted several areas for emotion at work to extend and improve. The first argument was the need for any psychological study of emotion at work to have a clear theoretical conceptualisation of the phenomenon under investigation. This required attention to the taxonomy of human affective experience, such as the distinctions between 'emotion', 'mood' and 'feeling' (e.g. Gross et al, 2000; Gray & Watson, 2001; Weiss, 2002; Fineman, 2003; Cropanzano et al., 2003; Briner & Keifer, 2009). It also resulted in calls to abandon conceptualisations of affective experience into 'positive' and 'negative' categories and focus instead on several distinct 'basic' emotions, distinguishable in terms of characteristics of their subjective feeling and in terms of observable and recognizable neuromuscular facial expressions (e.g. Barsade et al., 2003; Briner &

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Keifer, 2009; Gooty et al., 2009). Classifications of 'basic' emotions have varied according to the theoretical rationale underpinning their distinction, though a degree of overlap can be seen as reported in the table below.

Table 2 Examples of 'basic' emotions

	Main areas of overlap					
Izard (1977)	Anger	Fear	Distress	Enjoyment	Disgust	Surprise
Ekman (1992)	Anger	Fear	Sadness	Enjoyment	Disgust	Surprise
Plutchick (1994)	Anger	Fear	sadness	Joy	Disgust	Surprise
Shaver et al. (1987	Anger	Fear	sadness	Joy		Surprise

Adapted from Weiss & Cropanzano (1996)

The second, related argument suggests the need for a clear, cohesive and consistent theoretical underpinning for understanding emotion at work. This argument is taken up Elfenbein (2007) in her considerable review of current knowledge where she suggests adoption of the 'cognitive' or 'process' model as a unifying framework. Cognitive models depict emotional experiences as sequences of fairly linear, chronologically defined events; the experience of emotion is seen to start with exposure to an emotion-eliciting 'trigger' event and end with an externally visible indication or expression of emotion, itself potentially the starting point in a new chain of events. The most important recent conceptualisation in terms of work emotion is Affective Events Theory (AET) (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996), at the core of which is the individual appraisal process, when individuals categorise and interpret the emotional event they are experiencing. This references the work of Richard Lazarus (e.g. Lazarus & Cohen-Charash, 2000) and AET adopts Lazarus's conceptualisation with minimal modification, identifying chronologically distinct, fairly mechanistic stages in the appraisal process,

such as primary appraisal (e.g. against goal relevance & goal congruence) and secondary appraisal (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1997) (see figure below).

Figure 1 Cognitive Models of Emotional Experience

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                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │  Initial Affective State │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
┌──────────────────────┐            │
│ Precipitating Event  │───────────▶│
└──────────────────────┘            ▼
        ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
        │         Attend to Event         │
        │    Identify & Understand Event  │
        └─────────────────────────────────┘
                        │
                        ▼
        ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
        │  Assessment of relevance to valued   │
        │        goals (primary appraisal)     │
        ├─────────────────────────────────────┤
        │ Assess further relationship to valued│
        │      goals (secondary appraisal)     │
        └─────────────────────────────────────┘
                        │
                        ▼
            ┌───────────────────────┐
            │  Experienced Emotion  │
            └───────────────────────┘
                        │
                        ▼
    ┌───────────────────────────────────────────┐
    │ Affective Outcomes, including emotion display│
    └───────────────────────────────────────────┘
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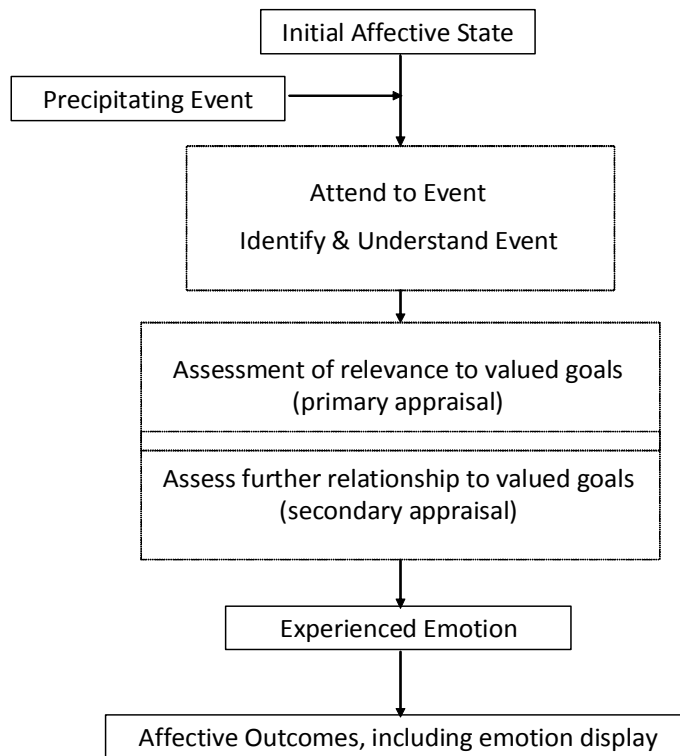
In some respects, however, Barsade et al. (2003) new paradigm-shift could be argued to not be as 'revolutionary' as suggested and the current field of the psychological study of emotion at work can therefore be argued to share its most important features with its predecessors. It demonstrates many of the characteristics of the previous century's approach, such as the search for generic mechanisms that apply regardless of specific work context and a focus on research questions phrased as the uncovering of relationships between these different features or components at an individual level. Understanding is still sought via the articulation of universal or generalisable models of relationships between these different components; ideally, these are causal relationship, such as the impact of individual differences on emotion management or the causes and

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consequences of stress at work. There is also a continuing focus on achieving conceptual and taxonomical clarity in relation to non-disputable, 'objective', components of emotion; as Barsade et al. (2003) argue, this has received greater impetus in the last decade, and different 'categories' can now be seen as dominant, but it was none-the-less also present previously. There is also an ongoing concern with the ability to express concepts in easily quantifiable and measurable 'units', leading to a mechanistic interpretation of individual action and an overshadowing the more subjective elements of emotional experience (Weiss & Rupp, 2012). This new paradigm is therefore still unable to fully divorce itself from the managerial agenda (Briner & Keifer, 2009; Gooty et al., 2009; Weiss & Rupp, 2012).

2.2.2   Contrasting Perspectives: Emotional Labour

The previous section's analysis of mainstream psychological research into emotion and emotion at work has identified several key characteristics that dominate its approaches. Grandey et al.'s (2013) argument is that these can be meaningfully contrasted with more sociological approaches to emotion, of which the most relevant, and dominant, is Hochschild's (1983) original formulation of emotion labour. This section will therefore discuss this approach to emotion display and, again, attempt to distil its main features.

Hochschild's (1983) *The Managed Heart*, the result of years of research with diverse groups, was a compelling and detailed analysis of emotion display in Delta airline flight attendants. Hochschild's focus was on the need to display certain emotions as part of the job role and on the resulting labour on behalf of the individual worker. The term 'emotional labour' was thus coined, defined as: "*the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display*" (Hochschild, 1983:7).

Hochschild frames her discussion of emotional labour also within a context of broader emotion regulation. She highlights that many aspects of display regulation are undertaken across different contexts however stresses the clear difference between this

form of emotion management when conducted in a private context and those conducted in an organisational context. Each individual may privately, independently express a desire to regulate their own feelings and emotion display for their own ends; for example, a girlfriend might try and suppress growing feelings for a partner if she believes he is scared of commitment. However, Hochschild argues that the situation is very different when this process happens at work; here the individual is actively changing their display or feeling to ensure an organisational outcome; or, as is explored in detail in the book, the organisational is actively trying to achieve the management of individual feeling to achieve its own outcomes. The process may be similar but the different context is all important, as Hochschild argues:

> *"What was once a private act of emotion management is now sold as labor in public-contract jobs. (...) All in all, a private emotional system has been subordinated to commercial logic and it has been changed by it."*
> Hochschild (1983:186).

Hochschild also discusses the possible strategies that emotional labour would involve, taking as a starting point the profession and methods of acting; she distinguished between surface and deep acting, both of which involve effort on behalf of the individual Surface acting concerns the regulation of only emotion expression or display, the shaping and modification of the emotion displayed, for example, for the sake of the organisation. Deep acting, on the other hand, concerns the modification of feeling, or actual emotional experience, in order to be able to then express or display the required emotion. Again, Hochschild emphasises that both occur in everyday life, in a private context; what is problematic is when individuals are asked to perform these strategies for the sake of the organisation: "

> *"It is not that workers are allowed to see and think as they like and required only to show feeling (surface acting) in institutionally approved ways. The matter would be simpler and less alarming if it stopped there. But it doesn't. Some institutions have become very sophisticated in the techniques of deep acting; they suggest how to imagine and thus how to feel"*
> Hochschild (1983:49).

The emphasis in this original formulation is that this form of emotion management is an intrusion of the organisation into a private realm; it is an external influence influencing, shaping and manipulating the way workers think and feel and transforming the private feeling into a commodity that is traded as part of a job description. Undertaking 'deep acting' was therefore seen as both more intrusive, with the organisational influencing personal feelings, as well as more effortful and therefore potentially harmful to the individual (Hochschild, 1983).

Finally, Hochschild refers to organisational dictated '*feeling* rules' to demonstrate this more pervasive form of emotion regulation on behalf of the organisation. Hochschild defines these rules as intrinsically exchange-based; "*feeling rules set out what is owed in gestures of exchange between people*" (Hochschild, 1983:76); this conception emphasises that feeling rules typically occur where there are expectations of an exchange between two parties. In this sense, feeling rules at work are to be understood as part of the exchange between the individual and their organisation; the individual will manage their display in expectation of a specific return from the organisation.

This original conception is still striking today, 30 years on both in terms of the insight it sheds on the experience of emotion display at work and in terms of the contrast it provides with mainstream psychological approaches. The first feature of this approach is arguably the subjective focus, the focus of the researcher on the experience of individuals and the meaning they ascribe to this experience, rather than on any 'objective', or external and objectifiable, properties or components of the experience. Also evident is the emphasis the analysis places on context, with its explicit argument that the organisational context within which the experience takes place is of key importance; emotion display or emotion management at work, it states clearly, is fundamentally different from emotion management in other contexts. This therefore requires consideration of this phenomenon within broader organisational dynamics and, specifically, the identification of emotion management as a form of management of employees, their labour and their performance at work.

2.2.3 Contrasting Perspectives: Research Paradigms

The presence of differing perspectives on the same phenomena is a feature of many areas of organisational research; this has been explored in the study of management in particular as 'disciplinary divides', a term coined to refer to the "*differences in theories, methods and or assumptions between any two scientific domains*" (Molloy Ployhart & Wright, 2011:586). Molloy et al (2013) in particular discuss differences between the management sub-disciplines of economics, psychology and sociology, of which the latter two are the most relevant to this thesis. It therefore seems appropriate to the thesis's aim to further explore the mainstream psychological and sociological perspectives discussed above as examples of such a divide.

Most discussions of 'disciplinary divides' still refer back to the influential analysis of sociological paradigms articulated by Burrell & Morgan (1979), and discussed and updated more recently by Hassard & Cox (2013), as shown in the figure below. This framework was originally intended as a means of exploring and making more explicit the range of assumptions present in sociological research; the articulation of a grid also enabled the classification and therefore differentiation of broadly divergent paradigms. Though this was originally intended for sociological research, its use has been extended across social sciences and it is therefore also useful as a tool with which to frame the perspectives discussed above.

Table 3 Burrell & Morgan (1979) classification of research paradigms

<div align="center">

Sociology of Radical Change

</div>

Radical Humanist	**Radical Structuralist**
Interpretative	**Functionalist**

Subjective (left)   **Objective** (right)

<div align="center">

Sociology of Regulation

</div>

Burrell & Morgan's (1979) first divide is between more 'subjective' and 'objective' assumptions implicit in research; this is a largely philosophical divide, predicated on differing ontological assumptions about the nature of reality. Holders of an objective ontology assume that a single reality exists and exists in a meaningful way, externally and independently of any perceiver, ready to be discovered or uncovered (e.g. Crotty, 2008; Chalmers, 1999); a subjective ontology holds instead to a subjectively-construed or constructed reality (e.g. Hughes & Sharrock, 1997). The second divide concerns the extent to which social theory directly engages in a challenge to the status quo, whether it tends towards regulation and stability or towards radical change.

The psychological research reviewed to date falls clearly within Burrell & Morgan's (1979) functionalist paradigm. It is concerns itself largely with phenomena argued to be external and objective. It shares many of the concerns of a functionalist paradigm, as described by Burrell & Morgan (1979) and Morgan (1980), given its largely positivist philosophical foundations, as will be discussed further in the following chapter. Primary among these concerns is the need for distancing of the researcher from the researched to

ensure objectivity in measurement, the basis for reliable, valid theorising. Therefore, there are multiple calls for conceptual, taxonomical and methodological clarity in research on affective experience, such as the need to distinguish different aspects or components on it, such as differentiating between emotion and feeling (e.g. Barsade et al., 2003; Briner & Keifer, 2009). However, some this valued objectivity has also been argued to be, in effect, objectifying by critical psychologists such as Fox (e.g. Fox Prilleltensky & Austin, 2009). With respect to emotion in particular, the dominant psychological approach to understanding individual behaviour at work is argued to result in a fragmented, objectifying conception of individual that

> *"turns the people into objects with the intent of identifying, measuring, or changing their ''dimensions,'' ignoring both the integrity of the person and the personal perspective of working.*
>
> Weiss & Rupp (2011)

There are therefore calls to engage in the development of a more dynamic, worker-centric integrated understanding of individual experience at work (Weiss & Rupp, 2011). This critique also suggests the need to revisit the mainstream psychological individual differences approach , again dominated by a nomothetic and taxonomic approach, such as the overriding concern to develop classifications of personality characteristics (e.g. Mahoney, 2011; Engler, 2003). Mainstream psychological research, it is therefore argued, is limited in its ability to gain meaningful insight into individual, subjective experience.

Supporters of the functionalist paradigm would however argue that this focus on objectivity and methodological rigour is also required to enable investigation of the essential, universal mechanisms at play within reality (e.g. Crotty, 2006). This leads to a de-contextualisation of the phenomena under investigation and a, largely implicit, downplaying of the role of context on human behaviour, argued by critical vices within psychology to lead to the dominant 'individualistic' concerns (e.g. Fox et al., 2009). The complexity of context's influence on behaviour is therefore considered largely unimportant and remains broadly unexplored in either psychology as a whole (e.g.

Matsumoto, 2007) or in related fields such as organisational behaviour (Johns, 2001; 2006; Griffin, 2007).

> *"Despite the widespread acceptance of the idea that context exerts powerful influences on behavior, psychology has yet to develop adequate models to explain how this influences occurs and especially why behavior is influenced in some contexts but not others"*
>
> Matsumoto, D (2007:1285)

This can be seen to be in contrast with other allied disciplines such as HRM or management studies where context is typically discussed in terms of organisational culture (for reviews, see Linstead 2009; Garrow & Martin, 2012). Johns (2006) suggests this can partly be attributed to the lack of a clear taxonomy of context, whilst also recognising that this is only the superficial manifestation of more complex epistemological and ontological discussions that are at the root of this reluctance to engage with an assessment of the impact of context on experience (Johns, 2006). This is recognised as a limitation even by critics from within psychology in terms of its resultant lack of critical attention to organisational efforts at influencing and controlling emotional experience is overshadowed and a more managerial agenda allowed to dominate largely unnoticed (Briner & Keifer, 2009; Gooty et al., 2009).

This challenge is most clearly articulated within the fields of critical psychology and critical management studies. Within these circles, one of the key driving forces behind research efforts is the need to 'problematise' current ways of understanding, exploring and challenging the assumptions underlying unified bodies of knowledge (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011). A critical approach therefore requires acknowledgment of the contextualised nature of knowledge and knowledge creation (e.g. Willmott, 2009; Alvesson & Gertz, 2000; Fox, 2000) as this implies recognition of its 'value-laden' and culturally-defined nature (e.g. Willmott, 2009; Alvesson & Gertz, 2000). Mainstream psychology is criticised repeatedly from this perspective for its lack of acceptance of the cultural and historical embeddedness of its theories, knowledge and practice; these concerns are 'masked' by the functionalist assumptions that knowledge and knowledge

creation can be neutral and objective clearly challenged (e.g. Fox et al., 2009; Fox, 2000; Mahoney, 2011).

Therefore, the largely functionalist perspective adopted by mainstream psychological research into emotion can be criticised for leading to decontextualized, deceptively neutral knowledge that objectifies individuals in the search for generalizable patterns of relationships between externally verifiable phenomena. In this sense, and as argued by Grandey et al., (2013) in relation to emotion display in particular, this approach can be meaningfully contrasted with realist, interpretative and sociological perspectives on these two counts; these approaches attempt to understand human experience, and therefore emotion, as socially embedded and contextually dependent (e.g. Fineman, 2000; 2003; Beyer & Niño, 2001; Lively & Heise, 2004). Hochschild's analysis, for example, presents a more internal, subjective view of the phenomenon; the focus here is on the experience of emotion and emotion management, rather than on the distilling of its key features, for example. The focus on the contextualised nature of the experience also leads to a more explicit discussion of management attempts at controlling emotion; the research therefore has a more explicit radical change agenda. This conception sits more comfortably with a radical humanist paradigm and is therefore uncomfortably at tension with the dominant psychological approach, as depicted in the diagram below.

