WOMEN MANAGERS:

LEARNING ABOUT EMOTIONAL EXPRESSION IN THE WORKPLACE

by

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(Under the Direction of Laura Bierema, Ed.D.)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to understand what women managers learn about emotional expression in the workplace and how this knowledge is acquired. The research questions included: 1) What do women managers learn about expressing emotions in the workplace? 2) How do women learn what emotions are appropriate to express during their work?

The sample for this qualitative study was ten women managers working in a manufacturing environment in different companies. These included five in human resources and five in other areas such as operations. The age range spanned from 27 to 53 years old. Education levels ranged from Bachelor's, Masters, to work towards a Ph.D. The span of experience in management ranged from two to twenty-six years. Geographic backgrounds of the participants covered four distinct areas including Northeast, Southeast, South, and Midwest.

Data analysis revealed that women learned the following about emotional expression: 1) the necessity of maintaining a "poker face" or appearing emotionally neutral; 2) the use of emotions as a strategy of influence; 3) the double-bind that women are faced with from the simultaneous expectations that they behave according to gender roles yet also act like men; 4) the need for authenticity in emotional expression; and 5) the importance of the situation for determining appropriate emotional expression.

They learned through the following means: 1) women learn emotional expression from watching or receiving feedback from others, including supervisors or colleagues; 2) knowledge about emotional expression increases with age and work experience and occurs informally and incidentally on a daily basis; and 3) emotional expression is learned as part of upbringing and as an aspect of societal gender rules.

Six conclusions were drawn from this study: 1) the rules and acceptability of emotional expression in a manufacturing workplace are dependent upon the employee's gender and particular situation; 2) a male dominated system may create a need for women to perform more emotion work than men by having to emulate male behavior; 3) social structure is reproduced because of the importance of culture in defining the appropriateness of emotional expression; 4) emotions are used as a strategy of influence at both the organizational and individual levels; 5) women learn about emotional

expression primarily through informal and incidental learning; 6) psychodynamics exist in the workplace that continually reproduce the pathology of emotional expression.

Implications for research and practice include the following: 1) informal training programs for emotional intelligence may be as effective as formal learning situations; 2) action learning programs would provide an effective vehicle to implement emotional intelligence programs; 3) women need to gain an awareness and understanding of gender roles and their impact on behavioral expectations, career development and success; 4) emotions research needs to continue in order to acknowledge the existence of emotions in the workplace as well as examine their importance to managerial effectiveness, career development, and success; 5) further research could provide important knowledge for the emotions literature by examining the relationship between emotional expression and performance ratings; and 6) further research on the potential for informal learning to enhance emotional intelligence is critical.

INDEX WORDS: Emotional intelligence, emotion work, career development, management, human resource development, adult learning, women

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Women's status in the workplace still lags far behind men's. The percentage of women currently in the U.S. workforce is estimated at as much as 50 percent (Catalyst Organization, 2001) to 63 percent (Crampton & Mishra, 1999), yet women are still segregated into careers typically constructed as feminine, such as technical, sales, or administrative support and service occupations (Hayes, 2000). Wage differentials continue to exist and options and opportunities for women remain constrained by traditional views suggesting an inevitable role conflict between career and family (Schreiber, 1998). A recent study by the General Accounting Office (2002) found that the wage gap between men and women has grown from 1995-2000. The study also concluded that mothers who were managers earned only 66 percent of managers who were fathers. American women occupy only 11.9 percent of corporate officer positions, 11.2 percent of board directors, 4 percent of the high level managerial positions (Crampton & Mishra, 1999), and only six *Fortune 500* CEO positions (Catalyst Organization, 2001). Where women do reach executive status, it is often in support positions rather than in strategic roles (Calas & Smircich, 1993).

Scholars account for the gender gap in organizations in several ways. Some explain the gap as a lack of opportunity and power (Hood & Koberg, 1994) and any contributing contextual, structural factors (Crampton & Mishra, 1999; Wharton, 2000) such as corporate practices, differences in training opportunities, and unfair promotional

policies. Others maintain that certain traits and behaviors of women, communication or leadership styles are seen as out of sync with top corporate positions and therefore not conducive to promotion (Crampton & Mishra, 1999).

Gender Roles

Some researchers argue that the effects of prescribed gender roles are so embedded in our culture and organizations that they are barely discernible to women or men (Bierema, 2003; Bierema & Kovan, 2000; Meyerson & Fletcher, 2000). Firestone (1970) argues that gender distinctions structure every aspect of our lives and that gender difference is an elaborate system of male domination. Learning opportunities differ by gender, organizational cultures still reward masculine traits, and managers are evaluated in terms of the degree to which they meet societal gender roles (Gatenby & Humphries, 1999; Hood & Koberg, 1994; Kerfoot & Knight, 1998; Oakley, 2000).