Table 4 Contrasting Approaches to Emotion at Work

Sociology of Radical Change

```
        'Emotional Labour'
        approach to Emotion

                    Radical Humanist        Radical Structuralist

Subjective                                                          Objective

                    Interpretative          Functionalist

                                                    Psychological
                                                    Approach to Emotion
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Sociology of Regulation
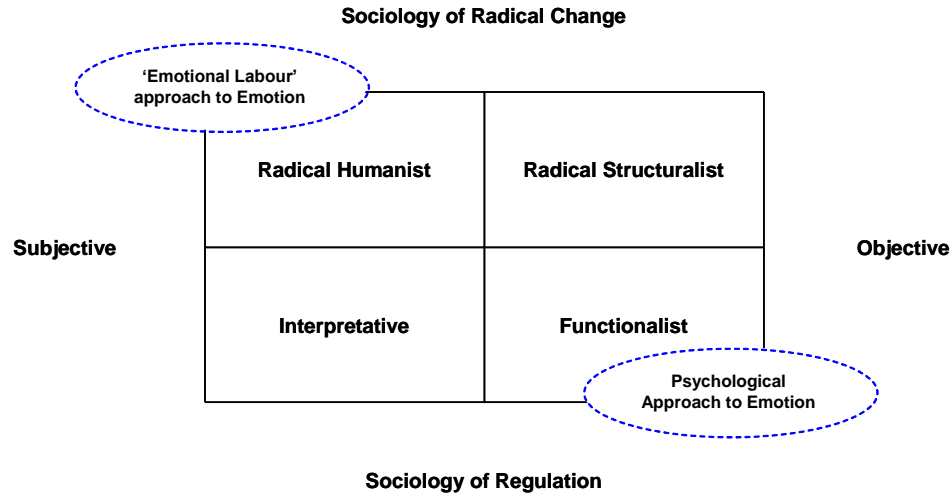
2.2.4   Stimulating Cross-Paradigm Dialogue

The previous section has argued that the differences between mainstream psychology's approach to emotion at work and alternatives, such as Hochschild's (1983) conceptualisation of emotional labour, can be interpreted as characteristics of the differing research paradigms the authors subscribe to. The first question of the thesis is therefore whether meaningful cross-paradigm dialogue can be achieved and, if it can, what debates would mainstream psychologists need to embrace for this integration to take place.

The ability of achieving a cross-paradigm conversation has been the subject of continual debate.   In more theoretical terms, Burrell & Morgan (1979) discussed different paradigms as being 'incommensurable', Hassard & Cox (2013) talk of incompatibility but also suggest the possibility of conversations about 'tensions' between different professional communities. Within the field of management studies, Molloy et al (2011)

also hold out for the possibility of cross-discipline dialogue and Modell (2010) specifically aims for cross-paradigm dialogue in relation to management accounting. Within psychology itself, critical psychologists provide continual challenge to the mainstream to revisit its assumptions and broaden its remit (e.g. Fox et al., 2009) and, in the field of emotion at work, some attempts at integration are already present (e.g. Kupers & Wiebler, 2008; Grandey et al. (2013).

The current thesis however argues that, for the field of emotion at work specifically, a meaningful exploration of the challenges such dialogue involves is, as yet, limited. An important objective for the current thesis is therefore the articulation of what meaningful cross-paradigm dialogue might involve, specifically in relation to the topic of emotion display at work. In line with the language used by Modell (2010), integration is interpreted as a form of exchange or stretching across paradigm boundaries; it is suggested that psychologists who adopt a mainstream approach outlined above need to engage with different debates, in essence start discussing and dialoguing about different topics, in order for a degree of integration to take place. This, it is argued, needs to be done with reference to their own 'professional community' and its shared beliefs, as discussed by Hassard & Cox (2013); what is argued is therefore not a fully trans-paradigm approach but a 'stretching' of conversations that happen within a specific community to meaningfully engage with those that more routinely take place in another in order to advance understanding. In terms of the thesis, psychological understanding is 'stretched' to achieve an integrated understanding of emotion display at work. The analysis of the previous section defines what debates it needs to stretch to; these are defined as interconnected, emergent strands of thought with a critical underlining as the arguments cannot be considered in isolation from each other and they emerge from more critical voices within the field of management and psychology, as well as from other research paradigms. These strands therefore act as conversational prompts in their ability to sustain and direct the cross-paradigm dialogue at the heart of the current thesis.

The first of these strands is defined as the need for an integrated understanding to be '*contextually embedded*' (Strand 1) by engaging in a broader consideration of context

and the multiple and dynamic influences of context on human behaviour. It also requires an acceptance that phenomena are intrinsically contextually embedded and that their understanding cannot, or should not, be divorced from an explanation of the context in which they exist. This requires explicit awareness and discussion of how the work context might influence individual experience, of how a particular phenomenon might take of a different meaning or significance when experienced within the bounds of an organisation; in this sense, it can draw on the literature on aspects of organisational culture (e.g. Linstead, 2009; Garrow & Martin, 2011; Choudry, 2011).

Adopting this approach does not require for psychology's focus on the individual to be lost; however, it does suggest the need to revisit the mainstream, objectifying individual differences approach and an acknowledgement of the importance of subjective aspects of experience and emotional experience in particular. The more static, reactive, individualistic conceptions of individuals stretch to an understanding of the individual as an active, dynamic agent, actively influencing and being influenced by their context and their own interpretations of this context. The second strand therefore suggests debating the more *holistic, subjective and subject-centred conception of the individual* (Strand 2).

Conversations about the 'contextually embedded' nature of experience need also to be extended to discussions of the contextualised nature of knowledge itself. Assumptions that knowledge and knowledge creation can be neutral and objective need to be addressed and greater '*reflexivity*' (strand 3) needs to be achieved within research and by researchers. It is argued that, in relation to this thesis, this means firstly greater contextual location of knowledge and consideration of the impact of the researcher's own professional community on the questions asked and the approaches taken to investigation. It also requires a more careful consideration of the epistemological and ontological bases of the research itself and a drive towards an approach to research that is both more aware and more consistent, as will be discussed in more detail in the Methodology section.

This form of 'reflexivity' also requires explicit acknowledgement of the power implicit in knowledge creation and seek knowledge with an explicit emancipatory intent (Alvesson & Gertz, 2000; Fox et al., 2009; Fox, 2000). There is therefore a need for greater awareness of the impact of knowledge on practice or *'transformative potential'* (strand 4) of both research and researchers; on the one hand, this means being aware of how research and knowledge is applied in practice across different contexts and within associated practitioner groups; on the other, this might also mean actively using understanding to challenge injustice and inequality.

The current thesis therefore argues that cross-paradigm dialogue in respect to emotion display at work can be stimulated by psychological understanding to 'stretch' to engage with the following four areas of debate, defined as interconnected emergent, critical, conversational strands: 1) the 'contextually embedded' nature of experience; 2) the achievement of a more holistic, subject-centred understanding of the individual; 3) the engagement of greater 'reflexivity' in research practice and 4) the explicit discussion of the 'impact on practice' or transformative potential of knowledge creation activity.

2.3   Emotion Display at Work

This section will review current psychological understanding of emotion display at work on the basis of the four conversational strands identified in the previous section. The aim is not to provide an exhaustive review of all material written about emotion display by psychologists but to concentrate instead on the more dominant and influential writings and models and ones that have explicitly been identified as 'lenses' by Grandey et al., (2013) in their calls for greater integration. The section starts with a review of the earlier more psychological responses to the emotional labour concept and end by outlining the current dominant perspective in psychological research on emotion display at work.

2.3.1   From Emotional Labour to Emotion Display

Hochschild's (1983) study of emotional labour was influential both in its ability to provide insight into a workplace phenomenon but also in its effective 'launching'; of a field of enquiry that engaged not only sociologists but also other social scientists, such as psychologists. The popularity of the concept of 'emotional labour' has also lead to a number of different re-conceptualisations or reformulations; of particular concern to the current thesis are those within organisational behaviour and psychology.

One of the early re-formulations of the concept of 'emotional labour' from a more psychological perspective was articulated by Ashforth & Humphrey (1993) and resides within the organisational behaviour literature. The emphasis of this formulation is narrower, focusing almost exclusively on the act of emotion display, rather than on the process of emotional labour. This approach is concerned primarily with the effect of an

organisational display of emotion, with consequences of interesting being task performance or general effectiveness at work (e.g. Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). The authors challenge the idea that emotional labour is always necessarily effortful, and therefore damaging, for the individual; they instead stress the positive impact it can have on work performance, suggesting this then results in positive outcomes for individuals themselves. In this respect, the concept of 'authenticity' or 'genuineness' of emotion display is introduced, as the authors suggest that regulating emotion displays could carry a 'beneficial' effect only when they were perceived as genuine by the interaction partner, for example the customer. This attention on genuine emotion display has been particularly influential in the literature on emotion display in leaders (e.g. Humphrey et al., 2008; Gardner et al., 2009), as will be discussed in later sections of this chapter.

An important further contribution to the psychological debate is made by Morris and Feldman (1996) where emotional labour is defined as:

> *The effort, planning and control needed to express organisationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions*
>
> Morris & Feldman (1996:987)

In contract to Ashforth & Humphrey (1993), the authors underline that emotion display regulation will be the case even when the emotion felt by the individual is the same as the display required by the organisation, hence directly challenging the notion of 'effortless' genuine displays discussed by Ashforth and Humphrey (1993). The authors argue that one of the important extensions to the original concepts is the outlining of four separate dimensions of emotional labour: the frequency with which emotional labour is required (or frequency of interactions that require emotional labour), the degree of attentiveness to the required rules required by the job; variety of emotions required to be displayed and the degree of emotional dissonance, the conflict between the emotion felt and the required display (Morris & Feldman, 1996). The authors argue that the inclusion of these dimensions allows for a more sophisticated understanding of the at times contradictory evidence associated with the consequences of emotion labour. They suggest therefore that different outcomes will be associated with the different dimensions, with high frequency, attentiveness, variety and dissonance associated with

emotional exhaustion but only high dissonance associated with lower job satisfaction (Morris & Feldman, 1996).

There are therefore two key elements that these early formulations focus on. The first is the shift from the more personal or subjective experience of emotional labour towards a more 'objective' emotion display; this can be argued to be directly related to the most psychological, and therefore functionalist, paradigm adopted by the authors. The second is the debate about the perceived negative effect of emotion regulation at work and its particle resolution with the introduction of the notion of 'genuine' emotion displays, or emotion display that are regulated but appear genuine. Both of these can be argued to trace their origin to the more organisationally-aligned nature of these psychological re-formulations. There is an under-emphasis on the organisational control aspects of emotion display regulation in favour of an argument that positive outcomes for the organisation can result in positive outcomes for the individual. This appears to offer a simple reconciliation of any possible tensions between individual and organisation perspectives without addressing some of the potential underlying tensions between these. The concept of authenticity does not assist as much as suggested; if, as argued by Hochschild (1983), the value of authenticity emerges as a direct consequence of the fact that displays are societal managed then to discuss 'authenticity' without explicit consideration of the nature of organisational control risks obfuscation of the organisational agenda involved in negotiating 'authentic displays'.

2.3.2 Emotion Display as Emotion Regulation

The argument for a more psychological interpretation of 'emotional labour' is extended significantly by Grandey (2000). The author suggests that emotional labour research would benefit from greater integration within the body of work on emotion regulation and in particular with the work of Gross. This call, made over a decade ago, has been clearly influential and most psychological research into emotion display now positions itself within this theoretical framework, that is explored in more detail in this section.

2.3.3 The Psychology of Emotion Regulation

In a somewhat tautological definition, emotion regulation has been defined as "*the heterogeneous set of processes by which emotions are themselves regulated*" (Gross & Thompson, 2010:10). This process has held a deep fascination for psychology for the best part of a century; Gross (2002) charts the early interest in emotion regulation from the work of Sigmund Freud on psychological defences at the start of the 20[th] century and the work of Richards Lazarus on stress and coping throughout its second half. Notwithstanding its early origins and persistent fascination, Koole (2009) has argued that there has been a clear exponential increase in interest in emotion regulation from across psychological disciplines in the last decade.

Psychological interest in emotion regulation has focused on the importance of the process for individual and social functioning. There is the argument that, given the frequency of emotion-triggering situations that people find themselves on a day-to-day basis in, emotion regulation might be a process that is engaged with on a frequent basis. Gross, John and Richards (2000), for example, comment that the correlation between emotional experience (feeling) and emotion expression is positive but modest in size; this suggests that people are frequently involved in processes that influence the experience-expression relationship. In his review of the literature, Koole (2009) even suggests that this might be happening "all the time"; Niven, Totterdell, Stride & Holman (2012) suggest "regularly". Emotion regulation is suggested as a process that assists individuals in coping with the potentially emotion-laden world around them; emotion regulation implies the individual's ability to control and manage their emotional reactions, as the following definitions illustrates well:

> *Emotion regulation can thus be defined as the set of processes whereby people seek to redirect the spontaneous flow of their emotions.*
> Koole (2009: 6).

This control is argued to result in advantages in terms of social functioning. More neutral, i.e. regulated, emotional behaviour, is suggested as associated with improved social relationships; this is present, for example in discussion of the 'Neuroticism' dimension of personality (e.g. Costa & McCrae, 1995). Emotion regulation efforts themselves might therefore have either an internal or an external focus; i.e. individuals might choose to regulate their own emotions or might chooses to adopt strategies to regulate those of other people (Gross & Thompson, 2007; Niven et al., 2012).

As Gross puts it, emotion regulation is "*one of life's great challenges*" (Gross 2002:281). Three broad concerns have permeated the literature in the last decade: firstly, the need to develop a clear taxonomy of emotion regulation strategies, secondly the need to understand the impact of these strategies of various aspects of human functioning and lastly the impact of individual differences on emotion regulation. Each of these issues will be addressed separately in the following sub-sections.

2.3.4 Emotion Regulation Strategies

Koole (2009) argues that one of the most pressing concerns associated with the recent increase in interest the emotion regulation literature is the need to develop a clear taxonomy of emotion regulation strategies. A number of possible distinctions are detailed in this section.

The first, and most commonly adopted, are those associated with the work of Gross and colleagues (e.g. Gross et al., 2000; Gross, 2003; Gross & Thompson, 2007). Gross's model of emotion regulation is underpinned by the process/ cognitive model of emotion and therefore assumes the importance of the chronological unravelling of the emotional experience. Emotion regulation strategies are therefore divided into broad categories based on their positioning in the emotion chronology. The first group are referred to as 'antecedent-focused' strategies, argued to occur before the main emotional episodic

event; the second 'response-focused' strategies argued to happen after, as the figure below depicts (e.g. Gross et al., 2000; Gross, 2003; Gross & Thompson, 2007).

Figure 2 Gross (2002) model of Emotion Display Regulation
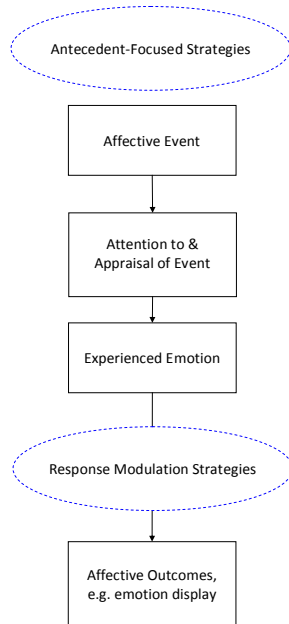
Strategies within the first family are: situation selection, situation modification, attentional deployment and cognitive change (e.g. Gross & Thompson, 2010; Gross, 1998). This category of emotional regulation strategies emphasises the individual's ability to influence their emotional experiences in the broadest sense, from choosing the situations they are part of, to choosing how to interpret the events they come across. Of greater concern to the current thesis are the response-based strategies focused on response modulation, i.e. on the modification of any behaviour, physiological or experiential aspects of the emotional experience (e.g. Gross, 1998; Gross, 2002; Gross & Thompson, 2007; 2012). These strategies are considered to occur in the later stages of emotional response, once some form of emotional experience has already occurred, that now requires regulation. This broad family of emotion regulation strategies includes a large number of possible conscious and automatic acts. These can be distinguished

between those that focus on changing the emotional experience at an individual, private level, such as the assumption of substances (e.g. drugs or alcohol) to increase, decrease or change the emotions experienced, to those that aim to change the public expression of emotion. These latter strategies might involve influencing how emotion is displayed on the face, in the tone of voice or in language used or in behaviour.

Similar strategies could also be obtained if emotion regulation is discussed in terms of its targets, i.e. whether the act of emotion regulation is engaged in with the aim of altering attention, knowledge, such as appraisals of emotion events or bodily expression. Though compatible to an extent with Gross's taxonomy, Koole (2009) suggests this classification as more viable as the temporal order of emotion responses is not always as clear-cut as it is defined in Gross's model.

Both of these classification systems however could be criticised for lacking reflection on the more individual or subjective elements of the emotion regulation experience; they focus on what might be of interest for the outside researcher, rather than on why people engage with emotion regulation themselves. A final taxonomy that addresses this is therefore worth exploring. Koole (2009) argues that, alongside the distinction of strategies according to targets, a classification that focuses on what people seek to achieve when engaging in emotion regulation is also viable. Here regulation strategies would be classified according to whether they aim to accomplish satisfaction of a hedonic need, facilitation of specific goals and tasks or broader, more systemic 'psychological' needs to balance, sustain and develop effective individual functioning (Koole, 2009). A potential extension of this taxonomy is presented by Niven and colleagues (Niven et al., 2012) in suggesting that it is also important to distinguish between strategies adopted to modify one's own or others' affect. They present a four-fold taxonomy that includes the target of regulation (intrinsic or extrinsic) and the motive of regulation. This research could also be linked to emerging interest in a new facet of emotion intelligence specifically related to the ability to influence others via emotion displays (Cote & Hideg, 2011). An overview of this taxonomy is presented overleaf.

Table 5 Emotion regulation strategies

| | | Target of Regulation | |
		Own Affect	Other's Affect
Regulatory Motive	Improve Affect	Intrinsic affect-improving	Extrinsic affect-improving
	Worsen Affect	Intrinsic affect-worsening	Extrinsic affect-worsening

From Niven, Totterdell, Stride & Holman (2012)

The interest in taxonomy is a critical feature of a positivist approach to a topic; taxonomy being the first step towards meaningful measurement (e.g. Crotty, 2006). As noted above, many of the suggested distinctions take an outsider's view of the process, rather than starting from the subject's perspective; the latter ones discussed being the exception. In this respect, they risk objectifying the individual and their action, as criticised by Weiss & Rupp (2011), rather than emphasising the 'active, dynamic individual' that interprets, chooses and enacts these strategies (strand 2). Also, not all of the taxonomies provide a reasonable basis for the exploration of the influence of 'contextual embeddedness' of emotion regulation (strand 1). In this sense, they start from seeking universally applicable strategies that might offer limited opportunity to surface conflicts and tensions in engaging with emotion regulation in work contexts.

2.3.5   Emotion Regulation Consequences & Individual Differences

A shared taxonomy of strategies of emotion regulation, as mentioned above, is argued, from a mainstream psychological perspective, to allow for the exploration of other aspects of interest, such as the consequence of the adopting of specific strategies and the

role of individual differences in this respect. In both these fields, within the psychological domain, the research of Gross and colleagues dominates.

The first area of interest has been in charting the possible consequences of emotion regulation and its various strategies. In a comprehensive review of his work and that of his colleagues, Gross (2002) summarises the results of comparison between two distinct strategies: cognitive re-appraisal, argued to happen earlier in the emotion response process, and expressive suppression, argued to occur later. The review combines experimental studies and individual differences studies (questionnaire studies) and broadly concludes that expressive suppression strategies are generally worse from the individual's point of view as they are more effortful and demanding (Gross, 2002). . In addition, suppression strategies, and individuals who tend to express emotions less, are likely to decrease the quality of an individual's social interaction, leading to less access to social support and a perception by others of lack of friendliness (Gross, 2003).

A further avenue of research is the exploration of the influence of personality, or dispositional variables on emotion display. Research has focused in particular on the concept of dispositional expressivity, defined as "*stable individual differences in emotion-expressive behaviour*" (Gross, John & Richards, 2000:713). The impact of dispositional expressivity on the display of emotions is at the same time simple and complex; on the one hand, the argument is that high expressivity individuals will be more likely to express emotions across all contexts than low expressivity individuals. This has been supported across a number of studies (e.g. see Gross et al. 2000 for a review). However, further complexity is introduced when assessing the impact of dispositional expressivity across different emotions.

In two separate studies, Gross et al (2000) reported support for their theory that the relationship between dispositional expressivity and emotion expression differed for 'positive' and 'negative' emotions. For the former, a fixed modulation relationship was found indicating that there is a clear, linear relationship between emotional experience and expression for both high and low individuals; this means both will increase their

display as the emotional experience increases, though the low expressivity individuals will always display less than those reporting high expressivity. For negative emotions, a different pattern was found and the linear relationships between experience and expression did not hold, in particular for low expressivity individuals. Here, an increase in intensity of the emotion experienced did not necessarily result in an equivalent increase in emotion displayed. The authors referred to this as the 'dynamic modulation' model to emphasise the interaction between the individual's disposition and the experience as displayed in the diagram below (Gross et al., 2000).

Figure 3 - Example of Dynamic Modulation (Gross et al., 2002)
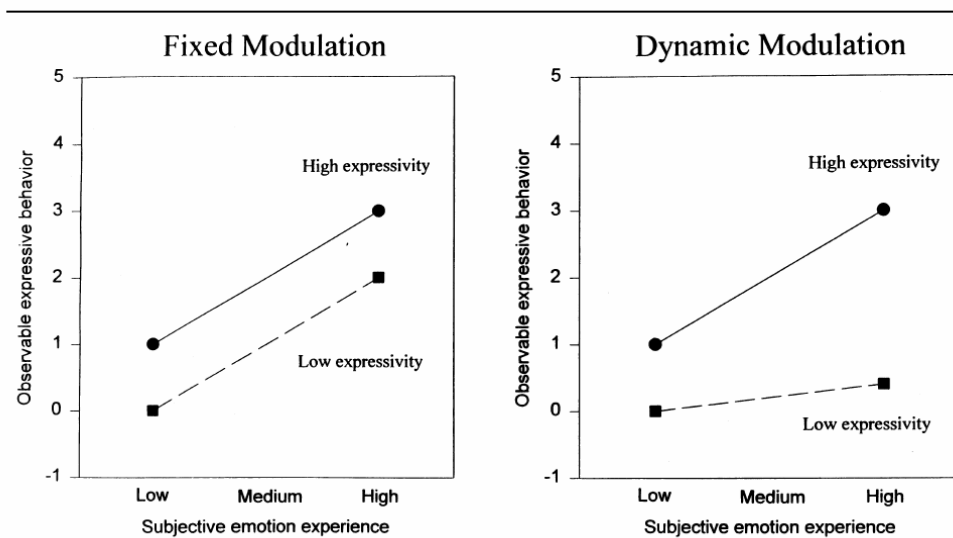
from Gross, John & Richards (2000:719)

Of particular interest to this thesis, the authors speculate that this difference might be due to low expressivity individuals being more sensitive to display rules, which are argued to be stronger for 'negative' emotions (Gross et al., 2000). This is, in effect, a consideration of the interaction between individual difference measures and context, i.e. suggesting that an individual difference variable, such as emotional expressivity, might influence the way in which contextual clues, in the form of display rules, are perceived and understood.

2.3.6 Emotional Display and Display Rules

The third broad area whether of psychological exploration of emotion display is that of emotion display rules that provides an element of contextual analysis. Early psychological research on emotional labour focuses on specific situations and interactions that carry certain display expectations (Morris & Feldman, 1996; Grandey, 2000). Here, drawing on the work of Ekman (Ekman, 1973, cited in Morris & Feldman, 1996) that has also influenced cross-cultural psychology studies (e.g. Matsumoto, 2007), the concept of emotion display rules become important, typically defined as societal or culturally derived beliefs about whether and how to display a felt emotion in a specific context (e.g. Morris & Feldman, 1996; Matsumoto, 2007; Diefendorff & Greguras, 2008).

Research into emotion display rules has progressed considerably in the last decade, developing greater sophistication in terms of what rules apply to specific situations and across different emotions (Diefendorff & Greguras, 2009; Diefendorff, Morehart & Gabriel, 2010). Early research theorised two main strategies: expression or suppression of the emotion; in the former, the individual shows, or is expected to show, the emotion as it is privately felt, in the latter it is hidden. Diefendorff & Greguras (2009), however, argued for the presence of greater variation and complexity in emotion expression strategies. In a study of MBA students at an American University, the authors found that simple expression and suppression strategies accounted for only about half of the strategies students reported using across different emotions, 9% and 40% respectively. They therefore argue convincingly for the need to amplify consideration of emotion display strategies to include six strategies: express, qualify, amplify, deamplify, neutralize and mask (Diefendorff & Greguras, 2009). Express involves showing the emotion felt; qualify involves expressing the emotion but with the addition of a smile to provide a personal comment on the feeling, such as to suggest the individual is feeling the emotion but is still in control of it; amplify and deamplify involve regulating the degree of intensity of the emotion felt. Neutralising and masking the emotion felt are

38

argued to be the strongest forms of emotion expression management and involve either, in the former, showing no emotion at all or, in the latter, showing an emotion that is not felt in order to hide the emotion that is felt.

Diefendorff Morehart and Gabriel (2010) have also made the case that power differentials and levels of solidarity will have an important influence on emotion display rules. In a questionnaire study, clear differences in strategy adopted in interacting with high power partners, typically involving greater control of emotion display and differences were also reported when assessing interactions with targets of differing degrees of solidarity, with greater solidarity or closeness indicating the need for less control (Diefendorff et al., 2010). The authors conclude that power differentials are an important area for further study in relation to emotion display at work.

A further extension has come in research that has also made a clear case for differentiating between rules across different organisational situations (defined as different interaction partners) and for different discrete emotions. Diefendorff & Greguras (2009) for example, found clear differences between rules that apply across different interaction targets and across distinct emotions of happiness, anger, sadness, contempt, disgust and fear. The questionnaire-based study suggested that happiness was more likely to be expresses; fear, contempt and disgust were more likely to be neutralised and sadness and anger were more likely to be deamplified or neutralised.

However, in a similar vein to the organisational behaviour approach discussed in the previous section, the focus has again moved here from the management of 'feeling' to the management of display only. This work therefore offers greater depth regarding emotion display regulation strategies specifically but would benefit from integration with a broader consideration of the process that leads to their use.

2.3.7   Section Review

This section has reviewed the broadly psychological literature on emotion display at work. The thesis argues that, though all of the research cited in this section makes explicit reference to Hochschild's (1983) conceptualisation of emotional labour, it departs from this in important ways.

From the earliest discussions of emotional labour from a more psychological perspective (e.g. Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Morris & Feldman, 1996), the psychological discussion appears to offer a clear shift in emphasis from a more interpretative exploration of the phenomenon to a more 'functionalist' one, as defined by Burrell & Morgan (1979). There is a clear shift in focus away from exploration of the more subjective, personal to more external, 'objective', from the experience of emotional labour and its meaning to the individual to the display of emotion at work. Along with this comes a greater emphasis on taxonomy and classification, for example the in-depth consideration of the typology of emotion display strategies; this again shifts the emphasis away from the more experiential features of the phenomenon to a more 'logical', external and 'objective', or arguably objectifying, discussion of its components. The stage is set for a discussion of emotion display in terms of a series of cause-effect relationships, for example between personality and display strategy. As argued by Weiss & Rupp (2011) in relation to emotion at work research in general, this departure from a more holistic understanding of a phenomenon results in a piece-meal, objectifying discussion where meaningful insight into individual experience is lost.

With this comes a more subtle shift away from an interest in the significance of emotion display for the individual to its significance for the organisation. Emotional labour is no longer discussed in terms of the organisation's management of individual feelings; emotional display and its management are more simply, or less critically, discussed in terms of its personal and organisational outcomes. In this sense, these approaches, in particular those of organisational behaviour, underemphasise the organisational control

aspect and blur or underemphasise any possible tensions that might exist in the management of display at work. There is little critical exploration of the debates that appear to replace a more explicit discussion of tensions between individual and organisational outcomes, such as the debate on authenticity. There is also little discussion of the apparent contradiction between the original concept of the negative effects of 'deep acting' and the evidence from psychological regulation studies that strategies arguable akin to deep acting brings more positive outcomes. Both of these debates would benefit from a more explicit discussion of the organisational agenda in managing emotion display at work to enable a more comprehensive discussion. However, the argument that emotional labour should be understood within the emotion regulation framework (Grandey, 2000) is itself an argument for the de-contextualisation of the phenomenon; it arguably points makes the point that emotion display at work is best understood from within the general, i.e. not context-specific, process of regulation and that the generic, i.e. organisation-specific, literature suffices to understand this workplace phenomenon.

The thesis argues therefore that psychological research into emotion display at work has been, in essence, a re-interpretation of the concept of emotional labour along functionalist lines. It has marked a clear shift in thinking of this phenomenon, as summarised in the diagram below, that, though bringing with it certain benefits, has also lead to under-emphasising certain more critical and subjective elements of the original formulation.

Figure 4 The 'Psychologisation' of Emotional Labour

Emotional Labour more sociological conception		Emotion Display more psychological conception
From... emphasis on subjective experience	→	To... emphasis on 'objective' components
From... focus on holistic nature of process	→	To... focus on patterns of relationships between components
From... deeply contextualised understanding	→	To... emphasis on frameworks generalisable across situations
From... highlight individual, personal meaning	→	To... consideration of organisational relevance

The research reviewed so far therefore only engages with the four interconnected, emergent conversational strands in a limited fashion. The call for the adoption of the emotion regulation framework as an overarching framework for emotional labour and emotional display (e.g. Grandey, 2000) could be interpreted as underemphasising the 'contextually embedded' nature of the emotion display experience (strand 1). This suggests that emotion display at work is, in essence, the same process as emotion display in any other setting and context. This is also in clear contrast to Hochschild's (1983) argument that the management of feelings at work needed to be considered as a distinct

process from that in all other context exactly because it happened in an organisational context and was therefore likely to be subject to organisational power dynamics. This therefore also means a very limited, if non-existent, exploration of the tensions implicit in emotion display regulation at work and therefore limits the ability for research to possess any 'transformational potential' (strand 4).

The search for generalisable patterns, as the heart of the positivist endeavour, also downplays any possible meaningful, dynamic discussion of the impact of context (strand 1). It reduces exploration of context to the measurement of display rules for specific situations, accepting these rules without discussion rather than exploring their possible meaning or significance for individuals. In this sense, the research is also largely not worker-centric, as advocated by Weiss & Rupp (2011), rather it objectifies individuals into a series of emotional components or rationalised processes. There is little attention to attempting to understand the holistic, subjective and dynamic nature of the individual at the heart of emotional display process (strand 2).

A clear example of what is lost with this lack of dialogue can be found in the discussions of the impact of deep acting on the individual. There is a clear tension between Hochschild's (1983) original argument that deep acting is more damaging than surface acting and Gross's (e.g. Gross, 2002) argument that this is less damaging. However, any potential discussion of the meaning of this discrepancy is lost if the contextualised nature of the phenomenon is underplayed. Deep acting is more damaging because this means changing one's feelings for the sake of, and in line with, the organisation's needs; in Gross's non-work based research, the deep acting was less damaging as the individual could change the way they felt for their own sake. The meaning of the 'acting' involved becomes clear only when this is viewed from the individual's subjective perspective.

Finally, instead of engaging in greater 'reflexivity' (strand 3), in some respects there appears to be a narrowing or consolidation of the mainstream psychological position since Grandey call for integration of emotional labour discussions within the framework of emotion regulation (2000). With the exception of literature written after Grandey et

al.'s (2013) discussion of the different 'lenses', most researchers do not acknowledge any other perspectives on the phenomenon under consideration other than their own.

The section therefore concludes that the mainstream, dominant psychological understanding of emotion display at work, on its own, offers limited engagement in meaningful cross-paradigm dialogue.

2.4 Emotion Display in Leaders

This section will offer a critical review of studies that focus specifically on the emotion display of leaders. It will start by locating this research within the broader interest in the role of emotion in leadership effectiveness before discussing research on specific emotion displays and their effects on leaders and followers before turning to a discussion of leader emotion display as a form of leader emotional labour. The section will conclude with a critical review of the understanding thus achieved against the four interconnected strands.

2.4.1 Emotion and Leadership

Interest in leader emotion display can be linked to the sharp increase seen attention to the role of emotion in leadership more generally since the early 2000s. There are two broad, related streams that this interest has taken.

Firstly, there has been a move away from more logical, 'emotionless' approaches to management to an awareness of the importance of emotion, and emotion management, within managerial and leadership roles. Two fairly synchronous publications are typically credited with having signalled, and even brought about this change in perspective; from the academic side, George (2000) argues that leadership should be considered an "emotion-laden process" (George, 2000: 1046); she argues that effective leadership is essentially relational, based on development of relationships, and that this process is intrinsically emotional, as leader effectiveness is tied to and dependent on follower emotion. From a practitioner perspective, interest is usually linked to the publication, and subsequent phenomenal success, of Goleman's book on the importance

of emotional intelligence in terms of occupational and organisational success (Goleman, 1996).

The second is the renewed interest in transformational leadership, originally formulated by Bass in the mid-1980s, as a model of leadership effectiveness. Ashkanasy & Tse (2000) were amongst the first to explicitly argue for the role of emotions to transformational leadership more specifically. Since then, there have been a number of theoretical articulations of the link between transformational leadership (TL) and emotion: it is argued that idealised influence and inspirational motivation, aspects of TL require the ability to generate specific emotions, such as enthusiasm, in followers; idealised influence also requires emotional awareness and empathy towards others' emotions (e.g. Ashkanasy & Tse, 2000; Daus & Ashkanasy, 2005). There are also calls for the conceptualisation of transformational leadership in its current measurement paradigm to be expanded and extended to ensure more comprehensive coverage of emotion and emotional competencies (Kupers & Weibler, 2006).

A decade on from these early debates, there have been theoretical extensions (e.g. Pescosolido, 2002; Humphrey, 2002, Dasborough & Ashkanasy, 2002) as well as reviews of the empirical evidence linking emotions and leadership (e.g. Bono & Barron, 2008; (Humphrey, Kellett et al. 2008); van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg, Van Kleef & Damen, 2008). The reviews all share some common ground: they all discuss the effect of emotional displays and emotional intelligence on leadership effectiveness, as will be discussed in more detail below. These reviews have also all tended to focus on the concepts of transformational, charismatic or visionary leadership – often considered synonymous with transformational leadership (e.g. Walter & Bruch, 2009; Jing et al., 2008). However, only one review explicitly makes reference to Affective Events Theory (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996) as an underlying theoretical framework; Humphrey et al (2008) highlights the different ways in which leader behaviour can be associated with follower affective events.

A general consensus emerges from this literature that understanding of what leadership is and does has changed with the new millennium and that, at the current time, emotion is seen as playing a central role in leadership effectiveness and that the study of emotion-related events, such as leader emotion display, will play an important part in understanding what makes leaders effective.

2.4.2 Leader Emotion Display

As mentioned in the sub-section above, one aspect that is present in most reviews of this field is research on leader emotion display and its impact on leadership effectiveness. A number of studies have been carried out in the last decade with the explicit aim to investigate the effect of leader displays of emotion on task, performance or their followers. With reference to the circumplex model of affect (e.g. Cropanzano et al., 2003), these studies can be grouped into those that have compared expressions of differing hedonic tone (e.g. positive and negative emotions) and those that have distinguished between emotions of similar hedonic tone but differing levels of arousal. These studies show some consistency in results; generally, the display of positive emotions is associated with greater perceptions of effectiveness and with the display of low arousal emotions typically having the opposite effect.