Gender shapes women's opportunities for learning, particularly in male-dominated organizations. Some organizational policies, including training, reveal messages about how women are viewed and how they are expected to behave (Howell, Carter, and Schied, 1999). Training curricula may be biased, supporting men's learning more than women's. Women may be offered fewer formal training opportunities because of a perception that women's jobs require less skill (Hayes, 2000). Access to learning may be limited because of scheduling and a lack of child care. Women's informal learning may also be affected by gender because of a hidden curriculum, or implicit message, which reinforces gender stereotypes (Gatenby & Humphries, 1999; Hayes, 2000; Oakley, 2000).

Women's Learning

Traditional learning theories assume a universality of learning experiences and participants, resulting in a lack of information and understanding about women's learning and education (Hayes, Flannery, Brooks, Tisdell, Hugo, 2000). The way women learn, including workplace learning, may differ from men's learning. Although it has been shown that women learn through relationship, caring and connection (Belenky, Goldberger, Clinchy, & Tarule, 1986; Flannery & Hayes, 2000), many work environments devalue these characteristics, preventing women from developing to their fullest in the workplace (Bierema, 2001).

Learning literature related specifically to the organizational setting describes learning as being multifaceted and embedded within organizational culture. Dixon (1994) metaphorically discusses the use of conversations in hallways as a means of learning and Gherardi (1998) describes learning as rooted in other everyday activities. Bierema (1996) describes how executive women use cognitive, experiential and collaborative learning in order to learn and negotiate through the organizational environment.

Since organizational cultures still value and reward masculine traits (Gatenby & Humphries, 1999; Hood & Koberg, 1994; Kerfoot & Knight, 1998; Oakley, 2000), women must learn the male-defined cultural expectations in order to be successful. Those traits and behaviors to which women have been socialized and acculturated may not be considered appropriate for top-level positions (Crampton & Mishra, 1999). For example, women managers are described as having different working styles than men (Helgesen, 1990; Rosener, 1990). In fact, some women are "filtered out at various stages

(of career development) because they are not members of the dominant cultural group" (Hood & Koberg, 1994, p. 164). As the feminine-competency bind (Oakley, 2000) implies, women must simultaneously fulfill feminine roles, yet portray masculine characteristics in the workplace. This is a very conflicting proposition, for behaviors traditionally associated with women are viewed as weaker, and therefore women displaying feminine characteristics within a male workplace are often perceived as being less empowering or powerful (Crampton & Mishra, 1999).

Emotions

The appropriate expression of emotions is one behavior that women must learn in the workplace. Because society views anger expression as appropriate for men, male managers are perceived as stronger when expressing anger, whereas for women, expression of anger has the opposite effect (Lewis, 2000). Instead, women are more accepted when displaying sadness and occupying traditional female positions. Emotions have been defined as "organized responses, crossing the boundaries of many psychological subsystems, including the physiological, cognitive, motivational, and experiential systems" (Salovey & Mayer, 1990, p. 186) as well as interpretation of meanings of feeling (Mezirow, 1990). Emotions are distinguished from mood "in that emotions are shorter and generally more intense" (Salovey & Mayer, 1990, p. 186).

It is assumed in our society that women are more emotional than men and can experience, express, and empathize with others' feelings, whereas men suppress and control emotions (Fischer & Manstead, 2000). The expressions of sadness, depression, fear, shame and embarrassment are viewed as “unmanly” for men, yet the expression of anger and aggression are seen as acceptable or even advantageous for men (Brody, 2000).

Differences in gender roles regarding emotion are illustrated by the accusation that women managers are "too emotional" (Crampton & Mishra, 1999, p. 92).

Studies indicate that women put more effort into expressing emotions defined as gender appropriate. These emotions are related to societal gender roles and include nurturing, friendliness, a lack of aggression, and any behaviors that help them become accepted into male cultures (Callahan & Schwandt, 2000; Callahan, 2000; Davis, LaRosa, & Foshee, 1992). These gender specific expectations affect women's potential for career success because they must conform to these roles. In addition, the belief that women are more emotional conflicts with traditional notions about appropriate emotional expression in the workplace. This results in women looking unsuitable for the workplace, negatively impacting their careers.

Historically, rationality has been valued and emphasized in the workplace over emotionality. This has effectively created an inattention to the emotional context in the workplace (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Fineman, 1993; Putnam & Mumby, 1993). Therefore, the display of emotions in one's job has until recently been viewed as irrational, non-controlled, and something to be managed (Domagalski, 1999). Yet, everyday emotions are a part of organizational life. In fact, they saturate the workplace (Ashforth, 1995). "Emotions and rationality are interpenetrated" and . . . "rational organizational processes are inextricably entwined with emotion" (Domagalski, 1999, p. 1).

The study of emotions in organizations began with interest in job satisfaction and employee stress (Fineman, 1993). More recently, two fields of study have emerged

which consider the application of emotion to the work context: emotional intelligence and emotion work.