Reviews have reported the consistency of the association between higher evaluations of leadership effectiveness and leader expression of positive emotions (e.g. Bono & Barron, 2008). In a series of laboratory-based experiments of the effect of happy versus angry expressions for example, Stouten & De Cremer (2010) found displays of happiness were linked to the leader being perceived as more friendly, co-operative and less aggressive; an angry expression was also linked to the individual being perceived as less trustworthy and the information they relayed as less reliable. In a series of carefully crafted questionnaire and experiment-based studies, Bono & Ilies (2006) found a consistent link between leader expression of positive emotions and follower emotion and perception of leader effectiveness. They conclude that the expression of positive

emotions in leaders plays an important role in the process of charismatic leadership and argue that that this is linked to the related changes in follower affect. Similar results are found in Johnson's (2009) laboratory study where leaders positive expression were related to higher ratings on charismatic leadership and improved follower performance and follower mood; the author also argues that the study supports the role of mood contagion as the mechanism for this effect.

A second group of studies have looked more specifically at the impact of arousal levels in emotions characterised by negative hedonic tone. In a laboratory study Lewis (2000) found different effects on participant affect depending on the emotion expressed by the leader; whilst anger increased arousal, sadness lowered it; both sadness and anger significantly negatively influenced the perception of leader effectiveness. A significant gender effect was also recorded with women leaders rated as less effective when expressing either emotion; for men this was true only when expressing sadness (Lewis, 2000). Madera & Smith (2009) examined anger and sadness in relation to evaluations of leadership effectiveness at a time of crisis and found that expressions of sadness were linked to lower evaluations of effectiveness than those of anger on its own or anger and sadness combined. Interestingly this relationship moderated the effect of leader response, i.e. the effect was not present when the leader accepted responsibility for the crisis compared to when they did not. As for Lewis (2000), both these studies seem to show that emotions that combine low arousal and low hedonic tone (e.g. sadness) have overall a more negative impact on follower outcomes.

Compared to studies of emotion display more generally, it is interesting to note that very few studies have focused specifically on display of discrete emotions. One expectation is the work of Tiedens and colleagues that have examined the influence of expressions of anger. Tiedens (2001), for example, found that expressions of anger were associated with higher status conferral in a team's group evaluation and in a job interview laboratory simulation. The conclusion drawn is that anger results in status conferral as it communicates competence. Further Sinaceur & Tiedens (2006) examined anger

expressed in negotiations in two laboratory-based studies. In both situations, expressing anger resulted in a more favourable negotiation outcome.

As reported above, the general consistency in results across studies is interesting, however, when approached from a critical perspective the studies appear to leave many questions unanswered. The typical emphasis on quasi-experimental methodologies (exceptions are Bono & Ilies, 2006, to an extent, and Dasborough, 2005) allows for few conclusions to be drawn about the complexity of actual leader-team interactions within specific organisational contexts. This lack of clear contextual focus is also visible in the general blurring of the role of leader and manager; as argued by Willmott (2005), this means the focus becomes the individual, isolated from the institutional arrangements that provide meaning, scope and limits to their role. Finally, the methodologies adopted, in large part, do not allow for any light to be shed on the leader's own experience of emotion display; this means a lack of problematisation of the concept of leader display.

An alternative perspective can be found in studies of leader discourse. For example, in their analysis of in-depth interviews with staff in a UK school, Coupland et al. (2008) argue that managers were downgrading the emotional content of their working life, possibly mitigating or re-labelling felt emotions to reinforce their work identifies. Samra-Friedricks's study on leaders' use of rhetorical devices in day-to-day conversations to generate emotions in their followers also provides an interesting insight into what forms emotion expression can take in leaders. However, these studies are difficult to integrate within other theoretical and methodological approaches to the topic. For example, Coupland et al. (2008) do not distinguish between different discrete emotions, nor do they refer to any of the emotional labour expression strategies in interpreting the managers' discourse, but use different language to describe arguably similar concepts.

2.4.3 Emotional Labour in Leaders

A more 'contextually embedded' approach to leader emotion display might be expected in research that has sought to conceptualise leader emotion display within the conceptual framework of emotional labour. Humphrey coined the phrase 'leading with emotional labour' to refer to the way that leaders, or managers, use emotional labour and emotional displays to influence moods, emotions and performance in others (Humphrey, 2005), making the case that this concept, typically used when explaining the experience of front line or customer-facing staff, had great applicability to management and leadership experience (e.g. Humphrey, 2005; Humphrey, Pollack & Hawver., 2008). This section will summarise the current state of understanding in this area.

In the last five years, two major theoretical articles have attempted to capture the many ways in which leaders can display emotional labour. Humphrey et al (2008) develop the argument that effective leadership will require a degree of emotional labour by outlining 15 theoretical propositions to describe how emotional labour might take place in leadership and how it might be influenced by interpersonal (e.g. emotional intelligence) and contextual (e.g. situational uncertainty; degree of control) aspects. There are similarities with the theoretical model suggested by Gardner, Fischer & Hunt (2009), who also argue for the importance of emotional labour but focus more on the importance of perceived authenticity, felt by the leader and perceived by followers, and related leader wellbeing outcomes. The theoretical model they present, outlined further into 17 propositions, concentrates on the need for perceived authenticity in order for emotional labour to be effective, i.e. to influence others.

The two articles, and corresponding sets of propositions, have many aspects in common; they both argue that the concept of emotional labour is relevant beyond its traditional conceptualisation to managers and leaders. They are both also clearly situated within the organisational behaviour approach to emotional labour, emphasising the display of emotion, rather than the process of emotion regulation and control. They also argue that

the process of emotional labour will be key to understanding leadership influence on followers' emotion and behaviour; thereby arguing its importance in understanding leadership effectiveness. Some mechanisms for this are suggested, with Humphrey et al (2008) arguing that leaders who perform emotional labour will be seen as more effective communicators and will be perceived as more transformational. Gardner et al (2009) on the other hand does not explicitly suggest mechanisms but does suggest a role for trust and authenticity: favourability of followers' impression of a leader is suggested to be related to follower trust in the leader, in turn related to perceived authenticity of leader display. Both papers also clearly link emotional labour with emotional intelligence (EQ). Humphrey et al. (2008) argue that higher EQ enables leaders to appreciate situational cues that call for emotional labour; Gardner et al. (2009) refers to high EQ leaders being more likely to engage in deep acting and genuine displays, than surface acting, whilst also suggesting a positive role for both self-monitoring skills and political skills.

Both papers also refer to the use of three emotional labour strategies: Hochschild's original surface and deep acting, as well as the addition of 'genuine emotion display' and both clearly differentiate in terms of the effect each strategy will have both on the leader and on follower outcomes. Gardner et al. (2009) suggests a hierarchy with display of genuine emotions, followed by deep acting and, lastly, surface acting in terms of their relation to favourability of follower impressions, perceptions of leader authenticity by follower and the leader's own feelings of authenticity. A similar hierarchy is suggested in terms of the effect on the leader him or herself, mediated by perceived authenticity: leaders will experience less burnout and less emotional dissonance when their emotional labour strategy use feels more authentic. Whilst not specifying about the other strategies, Humphrey et al (2008) generally agree that surface acting, argued by Gardner et al (2009) to lead to least felt authenticity, would generate more feelings of stress and depersonalisation in the leader.

These articles can be heralded as providing a much needed grounding of leader emotion display within emotion labour theory. However, it could also be argued that neither of

these articles addresses the more radical underpinnings of the writing on emotional labour and thus leave many possible tensions that the extension of the concept of emotional labour to leaders might involve. Three issues are discussed in more detail below.

The articles could do more to discuss the implications of adapting a concept applicable to those who are managed to those who manage. There are unresolved questions about how emotional labour might apply to leaders or managers with different degrees of status and authority. For example, Humphrey et al. (2008) reflect on the impact of positional power on emotion display rules and recognise the fact that leaders often have considerably more discretion and autonomy in their expressions of emotion. However, the specific issue of how organisational status and power influences might influence the ability to genuinely display felt emotion is not articulated clearly. This is a potential considerable limitation in light of Diefendorff et al.'s (2010) research on the importance of positional power in display rules. Gardner et al (2009) do discuss the impact of 'omnibus' context and discrete situational context, the implications of this argument are not quite resolved unsatisfactorily.

The second potentially problematic area in the discussion of the degree of authenticity in leader emotion displays. One of Gardner et al. (2009) first propositions outlines how the extent to which leader emotion display is consistent with the context's emotion display rules is positively related to favourability of follower impressions. However, this refinement is not mentioned in other propositions regarding genuine emotion display; it therefore raises the question as to whether the favourable impact of genuine emotion display on both follower and leader outcomes is actually reliant on the display of emotion being in line with related emotion display rules. This poses authenticity itself in a more problematic light; authenticity might in effect only be a reflection of following the organisation's rules. The tension between the individual's authenticity and the organisation's authenticity, and an integration with the literature on emotional dissonance, would there be useful to discuss further.

Finally, these perspectives seem to reflect a unitary view, blurring the possible tensions between what benefits the individual and what benefits the organisation. In this sense, both papers appear to conclude that deep acting is better for the leaders than surface acting. However, taking into consideration the original formulation of deep acting, i.e. deep acting as deceiving oneself, this seems to imply that leaders should learn to change their emotional reality to experience what the organisation requires them to feel in order to be effective leaders. The propositions outlined seem to imply that, by resolving any discrepancies between what they really feel and what they are expected to feel in favour of the external, organisational expectation, leaders are able to enjoy the benefits of this lack of conflict both internally, less stress, and externally, more favourable impressions from followers. It could be argued that a reconciliation is required here between the original formulation of deep acting, suggested to lead to burnout and depersonalisation of the individual (e.g. Hochschild, 1983; Grandey, 2000) and this new idea of deep acting taking on a more positive dimension when this is done by leaders.

There is, as yet, little empirical data to illustrate, explain and provide support for these theories. It is possible that when this data is gathered, some of these questions might be highlighted and therefore need to be answered. Currently, there appears an opportunity to better integrate the study of leader emotion display with more critical aspects of emotional labour.

2.4.4 Section Review

The study of emotion display in leaders has been dominated by the organisational behaviour approach to emotional labour and therefore shares some of the limitations in terms of engagement with the four, emergent, interconnected, critical strands.

This literature falls squarely within Burrell & Morgan's (1979) functionalist paradigm. There is an unproblematic acceptance of the classification of emotion display strategies, for example, and little engagement with any more subjective, worker-centric, or manager-centric, dimensions (strand 2). This is a limitation also of the methodologies adopted by the empirical studies reviewed, as mentioned in previous sections, where questionnaire-based or quasi-experimental methodologies with emphasis on quantifiable, 'objective' classification rather than exploration of individual experience and interpretation. There is little, if any, subject-centred exploration of leader emotion display regulation (strand 2).

Though the study of emotion display in leaders is, in essence, context-dependent (leaders are only such in a specific context), the authors do not fully engage with the contextualised nature of leadership of leader emotion display (strand 1). As a field of enquiry, it embodies Willmott's (2005) criticisms of mainstream management research in that it abstracts the activities of leaders from institutional arrangements; there is little explicit discussion of the actual positions or contextually defined roles of the leaders being researched or leaders are isolated from specific contexts altogether by studies with experimental methodologies. It does not engage in any critical discussion of the control of leader emotion display, focusing rather on the outcome of display regulation on leader effectiveness. It moves beyond Ashforth & Humphrey's (1993) argument, seen for display regulation as a whole, that the benefits reflected for the individual of a related positive work performance outweigh any negative effects by not explicitly acknowledging any possible tensions between the two.

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This lack of critical emphasis also underemphasises the extent of organisational control over leader emotion display thereby missing the opportunity for highlighting the impact of emotion display regulation in practice in organisations (strand 4). There is an implicit acceptance of the status quo and lack of explicit discussion of organisational control dynamics, implicitly supporting the notion of individual workers and leaders needing to align themselves to organisational agendas. It also support the assumptions of a more individualised conception of leadership and leadership effectiveness; it discusses emotion display instrumentally in terms of leader effectiveness, emphasising the individual and their use of more or less effective display strategies, underplaying other contextual, discourse and structural influences on management work (Willmott, 2005; Isalm & Zyphur, 2000).

As discussed in the previous section, an example of how a lack of engagement with these more critical strands fails is present in discussion of leader display 'authenticity'. The majority of the research accepts the notion of 'authenticity' in a largely unproblematic light, blurring distinctions between display that is genuine, that which is perceived as genuine and that which is in line with the organisational expectations. Authenticity, in effect, is understood largely from an organisational perspective; being 'authentic' as a leader therefore seems to imply needing to take on the organisation's needs, values and agenda so completely that no discrepancy is felt. A more subjective, contextualised analysis might therefore lead to a useful problematising the concept of authenticity and genuine display.

The section therefore concludes that understanding of leader emotion display would greatly benefit in particular from engagement in cross-paradigm dialogue, as framed in the current thesis.

2.5 The Practitioner Context

This final section will locate the thesis and its topic within the practitioner domain: in the first sub-section, features of occupational psychology practice in the UK will be outlined; in the second, current trends in industry interest in emotion at work will be discussed.

Discussion of practitioner or industry interest in psychology, organisational behaviour, HR and related disciplines is typically framed along two discourses. The first is that of an 'academic-practitioner divide', this second is that of 'rigour-relevance'. Both debates share similar concerns, such as that practice can often be defined as 'fad-ish' and ill-informed by academic understanding (Fincham & Rhodes, 2009; Briner et al., 2010). However, there are also points of divergence. The first argument tends to emphasise the 'scientific' credentials of academic knowledge and therefore the needs for practitioners to become better informed, resulting in evidence-based management (Briner et al., 2010; Briner & Rousseau, 2011). Authors within the second tradition seem to put more emphasis on the conversation between the two areas and the need for both rigour (from an academic perspective) and relevance (from a practitioner perspective) (Rousseau & Hodgkinson, 2009). A more critical voice is present in the latter, with some authors acknowledging the tensions between knowledge creation and application; Kaiser & Leiner (2009), for example, argue that these are operate in two different systems and knowledge generation would lose its rigour if it needed to too closely negotiate with the needs to knowledge application. The discussion of practitioner interest will therefore be informed by these debates.

2.5.1   Communicating about Occupational Psychology Practice

To understand how occupational psychology presents itself to the world, information available from six sources, considered authoritative and representative of best practice, was explored. These include two national professional bodies: the first is the Division of Occupational Psychology (DOP), a division of the British Psychological Society that represents Occupational Psychologists in the UK; the second is the CIPD, the professional body of HR practitioners, a career often chosen by occupational psychologists. The remaining four were chosen from the recent winners of the DOP Practitioner of the Year Award: of these, two winners are employed by private consultancies, the others by the National Policing Improvement Agency and the Royal Navy. Examples of the data gathered can be found in the Appendix 2.

The strongest theme to emerge from all the sources is a concern with maintaining 'relevance' with organisations.   The DOP, for example, represents occupational psychology as a discipline dedicate to "issues of critical relevance to business"[1]; the CIPD also represents it profession as "delivering sustainable organisation capability and performance"[2]; one consultancy talks repeatedly about delivering solutions to business

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-   [1] DOP website: http://dop.bps.org.uk/ Website of DOP – accessed 14th May 2013
-   [2] **http://www.cipd.co.uk/cipd-hr-profession/** CIPD website – accessed 14th May 2013

problems the other. The risk, however, is that this can also mean subscribing uncritically to an organisational or managerial agenda. This is not surprising for the consultancies who look to organisations for employment; it is perhaps more so for the professional bodies. The DOP, for example, talks of being the "science of people at work" but then does not explicitly identify itself with these same people when setting the agenda for its output and focus.

The second key theme, present in all of the psychology sources in particular, is the establishment of authority and credibility by a link to academic knowledge and the 'scientific method'. This is clear in the DOP strap-line ("science of people at work") and in the numerous mentions of evidence, research and evidence-based practices. This arguably shows the importance of 'rigour' within these sources but could also suggest a fairly narrow interpretation of this concept. As examples, the presentation of evidence is often linked to outcomes, practices and solutions, rather than, for example, challenge, insight and understanding. The credibility of the profession could therefore be presented as reliant on its ability of 'its' science to provide clear answers to organisational problems, answers that are better, quicker or just 'truer' than that presents by others.

This analysis illustrates well the tensions within the 'rigour-relevance' debate as presented by Kasier & Leiner (2009) and the implications for the contribution of this thesis. It suggests that adopting a critically-informed approach as practitioners challenges assumptions about the profession's identify and its perceived basis for legitimacy. There is a clear challenge for those who want to move away from the 'scientific method' and positivist assumptions to find ways to argue for credibility and authority within the discipline itself; if 'reflexivity' involves an implicit challenge to the generalizability and universality of truth statements, there could be a need to reframe existing notions of 'rigour'. In addition, if the discipline itself sees itself as serving organisational needs, there is a clear challenge in achieving knowledge's 'transformational potential'

2.5.2   What are practitioners/ industry interested in?

Estimating the focus of current practitioner or industry interest in emotions at work generally was done by gathering data for the last decade from: Proquest general (with includes newspapers and trade publications but is mostly USA focused), the CIPD's People Management website and the Institute of Director's website. A fairly consistent picture emerges: practitioners' interest in emotion at work is dominated by talk of stress and engagement, with some attention also to emotional intelligence, as the graphs overleaf show.

Practitioner interest in work-related stress, defined as "the process that arises where work demands of various types and combinations exceed the person's capacity and capability to cope" (HSE website[3]) started to emerge from the early to mid-1990s, partly due to indications that work-related mental ill health was increasing (e.g. Stansfeld, Woodley-Jones, Rasul, Head, Clarke & Mackay, 2004). Over the 2000s, the increase in interest and concern was apparent in the funding by successive UK Governments of related research and interventions (e.g. Mackay et al, 2004; Lardner, Briner & Amati, 2005; Yarker et al., 2007; Rick at al., 2002) and the increased practice of stress assessments in organisations throughout the end of the decade (for more information, see **www.hse.gov.uk/stess**).   The interest in employee engagement has also increased

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[3] HSE website www.hse.gov.uk/stress accessed 10th May 2013

dramatically over the last decade; this can partly be attributable to the desire for a more positive perspective on emotion at work and, more recently, to the need to find solutions of the economic recession (e.g. MacLoed & Clarke, 2009).

Table 6 Hits' for emotional terminology – academic & practitioner sources

CIPD	IoD
a Stress	a Stress
b Engagement	b Engagement
c Emotion	c Emotion
d Em. Inteligence	d Em. Inteligence
e Anger	e Anger
f Anxiety	f Anxiety
g Mood	g Mood

Proquest Total	Proquest Scholar
a Stress	a Stress
b Engagement	b Engagement
c Emotion	c Emotion
d Em. Inteligence	d Em. Inteligence
e Anger	e Anger
f Anxiety	f Anxiety
g Mood	g Mood

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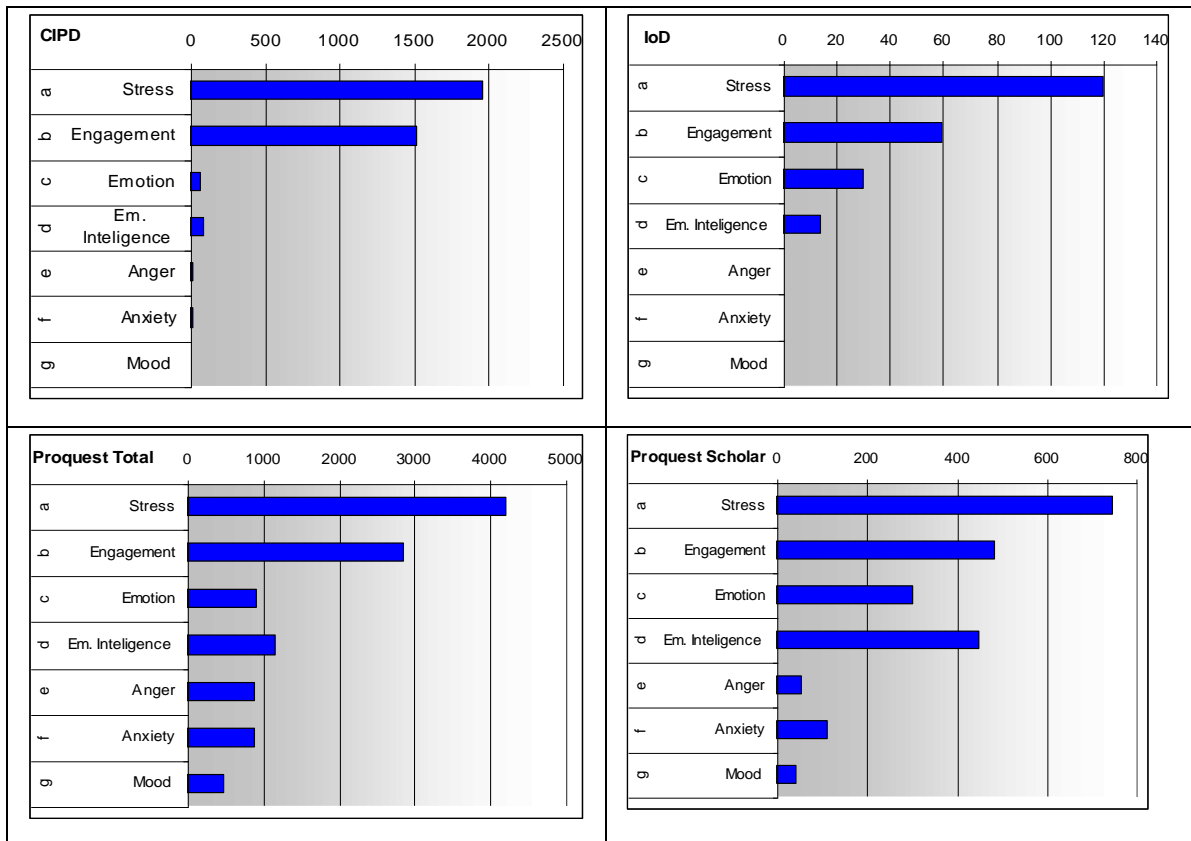
Reviewing the practitioner interest in stress and engagement in light of the suggested evidence-based approach reveals some points of contention. Firstly neither concept maps well onto any of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks suggested by the new paradigm discussed in the previous section; for example there are ongoing discussions about lack of conceptual clarity of both concepts (e.g. stress: Patmore, 2006; engagement: Macey & Schneider, 2008) and neither map clearly onto the 'basic emotion' framework but could be described more as generic affective states. However, in other respects, the overall pattern of practitioner/ organisational interest does follow similar lines to that of mainstream academic interest, such as the assumption of clear, linear, causal relationships between work or job characteristics and affective outcomes. Practitioner tools used to assess stress and engagement rely on this principle: examples include the HSE's Indicator tool and the Best Companies engagement survey.

In this respect, industry interest suffers from similar limitations to that of the dominant academic perspective. The narrow definition and exploration of contextual influences as job characteristics risks overshadowing understanding of how culture, power relations and organisational structures influence worker experience in more pervasive ways, as argued by for example in Francis, Ramdhony, Reddington & Staines (2013). The uncritical conflation of the organisation's and the workers' interest, another reiteration of the 'happy-productive worker hypothesis', can masks an underlying prioritisation of the former over the latter. The rhetoric of engagement is often descried solely in terms of its organisational advantages, e.g. 'employee engagement is the oil in the wheels of business' (IOD website); the implication being that engagement, the worker's feelings, only matter in so far as they affect the organisation.

The pattern of this interest from practitioners/ organisations in emotion-related concepts is likely to also dominate when these are applied to emotion display in particular. In this respect, it is harder to estimate current interest and the only consistent pattern is the growing interest in leader authenticity, a concept discussed in academic research in terms of genuine emotion display (e.g. Humphreys et al., 2008). When recruiting for

this thesis's empirical study, two private sector organisations were approached who had recently developed 'authentic leader' competencies; discussion of authenticity has also clearly increased in the CIPD's People Management, from 34 examples in the period 2000-2005 to over 50 in the period 2010-summer 2012 alone[4]. Authenticity within both academic and practitioner literature is discussed primarily in terms of the benefits for leadership effectiveness, i.e. for organisational outcomes. As commented by Landen (2004), practices often discussed in terms of the individual's development are in fact organisational efforts to control and manage personal emotional experienced. Workshops or development activities aimed at increasing emotional intelligence or authentic leader capability solely on the development of an ability or skill that meets organisational needs, not necessarily discussing when these might be in tension with those of the individual (see also Amati & Donegan, 2011).

- [4]Searches carried out on www.cipd.co.uk May 2013.

2.5.3 Section Review

Much current mainstream psychological literature has been criticised as being driven by a management agenda (Briner & Keifer, 2009; Gooty et al., 2009) and as being largely uncritical and unaware of its potential status-quo reinforcing impact on practice (Isalm & Zyphur, 2009). The current review would lead to similar conclusions; whilst there may be divergence in the terminology adopted between practitioners and academics and debates about questionable reporting of evidence, the broader assumptions and values that underlie both academic and practitioner approaches to emotion at work appear similar and largely functionalist in nature. It therefore shows little critical reflection on its philosophical foundations or its methodologies, as is suggested by strand 3. The dominant approach of practitioners is managerial and mechanistic in their simplistic portrayal of human emotions as something that can, and therefore usefully should, be influenced by management action. In this sense, it offers little reflection on the more subjective and dynamic nature of human affective experience (strand 2).

There is also the unquestioned adoption of the managerial imperative in shaping practice, with little awareness demonstrated about how the current paradigms might unnecessarily constrain practice in ways that might promote unfairness and exploitation, as would be required by engagement with strand 4. Practice also appears largely insensitive to the power of the organisation to influence understanding, interpretation and experiences of emotions at work (strand 1), offering instead a narrow definition of the influence of context as job characteristics, for example.

The thesis suggests that these characteristics might, in part, be linked to the dominance of the positivist, functionalist perspective. It could be argued that adopting, and advocating, this perspective on emotion leaves practitioners blind to some of its limitations and their resultant implications for practice. As pointed out by critical psychologists Fox et al., (2009), this does not detract from the efforts of individual

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academics and practitioners, within or out with organisations, seeking equality and fairness in the deals they influence between workers and organisations. However, this thesis suggests that these intentions might unwittingly be hindered by the positivist approach that academics and practitioners subscribe to. The root cause of the managerially agenda, it could be argued, is this lack of reflectivity (strand 3) on behalf of practitioners, influenced by the scarcity of such debates within academic circles.

2.6 Stimulating Cross-Paradigm Dialogue

This final section will provide an overall discussion of the current literature in terms of its current engagement with cross-paradigm dialogue, as framed by the current thesis (Research Objective 2).

2.6.1 Progress along the Pathway to Integration

The reviews of literature presented in the previous sections have revealed some clear areas where psychological understanding of emotion display needs to be 'stretched' in order to engage in a meaningful cross-paradigm dialogue, framed as the four emergent, interconnected conversational strands. This section will explore some of these arguments in more detail and suggest some possible resolutions to questions raised by the literature review.

2.6.2 The Nature of Emotion

A recurring theme of the critical discussions of the literature reviewed so far has been the dominance of the functionalist perspective (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). This presents two initial problems for a meaningful engagement across paradigm boundaries. Firstly, there is a clear absence of 'reflexivity' (strand 3) in much of the research; apart from a few exceptions (e.g. Gross & Barrett, 2011; Weiss & Rupp, 2012), there is little conceptual discussion that addresses the ontological and epistemological foundations of current research and there is a dominance of questionnaire or quasi-experimental data gathering methods and little discussion of their possible limitations in terms of insight. Clearly related to this, there is also the absence of engagement with the more subjective

elements of emotional experience (strand 2); as argued by Weiss & Rupp (2012), a more holistic, subjective understanding of emotion at work as experienced by individuals is largely missing from mainstream psychological perspectives.

Cross-paradigm dialogue therefore stimulates psychology into greater consideration of two interrelated debates. Firstly, an exploration of the assumptions about the nature of affective experience and a revisiting of the current models that implicitly underlie mainstream understanding is needed; this will be attempted in the current section. Secondly, these also needs to be a more explicit addressing of the ontological and epistemological foundations of any research into emotion display, with resultant methodological implications; this second challenge will be attempted in the following chapter (Methodology).

A possible way of approaching the first challenge is to more fully explore alternative assumptions about the nature of emotion. Gross & Barrett's (2011) article on emotion regulation usefully traces approaches to emotion on a continuum, clustered around four broad categories of theories. Most of the research discussed so far has been at one end of the spectrum, adopting either a 'basic emotion' approach, closer to the more physical or psychobiological aspects of emotions, or an 'appraisal' approach. By their very nature, these approaches emphasise the more 'objective' properties of emotional experience, such as those that have clear physiological correlates, over any more subjective ones. Engagement with a more subjective and worker-centric conversation (strand 2) might however mean adoption of a psychological construction or social construction approach, arguing against the notion of unique or specific emotion mechanisms and introduce the importance of social and cultural context in shaping emotional experience (see figure below).

Figure 5 The 'Emotion Spectrum'
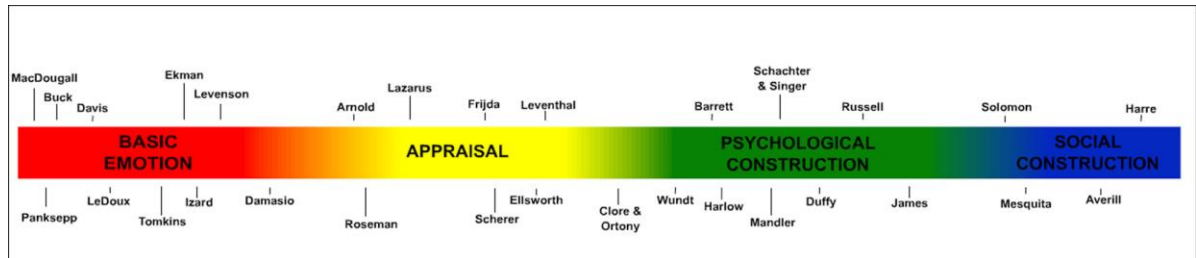
From Gross & Bartlett (2011:10)

However, taking a 'social construction' perspective would mean shifting completely towards another distinct tradition in research; in this sense the understanding achieved would not be integrated or 'multi-lens' but would instead have adopted an alternative lens. Therefore the current thesis will explicitly base itself on a psychological construction approach to the nature of emotion and therefore consider emotion display at work as a phenomenon that has both objective and subjective 'ingredients' or elements that need to be explored.

In this sense, the study recognises that there may be some quasi-universal, cross-cultural expression of emotion, as much research as suggested, but that the actual display of emotion in any given is much more contextually bound, as will be explored in the following section. The thesis will therefore be interested both in patterns of relationships between the emotion felt and display strategy but also in the subjective experience of these patterns and the way the individual makes sense of their emotion display experience. On the one hand, it will be in line with existing psychological research on emotion display at work; it will make reference emotion regulation theory (e.g. Gross, 2002) as an overarching framework, as suggested by Grandey (2000), distinguish between specific emotion regulation strategies across specific 'basic' emotions (e.g. Koole, 2009; Diefendorff & Greguras, 2008) and consider the role of individual differences in expressiveness (e.g. Gross et al., 2000; Gross, 2002). However, it will argue that this is only part of the total experience to be understood and that more

attention needs to be given to the individual's own interpretation of emotion display. This seems particularly important for manager or leader emotion display where this is currently under-explored, in particular in relation to the concept of 'authentic' or 'genuine' leader emotion display (Humphrey et al., 2008; Gardner et al., 2009). In this sense, the study will 'stretch' this understanding by exploring a more subjective perspective on emotion display, asking about the meaning attributed to this within specific organisational contexts.

2.6.3 The Question of Context

The critical review of the literature also revealed the paucity of discussions of contextually embedded (strand 1) and subject-centred (strand 3) nature of emotion display at work. In recent years, there have been repeated calls for a greater consideration of context within organisational behaviour (e.g. Johns, 2001 & 2006; Griffin, 2007), often side-by-side with acknowledgements of the complexity of this endeavour and of the reasons why this does not occur more readily in organisational research. Johns (2006) suggests this requires both contextualising research, in the sense of providing more contextual information in reported research, and building contextual theory into research.

Johns (2006) suggests a contextual theory might start from a taxonomy of context that distinguishes between layers or dimensions of context, specifically between the 'omnibus' context, the broader context, and the 'discrete' context, the specific and particular task, social or physical aspects of context that might influence individual behaviour or attitudes (Johns, 2006). In relation to emotion display at work, the impact of discrete context has been explored in the adoption of interaction partner (e.g. Matsumoto, 2007; Diefendorff & Greguras, 2009). However, a broader contextual theory appears missing and, specifically, a discussion of both the mechanisms through which context might influence and shape behaviour and the possible tensions that exist when engaging in emotion regulation at work.

From a psychological perspective, the study of the influence of culture, intended here as national culture, on emotion has been attempted by Matsumoto (e.g. 2007). In a surprisingly under-cited article[5], he argues that human behaviour can be best understood as resulting from the influence of three mechanisms: basic human nature, culture and personality (Matsumoto, 2007). Culture's influence on behaviour is argued to be due to its prescribing meaning to the multitude of situations that individual finds themselves in with the primary aim of assisting in the social coordination. Each meaningful context is also imbued with expectations about how individuals within that context will behave; these normative expectations are expressed as social roles. Differences in behaviour within the same context can exist because of differences in underlying dispositional traits or abilities; however, these are not to be considered static and prescribed. Over a lifespan, the adoption of multiple roles with the often repeated performances of certain roles can have a transformational influence on underlying dispositions, such as thought the development of personal stories, narratives, values and motivations. Here the complex and dynamic nature of the interaction is clear as Matsumoto also proposes that different culture may allow greater or lesser scope in role identities across similar situations. The resultant model therefore emphasises flexibility and a dynamic interaction between culture and individual (Matsumoto, 2007).

This model could be applied to organisational culture though, arguably, its lack of emphasis on the power dynamics that might influence, or want to influence, the

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-    [5] 21 citations; retrieved from Web Of Knowledge – accessed 27.06.2012

emergence of certain social roles. The adoption of this model might also underemphasise the impact of actual organisational structures in shaping social roles and the expectations therein, as is emphasised more clearly in critical management writing (e.g. Willmott, 2005). It also underemphasises the more complex, multi-layered and multi-faceted nature of life in organisations; it underplays the possible conflicts or tensions that might exist in situations where multiple social roles or sets of expectations might exist. A more suitable overarching framework to be adopted might therefore be that of institutional logics (e.g. Thornton & Ocascio, 2008) that suggest nested societal, organisational and individual levels of influence on decision and action in organisation. Societal level influences, or institutions, will create specific and distinct, but also often conflicting, logics' that influence and constrain individual action and thought; the adoption of one or other logic will influence the way a situation is perceived and human action thereafter.

In both Willmott (2005) and Thornton & Ocascio, 2008, as well as indirectly in Matsumoto (2007), the influence of context on behaviour is seen as largely constraining. The context will suggest particular patterns of expectations, or create specific structures, within which human behaviour and thought is located. As an extension of this perspective, human dispositions, or individual differences, may also be considered in a similar vein, as has been suggested by critical theorists and could be implied by Matsumoto (2007). An extended model may therefore be suggested, as depicted in the figure overleaf.

Figure 6 Extended Model of Constraining Influences
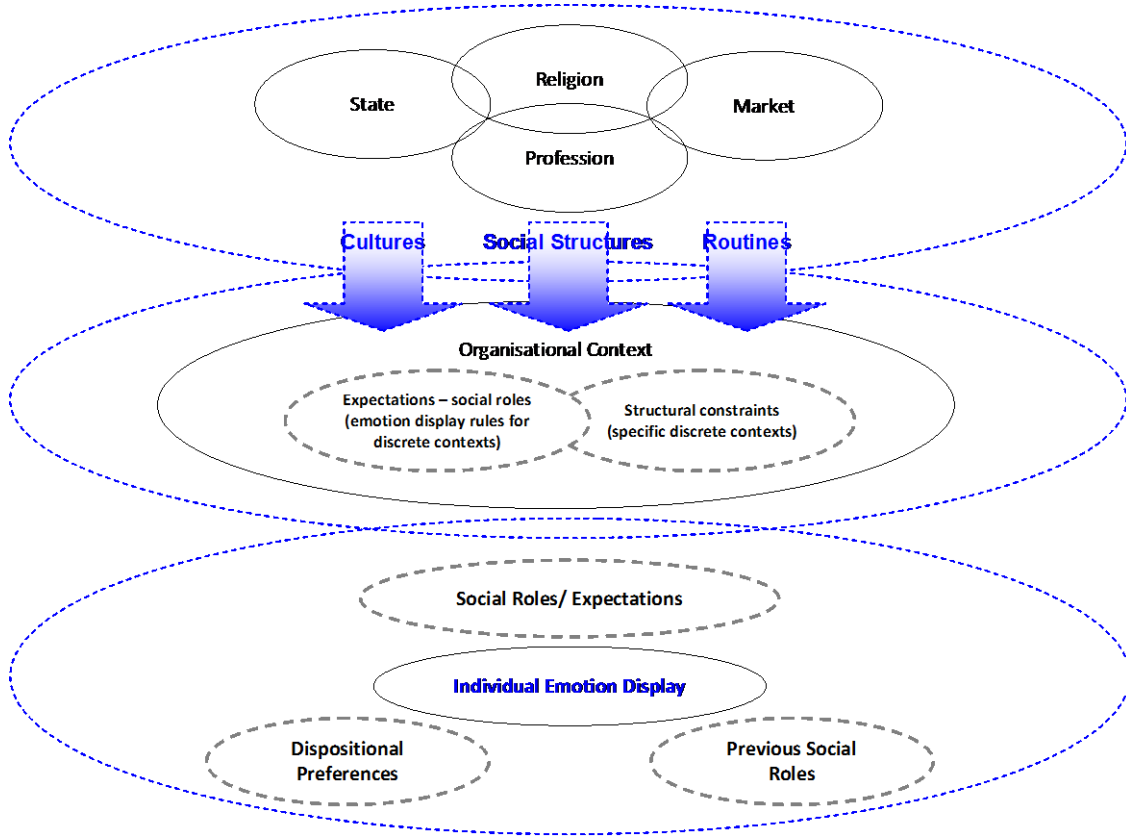
Another important attempt at integration is Küpers & Weibler (2008) article that explicitly sets out to articulate an 'integral model' of emotion at work. The authors also outline the fact that research into emotion at work has been approached from a number of different angles; rather than seeing these as opposing ends of a spectrum, the authors argue these can be interpreted as offering insight into different levels of analysis and convincingly state that all of can and should contribute to a more comprehensive understanding:

> "*Levels of analysis in emotion research, therefore, vary according to the perspective on which emotions are investigated, either at individual, group, community or organisational levels (Waldron, 2000). However, what is needed is*

to integrate different levels (Ashkanasy, 2003; Weiss, 2003) and constituencies of feelings and emotions into an integral framework."

Küpers & Weibler (2008: 267)

The result of this analysis is the development and articulation of an integral model of emotion at work that emphasises, on the one hand, the internal and external aspects of emotional experience; on the other, the individual and collective aspects, as the figure below illustrates:

Figure 7 model of emotion at work.
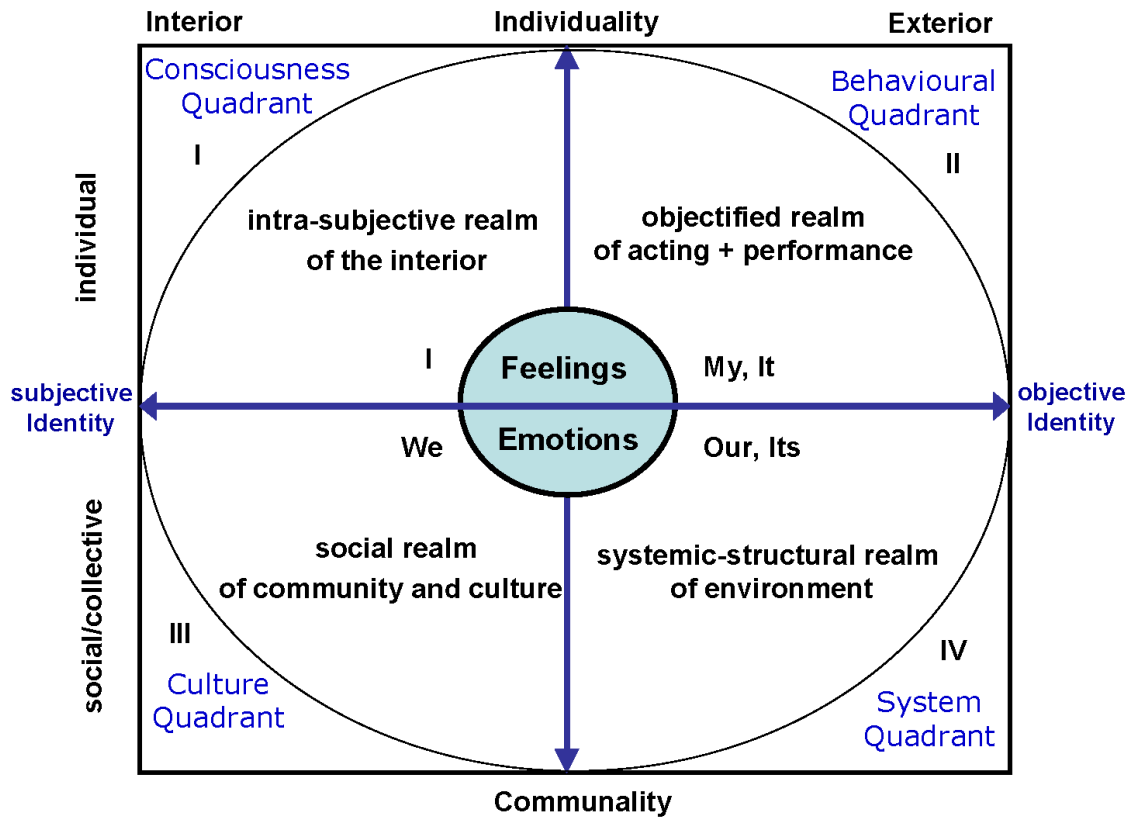
From Küpers & Weibler (2008)

In order to gain insight into the contextually embedded (strand 1) and subjective (strand 3) nature of emotion display at work, therefore, the current thesis will adopt the

following framework. In the first instance, the thesis will distinguish between discrete and omnibus context, identifying the former with interaction partner, as has been suggested in previous research on emotion display (Morris & Feldman, 1996; Matsumoto, 2007; Diefendorff & Greguras, 2008; Diefendorff et al., 2010; Niven et al., 2012) with specific attention to the differences in power and hierarchical status between the two (Diefendorff et al., 2010). However, the study will move beyond this context to ask questions about how the broader, or omnibus context, influences the interpretation of these discrete contexts. In this sense, it will attempt a subject-centric exploration how and why meaning is attached to specific discrete contexts addressing both cultural and structural elements within the organisational or broader contexts. In a sense, the thesis will suggest that cross-paradigm dialogue about emotion display will need to be able to meaningfully address each of Küpers & Weibler's (2008) four quadrants.

2.6.4   The Thesis Aim and the Empirical Study

The current thesis aims to expand psychological understanding of emotion display at work through cross-paradigm dialogue. The current section will review progress so far and set out the objectives for the empirical study.

The literature reviewed in the current section has suggested that cross-paradigm dialogue in relation to emotion display at work can be framed as the need for psychology to engage with four, interconnected, critical strands of thought. In this respect, current dominant psychological research into emotion display at work, whilst providing some useful foundations, has been found to be lacking in several respects.

The current thesis argues that to achieve this cross-paradigm dialogue can be stimulated by adopting an understanding of the nature of emotion as psychologically constructed; this will require a broadening of the field of interest beyond the study of 'objective' features of emotion experience to more 'subjective' ones. This also means addressing the more contextually-bound aspects of this experience, moving beyond an unquestioning adoption of discrete contexts to a questioning of why specific contexts carry specific requirements and meanings for individuals.

The current study will there therefore aim to address the following broad research questions:

Research Question 1: How do personality differences, discrete and omnibus context influence emotion display in the case-study organisation?

1a: How does discrete context (interaction partner) influence emotion display rules and strategies across different emotions?

1b: What influence does the broader organisational context have on people's emotion display behaviour generally and on their interpretation of discrete context and?

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1c: How might emotional expressivity influence emotion display rules perception and strategies and how is this experienced subjectively?

1e: How might all these factors work together to shape a holistic experience of emotion display in the case-study organisation?

Research Question 2: What is managers' experience of emotion display in the case-study organisation?

2a: How do managers' emotion display rules and strategies differ from those of other staff?

2b: What are the main issues that managers surface when reflecting on their own experiences of emotion display at work?

Chapter 3   Exploring Emotion Display: Study Methodology

3.1   Introducing the Chapter

The current chapter outlines the main study's methodology; it argues the adoption of a Mixed Methods approach, underpinned by a critical realist research philosophy, is the most appropriate way of achieving the thesis research aim of understanding whether and how a psychological, integrated understanding of emotion display at work can be developed.

The chapter starts with a discussion of research philosophy, outlining the dominant ontological and epistemological assumptions of psychological and social science research. There follows an outline of the main study's research design that starts from a discussion of the synthesis between the study's philosophical stance, its conceptualisation of emotion and the chosen Methodology. The chapter then proceeds to a review of the results of the pilot and a discussion of the main study's methods. The chapter concludes with a discussion of ethical issues related to the man study and a review of the study's methodology against chosen quality criteria.

3.2   Research Philosophy

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, the ability to answer the thesis research question relies, in part, on an in-depth discussion of research philosophy and the assumptions that drive mainstream psychological research on emotion. Johns (2006), for example, argued that underlying philosophical discussions and debates have been one of the reasons the adoption of a more contextualised approach to organisational studies has been problematic. This section therefore discusses contrasting research philosophies and argues that adoption of critical realism offers a meaningful solution to the potential impasse between positivism and interpretivism. It starts will an outline of the two contrasting positions before discussing the place of critical realism within the debate on research philosophy and its implications for this study of emotion display at work.

3.2.1   Positivism & Interpretivism: the well-trodden routes

The British Psychological Society defines psychology as "the scientific study of people, the mind and behaviour."[6]. This emphasis on the importance of being scientific is typically associated with positivism and its concern with demarcation of scientific method, i.e. of 'true science' over 'false science' (Crotty, 2006). At the core of this

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-    [6] BPS website www.bps.org.uk accessed 25th July 2012

method is a foundationalist epistemology, the belief that 'true' knowledge of the world, of reality, is attainable via 'sense data', observations or perceptions. The emphasis on method and measurement naturally follows as an expression of the concern for the 'truthfulness' of these observations, i.e. of their ability to provide genuine, real accounts of the world and what is being investigated. This is reflected in an emphasis on strictly controlled experimental conditions that enable the isolation and measurement of only the specific variables explicitly under investigation and any interaction between them. Accurate observation and measurement become the building blocks of knowledge acquisition; at the heart of the positivist endeavour are deductive-nomological explanations for regular patterns of causality between events; deductive as in experience/ sense-data driven, in contract to inductive, and nomological, from the Greek 'nomos' law or custom (Bem & Looren de Jog, 2006, Crotty, 2006; Manicas & Secord, 1983). As argued by Hatfield (2002), early psychological research was embedded within these philosophical debates and the birth of experimental psychology, largely considered within the discipline as the transition into modern scientific, credible psychology, is intrinsically tied to the adoption of a positivist approach.

However, not all psychologists have agreed that positivism is the natural home for psychological study and some have argued that it is detrimental to understanding of the human condition; as the psychologist and philosopher Sigmund Koch eloquently states:

> *"From the earliest days of the experimental pioneers, man's stipulation that psychology be adequate to science outweighed his commitment that it be adequate to man"*
>
> Koch (1959: 783) – quoted in Manicas & Secord (1984)

This debate has been most visible within social and critical psychology sub-disciplines and is discussed by Brown & Stenner (2009) as the tension between what psychology attempts to achieve and how it attempts to do so. In the same vein as Koch, they contrast the more holistic nature of psychology's fundamental questions, such as attempts to understand thinking and being, with its narrower methodological considerations, such as engagement in rigorously controlled experiments:

"In this way, psychology typically falls far short of providing a convincing account of the rich diversity of human experience – the psychological slips away from what psychologists try to do"

Brown & Stenner (2009:4)

Though these criticisms appear to be methodological, however, methodologies need to be acknowledged as the external expression of specific ontological stances. Positivism holds to an objective ontology, based on the assumption that a single reality exists and exists in a meaningful way, externally and independently of any perceiver, ready to be discovered or uncovered (Crotty, 2008; Chalmers, 1999). This has been criticised widely in the second half of the 20th century by holders of a subjective ontology, who believe instead in multi-faceted realities whose nature resides in the subject. This means believing that reality is constructed by individual subjects, in interactions with each other and, fundamentally, does not exist independently of these subjective constructions (e.g. Hughes & Sharrock, 1997). These subjective realities are not to be contrasted with the positivist objective reality; rather the belief in a single, external reality is argued to be an illusion or a myth. What remains is the continual, dynamic process of interpretation, communication, sharing and development of meaning that humans engage in.

A subjective ontology poses substantial challenges to the positivist nomological model of knowledge. If reality is considered context-dependent, understanding human behaviour in nomological terms is meaningless in its action of extrapolation from the specific social and historical context to which any phenomena is intrinsically linked. What is needed instead is a social constructionist epistemology, moving away from seeking explanatory laws towards seeking understanding of meaning, motives, significance and values of the subjective experience (Bem & Looren de Jong, 2010). These will be referred to broadly as an interpretive research philosophy.

The aim to achieve an integrated understanding of emotion display at work therefore requires careful consideration of epistemology and ontology. Fleetwood and Hesketh

(2012) would argue that neither positivism nor interpretivism offer appealing alternatives for the study of people generally. At one end, positivism would lead to their dissolution into a myriad of separated variables, driven by concerns with taxonomy and measurement, as seen in Koole (2009) and criticised in Weiss & Rupp (2012); what risks being is lost here is both the 'contextually embedded' (strand 1), holistic, subjective (i.e. 'active, dynamic' strand 2) perspective on emotion display. At the other end, they argue, interpretivism would lend to their dissolution in discourse (Fleetwood & Hesketh, 2012); the reality of acts of feeling and displaying an emotion gets diffused and risks disappearing.

> *"People, real people, human beings, actors, agents or whatever we choose to call those we study, have not been treated well by social science"*
>
> Fleetwood & Hesketh (2012: 208)

What is needed is a different philosophical grounding.

3.2.2 Critical Realism: a possible answer?

The philosophy of critical realism has been suggested as a suitable foundation for the study of people at work, both as a meaningful alternative to positivism and interpretivism and as an opportunity in itself to fully confront the social nature of human experience, without losing sight of the reality of that experience (e.g. Ackroyd & Fleetwood, 2000; Christie et al., 2000; Easton, 2002 & 2010; Fleetwood & Hesketh, 2010). As argued by Hodgkinson and Rouseeau:

> *"The character of organizations necessitates a critical realist epistemology"*
>
> Hodgkinson & Rousseau (2009:540)

Critical realism should not be considered an alternative in the sense of being a middle-ground option; it challenges the key assumptions of both positivism and interpretivism and argues for a different understanding of both reality and knowledge. Critical realism holds to a social, layered ontology that includes empirical (experiences and observation), actual (events and actions) and deep or causal (structures, mechanisms, rules) domains

(see Patomaki & Wight, 2000; Easton, 2000; Fleetwood & Hesketh, 2012). This layered reality acknowledges the importance of the empirical domain, essential to positivism, but argues that there are other layers to be considered. It acknowledges the importance of phenomenology and the act of subjective meaning-making but does not argue for that the object does not exist without the subject. As Crotty (2006) argues, this is can be defined a constructionist ontology focused on the construction of meaning, rather than on its creation.

> *"We construct meaning. We have something to work with. What we have to work with is the world and objects in the world. (...) the world is 'always already there'"*.
> Crotty (2006:44)

A critical realist understanding suggests the world is thought to consist of human individuals (agents) and underlying structures, institutions, mechanisms and powers that are intrinsically linked and act dynamically on each other. Human agents act in a transformational manner on structures; human action requires structures in order to happen yet human action itself re-produces and transforms the social structures around it (see Patomaki & Wight, 2000; Easton, 2000; Fleetwood & Hesketh, 2012). On the other hand, structures act on individual action to enable or restrict it; as in the famous quote from Marx's 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte', widely interpreted as meaning that human action, at once powerful and individual, is at the same time constrained or enabled by external circumstances.

> **"Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past."**
> (Karl Marx, 1852)

Critical realism also holds to epistemological relativism, the belief that all knowledge is socially produced (e.g. Patomaki & Wight, 2000). In this sense, there is agreement with interpretivism and an intrinsic acceptance of the fallibility of human knowledge.

However, there are clear distinctions: firstly, realism assumes the existence of a layered reality that knowledge interacts with, referred to as the intransitive object. As Patomaki and Wigth argue, as a result "*knowledge is not totally arbitrary and some claims about the nature of this reality may provide better accounts than others*" (Patomaki & Wight, 2000:224). It therefore becomes important to understand what constitutes knowledge within critical realism to be able to make sense of this judgmental rationalism.

Critical realism seeks to understand the deep or causal layer of reality; however this causality is not to be understood in the positivist deductive-nomological manner as 'event regularity', as critical realists believe that such mechanisms occur in open systems (e.g. Patomaki & Wight, 2000; Easton, 2000; Houston, 2001;). Several generative or causal mechanisms may exist for any given event so knowledge is not about predicting with increased accuracy a simple 'if A then B' but rather understanding the complex, multiple potential mechanisms that operate at any given time. In this sense, critical realists discuss 'tendencies' of generative mechanisms, the potential that each mechanism has to cause an outcome or result (e.g. Fleetwood & Hesketh, 2011). Therefore, critical realists argue for a 'thick causality' and 'thick explanation', in the sense of explaining phenomena in terms of the underlying generative mechanisms, tendencies and structures and as well as the transformational impact of human agency (Fleetwood & Hesketh, 2011). Of particular interest is also the possible critical realist interpretation of personality as internal structures (Houston, 2001; Easton, 2010).

3.2.3 Research Philosophy & Emotion Research

Each of the research philosophies discussed above has clear implications for the study of emotion, as summarised in the table on the following page. The positivist position dominates within current psychological studies of emotion at work, as discussed in Chapter 2; this would suggest that emotions exists objectively and that there are clear relationships between affective states and their external, behavioural antecedents and

consequences that can be researched and uncovered. This position is clearly at the heart of the 'basic' emotion paradigm, as outlined by Gross & Barrett (2011) and is also consistent with the 'appraisal' or 'cognitive' approach to emotions evidence in the work of Weiss & Cropanzano (1997) that Elfenbein (2007), for example, has argued should dominate within occupational psychology and organizational behaviour.

At the other end of the spectrum discussed by Gross & Barrett (2011) are the range of social constructionist approaches to emotion; here the focus is on the subjective and contextualised nature of emotion (e.g. Fineman, 2003). The focus of enquiry is therefore not on any objectifiable nature of affective states but on the particulars of emotional experience as defined, discussed and negotiated within specific contexts, between particular players; an example is Beyer & Niño's (2001) analysis of the role of culture in shaping emotions at the tragic collapse of the bonfire stack at Texas A&M University in 1999.

The thesis therefore argues that critical realism is particularly suited to the current research given its ability to sustain dialogue across the four emergent strands. In particular, its emphasis on the interaction between agents and structures enables a meaningful consideration of how emotion display might be '*contextually embedded*' (strand 1) without detracting from interest in a '*holistic, dynamic individual*' with agential properties (strand 2). A dialogue with the more critical voices within realist writing would also highlight the '*practice impact*' (strand 4).

Table 7Table 8 Research Philosophy & Emotion Research

	Positivism		Realism	Social Constructionism
Ontology	Objective: world exists externally and objectively		Objective but stratified into empirical, actual and deep domains	Subjective: World is constructed socially, through discourse
Epistemology	Truth is knowable; knowledge seeks to uncover universal patterns and laws		Truth is potentially knowable as transformational influences of agency on structure	Multiple perspectives are understandable but search for a single truth is illusionary
Approach	'Basic'	Appraisal	Psych Construction	Social Construction
Implications for study of emotion/ emotion display	Emotion 'exists' objectively; interest in *taxonomy* (e.g. Gross; Koole); *deductive-nomological models* (e.g. Diefendorff; Humphreys; Gross);		Emotion experience made of obj/ & subj bio/ psych 'ingredients' (Barrett; Lindquist et al); interest in: *process* of EReg (e.g. contextualized meaning-making); open systems/ *thick causality*	Emotion experience socially constructed (e.g. Fineman, 2004); Interest in: individual *meaning-making* activity; impact of *context* & *commodification* (e.g. Hochschild, 1983)

3.3 Research Design

The previous section has argued for the suitability of a critical realist philosophical underpinning for the current thesis; the current section will outline the rationale for the adoption of Mixed Methods.

3.3.1 Research Philosophy & Methodology

As has been argued by many (Crotty, 1998; Johns, 2006), research philosophical differences are clearly expressed in methodological choices. The adoption of an approach reviewed in the previous section therefore has clear methodological implications, as the table on the following page charts. The majority of psychological studies into emotion display at work adopt a quantitative route, based on a positivist approach: as examples, Diefendorff, Morehart & Gabriel's (2010) study of emotion display rules gathered questionnaire data to test a series of well-defined hypotheses. At the other end of the spectrum, Coupland et al's (2008) exploration of how emotion was socially constructed in school teachers was carried out using semi-structured interviews.

Table 9 Research Philosophy & Methodology

	Positivism		Realism		Social Constructionism
Ontology	Objective: world exists externally and objectively		Objective but stratified into empirical, actual and deep domains		Subjective: World is constructed socially, through discourse
Epistemology	Truth is knowable; knowledge seeks to uncover universal patterns and laws		Truth is potentially knowable as transformational influences of agency on structure		Multiple perspectives are understandable but search for a single truth is illusionary
Approach	'Basic'	Appraisal	Psych Construction		Social Construction
Methodologies	Predominantly quantitative, experimental (or quasi-), and reductive in focus enabling hypothesis-testing;		Mixed Methods (MM), with emphasis on qualitative data, to enable 'deep' understanding & context-rich methods, e.g. case-studies; MM as basis for cross-paradigm dialogue.		Predominantly qualitative to enable analysis of discourse/s & individual meaning-making activities;

In this respect, there are a number of reasons for adopting a Mixed Method design for the current thesis. There is an increasing vocal argument about the value of adopting Mixed Methods as the basis for cross-paradigm dialogue; this is articulated most clearly by Modell (2010) in relation to management accounting research but is equally applicable to psychological research. In addition, Christie et al. (2000) have argued that the adoption of different methods may be more likely to yield different perspectives on the same phenomenon, more likely to enable exploration of the realist stratified ontology. Finally, the current thesis holds to the psychological construction approach to emotion; it therefore needs to be able to explore both 'objective' and 'subjective' ingredients of emotion within a specific context. It is argued, therefore, that the adoption of Mixed Methods is most appropriate.

3.3.2 Mixed Methods Methodology

There are a number of available definitions of Mixed Methods research though, as based on Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner's (2007) review of 19 recent definitions, a consensus is emerging around the general definition they offer:

> *"Mixed Methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (…) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration"*

Johnson et al. (2007:123)

This definition articulates a number of both the key characteristics of Mixed Methods research but also draws attention to the flexibilities inherent in this approach. The variety of possible research designs that results has also drawn other commentators to define 'methodological eclecticism' and 'paradigm pluralism' as key characteristics of Mixed Methods (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2011). There is, in fact, variation in the methods adopted by realist researchers (e.g. see diverse range of studies discussed in Ackroyd & Fleetwood, 2000) and.

The flexibility of Mixed Methods approaches arguably implies the need for Mixed Methods researchers to clearly define the approach that they are taking. The adoption of a Mixed Methods methodology is therefore argued both on the basis that it might allow a combination of a 'broad' and a 'deep' understanding of the issue explored, as required by the Research Objectives, and on the basis that it resonates well with the critical realist ontology. In terms of Johnson et al.'s (2007) subtypes of Mixed Methods research, the research can be defined as 'Pure Mixed', when qualitative and quantitative data is given equal status.

There are however also many arguments against the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods within the same research study. The most commonly articulated is what is defined by Bryman and Bell (2007) as the 'epistemological debate' (Bryman & Bell, 2007; Creswell, 2011; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2011). Supporters of this argument cite the epistemological incompatibilities of quantitative and qualitative data gathering methods and therefore conclude that mixed methods research is not possible. In contrast, the 'technical debate' (Bryman & Bell, 2007) argues for that research methods are autonomous from epistemological or ontological debates; therefore, a method typically associated with one philosophical tradition can be argued to apply to another (Bryman & Bell, 2007). There is also a similar position within Mixed Methods researchers, who argue that the choice of the methods needs to be dictated by the research questions (Tdellie & Tashakkori, 2011).

In terms of the current study, the choice of Mixed Methods avoids the 'epistemological debate' as the epistemology for the thesis supports, if not actively promotes (Christie et al., 2000), the use of both quantitative and qualitative data. The choice is also supported by the research questions that require breadth (e.g. exploring emotion display across a number of discrete contexts and emotions) as well as depth (e.g. understanding the managers' perspective).

3.4   Case-Study Organisation

The case-study for the empirical study was a UK post-1992 University. Based in a major city, across 3 campuses and with international affiliations, the University attracts both UK and international students on undergraduate and postgraduate programmes. The University is divided into 3 Faculties, referred to as Schools, and also includes a number of research institutions, embedded within but relatively independent from the Schools.

As with other European universities, the university has been subject in recent years to increasing pressure to become more efficient and, as a result of similarly motivated interventions in the USA, an increasing focus has been placed on the performance management of academics (e.g. Winter, 2009). The university introduced the figure of 'Subject Group Leader' (SGL) in 2005-06 as a Senior Lecturer with additional management responsibilities; at the time of the study, the SGLs were academics who managed other academics within their same field, or Subject Group; this arrangement was, however, under review with a possible splitting of the link between the line manager and the subject group. The SGL role carries with it key tensions. First amongst these is the controversial nature of the management of academics; adoption of this 'managerialist' approach by universities has led to conflicts and tensions between academics, traditionally used to greater independence (e.g. Smeenk, Teelken, Eisinga & Doorewaard, 2009; Winter, 2009).

In addition, there are challenges of a more 'structural' nature, such as the need SGLs have to manage other academics who are more senior to them, such as Professors, or to manage academics who are also indirectly managed by others, such as the research institutes, or to negotiate the complex relationship with Programme Managers who also have some calls on the work delivered by the subject group. The following extract captures these responsibilities and the 'nebulous' nature of this management role:

"the managerial role means that I am, in theory and mostly, in practice, responsible for work allocation without our group; responsible for the general direction of the group's teaching...ermmm and some nebulous way, responsible for what is on the programme although how that the division of responsibility between me and the Programme Leaders works is ill defined.

Susan (University manager interviewed)

Finally, there is an increasing push for academics at the case-study university, as with many others across the UK, to see students as 'customers'. In this respect, as with the adoption of people management practices, universities are being pressured to adopt models derived from the private sector; in this case, to consider the academic-student relationship as that between a supplier and purchaser. This may be of particular significance for a post-1992 university that is more reliant on teaching, rather than research, -related sources of income. This drive to consider students as customers may have particular relevance for the expression of emotion display in interactions with students though the adoption of this metaphor is not unproblematic (e.g. Svensson & Wood, 2007).

3.5   Pilot Study

A pilot was carried out with two university managers. The pilot study's aim was to evaluate the chosen Mixed Method methodology. This section will discuss the pilot's success and its implications for the main study.

Three structured data gathering methods were used within the pilot: a two-session interview schedule and the completion of an emotional intelligence assessment as depicted below.

Table 10 Pilot Study Participant Involvement

	→	Chronology of participant involvement	→
Method:	Interview 1 (unstructured)	Questionnaire	Interview 2 (semi-structured)

The first interview explored managers' own reflections about emotion display at work, with very few prompts. Managers were then asked to complete an assessment of emotion intelligence, the EQi, a self-report measure of emotional intelligence (Bar-On, 2004), chosen given its explicit assessment of expressivity preferences. Feedback on their profile was integrated into the second interview that also allowed the researcher to prompt further about issues discussed in the first interview. The adoption of a two-session approach was argued to allow for more varied data gathering and also to assist in the development of a good rapport between the researcher and participant, argue to be of critical importance for qualitative interviewing in general (Fontana & Frey, 2000).

In some aspects, the pilot was a success; the managers who took part fed back that they felt it was an interesting project to be involved in; the data gathered in the first interview was relevant and detailed and was, in fact, also included in the main study. It also did

allow for exploration of the methodology and a number of observations were made about how this could be improved.

In the first instance, analysis of the data gathered and reflection on the experience of the researcher revealed questions about the usefulness of the second interview. The first interview resulted in a rich and open discussion on emotion display and the second did not add as much value to the study as expected. This was in part due to the inclusion of the emotional intelligence questionnaire as feedback on this measure came to dominate the conversation in the second interview. There was a clear change in the roles between researcher and participants and the interviewer become framed as an 'expert' who was sought after to give answers to participant questions. This is explicitly frowned upon in qualitative interviewing (e.g. King, 1994) as it limits the ability of the interviewer to engage in the subjective world of the interview. The decision was therefore made to drop the second interview from the main study.

The assessment of emotional intelligence (EI) was therefore dropped given the impact on the interview, concerns over the validity of its EI model in academic research (e.g. Daus & Ashkanasay, 2005; Jordan, 2008) and in consideration of the financial implications of adopting this measure. The decision was made to replace this with a questionnaire designed specifically to measure expressivity (e.g. Gross, 2003; Neils et al, 2011).

Finally, the pilot allowed an opportunity to reflect on how information on omnibus and discrete context was collected, The approach adopted in the pilot was participant-led; data gathering was driven solely by what was discussed by the participants themselves within the sessions. Whilst this was informative, it was also potentially limiting in relation to the discussion about discrete contexts. A decision was therefore made to include a more structured assessment of discrete context in the questionnaire and maintain exploration of omnibus context within the interviews.

In summary, several elements of the original pilot study were retained but the pilot also offered the opportunity to reflect and make several important changes, as the table below shows.

Table 11 Overview of changes in Methods after the Pilot

	Pilot Study Methods	Main Study Methods
Organisational context	Across 2 x interviews	Interview
Discrete context		Questionnaire
Expressivity	EI Assessment	

3.6 Main Study Research Methods

This section discusses the methods used in the main study. The sub-sections outline each methods' rationale, data gathering and data analysis. The section concludes with a short overview of the study's approach to triangulation.

3.6.1 Quantitative Data - Questionnaire

This sub-section discussed the qualitative data gathering by the study: the questionnaire sent to academic staff. 30 completed questionnaires were received; the questionnaire is presented in Appendix 3.

3.6.1.1 Development

The questionnaire developed for the study measures: i) emotional expressivity, ii) preferred emotion display strategy and iii) emotion display rules and strategies adopted across four interactions, for six distinct emotions.

The first section of the questionnaire measures the three possible components of emotion expressivity: impulse strength, perceived emotion regulation ability and emotional expressivity preference. This section of questionnaire therefore had 3 sub-scales: the first 'Impulse Control' consisted of 3 items (all taken Berkeley Expressivity Questionnaire (BEQ), Gross & John, 1997); general emotional expressivity (all items taken from Iowa Scales of Emotional Expressivity (ISEE) (Humrichouse, 2010) and a short scale was developed to capture perceived emotion regulation efforts, i.e. the perceived motivation to regulate expression and success at emotion regulation (items adapted from BEQ).

The second section of the questionnaire asked first about general preferred emotion display strategy at work. Participants were then presented with the four interaction scenarios and asked to rate, across the six emotions, which of the display strategies presented they would use (display strategy) and which they felt they should use (display rule). The measure of emotion display was adapted, with permission, from the Display Rules Inventory – Abridged (Matsumoto; Yoo, Hirayama & Petrova, 2005). Two changes were made to the DRAI-A for the purposes of this study. First, the interaction partners were changed to apply to the university setting, reflecting differing levels of the University hierarchy (student, colleague, senior colleague and team). Secondly, the DRAI-A asks participants to provide detailed information about the person they have considered for each interaction; this allows analysis of display strategies based on information such as extent of previous knowledge. This was not included as it was assumed that, based on a small sample size, this information would not be able to an analysed. Instead, participants were asked to imagine each interaction took place with someone they did not know well.

The questionnaire was piloted with 4 members of academic staff at the University in a focus group. The questionnaire was handed out to participants who completed it individually and then discussed any related issues as a group; the focus group was recorded and transcribed. As a result of this discussion, several minor changes were made. First, the individual difference items were grouped into labelled sub-sections to allow a clearer appreciation in the participant of what they were intended to measure. Secondly, a sheet providing examples of each emotion was removed as this was considered to be confusing and potentially leading. Finally, more space was added to each sub-section of the questionnaire to allow for a greater amount of participant comments.

3.6.1.2 Data Gathering & Analysis

The data gathering for the main study took place across 3 Schools. After having obtained approval from each School's Ethics Committee, the Head of School was

approached in person with information about the study and asked to provide Informed Consent for the School to participate. Next, all Subject Group Leaders (managers) were approached to ask whether they personally would be interested in participating and whether and how the researcher might gain access to the staff in their teams. This resulted in several different approach strategies adopted across the Schools: for example in two subject groups, questionnaire were distributed in paper in staff pigeon holes, following emails from the managers about the study; in one School, staff were approached directly at a School open day, with a follow-up email with a link to the electronic version of the questionnaire. Approximately 6-8 weeks were allowed for completion of the questionnaire. The data from both online and paper versions of the questionnaire was inputted into excel and also SPSS. Descriptive and inductive statistics were carried out with both software packages as appropriate.

Despite the fairly flexible, lengthy and fairly onerous approach strategy, response to the questionnaire was disappointingly low. In total, 30 academic staff members replied, out of a title of approximately 200 (15%). There are likely to be a number of reasons for this. Firstly not all the managers responded to the researcher's email contact; given the conditions agreed for access with the Schools' Ethics Committees, this meant that the research was unable to directly access around a third of the staff across the Schools. Secondly, nearly all the Schools involved were also taking part in wide-reaching initiatives to promote employee engagement; though the project was clearly separate from these, the high attention to the former might have led to a form of 'emotion-at-work exhaustion' when people felt they were no longer interested in commenting on aspects of their emotional experience at work.

The low response rate is a possible limitation for the study; this is reflected on further in the final Chapter of this thesis; the effect this had on the researcher and the personal learning taken are also discussed in the CPD Wrap-Around report.

3.6.2 Qualitative Data: Interviews & Questionnaire Comments

Qualitative data was gathered in the form of interview with university managers and comments from the questionnaires.

3.6.2.1 The Interview as a Research Method

The interview is a central component of research that aims to adopt a more subject-centred approach to a topic. Semi-structured interviews were adopted as the main approach for the empirical study with a series of questions and prompts prepared in advance of the interview though often not used in the same order or with the same wording across different interviews (see Appendix 4). The aim was to reconcile two potentially contradictory drivers in the interview, the researcher's motivation to discuss a particular topic and their desire to enable the participant to subjectively navigate the themes most relevant to them. In this sense, the interview is understood more as an interactive dialogue (Fontana & Frey, 2000; De Fina, 2011).

This type of interviewing can be usefully compared to what Fontana & Frey (2000) describe as the traditional and 'rational' type of interviewing that assumes that the interview is an opportunity to access external, objective knowledge by a skilled interviewer who remains neutral, passive and detached from the situation and the interviewee. However, as argued by Alvesson (2011), the interview still needs to be understood as a deeply socially-embedded interaction; the adoption of the interview with a realist epistemology, for example, may unwittingly lead to assumptions about the 'truthfulness' of the material gathered. Realism's epistemological relativism, the belief in a socially-produced reality, would need to be evident in the analysis of the data gathered, even if this data was argued to provide insight into the layers of a knowable reality.

"Interview accounts may just as well be seen as the outcomes of political considerations, script-following, impression management, the operation of discourses constituting subjects and governing their responses" Alvesson (2011: 4)

The adoption of interview data as a principal source of research material would therefore need to demonstrate sensitivity to the more contested and contextually embedded nature of the qualitative data this generated; as argued by Alevsson (2011), researchers using interview data need to demonstrate greater 'reflexivity' in interpreting the dialogues with their participants'.

The thesis argues that the adoption of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as an approach to data analysis offers such a possibility. IPA is an approach that focuses in detail on individual lived experiences, aiming to understand the meaning-making activities of individuals within specific socio/ cultural contexts (Smith & Osborn 2007; Shinebourne, 2011), as argued in the following quote:

> *"meaning is central, and the aim is to try to understand the content and complexity of those meanings rather than measure their frequency"*
> (Smith & Osborn, 2007:66).

Shinebourne (2011) argues that IPA can be considered a "synthesis of ideas" in relation to qualitative research (Shinebourne, 2011:45) in that it is combines a phenomenological focus on the subject and their meaning-making activities with a hermeneutic sensitivity to the influence of interpretation activities of researcher and subject, bounded by socially constructed language and discourse. Though arguably social constructionist at heart, it is fundamentally experiential, characterised by an idiographic position that emphasises more the individual experience and how the world appears to the individual (Eatough & Smith, 2006). This "light constructionist stance" (Eatough & Smith, 2006: 484) was also considered to be the most appropriate for the study's psychological construction view of emotion.

The analysis of interview data according to IPA would therefore emphasise the multiple interpretative acts at the heart of any description of 'reality'; it would place emphasis on those undertaken by the interviewee in their own process of meaning-making activity and those of the interviewer, with their own background, interests and agendas. The

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iterative nature of these interpretative acts could also be a usual extension of the view of the interview as a dialogue (e.g. De Fina, 2011). It could be argued that the adoption of the interview with a realist epistemology emphasises this aspect. The realist and IPA-led analysis would therefore seek to understand both how the individual makes sense of their world, whilst reflecting on how this understanding is shaped by the structural constraints on their experience and attempting to also be mindful of how these same circumstances affect the interviewer's own interpretation and analysis efforts.

It is therefore acknowledged that Alvesson's (2011) notes of caution regarding the interpretation of material from interviews are especially relevant to research adopting a realist epistemology. However, in the case of the current empirical study, attempts will be made to adopt the reflexivity Alvesson suggests by adhering to an IPA approach.

3.6.2.2 Data Gathering & Analysis

After having completed the questionnaire, all staff were invited to attend an interview with the researcher. A total of 12 interviews were carried out; 8 of these were with Subject Group Leavers (managers), the remaining 4 with academic members of staff. All volunteers for the interview were given information about the study in advance and were asked to sign an Informed Consent form. The interviews lasted from 35mins to just over an hour; all interviewer were transcribed by the researcher into Word. Comments from the questionnaires were copied into excel for analysis.

The main aim of the analysis of qualitative data (interviews and participant comments) was to gain a subjective understanding of the phenomenon, i.e. of emotion display at work, from the participants' point of view; this is in line with the thesis's adoption of a psychological construction perspective on emotion and its interest in the psychological 'ingredients' of subjective experience (e.g. Gross & Barrett.2011).

A step-by-step approach to the IPA-informed analysis was adopted, as outlined by Smith & Osborn (2007) and Shinebourne (2011). All data was anonymised and pseudonyms adopted for each interviewee. After an initial stage of engagement with the transcripts and familiarisations with the content, the data was entered into NVivo software to enable the identification of meaningful themes. This analysis was undertaken using a broad thematic analysis whose flexibility as an approach has been argued by Braun & Clarke (2006) to make it suitable for adoption with a number of research philosophy positions. An example of the output of this initial thematic analysis conducted in NVivo is available in Appendix 5. This initial analysis did generate some insight, however, in the researcher's experience, it lacked the ability to gain a more subject-centred view of emotion display. In line with the focus of IPA research generally, this stage needed to allow the development of an understanding of each single participant's subjective experience of emotion display first, before attempting any integration across participants to generate common themes (Smith & Osborn, 2007). Both the thematic analysis approach adopted and the configuration of NVivo was leading the analysis to focus from the start on possible common themes; its emphasis on building models based on common themes and NVivo's inherent quantification of the data gathered (e.g. the emphasis on % of text across interviews allocated to a particular theme) was leading away from an individual-focused subjective understanding to a group-based understanding.

A decision was therefore made to start the analysis again from scratch, relying instead on manual analysis and note-taking, rather than a data analysis package. The data analysis was conducted in three phases, with clear end points, that were then revisited iteratively, following Smith &Osborn (2007) and Shinebourne (2011). The first phase involved re-reading all the transcripts and taking notes in the margins to highlight important themes, questions and issues (see Appendix 6 for an example). Then, a single A4 table was constructed for each participant that outlined the main themes to emerge from their account of the phenomenon of emotion display at work; this table synthesised the elements that were perceived to be most important for that individual participant and included links to specific quotes (see Appendix 7 for an example). Only at this stage did the analysis attempt a gradual integration of themes and elements across participants,

with an emphasis on the meaningfulness of the themes for the individual participants, rather than on the frequency with which they were mentioned. At this stage, a clearer interpretative influence was also exercised, with each main theme linked to the relevant literature (see Appendix 8 for an example). The write-up of the themes, both in the data analysis and then in the thesis itself, was done with explicit attention to the interpretative activities not only of the participant but also of the researcher (Shinebourne, 2011).

It is argued that IPA's emphasis on phenomenology, hermeneutic interpretation and idiographic focus is particularly appropriate for the thesis's aim and its adoption of the psychological construction view of emotion at work. The re-analysis of the data according to distinct phases emphasised this in many ways. It generated meaningful themes as a result of an in-depth understanding of individual, subjective experience; with each of these representing clear, distinct phases of the data analysis process. It also enabled a focus on the interpretation of participants of their lived experiences of emotion at work, whilst also attempting to give emphasis to the researcher's own interpretation of both these meaning-making activities, as influence by context, understood in part as relevant discourses. As argued by Eatough & Smith (2006), IPA can offer additional insight to the experience of emotion, compared to other forms of qualitative research, and it has been argued, is particularly suited to the development of an integrated understanding of emotion display at work.

3.6.3   Triangulation

Mixed Methods research also allows scope for individual researchers or research teams to clarify and justify their own triangulation choices, i.e. the use of Mixed Methods for understanding or corroboration (Creswell, 2011; Johnson et al., 2007). In this study, a 'complementary perspectives' approach to triangulation was adopted for this research, as defined by Hammersley (2008); this gives equal weight to each method on the basis of its strengths and limitations and ability to answer the research questions. This choice is driven by the researcher's stratified social ontology and realist epistemology; this rejects the positivistic tradition of a validity-driven approach to mixed method triangulation

(Hammersley, 2008). On the other hand, the research does not fully endorse a social constructionist perspective (e.g. Crotty, 1998; Grix, 2004; Fineman, 2003) which would suggest prioritising qualitative data gathering. The write-up of the findings will therefore integrate quantitative and qualitative insights alongside each other.

3.7   Ethics

The British Psychological Society's (BPS) recommended approach to ethical; research has been adopted as a framework; the BPS defines ethics are:

> *"necessary to clarify the conditions under which psychological research can take place"*

> British Psychological Society Code of Human Research Ethics (2011:4)

In addition, the study underwent consideration by the Ethics Committee of the three different Schools before being approved. Though somewhat different in detail, each processes provided an opportunity to reflect on the overall quality of the study. The current section will provide an overview of these issues and how they were managed.

The first issue the study needed to address was the importance of respect for the autonomy and dignity of persons, argued consistently as a key ethical issue in research (e.g. Bryman& Bell, 2007; Saunders, 2005; BPS Code of Human Research Ethics, 2011). Respect can be demonstrated in a number of ways, including giving sufficient information about the nature of the research to participants in advance and protecting participant anonymity. A series of Information Sheets were given to the Heads of School, Subject Group Leaders and all participants via email before participation in the study; these clearly specified the purpose of the study, what participation would involve and covered issues such as anonymity and data storage; the fact that participation was voluntary was also made clear at this stage (see Appendices 9 & 10 for examples).

One of the Ethical Committees also required the researcher to gain named Informed Consent from all participants, including questionnaire participants; this, from the researcher's point of view, created a possible tension with another ethical principle, the guarantee of anonymity as part of the protection of participants. The researcher complied with the requirement though there was a concern that this might have affected the response rate as it generated additional practical complications in completing the questionnaire for participants.

Another issue raised by the ethical approval process, also relate to the protection of participants, was how the study was going to minimise harm to potential participants; this is another important ethical issues raised frequently (e.g. Bryman& Bell, 2007; Saunders, 2005; BPS Code of Human Research Ethics, 2011). Only one area of potential harm to participants was discussed which was the possibility that material of an emotional and distressing nature may arise during the interviews. This did arise in one of the interviews were the participant disclosed upsetting material of a personal nature, only indirectly relevant to the research. In that situation, the skills of the researcher as a psychologist helped to ensure that the individual felt safe and comfortable and all the related material was deleted from the interview transcript.

Finally the BPS Code of Human Research Ethics (BPS, 2011) and all ethical approval processes focused on the need to demonstrate scientific and scholarly rigor of the research. This has been achieved in three ways. Firstly, a quality framework was developed from a number of sources to guide and then evaluate the whole study; this will be discussed in the following section. Secondly, the process of continual supervision is, in itself, an ongoing check on quality and rigour for the student researcher. Finally, the process of seeking ethical approval ensured for a considered reflection on all aspects of the research specifically from the participants' point of view; this itself also contributed to the rigour of the final study.

3.8   Research Methodology Review

This section presents a review of the current study against quality criteria. The section will start by presenting the criteria adopted for the study and then present a discussion of how the study has met these.

3.8.1   Quality Criteria for Mixed Methods research

The evaluation of the quality of any given research is an essential part of the Methodology and, as has been argued in the previous section, also an integral part of a study's ethics. However, the adoption of Mixed Methods presents certain specific challenges when it comes to quality evaluation, first amongst these the absence of a clear consensus regarding relevant quality criteria. There might be a number of reasons for this; Creswell & Piano Clark (2007) argue that this lack of consensus is linked to the fact that Mixed Methods is a relatively new form of methodology. Bergman (2008), however, has argued that it is more complex to present a case of the overall quality of a study adopting Mixed Methods research, given its combination of different methodologies. A review of relevant textbooks also reveals a dominance of procedural explanations of how to conduct Mixed Methods in practice, rather than a more theory-driven discussion of possible standards for evaluating quality.

To develop a comprehensive and meaningful discussion of the quality of the current study, a decision was taken to develop a specific, particular set of quality criteria that is uniquely relevant to mixed methods criteria. In developing these standards, the aim was to both build on writing about quality in qualitative (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Elliott et al, 1999; Malterud, 2001; Yardley, 2002) and quantitative data as well as address quality standards that might captured the distinctive features of Mixed Methods research in particular (e.g. Creswell & Piano Clark, 2007).

The result of this analysis is a framework to guide an assessment of the study's overall quality consisting of: Rigour; Commitment to participants; Commitment to the topic; Reflexivity; Insight; Impact and Coherence. More detailed analysis is presented in Appendix 11.

Table 12 Quality Criteria for Empirical Study

Rigour	Informed rigour in all aspects of data gathering & analysis, including transparency in method description and discussion of transferability
Commitment (participants)	Active engagement with ethics; respect of participant context & perspective; grounding of analysis in participant perspective
Commitment (topic)	Critical immersion in topic & its research, including its intellectual history & philosophy;
Reflexivity	Critical awareness of own perspective
Insight	Integrated, coherent analysis generated, holistic but nuanced; generating insight in generative mechanisms
Impact	Critically aware of actual and potential impact; explicit or implicit emancipatory intent
Coherence	Coherence across all aspects of the study with stated philosophical position

3.8.2 Evaluation of Study against criteria

In this section, the study will be evaluated against each of the above criteria in more detail.

Rigour   Overall the study has attempted to adopt both rigour and transparency. The study used adapted versions of existing, validated scales to make up the questionnaires as described in a previous section; possible limitations of the adaptation included leaving out the detailed questions about the relationship between the individual and the interaction partner and reducing the overall number of items in scales measuring the personality facets. This could have resulted in weaknesses in the data, as will be discussed in the final Chapter of the thesis. The study also has a small sample for the questionnaire data, representing a small percentage of the overall number of people invited to take part in the research. There is therefore a question as to whether the findings can be considered representative of the target population. Finally, the findings are, by design, 'contextually-embedded'; there is little argument that they could, at this stage, be reasonably assumed to apply to other contexts. Though generalisability was not necessarily a criteria for Mixed Methods or qualitative research, the study is also limited in its ability to argue for transferability of results.

Commitment (Participants)   The study has demonstrated this commitment by consideration of ethical issues, as discussed in the previous section, and by ensuring that respect for participant views and the participant perspective during data collection and analysis phases. However, the considerable difficulties with gaining participation in the current study from University staff might point to an underlying difficulty or unresolved sensitivity that the researcher was not able to fully address. The change in methodology from two interviews to a single one is also a limitation in the extent of the researcher's insight into the participant experience.

Commitment (topic)   This commitment has arguably been demonstrated through engagement with the broader literature on emotion at work and with the key challenges involved in developing an integrated understanding of emotion display at work.

Reflexivity   The current thesis is presented as a logical, coherent argument; the reality is that it has been a more iterative journey of critical personal and professional reflection. An important part of the more personal journey has been the development of a more critical awareness of the researcher's own perspective, as required to demonstrate the criteria of 'reflexivity'. This more personal dimension to the thesis is explored in the CPD Wrap-around. Notwithstanding the critiques made of the discipline, however, the study is still a psychological study of emotion at work and this influenced the literature and methodological choices and the data's interpretation. It is fully acknowledged therefore that the claimed knowledge created is influenced and limited by researcher's social, cultural and disciplinary contexts of reference.

Insight   Findings from this study are largely consistent with the existing literature. However additional insight is suggested as achieved on the basis of its adoption of the Mixed Methods methodology and the development of an integrated understanding. Extensions to both knowledge and practice are therefore argued.

Coherence   The study is argued to have achieved coherence in its attempts to remain faithful to the logical implications of the adoption of a constructionist ontology and by being informed by a critical realist philosophical underpinning.

3.9   Chapter Summary

The thesis explores whether and how cross-paradigm dialogue in relation to emotion display at work can be achieved. The current chapter has discussed the philosophical and methodological implications of stimulating this dialogue, arguing for a possible resolution to the existing philosophical and methodological tensions between existing approaches. The current empirical study is argued to have achieved this via the use of Mixed Methods, blending quantitative and qualitative data, and via a dialogue with a critical realist research philosophy.

Chapter 4   Emotion Display in a UK University: Results

4.1   Introducing the Chapter

This chapter presents the results of the case-study exploration of emotion display within a UK university. The aim is to explore the experience of emotion display at work drawing from the thesis's framework for cross-paradigm dialogue. The sections within this chapter follow the Research Questions set out in Chapter 3. The first two sections discuss the influence of discrete context (interaction partner) and of basic emotion on perceived emotion display rules and strategies (Sections 2&3). The fourth section outlines how emotional expressivity might influence emotion display and the fifth explores additional influences on emotion display in this specific organisational context. The chapter concludes with a final section that aims to bring all the findings together and discusses them in respect of the relevant literature.

4.2   Emotion Display: Results Part 1

This section will focus on managers' experience of emotion display, referring in particular to Research Objective 3.

4.2.1   Display across Specific Emotions

The consideration of specific emotions has been advocated by many in the last decade (e.g. Barsade et al., 2003; Briner & Keifer, 2009; Gooty et al., 2009). Therefore, the first set of analyses was carried out to understand whether there are patterns in emotion display that are linked to the six specific 'basic' emotions discussed. The questionnaire offered a total of 7 possible display strategies; these have been simplified into 4 broad strategies to assist understanding of the data, as the table below depicts.

Table 13 Display Strategies Used in Study

Original Strategy	Strategy reported in graphs
Express More than Felt	Express More
Express as Felt	Express as Felt
Express with a Qualifier	Express Less
Express Less than felt	
Express Nothing	Express Nothing/ Other
Hide feeling by expressing something else	

4.2.1.1 Overview

The first set of analyses was carried out to explore patterns across the six basic emotions and to identify those that might be worth exploring in further detail. The first analysis was a simple comparison of the % participants who felt the display rules within the university suggested display of the emotion 'as felt', i.e. with little regulation, across each emotion; the results is displayed in the graph below.

Graph 1– 'Express as Felt' Display Rule across Emotion
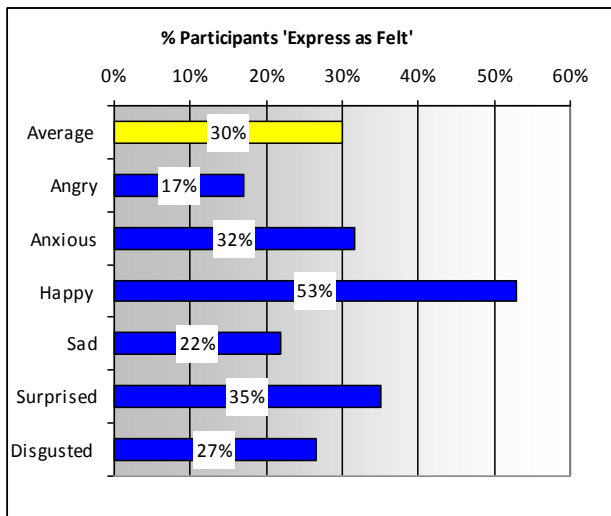
The data suggests that there is some variation across display rules across the emotions; happiness was expressed as felt, 'genuinely', by most people on average across situations (53%) and anxiety was the emotion that most people felt was required to be regulated most.

To explore this data further, the average display rule perceived was calculated for each emotion. A high score would indicate the rule implies a greater need, on average, to regulate the emotion displayed. The t-tests were carried out to understand significant differences across emotions against both the average display rule suggested across all emotions/ situations and the average general preferred display strategy chosen (PS). The

table below reports the p values for these and the display rules for anger, sadness and potentially also anxiety were revealed as of interest (see Table below).

Table 14 Difference across Distinct Emotions – Display Rules

	Anger	Anxiety	Happy	Sad	Surprised	Disgusted
Average	4.10	4.02	2.98	4.30	3.43	4.35
Cfr. Average (3.86)	0.007	n.s.	0.000	0.020	0.000	0.009
Cfr PS Average (3.38)	0.044	0.058	n.s.	0.026	n.s.	0.011

Similar analyses were carried out for display strategies used. As the graph below shows, there is even greater variation in display strategies used across the emotions and, generally, a lower % of people expressing they would use the display strategy 'express as felt'. As above, the emotions of anger, anxiety, sadness and disgust seemed to be of greatest interest with respect to emotion regulation efforts.

Graph 2 – 'Express as Felt' Display Strategy across Emotion
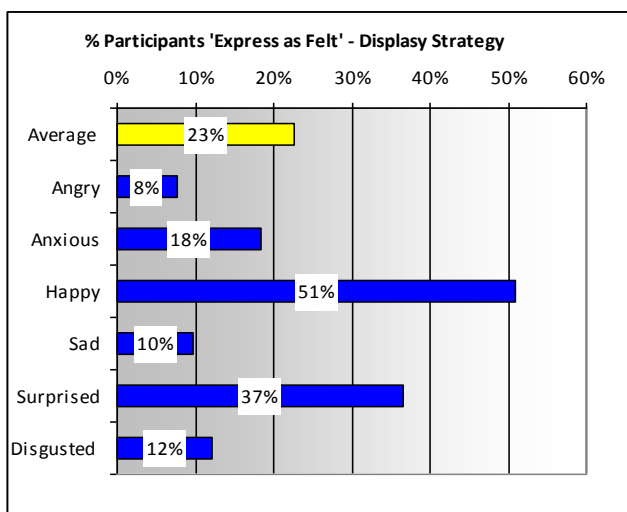
As above, t-tests were also carried out to determine emotions that might be worth further exploring in detail. The table below confirms the suggestion above that there is a greater

variation in display strategies compared to average and compared to average preferred display strategy across all emotions.

Table 15 Difference across Distinct Emotions – Display Rules

	Anger	Anxiety	Happy	Sad	Surprised	Disgusted
Average	4.13	4.11	2.66	4.29	3.06	4.41
Cfr. Average (3.76)	0.006	0.002	0.003	0.004	n.s.	0.001
Cfr PS Average (3.38)	0.001	0.014	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.001

There are a number of points of interest for these initial analyses. The first general pattern appears to be that emotions seem to be displayed less openly than the perceived display rules would suggest; 30% of participants feel they should express the emotion as felt, compared to 23% who do use this strategy. Interpretation of this trend is complex and could suggest that the University culture is relatively open and un-prescriptive with regards to emotion display but that individuals still feel the need to control their expressions. It could mean that individuals are subscribing to cultural expectations in their display that are other than those of the university as a whole as will be further explored in following sections. It might also be due to a misperception of the instructions of scale itself. More research would be warranted to further explore this.

Secondly, the data suggests that, overall, happiness is the emotion whose regulation is less regulated at work, compared to anger, anxiety, sadness and disgust that are perceived as requiring greater regulation. This general pattern of results has also been found in studies of emotion display at work (e.g. Gross, 2003; Diefendorff & Greguras, 2009). The following sections will discuss these emotions in further detail.

Finally, nearly all emotion display strategies for specific emotions were significantly different from the average. This could have resulted in the conflation of what would be considered 'positive' (e.g. happiness) and 'negative' (e.g. anger) emotions. It does

however also tentatively reinforces the need to study emotion display in relation to specific emotions (e.g. Barsade et al., 2003; Briner & Keifer, 2009; Gooty et al., 2009).

4.2.1.2 Expressing Anger

The expression of anger was explored in more detail in relation to expected display rules and actual display strategies for this emotion across all four interactions (see Graphs below). A clear pattern emerges which suggested that most academics, across all interaction situations, would expect a display of anger to be strongly regulated.

Graph 3 - Emotion Display Rules (Anger)
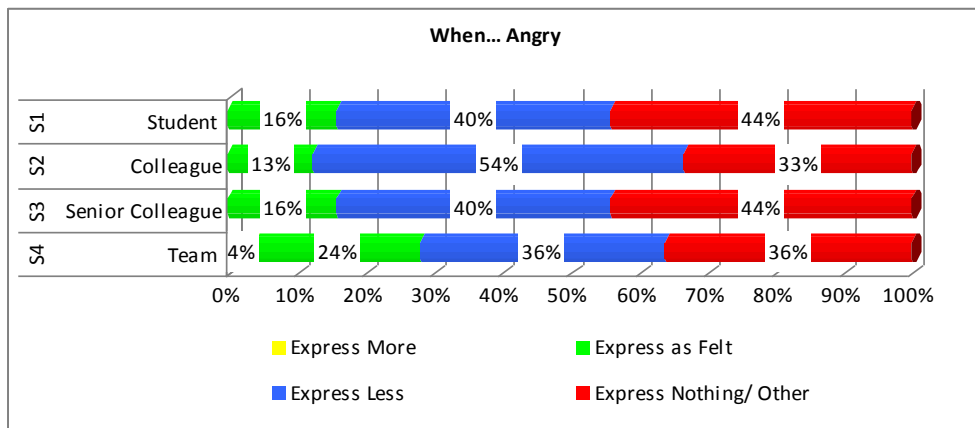
Graph 4 - Emotion Display Strategies (Anger)
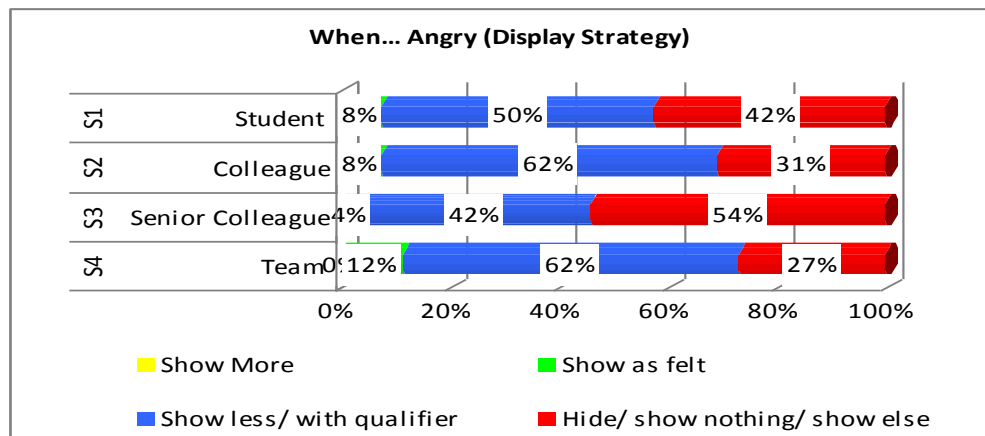
An interesting point to note from the charts above is the large amount of people who felt that anger should and would be 'expressed with a qualifier' or 'expressed less than feel' ('express less' in graphs). On average this was higher than for other emotions (on average 43% for anger compared to 26% for display rules and 54% to 37% for display strategies across other emotions).

Comments from participants help to explore this further and suggest that they feel the need to express something of the anger they are feeling, whilst toning down the 'emotional' elements of their reaction. This desire or need to display may, in part, be influenced by the sheer strength of the emotional reaction; i.e. anger might be harder to hide completely as it is felt so intensely. Some participant comments suggest this; for example, it was often the first – and in one interview the only – emotion that was talked about in the interviews. As an example, a manager who talked of herself as generally calm said: "*the thing that probably drives me to do things is the anger bit, that's the one that really gets to me*". When describing how they felt in situations where they had felt anger, people also often used language that reinforced the power of the emotional reaction: for example, "*I was really angry*"; "*I was so angry*", "*I was furious about the situation*".

There could also be a link to the narrative that anger is associated with; anger's core-relational theme is: a demeaning offence against me and mine (Lazarus & Cohen-Charash, 2000). Some of the participant experiences also capture this aspect of anger:

> "*The one for anger (...)I would, erm, show it but with a qualifier 'I am angry because' (...) here is the qualifier, "because.. you've treated me in this way... or you've treated someone I know in this way, and here's the thing, it's inappropriate to have done that. And I don't think speaking out in anger, when there's the reasonable evidence, is a bad thing"*
> Anger Quote 1 (Interview)
>
> "*I was reasoned, I wasn't kind of busting but I was really fed* "
> Anger Quote 2 (Interview)

"I would tend to avoid confrontational responses, whether that were anger or disgust. However, I would be willing to show these emotions openly if I felt the occasion merited it"

Anger Quote 3 (Questionnaire)

4.2.1.3 Expressing Anxiety

The expression of anxiety was also explored in more detail in relation to expected display rules and actual display strategies for this emotion across all four interactions (see Graphs below). Across the two graphs, a pattern might be seen that suggests that anxiety is likely to be expressed most with colleagues and least with senior colleagues, though the display rule in the latter situation does not differ greatly from that in other situations. The need to expressing anxiety less than felt is broadly consistent with the existing research (e.g. Diefendorff & Greguras, 2009).

Graph 5 - Emotion Display Rules (Anxiety)
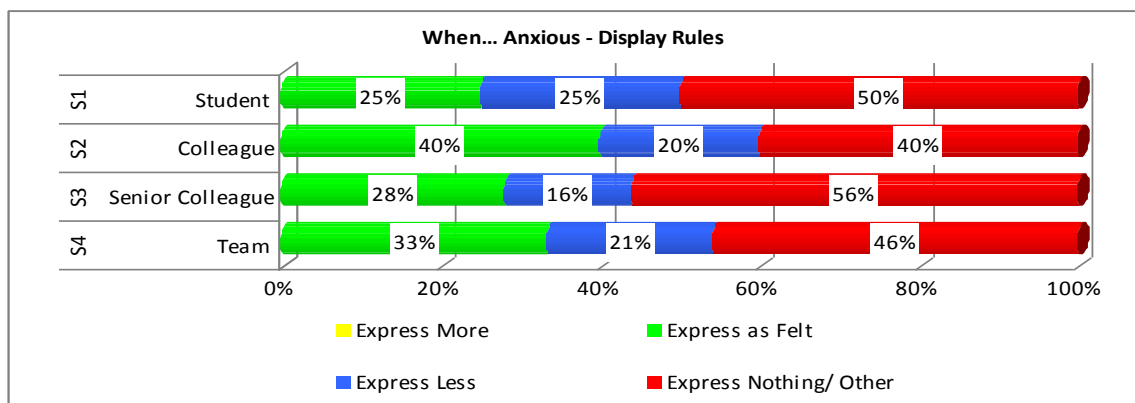
Graph 6 - Emotion Display Strategies (Anxiety)

When... Anxious (Display Strategy)

		Express as Felt	Express Less	Express Nothing/ Hide
S1	Student	20%	28%	52%
S2	Colleague	27%	38%	35%
S3	Senior Colleague	8%	42%	50%
S4	Team	0% 19%	42%	38%

Legend: ■ Express More ■ Express as Felt ■ Express Less ■ Express Nothing/ Hide
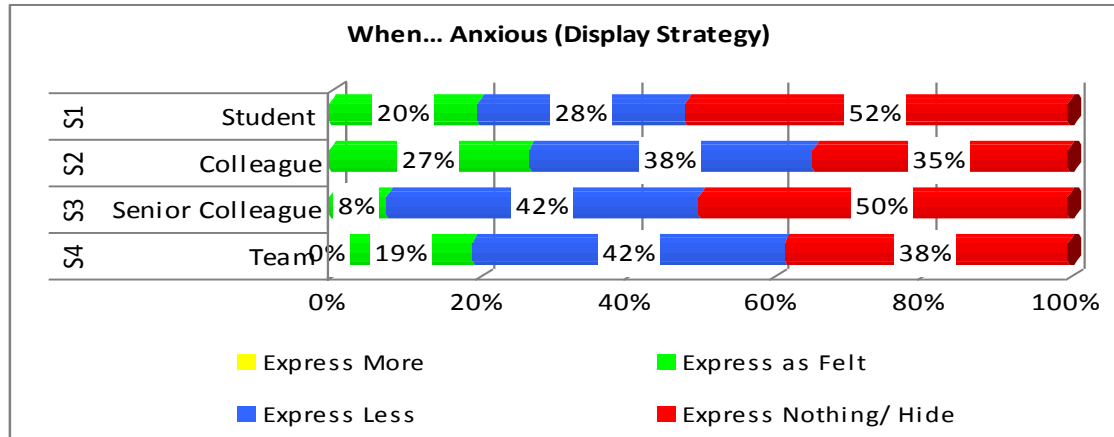
A reflection on anxiety's core relational theme of 'facing uncertain, existential threat' (Lazarus & Cohen-Charash, 2000) might help understand the suggested pattern above. The comments below seem to indicate the dual themes for anxiety; to the individual, feeling anxious communicates their own vulnerability and the concern that it communicates lack of confidence or competence to the outside world.

> *"When I am feeling anxious in a meeting (...)people say that, afterwards, if I am de-briefing that will say 'what? Well you didn't show that, I would have never have known that you were... you know 'swan on top, legs doing this underneath' (motion of paddling quickly)...'*
> Anxiety - Quote 1 (interview)

> *"If it was some job I had been given at work, I wouldn't sort of, start saying 'I am really worried about doing that', I would think 'I better look as though I can cope as much as I can..."*
> Anxiety - Quote 3 (interview)

It is therefore understandable to suggest that individuals would most likely want to hide these concerns (i.e. regulate the expression of anxiety) in front of senior colleagues and might feel 'safer' expressing these with colleagues.

4.2.1.4 Expressing Surprise and Disgust

Reflecting on both the quantitative and qualitative data in respect to surprise and disgust suggested that these emotions were the most confused and the ones for which people struggled to provide clear answer.

For surprise, this seem largely linked to ambiguity inherent in this emotion itself and the fact that it is hardly ever expressed on its own; i.e. that surprise can lead to happiness (being 'positively surprised' or 'impressed') or sadness/ anger/ anxiety (e.g. 'feeling let down'). The concept of co-occurrence of emotions states is known but lamentably not treated well with regards to research on emotion. It would seem therefore the presentation of 'surprised' as an emotional reaction in itself might be of limited value.

The situation for disgust was similar in some respects in that many participants openly questioned what disgust might mean in a work situation. Whilst some doubted whether such a strong emotion as disgust would ever be experienced at work, others felt that the range of issues that might cause disgust is so large that it is difficult to provide a clear emotion display rule or strategy. The following quote captures this aspect of disgust well:

> *"There's probably a question of degree - disgusted about what for instance - there would be a different reaction to a "disgusting" aspect of personal hygiene compared to a "disgusting" attitude to another gender/social group/ethnicity. For the former it's likely I'll let the behaviour ride (this time, and "it depends" again), in the latter it would have to be tackled straight away."*
>
> Disgust – Quote 1 (questionnaire)

These considerations have not surfaced clearly in the existing literatures; they may be expressions of the particular organisational context or they may reflect a broader pattern. This would need to be further explored by research.

4.2.2 Display across Discrete Contexts

The literature has indicated that emotion display rules vary considerable across different discrete contexts, or interaction partners (e.g. Diefendorff & Greguras, 2008). In the current study, four such situations were suggested: interacting with a student (labelled S1); with a colleague (S2); with a senior colleague (S3) and with a group/ team (S4. In the first three situations (S1, 2 & 3), the additional specification was that this was an individual not well known to the person completing the questionnaire. The following section present an overview of the data found, drawing out any differences for emotion display rules across situations.

4.2.2.1 Overview

As for the six separate emotions above, analyses were carried out to explore patterns across the situations, firstly comparing the number of people who felt they could express the emotion 'as felt' (genuine display) across the four interaction situations and compared to average (see graph below).

Graph 7 - 'Express as Felt' Display Rule across Situation
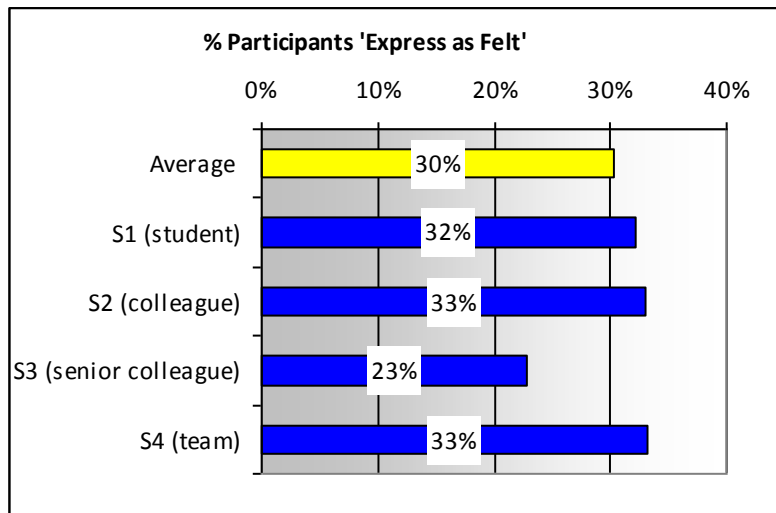
The data suggests there is little variation across the four situations and that similar display rules applied across all situations within a University. A possible exception is when interacting with a senior colleague and t-tests were carried out to understand whether this might be a significant difference. However, no significant differences were found, as the table below reports.

Table 16 Difference across Distinct Emotions – Display Rules

	S1	S2	S3	S4
Average	3.92	3.77	4.00	3.77
Cfr. Average (3.78)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Cfr PS Average (3.38)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

The same analyses were carried out for display strategy. Again, there seemed to be little difference across situations, apart from for interaction with a senior colleague (see graph below). T-test revealed these differences to be not significant, as reported in the take overleaf.

Graph 8 - 'Express as Felt' across Situation (Strategy)
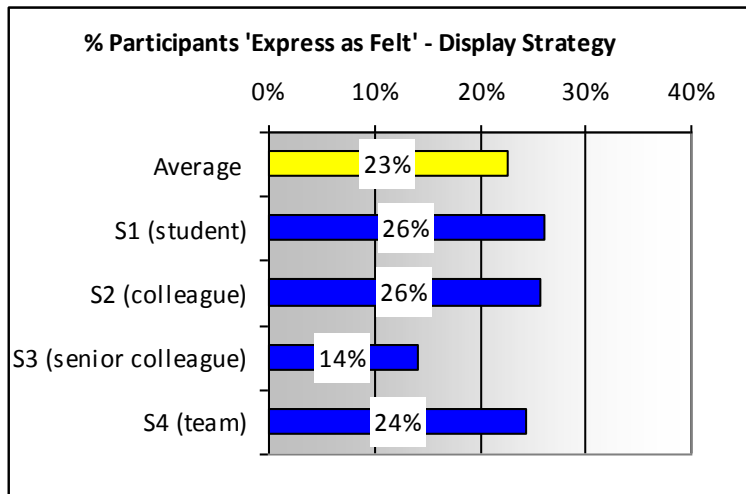
Table 17 Difference across Distinct Emotions – Display Strategies

	S1	S2	S3	S4
Average	3.92	3.77	4.00	3.77
Cfr. Average (3.78)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Cfr PS Average (3.38)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

There are a number of points of interest in a discussion of emotion display across situations. The first is that the majority of academic staff indicate that they expect to have to engage in a form of emotion display regulation across all types of interactions at work. The second broad point is that is that there are few differences across most situations; the exception seems to be interacting with a senior colleague; here people felt a greater expectation (display rule) to regulate their display than average (77% compared to 70%). Comments in the questionnaires and in the interviews also revealed the particular significance of interactions with students, not directly evidenced in the questionnaire data. Therefore, though these two situations do not appear from the data above to be significant, they will be explored further below.

4.2.2.2 Interacting with a Student (S1)

Given the significance of this interaction expressed in comments and interview, data related to interactions between academic staff and students was explored in more detail. The graph below shows the emotion display rules perceived to be relevant when interacting with a student across all emotions. On average, 32% of respondents felt they should display the emotion as they felt it and 41% felt the expectation was for them to hide the emotion felt by expressing nothing or expressing something else. Overall, the pattern is similar for the average across all situations (30%), indicating that the display rules perceived to govern interactions with students did not seem to differ considerably from those relating to other interactions. There are also clear differences in the display

rules perceived to apply to different emotions; this will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

Graph 9 - Emotion Display Rules in S1 (student)
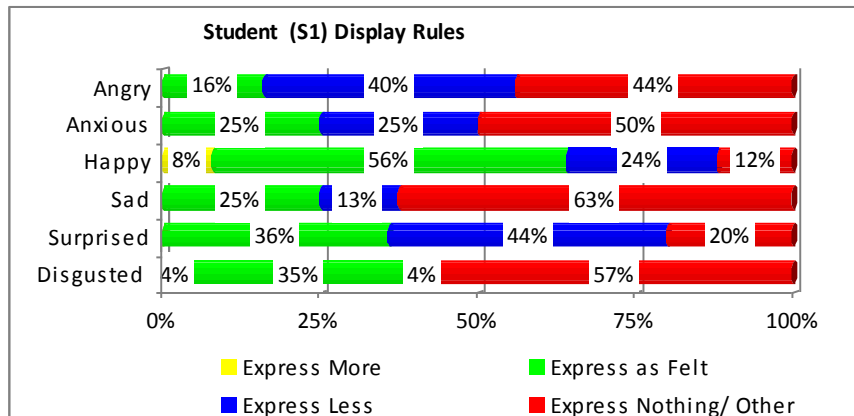
The comments in the questionnaire and the interview data however provide a much richer picture with many suggesting that the student interaction was a specific form of interaction in terms of emotion regulation; specifically that is required the active regulation of emotion display in order to minimise any student distress. There seemed to be three aspects to this that are worth noting. Firstly, the relationship between the member of staff and the student was at times discussed as similar to that between a member of staff and a customer. This suggested some sort of dependency between the member of staff and the student, requiring management as would be expected of a customer service encounter. The following quotes reflect this:

> *"I know that a lot of academics don't agree with it - but the students are our customers and they pay our wages in the long run because if we didn't have students coming here who wanted to come here, erm, then we wouldn't have jobs, so, you've got to keep the customer sweet..."*

Quote 1 (interview)

> *"I would like to express it as I feel it but I know that the culture also exists where student is the one with the rights, the student is the customer so..."*

Quote 2 (interview)

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Linked to this, there were some comments about the University procedures and culture being geared up to protect the student. As a consequence, staff felt even greater need to subtract anything that might cause student distress from the interaction; in this sense, subtracting the emotion or regulating the emotion display.

"You are trying to get them to do as best they can and get a good result and by being honest and direct that is the best way to do it. But I think there are various cultures of appeals and complaints and examples of staff have said things that seem perfectly reasonable to me but the students have taken it in a different way"

Quote 3 (interview)

"All I've picked up (from the University) is that invariably they'll take the student's side of things if there's anything (laughs) maybe that's why I am so careful. But that's erm, I just think I am conscious of representing the University as well, conscious of doing the right thing and making sure that I am following the right procedures"

Quote 4 (interview)

Lastly, some members of staff felt aware of their own position of power in relation to the students; this made them more cautious about handling student interaction in order to prevent student distress.

"In terms of the students, just very consciously, conscious of that relationship, that you kind of have the control in that relationship and you have to be careful"

Quote 5 (interview)

"(As a student) on more than one occasions was embarrassed, humiliated, felt totally crushed, by something that for the Lecturer was a complete throw-away line. And I came to realise in the power play there is (…)I realised about the power-play that there is between lecturers and students"

Quote 6 (interview)

4.2.2.3 Interacting with a Senior Colleague (S3)

The specific interaction with a senior colleague was suggested as worthy of further exploration. The graph below shows the expected display rules for all emotions across interactions with a senior colleague. Overall, display rules for all emotions appeared to require more regulation than for other situations, though general patterns of difference between emotions can still be seen, such that rule for happiness still allows the greatest 'genuine' display.

Graph 10 - Emotion Display Rules in S3 (senior colleague)
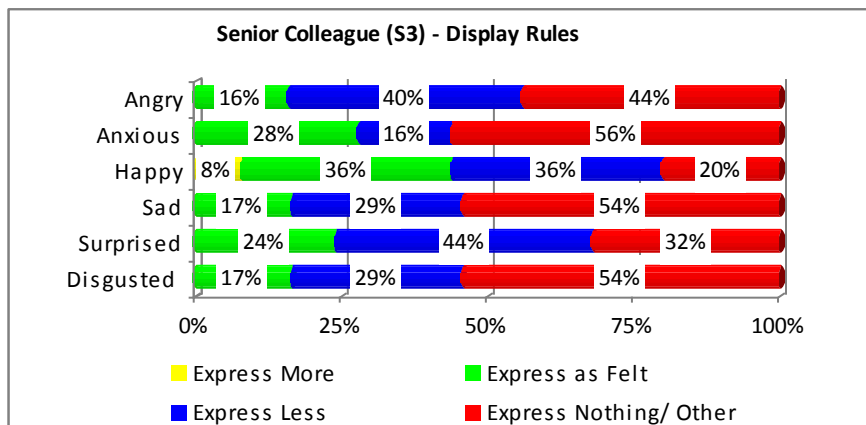
When commenting, either in the questionnaire or in interviews, participants generally suggested personal reasons to regulate their emotion displays than on the existence of the organisational display rules. Two general themes appear to emerge; the first suggests that people show less in front of more senior colleagues as they feel the need to protect themselves. The following quotes illustrate this point:

> *"For me, therefore, it may not feel 'safe' to divulge disgust (with a senior colleague); (...) do I trust my disgust not going further; or not being noted for future reference.*
> *Quote 1 (questionnaire)*
> *"A senior colleague, especially one I didn't know very well, would be someone to be much more circumspect around. (...) I would hide my feelings from a senior colleague for reasons of self protection."*

Quote 2 (questionnaire)

I would tend to hide negative emotions, or ones that I considered demonstrated weakness

Quote 3 (questionnaire)

The second, and related theme, was the typical lack of an existing relationship with more senior colleagues, making their reactions potentially unpredictable, as the following quotes show:

"Basically I would feel I would need to see how the ground lay in the future before showing any emotion"

Quote 4 (Questionnaire)

"If it was (a senior manager) I don't think it would be the same – that's me – I don't know what that is. It's not a fear of losing your job (...) but I would be more, totally more controlled I think and I think it's to do with knowing the person and how they respond rather than thinking 'oh, they're higher up the system'"

Quote 5 (questionnaire)

4.2.3   The Influence of Expressivity

This section explores the second Research Question: the influence of expressivity on emotion display. The first sub-section considers the findings from the quantitative data, the second highlights a possible theme from the qualitative data; the third discusses the findings overall.

4.2.3.1   Expressivity and Emotion Display

The following section will outline analyses concerned with three aspects of expressivity: emotional expressivity preference (EE); emotional intensity (EI); perceived emotion regulation ability (ER). Two themes are explored below: the relationship between the three sub-facets and emotion display strategies; the specific differences between high and low expressivity (EE) individuals in terms of display rule perception and display strategies used.

The scale as a whole reported a fairly high degree of internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha 0.803); values for each of the sub-scales are also reported in the table below. The high level on internal consistency (all values above 0.75) that could suggest that the scales are performing well; however, such high levels (all values above 0.8) might also indicate a lack of clear breadth within the scale items that might be a product of the shortening of these scales.

Table 18 Descriptive Stats & Reliability Analysis for Personality Sub-scales

	Mean	SD	Cron α
Emotional Intensity (EI)	3.19	0.96	0.930
Emotional Expressivity (EE)	3.11	0.73	0.839
Emotional Regulation (ER)	3.39	0.93	0.824

In the current sample, the relationship between expressivity and intensity was relatively strong, with a positive correlation coefficient of 0.522 (significant at $p<0.01$).   This might suggest that emotional expressivity is an expression of the underlying intensity of the emotional experience experienced, i.e. that individuals who express more emotion do so as they feel their emotions more intensely. This might then support the interpretation of emotion expressivity within the 'neuroticism/ emotional stability' trait of the Five Factor model of personality (e.g. Costa & McCrae, 1997), as has been suggested in the past for emotional intensity (Cooper & McConville, 1993).   The relationship with perceived self-regulation was not significant, suggesting that this additional aspect of emotional expressivity might not be as closely related to the core concept as expected.

It is also interesting to understand whether the sub-scales differ in their relationship to emotion display strategies. The table overleaf shows significant negative correlations for emotion expressivity and intensity only with the expressions of emotions typically interpreted as 'negative', i.e. anger, anxiety and sadness. These findings would suggest that those who experience emotions more intensely or prefer to express them more openly also adopt strategies that require less regulation for 'negative' emotions. This would not resonate with research that suggests expressivity is more closely related to 'extraversion', in particular in relation to extraverts' tendency to display more 'positive' emotions, such as being cheerful and warm (e.g. Judge, Woolf & Hurst, 2009).

Table 19 Correlations between emotion expressivity and display strategies

Average display strategy used:	Expressivity (EE)	Intensity (EI)	Regulation (ER)
When… Angry	-.423*	-.315	0.167
When… Anxious	-.354'	-.147	0.022
When… Happy	-.150	-.100	0.243
When… Sad	-.606**	-.425*	-0.163
When… Surprised	.014	-.083	0.2
When… Disgusted	-.025	-.147	-0.028

** significant at p<0.01; * significant at p<0.05; ' approaching significance;

4.2.3.2 Expressivity, Display Strategies & Rules

Gross et al. (2000) have suggested that high expressivity individuals might differ from low expressivity individuals in their expression strategies and also in their interpretation of emotion display rules. This was therefore explored in the current sample using the data from the sub-scale emotional expressivity only. The data was split into two groups ('high' and 'low' expressivity) based on the overall sample average; each of the two groups' average display strategy across emotions was then compared, as the overleaf shows. In general, 'high expressivity' individuals do display their emotions more openly (i.e. report strategies requiring less regulation), however, this was not the case across all emotions. T-tests suggested that significant differences were only found for anxiety (p<0.05), anger (p<0.01) and sadness (p<0.01) (indicated with * in the graph). This suggests that individuals from the current sample who reported higher levels of expressivity also reported less regulation of their emotion display with respect to these emotions in particular.

Graph 11 Expressivity & Average Display Strategy
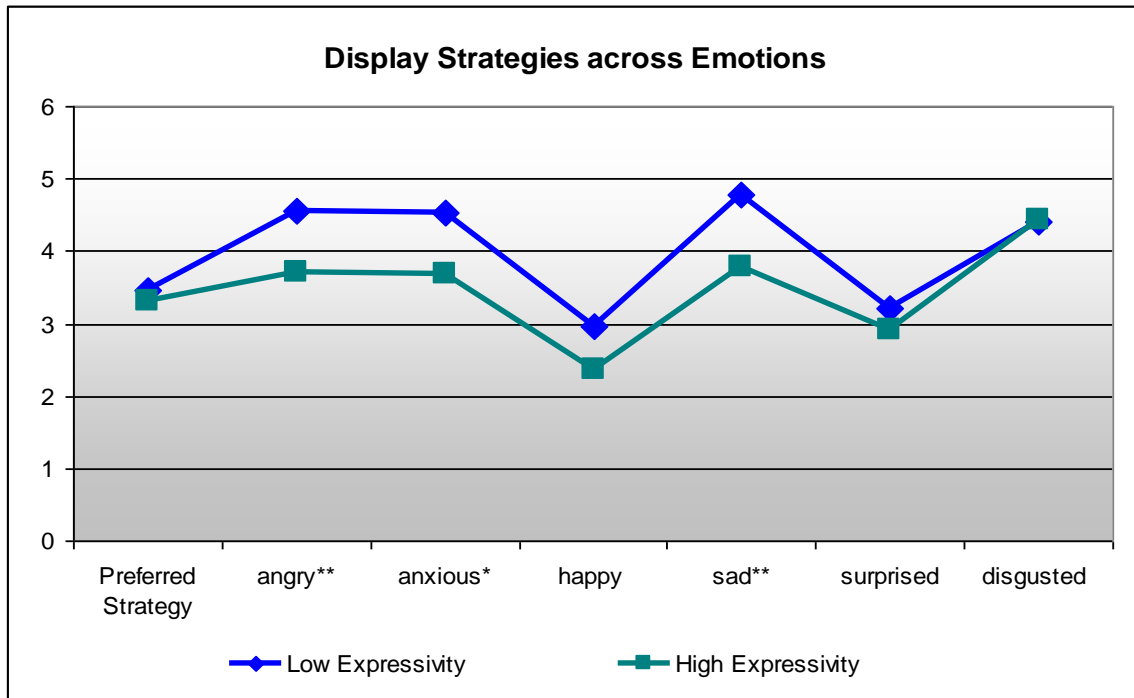
This seems, to an extent, to be in accordance with Gross et al (2000) though in most of the studies there reported the analysis was limited to a comparison of the expression of 'positive' and 'negative' emotions. The current study has also extended this finding to a comparison of expressivity across six basic emotions; this suggests a more nuanced result. In addition, in Gross et al.'s (2000) study emotional expression was either rated by peers in general or in an experimental set-up; in the current study participants reflect on emotion display in a specific context.

The difference in terms of 'high' and 'low' expressivity individuals has been explained by Gross et al. (2000) in relation to differences between these groups in perceptions of the display rules. A comparison of these two group's perceptions of display rules across emotion was therefore carried out in the current sample, as depicted in the graph below. T-tests were also carried out but, in the current sample, there are no significant differences across emotions suggesting that all individual display a similar perception of

the display rules. This is in contrast with Gross et al. (2000) and would therefore be usefully explored by further research.

Graph 12 High/ Low Expressivity and Perceived Display Rule
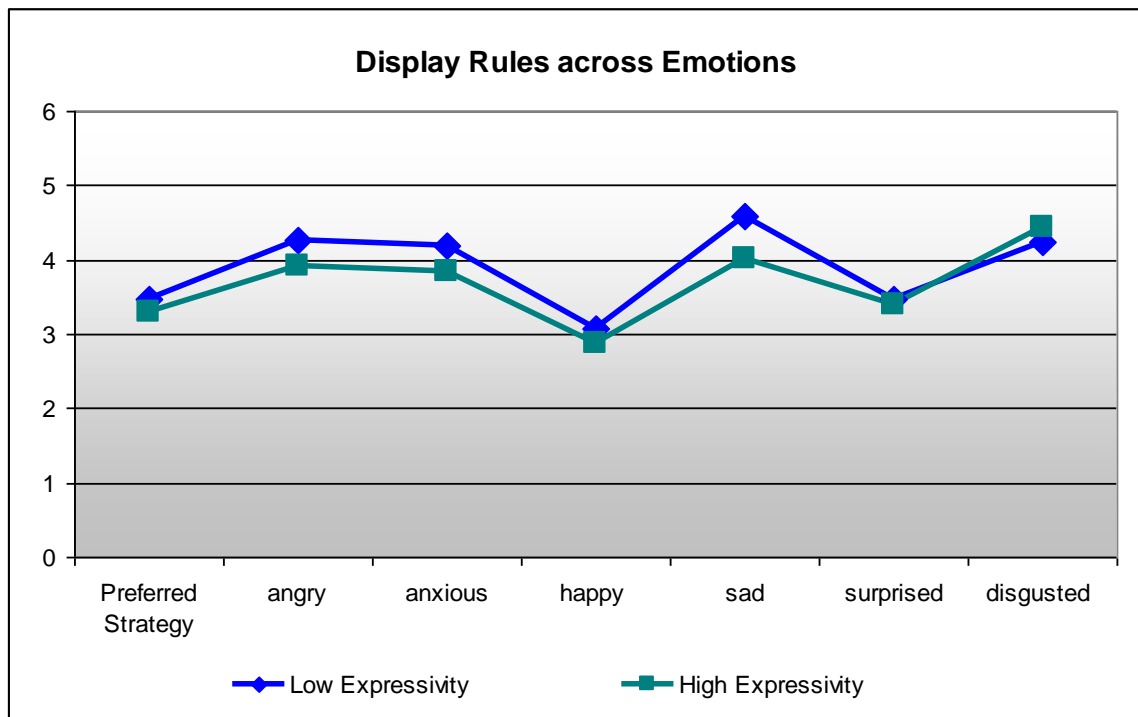
4.2.3.3 The Meaning of Expressivity

The last theme explored was the meaning of expressivity for individuals. Comments in the interviews suggested that low expressivity seems to be linked to a perceived need to 'protect' oneself. The overarching thread is that, for participants in this study, the display of emotion, possibly 'negative' emotion in particular, was experienced as a form of communication of personal information. For some, this was communicating something about yourself personally that you might not always want other to know, or would only communicate to people you trusted, hence the need for protection. The following quotes illustrate this well:

The core of it is that who you are, is true to yourself and that would be the one that I would probably show my immediate family, that would be the real me. But thereafter there are then layers upon layers of different, of different, about how much of yourself you mask or subdue or suppress depending on whereabouts you are so… (…) I do this on the basis of personal protection because I have found that if you've opened your mouth out of turn or if you've said things that you can bring unpleasant repercussions to yourself."

Expressivity – Quote 1 (interviews)

A mutual trust when I say these things in the office I would expect that no one is going to run off to someone that I am talking about an tell them exactly how I feel

Expressivity – Quote 2 (interviews)

This is an interesting extension of the literature in its suggestion that expressivity itself, even as a personality dimension, is 'contextually embedded' in its expression. The meaning ascribed to expressing emotion is contextually determined and therefore individual exhibit a contextually-sensitive interpretation of the value of preferences for high or low expressivity, that in turn could influence the behavioural expression of this trait. This could suggest an interesting avenue of exploration for the trait-context debate within individual difference psychology (e.g. see Funder, 2006; Flesson, 2004)

4.2.4 Emotion Display as 'un-Professional'

The strong sense from almost all participants was that displaying emotion at work was in contrast with perceived notions of being 'professional'. Acting in a professional manner, it was suggested, implied not displaying emotion, not being compromised by the expression of emotion, as the following quotes show.

> *Amanda   You are meant to behave in a sort of professional manner at work, (...)*
>
> *Interviewer   By professional do you mean, unemotional? Or a kind of emotionally neutral?*
>
> *Amanda   I don't think necessarily 'emotionally neutral' but in your expression of it maintaining quite a calm demeanour rather than getting really irate about it*

> *Sarah   In the (meeting with senior staff) you feel as though you really want to come across and talk about it in a very kind of authoritative way and thought-through manner as opposed to rambling on*

> *David   (at work) I am looking for a professional interaction; if I go to the bank I don't want to have to deal with a weepy cashier, you know*

Most individuals talked about this as a personal expectation they had of themselves and not as something that had been externally imposed. However, this expectation about what it means to be a 'professional' has been, at least initially, externally understood or influenced by other people's perceptions and gradually, over time, been integrated into the individual's own expectations and values.

> *Interviewer   Where does that expectation do you think come from?*
>
> *Amanda   I think it is probably a personal choice, its nothing actually written down (...) a personal choice and probably it is a unwritten rule that you*

are meant to behave in a sort of professional manner at work, in a way that being openly angry might not match

The interesting question is therefore why the display of emotion is seen as necessarily unprofessional. This was harder to gauge from participants' responses but one possible explanation is the underlying perception that emotion is 'bad' as it interferes with action and with logical thought and its display is damaging for the individual's credibility. For example, Jane, a manager, refers often to the fact that emotions interfere with your ability to act, and communicate, logically and correctly; this is especially clear when she reflects on an example of when she displayed anger in a meeting. Here, the communication of emotion is clearly contrasted with the need to present credible 'facts', i.e. what is desired is to be objective and stick to the facts.

> *You learn (as you develop in your career) if you got emotional that it interfered with your ability to do (...)*
>
> *My colleague once said 'You were ranting' and I said 'I did not think I was ranting' but he said 'You always speak from the point of views of the facts, policies and everything but in there you just let it go and everything was getting it' (...) I would hate to think that it's bile that comes out it's actually the facts, 'cos, when some people get angry, it's actually, what comes out is bile*
>
> Jane

The contrast between emotion and logic is also clear in the following quotes from two women participants. Amanda implies you need to wait for the emotion to fade before you can think logically and Kate suggests that emotion can be expressed but only if it also has a logical foundation.

> *There's no point in sending it (angry email) when I am really annoyed (...) give me a chance to cool off and to think through it rationally*
>
> Amanda
>
> *I think to be professional it's alright to show it but I would want to explain why I was feeling the way I was about something, even with someone I didn't know particular well*
>
> Kate

4.3   Managers' Emotion Display: Results Part 2

This section will focus on managers' experience of emotion display, referring in particular to Research Objective 4.

4.3.1   Emotion Display Regulation and the Management Role

This section discusses the specific features of emotion display in a management role, in part compared to those of other staff. It will argue that managers involved in the research engaged in regular regulation of emotion display, more than other staff. The section will conclude with an exploration of the possibility that the regulation of emotion display is a 'transitional skill' for managers.

Both the comments in the interviews and, to an extent, the questionnaire data seemed to support the idea that managers engaged in more, and more diverse, regulation of their emotion displays than other staff. The managers themselves comments on this, as the following quotes illustrate:

> *Jane*   *I think a good manager should have to say things without emotion*

> *Ben*   *I didn't have any formal management training as such either so I think I used to show emotions directly, you know, without much control behind them, now I tend to have ready-made (laughs) (...) I go into some sort of mode where I am receptive to what they have to say*
>
> *Interviewer: (...) so that seems to imply that the manager's role has like an additional requirement for regulating emotion, Would you say that?*
>
> *Ben   Yes, I would say so, in my experience, yes*

> *Simon   As (manager), you've really got to control your emotions and you*
> *can never, you can never really be emotionally spontaneous, I think, you've got*
> *to watch every word that you say*

This is also suggested by the questionnaire data. Preferred emotion display strategies reported by managers and by staff were compared (see graph below). This suggests that managers are using a larger range of display strategies than non-management staff; whereas nearly all non-management staff adopted one of three strategies (display what they felt, display nothing or display less than they felt), managers preferred strategy seems to be more disparate or, possibly, flexible. In addition, managers were the only people who used the strategy 'express more'. It also suggests that they are more likely generally to regulate their expression of emotion at work; as 90% compared to 71% do not choose 'express as felt' strategy. In addition, managers

Graph 13 Manager/ Non-Manager - Preferred Display Strategy.
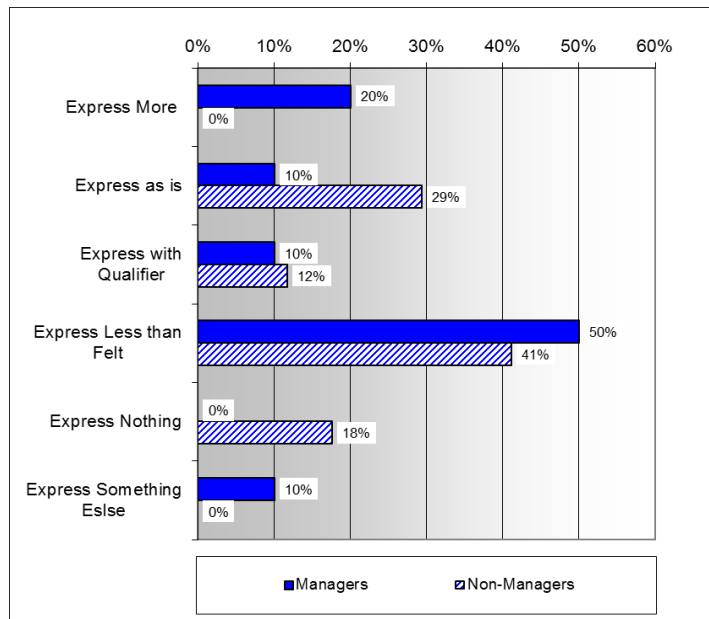
Further analyses were carried out to compare responses of managers and non-managers in relation to each situation and each emotion. In the first instance, a simple comparison was carried out between the numbers of managers who report the display strategy

'express as felt' in terms of both display strategy and display rules across the four situations. The graphs overleaf present the data seem to suggest that managers feel that they can display emotions more openly than colleagues in terms of both the organisational display rules and the chosen strategy.

Graph 14 Managers/ Non-Managers - Display Strategy
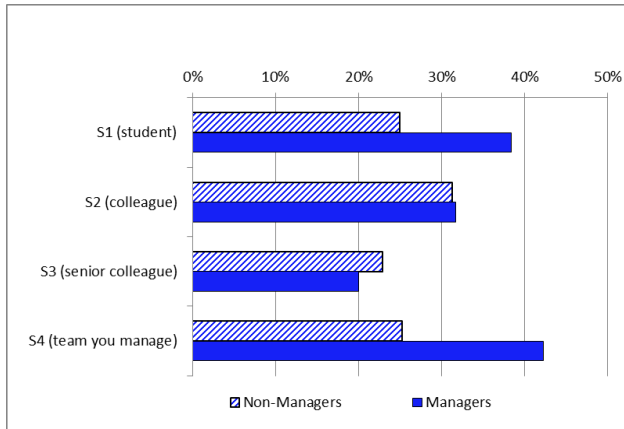
Graph 15 Managers/ Non-Managers - Display Rules
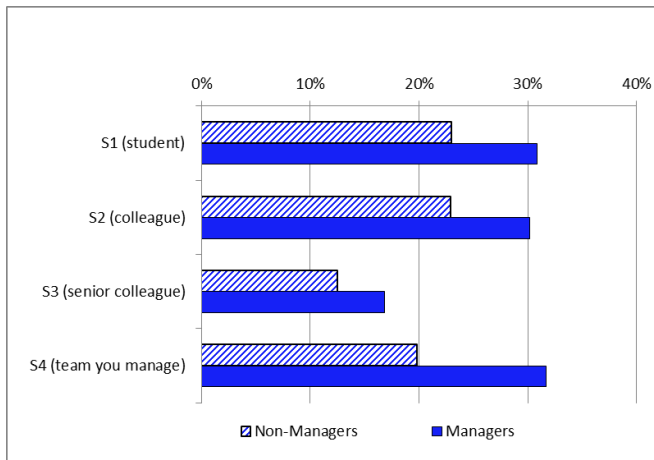
A series of t-tests were therefore carried out to compare the average display strategy across all emotions and across all situations. These showed no significant differences between the two groups in terms of either display strategies or display rules. The lack of clear patterns of difference could, however, be due to the relatively small response rate.

The results are therefore complex to interpret. The interview data suggests that managers themselves perceive their role to require greater regulation of emotion, even though their perception of the display rule is that they would be expected to show their feelings more openly. There appears to be a difference between managers and non-managers in terms of actual 'open' display across the situations; however no significant differences in terms of average strategy used were found. . The overall suggestion is therefore that managers experience emotion display at work differently from other staff and their own perception is that this requires greater regulation, even in a context where the display rules give them greater flexibility.

Further analyses were carried out to ascertain whether managers and non-mangers differed significantly on emotional expressivity, emotional intensity and perceived emotional regulation; the results showed no significant differences (see table below).

Table 20 Comparisons between managers & non-managers on expressivity

	Mean		SD		T-Test
	Managers	Non	Managers	Non	
Emotion Expressivity	2.75	3.38	0.6	1.08	n.s.
Emotion Intensity	3.53	3.21	1	0.93	n.s.
Self-Regulation Ability	2.97	3.17	0.72	0.73	n.s.

These findings overall provide some support for the theoretical propositions outlining the role of emotion display regulation in leadership. They offer empirical support to Humphrey et al.'s (2008) 1[st] proposition that suggests managers engage in more judgment regarding emotion display, and hence perform more emotional labour, than the

people they manage. They would also provide support to the importance of the suggested new facet of emotional intelligence, the ability to influence others via emotion display (Côté & Hideg, 2011).

Some managers were also able to articulate quite clearly what they perceived to be the main influences on their own emotion display. Paul, one of the managers interviewed, captured the essence of the very neatly.

> *Paul   it's, you know, it's about how you feel, it's about your relationship with that person, the context you're in, even the particular context or the bigger context, and if you want to achieve a particular thing – you know there is loads and it's amazing what you are actually thinking about as you are doing that kind of work*

All managers reported that this emotion regulation behaviour was conscious and thought-through, such that, even if they had not reflected on this before, the managers perceived their own behaviour as considered and deliberate. This might suggest an interesting exploration of the distinction between conscious and automatic acts of emotion regulation suggested by Gross (e.g. Gross, 2003) in the context of a management role where all behaviour, not just emotive expressive behaviour, is typically controlled.

It is also interesting to note that all managers, when talking about their emotion display, focused on its agential properties, emphasising the choices they had made themselves, the relevance of emotion display to their values or their chosen leadership style. Even when the conversation touched on the influence of context on emotion display, managers tended to reflect on how they have chosen to behave in certain ways in certain contexts, again emphasising their own personal, agential power. Interpretation of this is complex. It could mean that people in management positions, unlike non-managerial staff, tend to over-emphasise internal factors over the role of external pressures or influences. It could also be that managers, in virtue of their position of power, have indeed greater discretion in behaving as they will, thereby greater opportunity to be 'genuine', as

suggested by their perception of display rules. It might also suggest that people within management circles have internalised emotional display rules to such as extent that these are no longer experienced as external rules; this possibility will be explored further in later sections of this chapter.

A second interesting theme is that some managers seemed to infer a transitional dimension to emotion display regulation. Emotion regulation was mentioned when some managers spoke about the transition into their management role, as the following quotes illustrate. It could be suggested that emotion display regulation is perceived as a key developmental change required of managers or a skill that marks a clear differentiation between their own 'non-managerial self', and therefore by extension possibly others in the team who are not managers, and their current management persona. This differentiation is sometimes reinforced by the perception that staff above them in the hierarchy are more able or willing to engage in emotion display regulation, as one manager comments:

Ben   I would be more, totally more controlled I think (…) they're very, very different people, very different reactions, very different erm… morals (laughs) (…)

This might suggest an interesting inversion or extension of the relationship between management and emotion display regulation; from 'I am a manager therefore I need to regulate emotion display' to 'I regulate my emotion display, this is why I am a manager'.

This process of developing emotion regulation ability was at times also referred to as a form of 'distancing' oneself from the staff group, that might imply a physical distancing or detachment from their own emotions.

> *Ben   I think in the past I used to get very angry with issues and send emails and, you know, now my approach is much more diplomatic and restrained and thought-through, out but that's experience*
>
> *Catherine   (talking of transition into management role) I was aware that I had to maybe act a little bit more… yeah… in a slightly more distant way in the hope that, you know, that we could get things done.*

Susan (talking of transition into management role) I did worry that I would get distanced from, I was expecting to become distant from the group

4.3.2 Emotion Display to Maintain Relationships in Low Authority Roles

The second theme to emerge from the conversations with managers was the importance of managing emotion display with respect to maintaining good working relationship with colleagues and people in the team. Sometimes the belief that the display of emotion is likely to be disruptive of the relationships was openly discussed, as in Catherine's interview. At other times, as discussed by Simon, this was not mentioned explicitly but could be interpreted as the main reason for the regulation of emotion display was perceived to be a necessary part of maintaining good working relationships.

Interviewer   You said you worked hard (on not displaying anger) (...) what does that..., what does that mean to you? Working on that... why is that important?

Catherine   Emm... I suppose I have worked with people... it is about continuing your relationships with everyone in the (team). So there are times when you have to give some disappointing news to people, 'you've not got that promotion' or whatever... but in the longer term, you have to keep things in a good relationship with people because there will be times when they are going to help you out, you need them to help you out, when you can help them out and, emm... so even though someone has disappointed you by not doing something what you asked them to do in the timeframe what you asked them to do it in, I think, in terms of the longer investment in people there is no point in having a flash of anger; it is very counter-productive in the long term.

Simon I'm here for a long time so you can't just say what you like because these are long term relationships with people, so that's part of it (...) It's the length of the relationships that we have with the people here, you know 15, 20 years that's, that's longer than some peoples' marriages last. And, I think, you have to look at it in the long run and not just the short term

As in the extracts above, many of the managers referred to the requirement for managing emotion display in relation to unpleasant emotions, such as anger. In these cases, the managers are reflecting that a public display of anger that is felt would negatively affect working relationships. The motivation to hide the emotion felt is the perception that this would disrupt working relationships and also that this disruption would have long-lasting effects. Both managers refereed to 'the long run' and 'in the long term', seemingly reflecting concerns that a disruption would be long-lasting, a concern possibly related to the relative low turn-over within the university or the closeness of relationships between academics in a similar field.

A similar concern was also expressed by another manager but in relation to the display of pleasant emotions. As can be seen in the following extract, the manager is consciously, purposely ending each encounter with members of her team on a positive note to reinforce and protect the relationship.

Susan (...) but I will always prefer to end up on a positive. I always prefer to get along with people, I don't like confrontation I will avoid confrontation. Having said that, I am better than some others that I know at dealing with an issue if it needs to be dealt with rather than just forgetting about it and hoping it will just go away. (...)

Interviewer   So... that's very interesting. I mean even in the way you spoke; What you seem to have said so far is talking about the importance of relationships…. And the disruptive role of showing negative emotions

Susan I feel that if negativity comes out… I'll give you another example to do with (a performance issue) with a colleague and she was saying 'I should have this, this and this' and I was saying 'no you shouldn't' and we were arguing at

each other but at the end of it we got it all sorted it out and I just said to her ' I really sorry, I shouldn't be taking my frustrations with this out on you' so I am very conscious that in the(management) role of letting every episode, making sure that every episode has a positive end rather than a negative one, because, you know, the type of role (it) is, managing academics - you can't manage academics – it's about agreement, negotiation, you know, so it's all these soft skills you need, so if you end up with a negative relationship with somebody that's going to make your job very difficult so I am very conscious of trying to put a positive spin… on any issues

This perception of the need to regulate or manage emotion display is of interest for a number of reasons. Firstly, is the belief that emotions and emotion display can have a powerful effect; displaying anger can damage relationships, displaying happiness or positive feelings can cement or protect them. Thus the display of emotion plays a central role in the maintenance of the manager's relationships with their team. This is a clear theme in Hochschild's formulation of emotion work and emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983) and also reflects increasing recognition of the important of the more social or relational aspects of leadership in the last decade and therefore an awareness of the role that emotion display plays in this dynamic (e.g. George, 2000; Humphrey et al., 2008), including the links between emotion and transformational leadership and emotional influence, (e.g. Ashkanasy & Tse, 2000; Daus & Ashkanasy, 2005).

However, there also appears to be an additional, context-specific need for maintain relationships in a university. Managers' explicitly referring to the difficulties in carrying out their role with academic staff; the role is acknowledged as having line management responsibility on paper, but which is complicated both by, for example, the parallel lines of management and professional hierarchies within Universities. Accomplishing tasks within a University therefore is explicitly or implicitly recognised as requiring careful negotiation in a context where the line management authority is not always respected. The good will of individuals in the team is required but cannot be expected; the regulation of emotion display is therefore seen as helping to achieving this. This is

especially note-worthy as some of the quotes from managers were specifically about anger, an emotion that, when expressed by managers, have been linked to the expression of power and authority and increased leadership effectiveness (Lindebaum & Fielden, 2011). This would also tie in with the contingency theory of leadership; here Fielder suggests that, in situations of low authority, managers with a style that focused more on relationship will be more successful (Fielder, 1967). A focus on relationship might well involve the need for greater emotional labour. This reinforces the need to contextualise management performance to the specific organisational and institutional context (e.g. Willmott, 2005).

4.3.3   Emotion Performance in Performance Management

This section will explore two related themes; the first is that emotion display in managers is used to reinforce other aspects of management communication and is especially important in terms of performance management. The second is the potential tension between needing to display emotion and the need to be 'professional', as discussed in the previous chapter. An argument is made that managers might be seen to be engaging in a form of cognitive re-appraisal of their own emotions, whereby the emotional reactions themselves are perceived to become less 'emotional' and more rational and logical.

The first section in this chapter has argued that managers perceive the need to regulate their emotion display to be an important feature of the management role; by extension this should therefore also apply to the performance management elements of their role. This theme had a particularly strong resonance with one manager, David, who, unprompted, referred repeatedly to the need to manage a display of emotion in performance-related interactions with staff, as the following quote suggests:

> *David   I think expressing pleasure with staff as a recognition of their*
> *performance is an essential part of keeping the staff on board, keeping them*
> *happy and engaged with what we are trying to do as a (team) (…) (in context of*

giving feedback to new staff) 'You've done really well', you know, 'your first year here has been a huge success, I'm really pleased', (...) I am laying it on a bit thick and showing how pleased I am that you have delivered what I expected. (...) If they demonstrate something that makes me happy then I am very willing to put more in and it obviously helps the whole situation so I would probably show even more than I feel for that one."

However if, as discussed in the previous chapter there is also a perception that the display of emotion brings with it connotations of subjectivity and therefore irrationality, there is a potential tension between the usefulness of emotion display in performance management as a form of communication of that the leader or manager values and the risk of being seen as unprofessional or not objective that that same display could bring. David appeared to manage this tension by specifically differentiating between different 'types' of emotion, between 'personal emotions' that are seen as non-work-related and therefore inappropriate to show and 'work-related emotions' that are useful and appropriate. What is of interest is not the view that non-work emotions are not appropriate to display at work – there might be general agreement on this – but that work-related emotions seem to be treated like a different kind of emotion; they are discussed as 'tools' to be 'used' or 'exploited'; they are objectified and treated mechanistically as something that can be used to achieve a management objective.

> *David   I think that the kind of emotions that I am saying to you I would hide or not expect to see revealed in the workplace in a professional, erm, in a professional exchange or circumstance are things like happy and sad, to put it crudely; but the kind of emotions that I would use or exploit would be pleased and disappointed. But the pleased and disappointed are actually born of the circumstances which include the staff that I am dealing with so, in many ways pleased and disappointed are tools, they are feelings that I have, I am pleased, I am disappointed with your performance... (...)*

David appears to be using specific language to express his work-related emotions that implies a sense of distance from the actual emotion felt and an important different from other, non-work emotions. In attaining this distance, a sense of objectivity seemed to be

gained, possibly suggesting that the message can be communicated with the 'added power' of emotion, without the 'added risk' of emotionality. It suggests that the emotion experienced in the management role is externalised onto a workplace object and, in doing this, is 'objectified', stripped of its personal elements and the manager's feelings are made more powerful and authoritative as a result.

Other managers also seemed to be reflecting on aspects of this process. It is again useful to note the emphasis on attention to specific language and phrases used to capture and communicate management emotion to make it appears less personal – less to do with the person feeling the emotion and more to do with the person whose act has triggered the emotion – and therefore more objective, appropriate and useful.

> *Susan   One of the things I am impatient of in others and try not to do myself is be, when I say, be 'emotional' I mean in terms of emotions that are personal, rather than you know, I could be angry that something has gone wrong at work, or disappointed or annoyed. But 'sad' or 'upset' or words like that, I guess I get annoyed with people who project that (...) There's taking things personally, saying that something has upset you, rather that, in the words that I use, 'that's annoyed me', or 'irritated me', you know, which I think is a more positive/ negative you know what I mean, it's more about the situation than about me. And it's not 'I am upset by that', it's 'that has irritated me' or 'annoyed me'; you know, the focus is on the thing rather than on me.*

These conversations seem to suggest that managers themselves see the need to be mindful of how they present their emotion, especially in situations that require them to manage performance of those in their team. For one manager in particular this seems to involve a fairly mechanistic approach or interpretation of his own emotions. This is a potential extension of the theoretical propositions linking leader effectives and emotional labour (e.g. Gardner et al., 2009). The process of changing language associated with the expression of emotion and changing the way managers themselves think of their own emotions could be described as a process of deep acting (e.g. Hochschild, 1983); it is also potentially an extension of the concept of cognitive re-appraisal, an antecedent-focused strategy of emotion regulation (e.g. Gross, 2003;

Grandey, 2000) but its main aim is not to change the perception of the event for the self but the perception of the emotional reaction for the self. Again, this could be seen as more consistent with the original, more flexible, conceptualisation of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983) than the suggested integration of emotional labour with models of emotion regulation (Grandey, 2000). This points to the fact that interpretation of the emotion-eliciting events does not just happen at a single instance, as suggested by AET (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1997) or the process model of emotion regulation (e.g. Gross, 2003) but is an ongoing process.

4.3.4 'Genuine acting': the role of authenticity

This final section explores how managers make sense of acts of emotion display regulation, with specific reference to the importance of leaders being authentic or genuine, as has been expressed by the literature (e.g. Gardner et al, 2009).

The first point to mention is that all of the managers quoted in the previous section seem to reflect openly and candidly on the emotion regulation aspect of the management role, without reporting any tension, any doubts about whether performing emotion was a useful and generally 'positive' action. There seemed to be an acceptance that this is what the management role entailed and therefore this performance was an inevitable and useful part of the manager role.

> Jane *I am not saying it is disingenuous to show less as what it shows is, to me, it shows that I have thought about a way of dealing with it*

This generally supports what has been referred to as the 'organisational behaviour' approach to emotional labour (e.g. Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Humphrey et al., 2008; Grandey et al., 2013) that implies no necessary tension, 'cost' or effort involved for the individual in engaging with emotional labour if there are clear benefits to them of doing so.

However, when challenged about being 'genuine', sometimes explicitly by the interviewer, many managers seemed to be suggesting that being 'genuine' at work is not a clear-cut concepts, not an either/ or type behaviours, but something more nuanced. David uses fairly compelling language when he talks about 'shades of genuine'. Simon suggests that there are many ways to be 'genuine', such as displaying an emotion less than felt, and that 'genuine' display is contrasted to displaying a false emotion.

> *David There are many shades of genuine… and, just as you said, something you might express less, sometimes you might express a bit more… depending on the interaction, depending on the context that you want to happen*

> *Simon I think that being genuine is on reasonable bounds., sticking, with being true to yourself, so you might feel angry but, I think, I would reflect on that and think, 'well, what's the best thing to do here?' how… and I don't think, I don't think that's not being authentic or genuine, I think being not genuine is deliberately portraying a false emotion, whereas just having neutral emotions isn't not genuine I don't think . (…) I'm trying to do 2 things, I'm trying to do my job (…)And the 2nd part is, is the being true to myself part which is not, yeah, not doing things which I think are dishonest or underhand*

These conversations suggest a negotiated aspect to 'being genuine' and emphasise the tension between the different emotion regulation strategy goals. In some of the managers, there appears to be a realisation of the tension between the perceived need to actively regulate the display of emotion to be an effective manager and the personal discomfort at having to act or fake and important aspect of one's own experience.

An example of this process can be seen in the conversation with Paul, a manager only recently being appointed by the University. Paul talked all the way through the interview about the importance to him personally of being open, approachable and even an 'emotional' leader; he reflected without prompting on the importance of genuine leadership and how he strived to achieve this. However, he also talked about the need to regulate emotion display if a display could negatively impact others. As the interview

progresses, he himself starts to see the potential conflicts that this brings ending again with a more nuanced definition of what it means to be genuine (emphasis added).

> *Paul   So that's the sort of, I would hold onto some strong values there about being genuine and expressing your emotion (...)*
>
> *However, other things, like if I was angry about something or really frustrated I would be different about that (...) I would be quite careful to show my frustration and my anger depending on the impact on the other people. (...) so there is a definite role in those, frustration/ anger, you know, those emotions and in a sort of management role I think there is something about being very careful about how you work with that (...) (emotion display could be) wrong in terms of relationships, in modelling what I would want people see me doing and the outcomes of what you are trying to achieve. (...)*

Is that, is it being genuine when you feel frustrated or angry with someone? and then there is a bit about not, not, whether you do show that or whether you don't show that but I think in that situation there is probably something there about communication skills, about people feeling like they are being listened to, you know, these wee tricks (…) and though it is a trick, I know, I am interested, I am not pretending because it is the job but it helps to be genuine although you are not necessarily showing what's happening.

Paul seems to be reflecting on the possible tensions between his self-generated goals and values relating to emotion display – the desire to be open and genuine –, in particular in the context of establishing and maintain relationships with his team, and the organisational expectation to regulate emotion display. In Paul, this tension seems to be reconciled by referring to other important values. Getting on with others is an important self-generated value, something Paul believes in strongly, and therefore action might be taken in line with this value that might contradict other values, such as the desire to be an open, genuine leader. A process, and a similar resolution, is seen in Susan, another manager who had only recently been appointed to the role within the University, in the context of a discussion of her regulation of emotion display when in performance management conversations with staff:

> *Interviewer   (…) yet there is nothing here…, nothing that is not, that is non-genuine …*
>
> *Susan   It's not strategic… I think that's true, genuinely I like getting on with people because genuinely I like people, I enjoy talking to people, you may have noticed! (laughs)*

In other managers, the reconciliation is more explicitly linked to an internalisation of the organisation's goals and values. David, a more experienced manager who was mentioned in the previous section for his more 'instrumental' approach to emotion display at work, seems to suggest that the degree of acting, surface or deep, depends on the degree to which the individual manager accepts the organisation's goals, i.e. in a University context, 'student numbers'.

> *David   where it (the emotion display) is heartfelt or whether I am playing a game with those emotions is also a function of how I deal with, yeah, student numbers or if I was running a business, the weak sales*

There may, therefore, be an important element of management experience here that influences the way the tensions implicit in being genuine are perceived; the less experienced managers perceive them more and feel the need to reconcile these with other internal values; the more experienced managers see the tension more clearly as organisationally-driven and identify the process of internalisation as important to its resolution.

Conversations about genuine emotion display with managers at the University have surfaced three issues that are not currently explored in detail in the existing literature. Firstly, managers suggest a more dynamic interpretation of the 'genuine display' might be needed; this needs to be seen not as a static, either/ or act, but more as a process of reconciling different goals that the managers is being genuine about. The managers' reflection could also be seen to be challenging the notion of 'genuine display' referred to by Gardner et al (2009). What managers seem to be implying is a more complex, dimensional understanding of what it means to be genuine – "there are many shades of genuine" – and this could arguably be a call to further 'problematise' the concept of

'genuine display in organisations, meaning a need to challenge current assumptions (Alvesson & Sandlberg, 2011). For example, if managers suggest that displaying less than is felt is still a 'genuine display', this might suggest that talk of 'authenticity' in the workplace is more indicative of current values, discourses and the individualisation of management practice, in support of Islam & Zyphur's (2009) critique of much mainstream psychological notions of leadership.

In the second place, managers seem to display awareness of the tensions implicit in regulating emotion at work and the possible conflicts between self-generated and organisational-generated goals that emotion regulation strategies might achieve. These conversations seem to reflect the importance of these more problematic aspects of emotion display regulation or emotional labour that are emphasised more strongly in the more sociological literature (e.g. Hochschild, 1983) than the more psychological traditions (Grandey et al., 2013).

Thirdly, these conversations seem to suggest insight into the process of 'deep acting' that managers engage in when regulating their displays of emotion. There is a suggestion that this might involve a degree of internalisation of the organisation's goals and values such that the resultant regulation is not perceived to imply discomfort to the individual. This might shed some light on the different interpretations of the 'costs' of engaging in emotional labour for leaders; on the one hand, with some authors stressing the deleterious effects of deep acting on individual's health and wellbeing, reported widely in the literature (e.g. Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Grandey, 2000), with others expressing the contention that deep acting is 'good' for leaders (e.g. Humphrey et al, 2008; Gardner et al., 2009). It could be that when a manager has internalised the goals and values of the organization, there is no perceived tension between deep acting and a genuine display of emotion and they are more able to display the appropriate emotion with a feeling of authenticity. This could also be seen in terms of the exchange between the manager and the organisation (e.g. Hochschild, 1983); as managers become more experienced or settle into their roles, the rules of this exchange start to alter; the organisation demands more but gives more in return. However this process is still, at its heart, an outcome of deep acting, a process of prioritising the

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organisation's goals over personal feelings, as Grandey suggests , deceiving oneself for the sake of the organization (Grandey, 2000; 2003). This seems a high price to pay for management effectiveness.

Finally, it is important to note that this was not an easy aspect of the interview; sometimes the 'labour' aspect of this was not explicitly recognised and therefore required prompting from the interviewer. This means that the argument above relies heavily on the researcher's interpretation, reading between the lines of what was said and how it was said.

Chapter 5   Emotion Display at a UK University: A Discussion

5.1   Introducing the Chapter

This chapter presents a discussion of the empirical study's findings. The chapter starts with a section discussing the findings against existing literature and then moves beyond this to present a more speculative integrated model of emotion display at work. The chapter ends by articulating the empirical study's contributions to existing psychological literature and practice.

The main argument of the chapter is that the empirical study, with its adoption of a Mixed Methods approach and its articulation of the discussion around the four interconnected, emergent, critical strands, usefully extends existing knowledge about emotion display at work and suggests ways in which cross-paradigmatic engagement might be achieved. The model presented suggests an understanding of emotion display informed by a cross-paradigm dialogue.

5.2 Emotion Display at a UK University

This section will discuss the results of the empirical study into emotion display at a UK university. It will start with a discussion of emotion display generally and then proceed to a more specific discussion about emotion display in university managers. In this sense, it provides an initial answer to the study's Research Questions, that will be developed further in the following section. A key feature of this discussion, as with the presentation of the results in the previous Chapter, is the blending of quantitative and qualitative data, according to the study's 'complementary perspectives' approach to triangulation, as defined by Hammersley (2008). Findings from both data sources will be given equal weight in their ability to help answer the study's Research Questions.

5.2.1 Emotion Display across Emotions

Academics at the case-study university report clear differences between the emotion display rules and emotion display strategies applied to different emotions. These findings are summarised in the table below and are broadly consistent with the main study of reference, Diefendorff and Greguras's (2009) study of MBA students. Anger and anxiety are perceived to need a greater degree of emotion display regulation, especially when compared to happiness.

Table 21 Emotion Display across Basic Emotions

Emotion Felt	Degree of Display Regulation	Main Themes
Anger	High	Tension between organisational expectation to 'hide' and personal reasons to display
Anxiety	High	Hidden in some situations as interpreted as implying lack of confidence/ competence
Happiness	Low	Low across all situations
Surprise & Disgust	?	Questions about ambiguity of definition and co-occurrence with other emotions
Sadness	High	(needs further exploration)

In the current context, the emotion that seemed to generate most interest was anger and seemed to justify its position as an emotion with distinct personal and organisational significance (e.g. Tiedens, 2001; Lindebaum & Fielden, 2011). In attempting to understand why anger might require greater regulation, the concept of relational theme, from Lazarus' relational-motivational theory of emotion (e.g. Lazarus & Cohen-Carash, 2000), was useful in interpreting both the perceived rule and the suggested strategy. The results could also be said to be consistent with Diefendorff & Greguras (2009) who found that the 2[nd] most common strategy for anger was de-amplify, compared to their expectation which was to 'mask'. However, they are also an extension of the authors' more limited attempts at interpreting these findings.

An analysis of quantitative and qualitative data, with consideration of anger's relational theme (an offence against me or mine - Lazarus & Cohen-Carash, 2000) revealed possible tensions between the perceived organisational expectation not to show anger at work and the personal desire to communicate why the anger was felt. This might suggest that, when anger is felt and because it is perceived as an 'offence' against one, there is also the desire to communicate what the anger is about; this might be the result

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of an urge not to let the situation that has caused the anger go unchallenged or uncommented on. However, this is in conflict with the organisation's perceived rule to mask the anger and the results might, in essence, be interpreted as a 'compromise' between the two positions. Research on emotion display in leaders (Tiedens, 2001; Sinaceur & Tiedens, 2006) suggests the display of anger can also lead to higher status conferral so it appears that regulation of display within organisations needs to be regulated with particular care and skill, taking into consideration the particular discrete context but also the individual's status within the encounter. Further research into the display of anger would therefore be of great interest, possibly as an extension of the concept of emotional dissonance, and also with particular emphasis on status differentials within the interaction. There may also be an opportunity to tie this with the recent emerging interest in emotion asymmetries at work (Lindebaum, Jordan & Dasborough, 2013), of which anger might be a clear example.

Triangulating qualitative and quantitative data, with consideration of the emotion's core relational theme, also enabled to extend current understanding of the display of anxiety at work. Participants reflected the theme of anxiety communicating vulnerability and lack of confidence or competence; the regulation of anxiety in a workplace might therefore be interpreted as serving to hide one's own perceived areas of weakness. This type of explanation would sit comfortably with the psychological construction view of emotion (e.g. Barrett & Gross, 2011); it would suggest that the experience of anxiety is both in part universal, i.e. relatable to common themes, but also context-specific and actively constructed, and therefore subjective.

These findings add to the recent challenges to organisational research to avoid focusing on the broad categories of 'positive' and 'negative' emotions and adopt an attention to specific emotions instead (e.g. Barsade et al., 2003; Briner & Keifer, 2009; Gooty et al., 2009). However, they do not fully support the current emphasis on pre-defined, clearly distinguishable emotional concepts, referred to as the 'basic emotions'. Participant comments suggest that not all these 'basic emotions' apply unproblematically in a work context; specifically, many participants commented on the essentially ambiguous nature of the emotions of 'surprise' and 'disgust'. As the argument has been made in some

parts of the literature, the emphasis on basic emotions tends to overlook this feature of emotional life (Lindebaum et al., 2013); this study would support this view and suggest that this needs to be further explored.

The study also provides support for the suggestion that display strategies need to be extended beyond the original two to a more comprehensive seven (Diefendorff & Greguras, 2009; Gross et al 2000). However, the discussion also highlights several areas whether the findings appear to challenge the dominant approach to researching emotion display at work.

5.2.2   Emotion Display and Context

The empirical study also extended to a discussion of how emotion display was influenced by context. In the current study, context was explored in two main ways, following John's (2006) distinction between discrete and omnibus context: discrete context was operationalised as interaction partner, following previous research into emotion display (e.g. Morris & Feldman, 1996; Matsumoto, 2007; Diefendorff & Greguras, 2008); the definition of influences that might belong to the omnibus context was left to participants.

The empirical study findings suggest that academics from the university seem to be exercising a considerable degree of judgement when it comes to recognising how to display emotion across situations, as the table on the following page shows.

Table 22 Emotion Display by Discrete Contexts (Interaction Partner)

Situation	Degree of Display Regulation	Main Themes
Student	Fair	Adoption of student-as-customer metaphor; interpretations of power relations;
Colleague	?	Need to explore further in terms of existing relationship
Senior Colleague	High	Relevance of power status and lack of existing relationship/ knowledge
Team	Fair	(Explored further re: managers display)

Within the University, two specific interactions seemed to carry particular significance in terms of emotion display, supporting recent calls for a unit-level exploration of emotion regulation (Niven et al., 2013). This would suggest academic staff are regulating their emotion display in response to perceptions of the student group as a whole, not just in response to the individual in front of them.

In the first instance, interactions between academics and students were felt to be particularly meaningful given the status of students within the current University and its culture. The University was perceived by some to be pushing the 'student-as-customer' metaphor, as discussed for universities broadly by Svensson & Wood, (2007), and this would have specific implications for the management of emotion display. The analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data therefore suggests that the extent to which emotion display is regulated in front of students does depend, in part, on the academic member of staff's adoption of the 'student-as-customer' metaphor. The customer-service nature of these interactions was suggested by some as the underlying motivation to regulate; though the adoption of this metaphor is, in itself, contentious (Svensson & Wood, 2007). Also power status differentials between the two broader groups (academics and students) within university were discussed as possible influences on the

actions of emotion display; this would support Diefendorff's et al. (2010) conclusion about the influence of power differentials between interaction partners on emotion display strategies. This, again can be discussed as a form of influence of broader context, in this case the organisational culture and its expression in the organisation's structure, in terms of discrete context. The emotion display between academic and students therefore makes explicit the multiplicity of ambiguities, agendas and conflicts of this relationship within the university.

The second interaction that was felt to be particularly meaningful was between academics and senior colleagues. The finding that interactions with senior colleagues require greater regulation efforts is consistent with Diefendorff et al.'s (2010) suggestion that power differentials are an important influence on emotion display strategy used. However, in this specific academic context, the main reasons for this increase in regulation seems to be lack of an existing relationship with the senior colleague, rather than necessarily the power or status differential. This might also be line with Diefendorff's et al., (2010) suggestion of the influence of solidarity between interaction patterns; in this context, academic staff might regulate their expression of emotion as the degree of solidarity with senior colleagues is not strong. However, these are tentative findings only as the data in this respect is limited.

Comments in the questionnaires and interviews also suggest that the extent of the existing relationship between the two people and the emotion the other person was feeling, in particular in relation to interacting with a student, are likely to be important influences on emotion display. The former has been examined in cross-culture research on demotion display (Matsumoto et al., 2005) and has, to an extent, also been explored in organisational research (Diefendorff et al., 2010). The latter can be seen as an example of the dyadic nature of emotion regulation interactions and the need to consider both players (person doing the regulation and interaction partner) when trying to understand emotion regulation efforts (e.g. Cote, 2005; Niven at al., 2013). The simplification of the emotion display scale undertaken by this study, considered

necessary to enable a shorter, more focused questionnaire, has limited the ability to explore these issues more fully.

The interpretation of findings in relation to discrete contexts can also enhanced by an appreciation of another contextual influence on emotion display in the University: the reporting from almost all participants that displaying emotion at work was 'un-professional'. Acting in a professional manner, it was suggested, implied not displaying emotion, not being compromised by the expression of emotion, as the following quotes show. There are two interesting reflections to be made here; the first is about the relationship between emotion and thought (or cognition). Historically, there has been a broad acceptance of the idea that the experience of emotion physically disrupted cognitive mechanisms in the brain; i.e. there were physical reasons why people could not act logically when feeling emotion. This translated into the organisational world as a desire to present as logical and rational 'professionals', unencumbered by the limitations and disruptions of emotional experiences (George, 2000). The participants' comments see to illustrate this broad view well. However, more recent research reveals an altogether more complex picture. Recent reviews, for example, have tended to explore the impact of affect and emotion on more specific element of cognition, such as decision-making, and have found generally mixed results, with emotion sometimes promoting sometimes impeding cognitive (e.g. Blanchette & Richards, 2010). A challenge to this broad 'emotion is bad' assumption within organisational behaviour has been credited as having been achieved with the increase in interest in the concept of emotional intelligence (e.g. Goleman, 1996; Grandey, 2000; Daus & Ashkanasy, 2005) and the idea that emotions were powerful allies of thinking (e.g. Salovey, Caruso & Meyer, 2004).

In addition, the notion of 'professional standards' seems to not be organisationally-specific; in this sense, the behaviour of academics within the university seemed to be influenced by display rules that transcend the specific organisation. The non-organisational specific nature of the identify as a 'professional' might explain why the specific organisational influence on display rules was not found to be strongly related to display strategies (see discussion in previous sections). It could suggest that, for

academics, the strongest external influences come not from the institution that employs them but from their subscription to other identities that hold significance for them. This resonates with research by Winter (2009) on the tensions academic managers experience between their professional and administrative (organisation-specific) identities.

In general, therefore the results provide support to the operationalisation of discrete context as interaction partner and therefore of John's (2006) suggestion for the taxonomical distinction between omnibus and discrete contexts. However, they suggest that these two aspects of context cannot be discussed separately and as the omnibus context will suggest what is meaningful in the discrete contexts. The interpretation of the discrete context is influenced by the broader, omnibus context, as suggested in the literature of culture (e.g. Matsumoto, 2007; Linstead, 2009; Garrow & Martin, 2011), therefore understanding interaction in the former cannot be done without reference to the latter. The results also suggest that the broader context also prescribes meaning to the individual emotion felt (e.g. Fineman, 2000, 2003); this is an interpretation more in line with the psychological construction of emotion (Gross & Barrett, 2011) and at odds with the 'basic' and 'appraisal' perspectives that dominate occupational psychology literature (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1997; Elfenbein, 2007). It suggests, as above, that the broader context influences how individuals make sense of what they feel and that the same emotion might assume difference meaning in different contexts. This influence is also extended to the interpretation of the consequences of displaying felt emotion and to the value and significance of certain emotional dispositions.

This suggested importance of the interaction between discrete and omnibus context presents a potential challenge to the interpretation of results of experimental or questionnaire-based methodologies for the study of emotion at work that dominate the literature on emotion display at work generally (e.g. Diefendorff & Greguras, 2009; Diefendorff et al., 2010) and that for leader emotion display (e.g. Lewis, 2000; Bono & Ilies, 2006; Stouten & De Cremer, 2010) as they are divorced from any real work or organisational context. This analysis could be a useful interpretation of the need to be more worker-centric in discussion about emotion at work (Weiss & Rupp, 2013). In this sense, worker-centric would need to include a discussion of how individuals interpret

discrete context, rather than how this is interpreted by the researchers in more quantitative methodologies.

5.2.3 Emotion Display and Expressivity

A further Research Question that the empirical study addressed was the influence of personality variables on emotion display; the focus in particular was on emotional expressivity. The findings from the case-study organisation are again largely supportive of the main study of reference, Gross et al's (2000) summary of experimental and questionnaire studies on individual differences in emotion regulation and display. Expressivity appears to be an important influence on emotion display at work, specifically in relation to emotions of anger, anxiety and sadness.

There are two possible ways in which the current empirical findings can be discussed. Firstly, the results could be interpreted as suggesting that the influence of expressivity on emotion display at work is, in fact, an expression itself of an underlying personality variable, specifically of the Five Factor Model trait of 'neuroticism'. In the current study, expressivity was strongly linked to intensity, possibly suggesting external expression could be linked to the strength or intensity of the underlying feeling, a feature of neuroticism (e.g. Costa & McCrae, 1997) and not simply be a display strategy or preference. Expressivity also seemed to have a stronger influence on emotions more typically experienced by individuals who report high neuroticism, such as anger and anxiety. Finally, low expressivity was interpreted by some as a way of protecting themselves from others; this again might reflect some of the sub-traits of 'neuroticism', such as self-consciousness and vulnerability (Costa & McCrae, 1997). These areas would warrant further exploration.

Another reading of the findings would suggest a more subject-centred understanding of the meaning of expressivity. This suggests expressivity preferences are linked to a perception of the need to protect one-self. This might explain why this factor has greater

influence on the expression of those emotions that express weakness or lack of competence, such as anxiety and anger. This might support a more dynamic interplay between expressivity and context: this former will influence emotion display behaviour especially in situations where the contextual triggers and the personal signifiers or motives resonate with each other.

This second interpretation supports an interpretation along realist perspectives of expressivity as an 'internal structure', that is as a feature that both enables and limits individual action in interaction with other structures or mechanisms (Houston, 2011; Easton, 2010). In this sense, the degree to which a specific dispositional characteristic, such as expressivity, assumes influence in specific discrete contexts is influenced by the meaning attributed to that situation by the individual, as influenced by the broader organisational context. This interpretation suggests a revisiting of the central argument of personality as a series of fairly narrowly defined traits, such as that offered by the Five Factor Model (e.g. Costa & McCrae, 1995) that currently dominates mainstream psychology. It suggests instead the possibility of broad 'bands' of traits with a more flexible and dynamic influence on behaviour and this also offers a possible useful extension to existing debates within psychology about the relative importance of trait or context in determining behaviour (e.g. Flesson, 2004; Funder, 2006).

The findings from the empirical study can be interpreted as suggesting a complex interplay between personality and context. Emotion display does appear in part to be influenced by a personality variable, possibly expressivity as a part of neuroticism, but this influence is contextually-embedded, i.e. the strength of this influence will only apply in certain discrete contexts depending on how these context are interpreted by the individual. This individual act of interpretation is itself also heavily influenced by the broader culture, or omnibus context.

5.2.4 Managers' Emotion Display

The findings discussed in this section explore managers' experience of emotion display in the case-study organisation. They generally support the existing literature in confirming the importance of emotion display regulation for managers in particular (Humphrey, 2005; Humphrey et al., 2008; Gardner et al., 2009). The worker-centric nature of these findings also potentially extends the literature.

In the first instance, the analysis suggests that this form of regulation has particular significance for managers and is discussed as a 'transitional skill', i.e. a skill that differentiates, possibly justifies, the difference non-management and management staff. There is also a tentative interpretation offered that managers themselves perceive those higher in the organisational structure as needing to engage even further in regulation of their display; thereby suggesting that the need to engage with emotional labour increases, or is possibly changes, as greater organisational seniority is achieved. The positioning emotion display regulation as a 'transitional skill' might be of particular relevance to managers in a university context. The adoption of a managerialist approach in UK university has been problematic (e.g. Winter, 2009; Smeenk et al., 2009); the justification of their position in respect of their colleagues might therefore be a key consideration for university managers. The description of emotion display regulation skill as 'transitional' might therefore be seen as a discursive device that university managers engage in to justify their structural position of power. This is also a possible example of managers drawing on political considerations and structural constraints in offering their perceived reality, as argued by Alvesson (2011).

The findings also provides some support to authors who argue for the importance of the relational aspects of leadership and emotion display regulation in particular, i.e. the need for managers to regulate emotion display to maintain relationships and induce, or avoid, an emotional reaction in others (Hochschild, 1983; George, 2000; Humphrey, 2005; Humphrey et al., 2008; Gardner et al., 2009; Niven et al., 2012). They extend this literature in suggesting that the extent to which this regulation target is important is 'contextually embedded', dependent on the broader organisational context and, in

particular, on the degree of authority conferred on the individual by their role and accepted by the team. In this sense, the study suggests that the importance of contextualisation of the phenomenon under investigation, as suggested by critical management writers (Willmott, 2005; Alvesson & Gertz, 2000).

Managers' reflections also suggest there is a performance of emotion in order to manage performance; this suggests that emotion display regulation in leaders is performed as part of their efforts to performance manage others. This offers a different angle to that dominating the current literature on emotion in leadership that has focused more on the inspirational, motivational properties of leader emotion display (e.g. Ashkanasy & Tse, 2000; Daus & Ashkanasy, 2005; Humphrey et al., 2008; van Knippenberg et al., 2008). This difference could be reconciled in greater clarity when expressing what is meant by 'leaders'; this study was specifically about managers, who might well lead their team in some ways, but primarily have a role to manage, i.e. monitor and control, performance amongst their team. Therefore, as suggested above, the reasons managers engage in emotional labour need to be contextualised as they might depend on the specific tasks the individual manager or leader is required to undertake. The study therefore builds on Cote & Hideg's (2001) new facet of emotional intelligence related to the ability to influence others via emotion displays by providing empirical evidence of a specific scenario where this skill might be evident.

Finally, the study suggests there is benefit in problematizing the concept of 'genuine display' in relation to managers' displays of emotion; this could pose a challenge to the dominant approach to genuine display and 'authenticity' in the literature (Humphrey et al., 2008; Gardner et al., 2009) or question its application to management role, with less discretion and authority than leaders. The current findings would suggest that managers themselves do not readily conceive of any emotion display at work to be 'genuine'; this is more in line with Hochschild's original (1983) concept and Morris & Feldman's (1996) reformulation. It suggests that a more dynamic, nuanced and subject-centred understanding of authenticity in managers could be useful that moves away from an emphasis on whether display is authentic or not to questions about the managers' own interpretation of authenticity. The focus of enquiry would then shift to also consider

'authenticity' itself a contested concept and one that performs certain functions within certain situations. It could include attention to the way the process of achieving authenticity is presented by managers or leaders, reflecting more critically and reflexively on this as a discourse itself, as suggested by Alvesson (2011). It would also imply the need to be more and the tensions, paradoxes and ambiguities present in the process of being authentic or presenting oneself as authentic, echoing Francis et al.'s (2011a) writing on HR and management in general.

In conclusion therefore, the interviews with managers present emotion display regulation at work as a deeply contextually embedded process. To regulate display of emotion has a specific, context-specific meaning to managers in a UK university, as linked to the need to differentiate themselves from non-managers and the need to manage performance of colleagues. There is a need to move beyond considering emotion display as a de-contextualised predictor of leader effectiveness perceptions to a more subject-centred, nuanced discussion of the role of emotion display, and ways of talking about emotion display, within specific organisations and specific management roles.

5.3 Interpretation & Negotiation: A Cross-Paradigm Dialogue about Emotion Display at Work

The current section builds on the previous discussion by suggesting a model of emotion display at work that resonates with the four emergent, interconnected, critical strands; this section therefore suggests a model of emotion display at work informed by cross-paradigm dialogue.

The thesis argues that emotion display at work is the result of the active and dynamic processes of interpretation and negotiation undertaken by individual within the specific case-study context. Individuals will be actively and dynamically interpreting and negotiating the features of their own personal experience, as might be influenced by dispositions characteristics, such as emotional expressivity, within specific interactions within the university context that sets clear structural constraints and expectations regarding emotion display regulation, as depicted by the figure below.
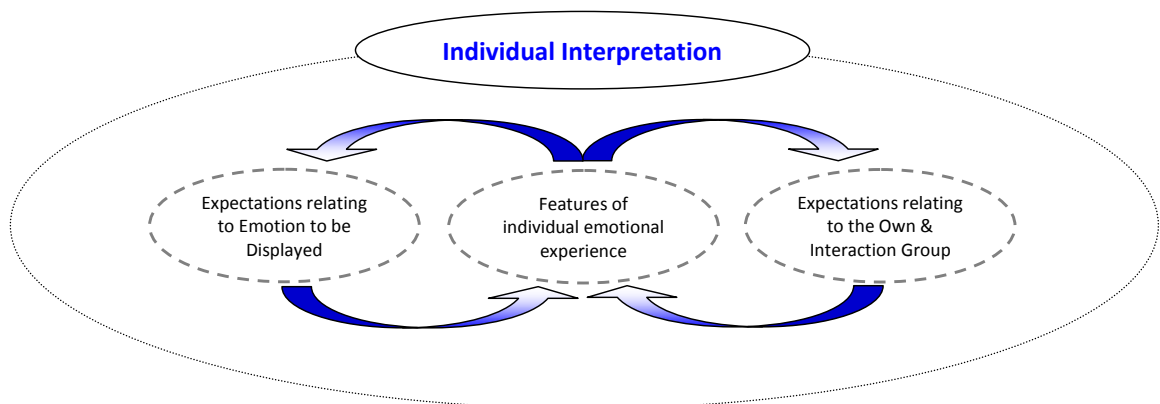
Figure 8 Emotion Display at Work as Interpretation

This perspective on emotion display places emphasis on the process of individual interpretation. This links it clearly with the psychological cognitive models of emotion at work, such as Affective Events Theory's (AET), that focus on individual appraisal at the heart of emotional experience (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1997). It supports the argument that the act of individual meaning-making is central to understanding the experience of emotion at work, as initially suggested by Lazarus (e.g. Lazarus & Cohen-Charash, 2001). However, it departs from these models in suggesting a more dynamic and more contextualised process than these models suggest. It suggests that the individual is making sense of both features of their internal emotional experience and interpreting the meaning associated with this in light of the specific context. In line with a psychological construction view of emotion (Gross & Barrett, 2011), this suggests that experience of emotion is therefore a mixture of both physical and more psychological, meaning-making ingredients.

The model suggests that this act of interpretation cannot be divorced from the context within which it takes place and presents a specific interpretation of the role of organisational culture in regulating emotion display at work; emotion display at work will always need to be understood as 'contextually embedded' (strand 1). The meaning ascribed to all the elements of emotional experience is negotiated within the landscape of contextually influenced 'interpretative frames', defined as attempts by organisations to prescribe specific meaning to organisational events, such as interactions between their members. Thus the omnibus context (organisation) provides the frames to interpret each discrete context, as depicted in the figure below. In this context, emotion display in front of students is meaningful because of the way the university context understands these two groups and their interaction. However, in an extension to Matsumoto's (2007) notion of culture providing social role to be adhered to, a more critical element is introduce as the social roles prescribed by the organisation's interpretative frames tend to fulfil specific organisational purposes.

In line with the 'unitary' view of culture (Martin, 2006; Garrow & Martin, 2011), the thesis would suggest that interpretative frames serve to present a series of underlying assumptions about the organisation to guide behaviour within it. However, more

consistent with the authors' 'conflict' view of culture, it also suggests that there are specific organisational agendas in the development and transmission of specific interpretative frames over others. An example of this might be the agenda to view students as customers (Svensson & Wood, 2007) and the way in which academics openly discussed the contentious nature of this 'frame' suggests the conflicts and tensions that ensure from such cultural impositions.

Figure 9 Context as Interpretative Frames
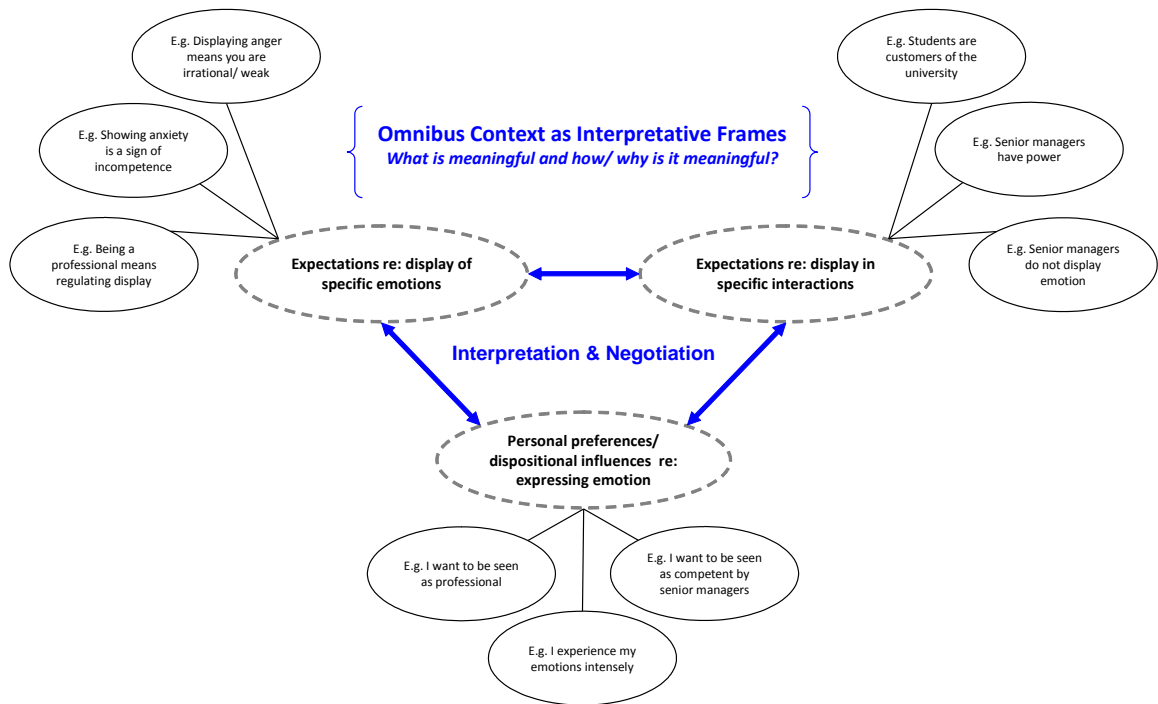
These tensions are captured in the proposed model in the suggestion that meanings attached to specific interactions are not fixed and static, but that the individual can actively subscribe to, adopt and internalise some or reject, mould and shape others with their actions. This presents a more holistic and dynamic interpretation of the individual at work (strand 2). The result might depend in part on the extent to which the individual sees themselves and their interaction partner as members of specific, defined groups (e.g. Niven at el., 2013); the 'deal' that the individual feels they have struck with the organisation (e.g. Francis et al., 2011a), i.e. what they might get in exchange for a regulation effort (e.g. Hochschild, 1983) and other aspects of their professional and

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personal identities that hold particular significance for them at that moment. The experience of managers in the current study also suggests that internalisation of cultural norms and expectations is another important mechanism through which omnibus context might influence emotion display, as also suggested by Winter (2009) for academic managers. This focus on acts of internalisation could also offer a specific extension of the literature on emotional dissonance and emotional labour in managers in particular, highlighting that the degree of surface or deep acting, as interpreted by managers themselves, may be the result of the extent of internalisation of the requirements of the management role. Again, links with the literature on the psychological contract (e.g. Rousseau, 2001; Briner & Conway, 2009) and on the employee value proposition (e.g. Francis et al, 2013) would be useful here as the degree of acceptance and internalisation may be linked to the individual manager's perception of the 'deal' on offer.
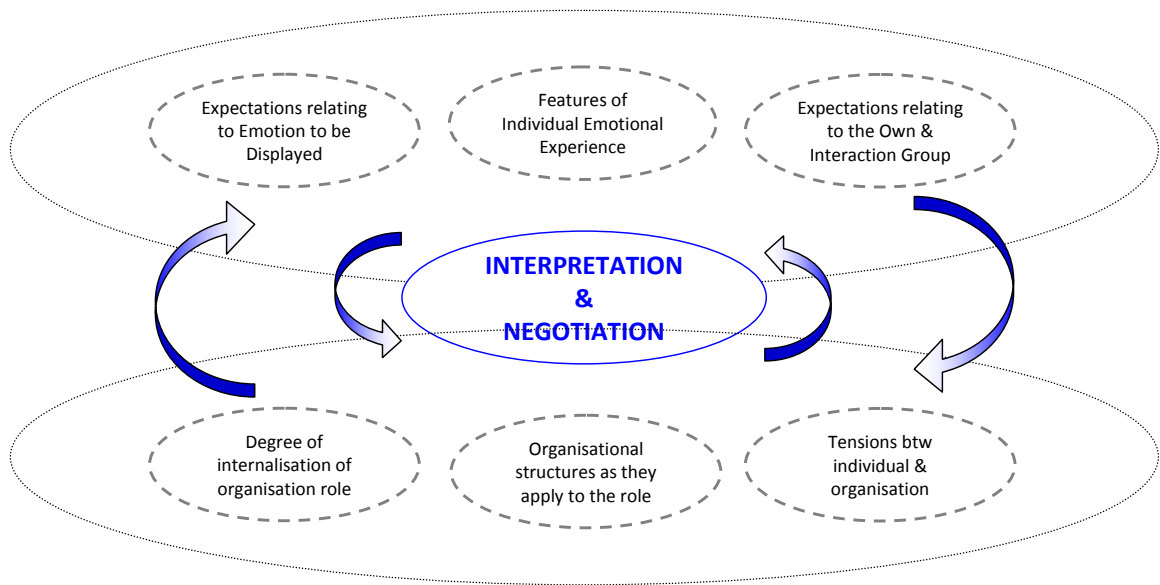
Figure 10 Emotion Display as Interpretation & Negotiation

Understanding emotion display as a process of negotiation thus makes explicit the possible tensions that exist in these interactions, specifically between the organisational and individual interests, perspectives and agendas. The degree to which this resonates

with individuals may be, in part, as a result of their actual role within the specifics of their organisational reality. In the current study, the negotiation of organisation-individual tensions is particularly salient in the display of anger and in managers' emotion display. Making these tensions explicit has many benefits. In relation to managers' emotion display, this understanding fundamentally 'problematises', as described by Alvesson & Sandberg (2011) the notion of 'authenticity' and 'genuine display' in this work context arguing for the need to understand individual interpretations of the nature of 'authenticity' as well as the organisational meaning attributed to authentic display. 'Authentic display' is suggested in this thesis as a negotiated outcome, i.e. as a result of the individual actively negotiating ambiguous and potentially conflicting 'pulls' and 'pushes' in terms of their emotion expression at work. Again, this would agree with Francis et al. (2011b) in suggesting managers' negotiation occurs independently and unsupported, as the tensions are often unacknowledged by the organisation; it also resonates with Wiinter's (2009) study of the identity conflicts inherent in UK universities that adopt a strong managerialist approach. It also more broadly provides a meaningful link between the largely uncritical literature on emotion display and the more nuanced literature on emotional dissonance. This articulation of emotion display as negotiation may also enable research on emotion display to have a stronger critical voice, in line with existing efforts in relation to emotional intelligence (Landen, 2004), engagement (Francis et al., 2013) and, within HRM, to embrace 'paradox and ambiguity' (Francis, Holbeche & Reddington, 2011b). The figure on the following page attempts to capture the nature of the relationship between internalisation and tension resolution for managers in the University.

Figure 11 Emotion Display as Internalisation & Tension Resolution

Degree of Internalisation of Organisational Expectations

Display to be authentic, 'genuine'/ open with team

Display to manage performance

TENSION RESOLUTION

Management Emotion Display

Desire to be seen as 'professional' & logical in judgements

Low authority within the role

Need to maintain relationships with team
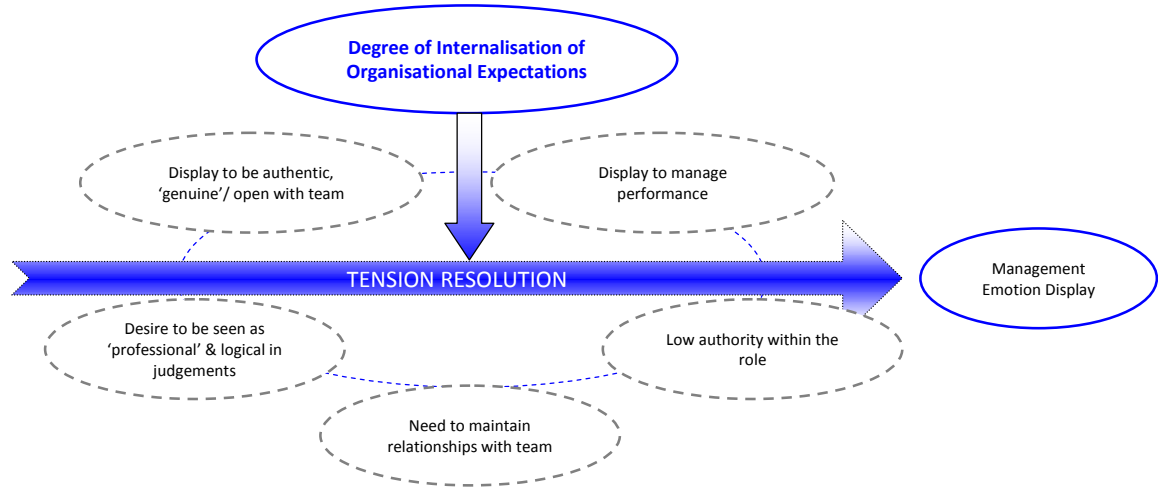
The model also suggests that there is more to the process of emotion display that only interpretation. In this sense, it steps back from an entirely interpretative approach to emotion at work and places emphasises also on the role of structures in shaping individual action, more akin to Willmott's analysis of managers (2000). It also emphasises the need for greater reflexivity in analysing accounts of interview material within specific organisational context (Alvesson, 2011) (strand 3). In the current study, this means ensuring emotion display efforts, and the presentation of emotion display regulation, are understood as embedded in a context where academic manager carry limited authority and where the adoption of a managerialist agenda has been problematic (e.g. Smeenk et al, 2009; Winter, 2009). Managers therefore argue that greater emotion display regulation justifies their contested position of power amongst colleagues; they also argue that emotion display regulation efforts ensure the maintenance of good working relationships, even in a context of performance management controls.

The model therefore suggests that the individual at the heart of the process of interpretation and negotiation is, as described in realist literature, acting within existing

structures but with the ability to transformationally impact on them by their acts of interpretation, negotiation, internalisation and emotion display itself (Patomaki & Wight, 2000; Easton, 2000; Fleetwood & Hesketh, 2012). In this sense, it could be viewed as an open-systems model, attempting to show 'thick explanation' of the phenomena of emotion display at work, as described by critical realist writers (e.g. Patomaki & Wight, 2000; Easton, 2000; Fleetwood & Hesketh, 2012). It suggests that each influence within this open-system might 'tendentially' influence an outcome, as a generative mechanism will exhibit the potential to inform an outcome. In this sense, it suggests that efforts to actively predict emotion display behaviour will be flawed in their inability to both take into account the complexity of factors involved as well as the individual's active and dynamic role in interpreting and negotiating each element within the system.

As an example drawn indirectly from the findings, when a lecturer is in a meeting with a student and feels anger, their display will be influenced by a complex negotiation between different interests and pressures; they might be influenced by their subscription to the student-as-customer metaphor; they might be influenced by the perceived expectation, possibly internalised, that being a professional lecturer means not displaying emotion in interaction with others; they might also be concerned that displaying an emotion would amount to a loss of credibility of their argument in the face of the student. These might suggest the need to hide the emotion (surface acting/ display regulation strategies e.g. Hochschild, 1983, Grandey, 2000; Gross, 2002) or re-interpret the felt emotion itself along less 'emotional lines', revisiting their own framing of the situation (deep acting/ cognitive re-appraisal e.g. Hochschild, 1983, Grandey, 2000; Gross, 2002). These pressures might need to be negotiated alongside an individual preference for expressivity, the perception of their identity as an 'authentic' lecturer and their belief or feeling that the trigger of the emotional event, for example the student action, is justified and usefully explicated and, finally, will be influenced the degree and nature of the existing relationship with the student. The actual display of emotion could be seen as the outcome of these interconnected, dynamic processes of meaning-making and significance-attribution (interpretation) and of negotiations between tensions and ambiguities within the situation. This then acts to inform and potentially transform the on-going process of interaction between the two individuals as well as potentially each

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party's understanding of their own (internalised) social roles and the interaction between them as representatives of their respective groups.

The findings can also help illustrate Küpers & Weibler's (2008) suggestions of an integral understanding of emotion at work. In line with the authors' arguments about these levels of analysis, the thesis suggests that emotion display could be investigated from each of these multiple perspectives; it differs slightly from the authors however, in placing the individual's acts of interpretation and negotiation at the centre of the figure, emphasising their own role in making sense of these multiple features of their experience. The figure below is therefore adapted from Küpers & Weibler (2008) to illustrate some examples in relation to the thesis's empirical findings on emotion display.

Figure 12 Emotion Display –an 'integral' approach
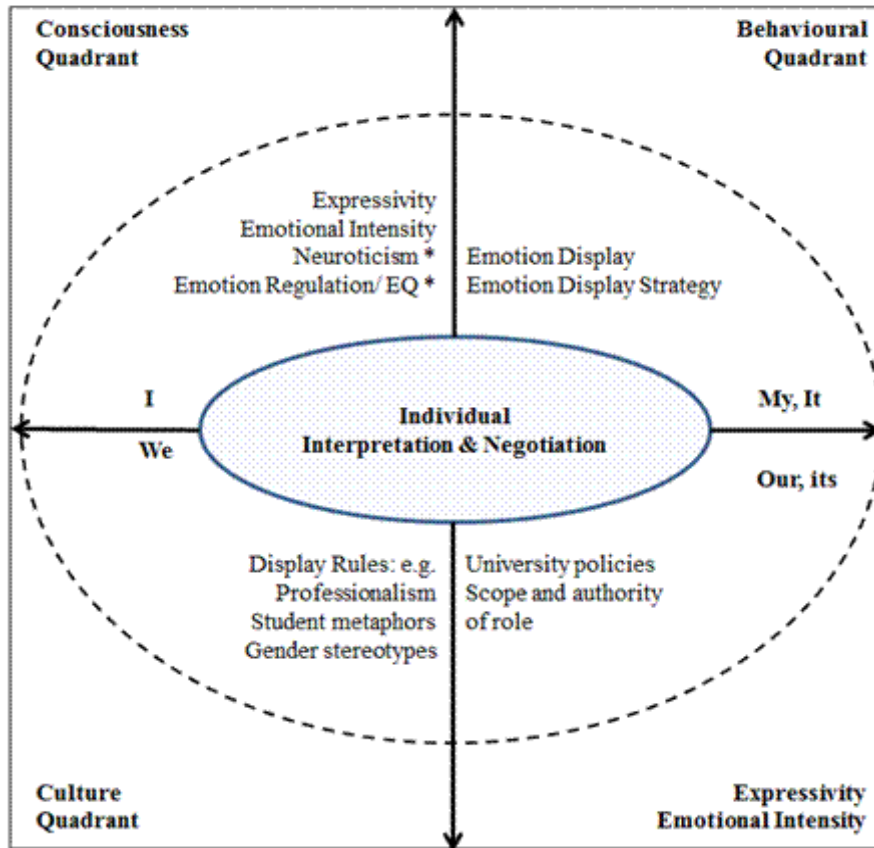
Adapted from Küpers & Weibler (2008).

In conclusion, the thesis argues that the discussion of the empirical study findings within the suggested cross-paradigm dialogue framework has usefully extended psychological understanding of emotion display at work. The explicit discussion of the four emergent, interconnected strands has enabled a focus that moves beyond an overly simplistic and managerial understanding of emotion display at work as a leveraging performance effectiveness and beyond its de-contextualised understanding as another expression of the individual's generic emotion regulation strategies. It suggests that a meaningful dialogue can be achieved between the mainstream psychological approach and that adopted by more critical, sociological paradigms, though not without 'stretching' psychological understanding.

5.4   Implications for Practice

The suggested understanding of emotion display at work informed by cross-paradigm dialogue also has some implications from the practitioner perspectives.

The argument at the heart of a 'contextually embedded' (strand 1) understanding of emotion display is the need to understand emotion at work within the specific organisational context. For practitioners, this means an attention to organisational culture in relation to the meaning attributed to emotions; the clear example is the interest in engagement and branding. On the one hand, contextual sensitivity requires a more critical attention to the meaning attached to 'engagement' within specific organisations, specifically in relation to what an 'engaged' employee is expected to show and feel and the interpretations of 'disengaged' employees. Of particular relevance would be the need to surface the organisational pressure to be engaged (e.g. Francis et al., 2013) and the interpretation of engagement as loyalty to the organisation, advocacy of the organisation's brand and acceptance of the organisation's values and objectives. Useful links can therefore also be made here to the literature on employee branding (e.g. Francis et al., 2011a; Martin et al., 2011) and its implications of the display of specific emotions at work. A contextualised understanding for emotion display would therefore seek to surface tensions, ambiguities and the way language is used in the organisation to either explicitly surface these concerns or negate them, as suggested by Francis, et al.'s (2011b) model of organisational effectiveness.

This attention to language and the use of language to frame interpretation would also suggest the need for greater flexibility in methodologies used to explore emotion-related experiences at work. The wider adoption of mixed methods, and qualitative methods in particular, within organisations, has been suggested for HR (e.g. Francis, et al., 2011a), occupational psychology (e.g. Weiss & Rupp, 2011) and management studies in general (e.g. Hodgkinson & Rousseau, 2009). In an area of practice that is dominated by questionnaires, such as engagement surveys or stress audits, there is an argument to be

made for mixed methods allowing greater emphasis on the worker-centric perspective on emotion display and emotion at work generally and therefore greater insight. It might also allow moving away from ontological assumptions about knowledge revealing underlying patterns that are at the heart of practitioner and organisational attempts to explore and crystallise causes of stress or engagement enablers and reveal the more complex, dynamic, changing reality of the individual's relationship with their work. Actively challenging these mechanistic interpretation of the nature of individual's relationship with their work could be seen as encouraging a more 'active, dynamic' conception of the individual within organisations (strand 1) and as demonstrating greater 'reflexivity' (strand 3) on behalf of the practitioner.

However, there is a clear tension between the actions suggested above and the perceived need for practitioners to achieve credibility by the adoption of the 'scientific' evidence or approach. In this regard, a tentative suggestion would be to re-frame the concept of 'relevance' to organisations in less managerial terms. Relevance for organisations could be defined as requiring contextual embeddedness, requiring attention to the specific circumstances of individual organisations, rather than relying on 'evidence' of general patterns. In practice, this might suggest, for example, the use of tailored questionnaires rather than off-the-shelf packages, the more critical discussion within organisations of 'evidence' and 'academic knowledge'.

Finally, given the increasing interest in 'authenticity' as a leadership competency, a more explicit discussion of the implications in relation to discussions of leader emotion display is offered overleaf. This is framed as a series of questions that practitioners might ask when engaging in developing 'authentic leaders' in organisations. The questions are grouped by strands, though the interconnected nature of the four strands means that a more holistic approach needs to be emphasised.

Table 23- Prompts for Practice – Leader Emotion Display

Strand	Reflection Questions
'Contextual embeddedness' & 'Active, dynamic individual'	What are the features of work in this organisation at this particular time? What are the features of the management role in this organisation at this particular time? E.g. job design; discretion, power and authority; cultural expectations; performance expectations.
	How do these differ from similar roles in other organisations? How can these be understood in terms of the organisation's history and culture?
	What is the main leadership issue/s the organisation is presenting? What is its perceived cause from the organisation's point of view?
	What is the organisation trying to achieve in developing 'leader authenticity'? How complex is the notion of authenticity the organisation holds? What are the stories, narratives and language associated with authenticity and lack of authenticity?
	To what extent does the understanding of authenticity the organisation present reflect the tensions involved in its achievement? Is there an awareness of the possible tensions, ambiguities and paradoxes between individual and organisational perspective on authenticity? To what extent is one perspective emphasised over the other?
	How can an understanding of the dynamic interplay between individual and context assist in exploring the presented issue?
Strand	Reflection Questions

'Reflexivity' &	What is the organisation's agenda on this issue? How is this being presented?
'Transformative potential'	How has this issue been explored by the organisation? E.g. What language, terminology and methodologies are being used or suggested? What do these highlight and underemphasise? What areas have not been explored?
	How will this agenda and related action affect the experience of individual managers/ workers?
	Are there any tensions between these two and how are they being acknowledged and explored?
	What methodologies do occupational psychology/ HR approaches typically adopt in these cases? What are these likely to shed light on and what are they likely to underemphasise? What methodologies can I consider in this case? What are these likely to shed light on and what are they likely to underemphasise?
	If development activity is involved, how are the tensions between individually-focused development and that aimed to achieve organisational objectives being surfaced?
	If I do what the organisation is asking of me, how will this affect issues such as worker dignity, fairness of treatment and diversity? To what extent will this action reinforce the status quo or challenge it?

Chapter 6   Concluding the Thesis

6.1   Introducing the Chapter

The thesis aimed to expand psychological understanding of emotion display at work through engagement with a form of cross-paradigm dialogue. This chapter concludes the thesis by reviewing its main achievements, strengths and limitations and by outlining possibilities for further research. The chapter argues that the main aim of the thesis has been largely achieved, though cautioning that the main study findings need to be interpreted with acknowledgment of the study's limitations.

6.2 Revisiting Thesis Objectives

The current thesis was, in part, a response to calls for greater integration between different approaches to emotion at work (e.g. Barsade, et al, 2003; Fineman, 2000; 2004) and the adoption of a 'multi-lens' perspective on emotion display in particular (Grandey et al., 2013). The thesis argued that achievement of integration is challenging as it is akin to a form of 'cross-paradigm dialogue' (Modell, 2011). The main question for the thesis to address was whether and how this form of cross-paradigm dialogue could be achieved in relation to emotion display at work.

6.2.1 Revisiting Research Objective 1

The thesis argued that calls for greater integration across perspectives, such as Grandey et al. (2013), risk understating the considerable philosophical, methodological and conceptual differences between different 'lenses'. The first objective of the research was therefore to develop a framework that would stimulate cross-paradigm dialogue in relation to emotion display at work in particular. By reviewing the alternative 'lenses', the thesis suggested that this inter-paradigmatic engagement could be framed as the need for psychology to dialogue with four emergent, interconnected, critical strands: recognition of the 'contextually embedded' nature of experience (strand 1); striving for a more holistic, subject-centred understanding of individual experience (strand 2); practising greater 'reflexivity' in relation to one's own research (strand 3) and explicitly discussing the 'impact on practice' or transformative potential of knowledge creation activity (strand 4). It is argued therefore that Research Objective 1 has been achieved as these four strands provide the suggested framework to stimulate cross-paradigm dialogue in relation to psychological understanding of emotion display at work.

6.2.2   Revisiting Research Objective 2

The thesis's second objective was to explore current psychological understanding of emotion display at work in light of the suggested framework for cross-paradigm dialogue.   The thesis argued that, far from achieving greater integration, recent psychological understanding of emotion display at work has been in essence a revisiting of the sociological concept of 'emotional labour' along functionalist lines.   The dominant psychological accounts of emotion display therefore struggled to achieve a meaningfully 'contextually embedded' understanding of this experience (strand 1), for example, often limiting themselves to a de-contextualised exploration of fictitious interaction partners.   The individual's subjective experience is also under-explored (strand 2) in part given psychological research's striving to achieve 'scientific' status through experimental designs and quantitative data gathering.   Possible tensions or conflicts within the individual's experience of emotion display remain largely hidden and there is a tendency to downplay the detrimental effects on the individual of engaging in display regulation for the organisation's sake; this is particularly apparent in the literature on leaders' expressions of emotion.   The psychological literature often is unable to engage with a more critical discussion of the organisational influences on emotion display and therefore to display clear awareness of its own 'impact on practice' (strand 4).   In line with the second objective therefore, the thesis concluded that there is a useful opportunity for stimulating an exchange of ideas across paradigms.

6.2.3   Revisiting Research Objectives 3 & 4

A Mixed Methods design was adopted for the empirical study as this was argued to be most suited to the thesis aim and to the approach to emotion adopted by the study; mixed methods have also been argued to be a useful avenue to explore for cross-paradigm research (Modell, 2010).   Overall, the findings from the quantitative data in relation to emotion display at work are largely consistent with those from previous studies and the triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data was suggested as an important extension of many of the previous studies.   Differences in emotion regulation were

found in terms of emotion display strategies and rules across different interaction partners and across different emotions, largely in line with those suggested by Diefendorff & Greguras (2009); the influence of expressivity was also highlighted, again largely in support Gross et al.'s (2000) suggestions. Importance influences on the display of emotion at the university were the perceived need to provide a professional identity, the adoption or otherwise of the contentious student-as-customer metaphor (e.g. Svensson & Wood, 2007) and the subjective meanings attributed to expressivity in general and the expression of particular emotions by individuals in this context. The findings in relation to managers' experience of emotion display also support the existing literature in confirming the importance of emotional labour for managers in particular (e.g. Humphrey et al., 2008). The worker-centric approach adopted by the study, in contrast to much of the existing literature, also provides insight into the possible interpretation of emotion display regulation as a 'transitional skill' by managers and its link to performance management. The empirical study also reinforces the need to problematize the concept of 'genuine display' in relation to managers' displays of emotion, in contrast to the current dominant approach in the literature (e.g. Gardner et al., 2009).

Finally, the findings from the university have allowed the development of a suggested open-systems model of emotion display at work, suggesting an explanation of emotion display as an act of individual interpretation and negotiation within existing systems and structures that attempt to prescribe meaning to actions and behaviours. This understanding meaningfully dialogues with the four emergent, interconnected strands and therefore is suggested as a form of cross-paradigm dialogue about emotion display at work. The thesis argues therefore that these Research Objectives have been met.

6.2.4   Revisiting Research Objective 5

The thesis also sought to influence the debate within practitioner communities on emotion at work. An assessment of how occupational psychologist practitioners describe themselves and their work, discussed in Chapter 2, highlighted the perceived

need for the profession to claim legitimacy and authority through its relationship with 'science', interpreted largely along positivist lines; the fact that many successful occupational psychologists work in private consultancies also contributes to practice that is largely driven by management agendas. The usefulness of prompts to stimulate practitioners to think beyond their current practice was therefore argued and a simple framework of questions for practitioners engaged in emotion display-related work with leaders in organisations was developed, drawing on the four strands. Research Objective 5 is therefore arguably achieved.

6.3   Thesis Quality Review

The study adopted a Mixed Methods approach; this has been considered complex to implement and to review. An important element of the study's methodology, as discussed in Chapter 3, was therefore the development of a framework within which to reasonably assess the quality of a Mixed Method approach. This argued that the study needed to be reviewed in terms of the following: its methodological rigour, its commitment both to participants and to the topic, the degree of reflexivity engaged in; the insight generated; the expected impact and its own internal coherence.

In this respect, the thesis and the empirical study itself have several limitations. In terms of the thesis overall, this is characterised by breadth though, possibly, at times at the expense of depth; some more detailed discussion about emotion display and emotion regulation were limited by features of the questionnaire. The study itself also had a small sample; though this is not necessarily problematic for qualitative research, this did impact on the ability to carry out more extensive analyses on the questionnaire data. Difficulties in gaining participation also, in practice, limited the scope of the study to a single case-study organisation, contrary to the initial intention of the research. The small sample and the adoption of a single case-study also affect the transferability of the findings. Whilst this is not necessarily an essential criterion for Mixed Methods research, this is still an important consideration in terms of the interpretation of the study findings. Finally, the interviews specifically sought to explore the subjective experience of emotion display; they explicitly did not seek to 'validate' this in any way and may have been influenced by people's tendency to prescribe to themselves agential roles in their reflections.

It is also argued however that the study has a number of key strengths. Firstly, the study attempted to generate genuine insight through an extensive commitment to the topic. In this sense, the thesis engaged with the considerable challenges involved in stimulating cross-paradigm dialogue. The thesis has also attempted to achieve a degree of

coherence throughout in applying the resultant framework to all aspects of the study. The dialogue with a critical realist perspective is not common in psychology and this was a considerable challenge for the current study. It has been argued that this commitment has paid off in the generation of insight into the phenomenon of emotion display at work that extends current psychological understanding, as discussed in Chapter 5.

6.4 Contributions of the Thesis

The current thesis makes a series of contributions to both knowledge of emotion display at work and practice associated with emotions at work more generally.

One of the first suggested contributions to knowledge that the thesis makes is the framing of cross-paradigm dialogue with respect to emotion display at work. This is addressed both theoretically and methodologically across the thesis, from articulation of the four emergent, interconnected critical strands (Chapter 2), the adoption of a psychological construction approach (Chapter 2), a critical realist philosophical foundation and a Mixed Methods methodology (both Chapter 3). All these elements are present in research in allied fields but their application within a psychological study of emotion at work is a novel contribution and an interested avenue for further research.

The thesis and the suggested model, derived from this framework, also contributes to the discussion of emotion display at work in several areas. It provides a possible illustration of Matsumoto's (2007) arguments on emotion display and culture and some empirical illustration of Küpers & Weibler's (2008) theoretical model. It challenges the notion that the contextually-embedded nature of emotion display at work can really be meaningfully understood without adopting a case-study methodology. The thesis's suggestion of emotion display at work being an act of interpretation and negotiation draws from insight derived not just from psychology but also from the more critical writers on organisations (e.g. Fleetwood & Hesketh, 2012; Francis et al., 2013), voices typically absent from mainstream psychological writing. The adoption of an explicitly more subject-centred perspective, as advocated by Weiss & Rupp (2012), also sheds light on the complexity and sophistication of individual acts of emotion display regulation. The possibility that consideration of individual differences domain might benefit from being re-interpreted as 'contextually embedded' internal structures, as argued by Houston (2001) and Easton (2010), is also of particular interest and could be further explored.

The final contribution made to knowledge is argued to be in respect of understanding of manager emotion display. The contribution made is partly as a result of the study being an empirical study of manager display, in a field where the most recent contributions have been theoretical (e.g. Humphrey, Pollack & Hawyer, 2008; Gardner, Fischer & Hunt, 2009). In part it is also as a result of explicitly focusing on the manager's perspective of emotion display, as a way of adopting a worker-centric approach (Weiss & Rupp, 2012). It is argued that this thesis has in parts provided support to the existing theoretical propositions about leader emotion display but also has highlighted some of the tensions implicit in them (Chapter 3) and some of the ways in which managers resolve these (Chapters 6&7). An example is the problematisation of the concept of 'genuine display'; this received considerable interest when presented at a recent occupational psychology conference[7].

- [7] This finding in particular, within the context of the larger presentation, was picked up by the media. It was reported as 'good managers fake it' – see: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-edinburgh-east-fife-20963723

The study's contributions to practice include a critical assessment of the current practitioner landscape and the framework of questions that could stimulate a more 'critically informed' practice in relation to leader emotion display. The development of a framework of quality criteria for Mixed Method research may also help to extend current understanding of the terms 'rigour' and 'relevance' and challenge the implied association of practitioner credibility with the positivist scientific method; alongside this is the more practical call for an increase in use of mixed methods amongst practitioners. Whilst the critical assessment of occupational psychology is not new (e.g. Weiss & Rupp, 2012; Islam & Zyphur, 2009), the thesis proposes that these suggested tools offer some useful, practical extension to the theoretical debates.

In addition, since the start of the thesis, the author's own practice has shifted considerably. This has included making changes to lectures prepared on the subject of emotion at work and to workshops delivered on the management of emotion at work. The author's psychology conference presentations and the co-written a chapter on emotion at work (intended for HR practitioners) were also informed by the author's developing research and aimed at introducing greater critical voices within these communities. It is expected that, at thesis conclusion, further opportunities to contribute in this way will be sought.

6.5 Future Research Directions for Emotion Display at Work

One of the main arguments of the thesis has been that stimulating cross-paradigm dialogue would benefit occupational psychology and offer new directions for research. Many ideas for possible future research do present themselves and this section will outline the ones most directly pertinent to the study's contributions and limitations.

Given the limited sample size and the adoption of a single case-study organisation, it would be beneficial to extend this approach to other organisations, possibly ones that differ considerably from the current case-study in terms of organisational culture and management roles. An extension of the sample would also be recommended. The aim would not be to 'test' whether the findings of this study are generalisable but to explore the transferability of the approach to other settings.

A further qualitative analysis of managers at different levels of an organisational hierarchy would also be of interest to explore the impact of authority and power on emotion display. This form of study could also attempt to better understand the suggested progressive internalisation of organisational goals and its impact on emotional dissonance experienced by managers. A qualitative study of this kind would also be able to further explore the suggested transitional aspects of emotion display regulation and their role in managers' interpretations of their own roles.

Further exploration of the transactional dimension to emotion display regulation would also be insightful; this has remained largely unexplored in more recent psychological literature. This would imply moving beyond understanding emotion display as a discrete process, linked to specific situations and emotions, to a more process-driven exploration of the meaning attributed to emotion display regulation within work contexts by individuals. Useful links with literature on social exchange, the psychological

contract and the employee value proposition could also be made, particularly in relation to periods of organisational change.

It would also be interesting to gage academic and practitioner reactions to the suggested framework as a way of stimulating further cross-paradigm engagement. The thesis has also generated a keen interest in the researcher in the current practice of occupational psychologists in the UK and this could be a very interesting area for further research; for example, if a large part of the profession is now largely employed in private consultancies or within HR or management roles, this could significantly affect the focus on the discipline as a whole. This avenue could be explored with the Division of Occupational Psychology itself in an attempt to understand why the 'critical voice' is not heard more loudly within occupational psychology in the UK.

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Appendices

Appendices 1 Selected Quotes & Reflections from Critical Sources

Themes	Willmott (2005)	Alvesson & Gertz (2000)	Weiss & Rupp (2012)	Islam & Zyphur	Fox et al	Fox (2000)
Dynamic conception of individual agent	Mainstream management research focuses on individual differences not upon management work as an "expression of developing institutional arrangements"		Mainstream I/O psychology reduces individuals to a set of abstracted properties, treating people as objects rather than developing a meaningful understanding of the individual and their subjectivity	Individual differences need to be viewed as 'subjective potentials'; the individual needs to be considered a "dynamic and [projective" agent, actively making sense of themselves	Mainstream psychology overemphasizes the individual, to neglect of group, resulting in overemphasis on individualistic values	

Contextual embeddedness & exploration	Mainstream management research abstracts activities of individual managers from institutional arrangements	critical research needs to engage with the subjective experience but also with the "discursive and other processes of an ideological and material nature that might constitute experiences and prescribe meaning" (p.14)		Mainstream psychology research on leadership tends to focus on the individual and does not reflect sufficiently on the power-relations implicit in leadership positions and discourses	

	Willmott (2005)	Alvesson & Gertz (2000)	Weiss & Rupp (2012)	Islam & Zyphur	Fox et al (2009)	Fox (2000)
Reflexivity in research/ researcher	Mainstream management research does not understand the value-relevant nature of research	Critical research needs to develop 'insight': "process offering into the various ways in which knowledge & seemingly objective character of events are formed and sustained" (p140)	Mainstream I/O psychology has uncritically accepted the collective purposes of the organisation as its guiding principle	Critical I/O psychology needs to become aware of the value-laden nature of research and ask why some things are studied and not others and to promote self-reflection in researchers		Critical psychology needs to acknowledge psychology's values are culturally & historically determined

	Willmott (2005)	Alvesson & Gertz (2000)	Weiss & Rupp (2012)	Islam & Zyphur	Fox et al (2009)	Fox (2000)
Awareness of transformative power of research/ researcher		Critical research needs to develop 'critique': research that "addresses the systematic privileging of certain discourses and meanings associated with forms of power" (p.142)	Mainstream I/O psychology has accepted as its purpose aligning individuals to this collective organisational agenda	Critical I/O psychology needs to become aware of how its outputs are used in specific contexts	Mainstream psychology's' alliances disproportionately hurt those in marginalised or less powerful positions within society	Critical psychology seeks and alters, provides alternative to mainstream psychology's norms and societal institutions that those norms strengthen; a challenge to mainstream psychology's contributions to complacency & oppression
		Critical research needs to achieve 'transformative re-definition': enabling insight gained to lead to change			Mainstream psychology, irrespective of the intentions of individual psychologists, lacks the ability to challenge injustice	Critical psychology needs to acknowledge society's' injustice, inequality and systemic barriers to survival and meaning in society

Appendices 2 Quotes & Reflections - Occupational Psychology Sources

Source	Information Gathered & Comments
DOP	"Occupational psychology is the science of people at work. Rigour and methods of psychology are applied to issues of critical relevance to business"[8] Clear focus on supporting the legitimacy of the discipline by underlying its scientific credentials; dominance of an organisational/ managerial agenda.
CIPD	"Championing better work and working lives"; HR profession's focus described as "delivering sustainable organisation capability and performance"[9]. Main website strap line is vague enough to enable multiple interpretations of the CIPD's purpose, the actual description given of what HR professionals reveals dominance of managerial agenda; workers themselves are only referred to indirectly and in terms of what they offer the organisation.
Work Psychology Group	"We work in partnership with clients to deliver tailor made solutions". Descriptions of what the consultancy does include: "translate the latest research into practical, innovative solutions."; "develop novel solutions for our clients"[10].

- [8] **http://dop.bps.org.uk/** Website of DOP – accessed 14th May 2013
- [9] **http://www.cipd.co.uk/cipd-hr-profession/** CIPD website – accessed 14th May 2013
- [10] **http://www.workpsychologygroup.com/** Accessed 14th May 2013

The managerial focus is dominant across the website, with the addition of the credibility provided by references to research and 'latest thinking'.

Appendices 3 Main Study Questionnaire

The private and public faces of emotion at work

Thank you for taking the time to participate in my study on the private and public aspects of emotion at work. This questionnaire will ask you about your general preferences for expressing emotion at work and will also ask you to reflect on whether the setting influences what emotion you choose to display. Before starting this questionnaire, I would ask that you agree to the following, as a way of providing Informed Consent:

> I have read and understood the information sheet provided about this project;
> I have met with Chiara Amati to discuss this study and have had an opportunity to ask questions about my participation;
> I understand that I am under no obligation to take part any part of this study and that I have the right to withdraw from this study at any stage without giving any reason.

I agree to participate in this DBA study (please circle]   Y   N

Please can you answer the following (please circle)

Are you?	Male	Female
Do you have line management responsibilities?	Y	N

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

There are two sections to this questionnaire:

Section 1 –   This section asks you to reflect on how you feel. The questions seek to identify differences between individuals in terms of aspects of both public and private emotional experience; the items are grouped to help you better understand what they are asking you to comment on.

Section 2-   This section asks you to reflect on your experience of a number of specific emotions at work. It seeks to understand the degree to which your public expression of emotion (what you show to others) mirrors what you feel privately and whether and/or how you are influenced by others in your expression of emotion.

Each section also offers space for you to comment, add, or qualify your responses.

SECTION 1 - Please answer the following questions using the scale below:

Strongly agree	Agree	Mixed/ Depends	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
SA	A	M	D	SD

Emotional Intensity –How intensely do you experience emotions generally?

						If you have chosen mixed/ depends, please can comment below, e.g. on what does it depend?
1.1 I experience my emotions intensely.	SA	A	M	D	SD	
1.2 I have strong emotions.	SA	A	M	D	SD	
1.3 I have a strong physical reaction in emotional situations	SA	A	M	D	SD	
1.4 I experience intense emotions frequently.	SA	A	M	D	SD	

Emotional Regulation –How able do you feel, generally, at managing what emotions you show

						If you have chosen mixed/ depends, please can comment below, e.g. on what does it depend?
2.1 I am sometimes unable to hide my feelings, even though I would like to.	SA	A	M	D	SD	
2.2 I am able to hide what I am feeling if I want to.	SA	A	M	D	SD	
2.3 I can control my emotional reactions quite easily.	SA	A	M	D	SD	

Emotional Expression Do you purposefully show how or what you feel? (in general)

						If you have chosen mixed/ depends, please can comment below, e.g. on what does it depend?
3.1 I see no harm in letting people know how you feel.	SA	A	M	D	SD	
3.2 I prefer to keep my feelings to myself.	SA	A	M	D	SD	

3.3 I am an emotionally expressive person.	SA	A	M	D	SD	
3.4 My behaviour usually shows how I'm feeling.	SA	A	M	D	SD	
3.5 I typically don't express my emotions publicly.	SA	A	M	D	SD	
3.6 I wear my heart on my sleeve	SA	A	M	D	SD	

The following are typical strategies used to manage the expression of emotions. Reading these strategies, do you find you have a **preference at work**, i.e. are there any that you might be more likely to want to use at work? If so please indicate your preferred and any other strategies that apply.		Preferred	Any Other
A I show more than I feel	e.g. you are feeling happy with someone and exaggerated the feeling.		
B I express it as I feel it	e.g. you make no attempt to change what you feel.		
C I show it but with a qualifier	e.g. you show you are angry but add a smile to 'take the edge off'		
D I show less than I feel	e.g. you try to tone down the emotion you are feeling in your expression		
E I hide my feelings by showing nothing	e.g. you make an effort to keep your face, voice and body language neutral no matter what you are feeling		
F I hide my feelings by showing something else	e.g. you put on another expression to mask what you are feeling		

Section 2 This section asks you to reflect on your experience of emotion expression at work, specifically in the presence of others.

On each of the following pages is a description of a situation where you are interacting with someone and feel certain emotions. Please think of a specific person in your working life for each of the situations. The situations are:

Situation 1	Situation 2	Situation 3	Situation 4
Interacting with a student you have only just met;	In a meeting with a colleague you don't know very well;	In a meeting with senior colleague you don't know very well;	In a meeting with a group of colleagues (if you have line management responsibilities, your team)

You are then asked to think about what you think you **would do** in this situation and what you think the expectation is that you or someone in your position **should do.** You are asked to answer how you would behave and feel you should behave in relation to the strategies listed in the previous section. If none of the strategies listed seem to fit, or if you want to add any comments, please use the space provided. Treat each emotion and each situation separately. Do not consider them occurring in any particular order or to be connected with each other in any way.

There are no right or wrong answers, nor any patterns to the answers. Don't worry about how you have responded to a previous item or how you will respond to an item in the future. Just select a unique response for each emotion and situation on its merit. Don't be overly concerned over any one situation and emotion. If you have difficulty selecting an answer, make your best guess; oftentimes your first impression is best.

SITUATION 1 – STUDENT   When you are/ have been interacting with a student you have only just met**, in** a meeting by yourselves, and you felt the following emotions *toward him/her…*

	I WOULD						I SHOULD						Any comments…/ depends on…/ clarifications…
When I am feeling …Angry	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Anxious	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Happy	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Sad	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Surprised	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Disgusted	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	

SITUATION 2 –COLLEAGUE When you are/ have been interacting with a colleague you did not know well, in a meeting by yourselves, and you felt the following emotions *toward him/her…*

	I WOULD						I SHOULD						Any comments…/ depends on…/ clarifications…
When I am feeling …Angry	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Anxious	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Happy	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Sad	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Surprised	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Disgusted	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	

SITUATION 3 –SENIOR COLLEAGUE When you are/ have been interacting with a SENIOR colleague you did not know well, in a meeting by yourselves, and you felt the following emotions *toward him/her*…

	I WOULD						I SHOULD						Any comments…/ depends on…/ clarifications…
When I am feeling …Angry	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Anxious	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Happy	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Sad	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Surprised	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Disgusted	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	

SITUATION D –GROUP When you are/ have been with a group of colleagues and you felt the following emotions about something that someone said/ did… (If you are a line manager, please imagine this is a group of your direct reports). ..

	I WOULD						I SHOULD						Any comments…/ depends on…/ clarifications…
When I am feeling …Angry	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Anxious	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Happy	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Sad	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Surprised	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	
When I am feeling …Disgusted	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire. I hope you have found it interesting. If you have any further comments on emotions, emotion expression and display, please either write these below or you can contact me via email on AmatiDBA@gmail.com or c.amati@napier.ac.uk.

Please return the completed questionnaire in the blank envelope to the box at the School office.

Thank you again

Appendices 4 Interview Prompts

Emotional display - General

How would you characterise your emotional experience in general?

Strong emotions –

Ability to control/ manage them

To what extent is your display of emotion a conscious choice that you make knowingly?

What influences that choice:

Lack of control – controlled response

Context – broad & narrow – what I want to achieve, interaction partner

Need to be genuine?

Emotion itself -

Other

Can you think of recent work examples?

Emotion Display - Management

To what extent is emotion management a part of your management role?

is this ability something you feel you have always had – developed in role – trained for?

Emotion Display - Context

To what extent are there clear expectations about management behaviours set out by the University?

If so – where do these come from?

If not – why might that be?

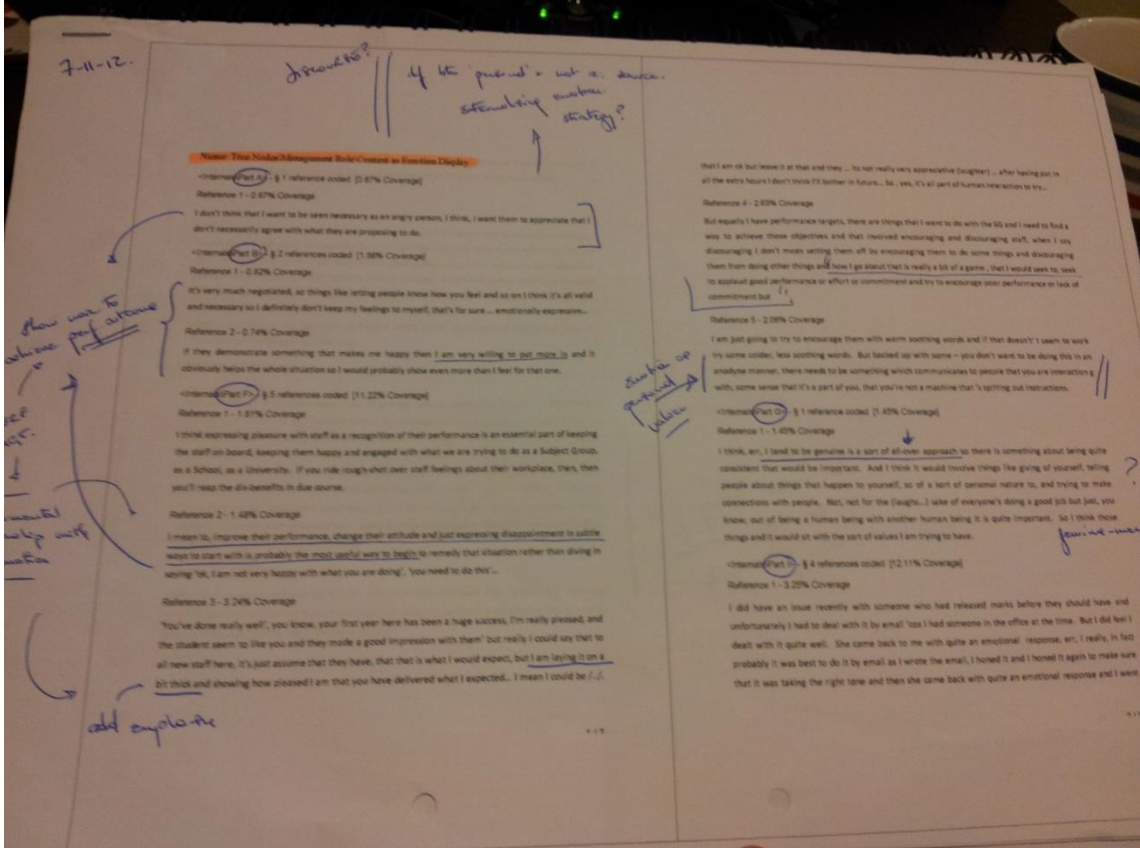Do these expectations influence you in any way?

Re questionnaire responses

Appendices 5 Thematic Analysis - NVivo

Tree Nodes

Name	Sources	References	Created On
Emotions	2	4	06/09/2012 15:13
Anger	6	18	06/09/2012 15:14
Anxiety	6	9	06/09/2012 15:14
Surprise	2	2	06/09/2012 15:14
Disgust	4	4	06/09/2012 15:14
Positive (misc)	4	6	06/09/2012 15:14
Negative (misc)	1	2	06/09/2012 15:14
Sad	1	3	12/09/2012 14:13
Stress	1	1	07/11/2012 12:28
Management Role	5	6	06/09/2012 15:14
Individual Differences	1	3	06/09/2012 15:16
Motivation to Displa	3	7	06/09/2012 15:16
Personal Strategy	5	12	06/09/2012 15:22
Control	2	6	01/04/2013 14:11
Confidence	2	3	01/04/2013 14:20
Misc other	1	1	01/04/2013 14:21
Age & experience	3	6	06/09/2012 16:16
Context	2	2	06/09/2012 15:17
Context Misc	8	18	06/09/2012 15:17
Senior mgt	5	7	06/09/2012 15:30
Student interaction	7	16	06/09/2012 15:33
Gender	3	4	07/11/2012 14:21
SGL role	1	8	27/03/2013 16:05
Family & society	1	2	06/09/2012 16:36
Display due to relat	5	9	06/09/2012 15:31
Motivation to Control	0	0	27/03/2013 15:58
Professionalism	7	14	06/09/2012 15:17
Personal Protection	3	4	27/03/2013 15:58
Emotion is bad	2	9	27/03/2013 15:59
Impact on Others	3	6	27/03/2013 15:59
Culture or expectati	1	1	27/03/2013 16:11
Emotion is persona	4	8	27/03/2013 16:50

Appendices 6 Example of IPA Analysis (stage 1)

Appendices 7 Example of IPA Analysis (stage 2)

Theme	Detail	Quotes
Main emotion	Sadness - Main trigger emotion – one talked about first/ most	1:2; 2:4
Importance of being genuine	Value-based belief in importance (usefulness) of being genuine; this means being open and also displaying emotions; equated with letting people know about you and modelling beh; also across hierarchy	2:4; 3:6; 6:14; 11:43
Flexibility in managing display (anger, anxiety & sadness)	Display driven primarily by the potential effect on the team; Display is 'fine' if this emotion is shared – examples for sadness and anxiety but therefore perceived need to manage the display of anger in order to maintain relationships. Flexibility of response demonstrated by providing 2 contrasting examples of the same emotion with diff display strategy: emotion anger & anxiety (additional) belief that a display of anger does is not useful/ not controlled/ 'festers';	Display: 1:2; 13:47 Anger: 2:4; 9:21; 5:12; 13:51 anxiety: 13:47; flexibility: 15:6015:62;
Importance relationships	Importance of maintaining good working relationships with people; seen as key task of management – demonstrated in desire to work through difficult issues with a colleague;	4:8; 5:10
Tension btw being genuine & managing display (all/ anger)	Clear tension experienced btw the desire, value-based, to be genuine, as in open, and the self-initiated need to maintain positive relationships with people, which can mean having to manage emotion display. This is particularly felt in relation to the management role.	3:6; 8:20
Display in mgt role	Added responsibility in mgt role to be conscious of display (linked to above? Modelling?);	7:16; 8:18; 10:26

	also requires mgt of emotion in team ; example of others needing to manage mgr emotion display	
Display as effort (labour?)	Need to counter-balance management of display with ability to show all in safer setting – indirect expression of effort involved in mgt display? (example of coaching partners); 'its really complicated'	7:16; 8:18

Appendices 8 Example of IPA Analysis (initial stage 3 draft)

	The performance of performance management	Emotions as rational management tools
Detail	In the case of managing performance, managers themselves have to perform (act) in regulating their emotion displays. This can mean showing less than felt but also showing more. For some, this appear to be 'deep acting', for others the tension is more apparent (surface acting?)	In some managers the externalisation of their own private feeling was clearly expressed in their choice of language. This seems to indicate a distancing from what is actually felt and turning this into a more rational, objective performance-related judgement. This appears to give management emotion objectivity and authority.
Key Literature	emotional labour in mgt roles leadership & being genuine internalising org's values	
Gen Mechanisms	**Management internalisation expectation** – Part of the management is the Internalisation of organisation's values and objectives over own personal	**Externalisation/ distancing of personal emotion** – creating a distance btw self and emotion felt so it is seen as management resource/ tool.

The emotional labour aspect of the management role is still going strong and this study helps provide greater insight into what this means for managers. By some, there appears to be a conscious internalisation of the organisation's values/ objectives (deep acting); others experienced a more explicit tension btw doing what the organisation requires and disguising their values/ personal feelings. In some managers, this was also manifest in a desire to distance themselves from their own emotions, turning them from personal feelings into more rational, objective judgements. This debate needs to be researched further to better understand this process in management roles; this can only be done by talking to managers themselves.

Appendices 9 **Participant Information Sheet (Managers)**

This form is provided to support the discussion about participation in my Doctor of Business Administration (DBA) study on emotion at work.

Study Overview

We all experience emotions at work, but we do not always show what we feel. My study would like to better understand what influences the decision to show or display emotion in a work context. I am interested in two aspects in particular: the individual's personal preferences or disposition; the individual's perception of the work culture and related expectations regarding emotion display. There is also be a separate focus in the study on people managers in particular as their emotion display is considered to be an important influence on their team.

Participation in the Research

This is a comparative study involving two Schools within Edinburgh Napier University.

Involvement   *Questionnaire*:   All academic staff from each School will be invited to complete an anonymous questionnaire on their experience of emotion display and how the work culture influences this. For the purposes of the analysis, the two Schools will be considered both jointly and separately, giving two samples of approx 100 and 65 people each. . A copy of this questionnaire is available for you to review.

Interview: As a Subject Group Leader (SGL) I would like to invite you to take part in an additional conversation with myself about your personal experiences of the interface between private and public aspects of emotion at work. I will also collect your copy of the completed questionnaire at this time. For any analysis, the

	SGLs from both Schools will be considered as a single group, giving a sample of 12 people.
Anonymity	The questionnaire asks for no demographic details from you apart from your gender and whether you are a Subject Group Leader.
	The School will also be protected as its name and the professional identify to its members will not be identified at any stage throughout the data analysis or any subsequent data reporting.
	All interview participants will also be anonymised in my own data analysis and in any reporting of the data, either as part of my DBA or in related publications. For example, the School they belong to will not be disclosed and they will be referred to only as the 'P1 of the management group'.
Data Storage & Access	All data will be kept in a secure place and not on any Edinburgh Napier University networked storage resources. Only myself and my supervisors (Profs Helen Francis and Anne Munro from the Business School) will have access to the data in its raw form.
	I will record the interviews, transcribe them and potentially quote from individual interviews within write-ups of the study. This will be done in line with the anonymity arrangements as stated above.

Benefits of Participation

I hope that completion of the questionnaire will be interesting and insightful in helping you reflect on aspects of your emotional experience at work. Feedback from participants in the DBA pilot study suggests that participation in the interviews afforded an opportunity to reflect on emotional experience, increasing awareness of the individual's own management style and preferences, as well as some external influences on their behaviour.

I am also discussing organising a seminar for the School when I will discuss the theoretical background to the study in more detail and explain the practical implications for emotion management at work.

> **N.B** You have the option to decline to take part and are free to withdraw from the study at any stage without needing to provide a reason for doing so.

Independent Advisor

If you would like to contact an independent person, who knows about this project but is not directly involved in it, please contact Dr Lois Farquharson, Faculty Director of Research Awards, Business School: l.farquharson@napier.ac.uk

My Contact Details

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If you are happy to participate on the basis of the above, please complete the Informed Consent For overleaf. I will collect this when we meet for our interview.

Appendices 10 Informed Consent Form (Managers)

I have read and understood the information sheet and this consent form.
I have met with Chiara Amati to discuss this study and have had an opportunity to ask questions about my participation.
I understand that I am under no obligation to take part any part of this study and that I have the right to withdraw from this study at any stage without giving any reason.

I agree to participate in this DBA study.

Name	
Date	
Signature	

Appendices 11 Development of Quality Framework

* Factor suggested for both qualitative & quantitative methods

** Framed as factor affecting research, rather than explicitly as guidelines

	Quality Criteria Adapted from other Sources			
Study Quality Criteria	Yardley (2002)	Elliott et al (1999)	Malterud (2001)	Baxter & Eyles (1997)
Rigour	Rigour	Appropriate methods*; Specification of methods*; Clarity of presentation*; Providing credibility checks;	Discussion of methods & design; data collection & sampling; analysis; and discussion;	Dependability
			Transferability**	Transferability
Commitment (participants)	Sensitivity to Context	Respect for participants*; Situating the sample; Grounding in examples	Discussion of aim & theoretical framework	Credibility
Commitment (topic)		Explicit scientific context & purpose*		

Study Quality Criteria	Quality Criteria Adapted from other Sources			
	Yardley (2002)	Elliott et al (1999)	Malterud (2001)	Baxter & Eyles (1997)
Reflexivity	Transparency	Owning one's perspective	Reflexivity**	Conformability
Insight	Impact & importance	Appropriate discussion[*]; Coherence; Accomplishing general vs. specific research tasks	Discussion of findings	
Impact		Contribution to knowledge[*]; Resonating with readers;		
Coherence	Coherence			