Emotional intelligence is grounded in Thorndike's early 20th century concept of social intelligence, defined as the ability to function successfully in interpersonal situations (Fabian, 1999). Gardner (1983) also described alternative forms of intelligence, including the interpersonal and intrapersonal intelligences. Interpersonal intelligence is the capacity to quickly grasp and evaluate the moods, intentions, motivations, and feelings of other people. Intrapersonal intelligence is the capacity to understand oneself and to subsequently act adaptively (American Education Network Corporation, 2001).

Although interest in emotion began with Thorndike and Gardner, it was not until 1989 that Salovey and Mayer coined the term "emotional intelligence." Definitions of emotional intelligence vary somewhat between authors. Two contingents of authors cited frequently in the field of emotional intelligence include the original definition by Salovey and Mayer and the subsequent definition developed by Goleman (1995). Salovey and Mayer (1989) originally defined emotional intelligence as:

> A set of skills hypothesized to contribute to the accurate appraisal and expression of emotion in oneself and in others, the effective regulation of emotion in self and others, and the use of feelings to motivate, plan and achieve in one's life. (p. 185).
>
> Goleman popularized the notion of emotional intelligence with his 1995 publication of *Emotional Intelligence*.

Recently, the concept of emotional intelligence has been applied to the workplace and described as a strong predictor of superior occupational performance (Goleman, 1998).

This study used Salovey and Mayer's (1989) definition. Their model regards emotional intelligence as functioning across both the cognitive and emotional systems and as having four branches: emotional perception, emotional integration or facilitation, emotional understanding, and emotional management. Expression of emotion, which is the focus of this study, falls within the perception branch. Because the development of emotional intelligence is built upon the success of emotional perception, it is an important factor in successfully acquiring emotional intelligence.

Salovey and Mayer's (1989) model includes the capacity for identifying, inputting, and processing information. First comes the capacity to perceive and express feelings. Next, emotions alter cognition and facilitate thought. Emotions are then reasoned with and understood. Lastly, emotions are managed. The distinguishing feature of the Salovey and Mayer (1989) definition of emotional intelligence is that emotional intelligence is perceived as an ability, as opposed to one or more personality traits.

To apply this model to an example, consider a woman who has just received a performance review. In the first branch of emotional intelligence, emotional perception, she registers and attends to the feelings brought up during the review. She considers various perceptions of her supervisor's facial expression and voice tone in order to decipher an emotional message as well as her own developing feelings. In the next branch of emotional intelligence, emotional integration or facilitation, her emotions enter her cognitive system. She may now be able to think, "I feel bad now," or alter the

thought to "I am no good." When emotions are recognized and labeled, the understanding of emotion (branch three) is involved. At this stage the woman understands that the supervisor is disappointed and she herself feels badly. The fourth branch, emotion management, begins with accurate perception at branch one. Since the woman was able to perceive that the supervisor was disappointed and that she herself was feeling bad, she has the ability to understand, manage, and cope with this feeling. It gives her the opportunity to consider alternative emotions and proceed, or express emotions, in the way she thinks is best. On the other hand, if she cannot perceive that the supervisor was disappointed, she may react inappropriately to the situation.

The second field of study in emotions, emotion work, has been defined as the active attempt to change an emotion held by an individual (Hochschild, 1983) and as the active effort to change or control emotions in oneself or in others in order to meet social guidelines (Hochschild, 1983). Morris and Feldman (1996) used the term emotional labor to describe the effort and control necessary for the expression of organizationally desired emotion. Whereas most of the early research on emotion work is discussed only in terms of organizational control of employee emotion, either by the elimination of, the controlled display of (Domagalski, 1999; Fineman, 1993; Putnam & Mumby, 1993), or the self-management of emotions (Callahan, 2000), it has also been studied as an employee-initiated move with resulting beneficial effects to the employee (Fabian, 1999; Kipnis & Schmidt, 1983; Lerum, 2000; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991).

An example of self-imposed emotion work, continuing along with the scenario of a woman receiving a performance review, could be the woman's response to the review. Whereas she really feels like crying upon hearing the review, she knows that it would not

be appropriate to do so at work and in front of her supervisor, so she puts forward a smile face instead. Alternatively, an example of organizationally imposed emotion work would be that her supervisor reinforced during her performance review that it is essential for this employee to smile in order to be effective and must do so more often in her position.

Although the two literatures of emotional intelligence and emotion work have to-date remained separate from each other, emotional intelligence has been said to be a component of emotion work because the intelligence provides the foundation or ability to act on that ability (Fabian, 1999). The emotion work cannot be performed without the intelligence to determine how to do it most effectively. Given that emotional intelligence involves the accurate regulation and expression of emotion, and emotion work includes changing or controlling emotion to meet social or work guidelines, it seems that the two areas are connected. An employee needs to possess the ability in order to act on that ability. Because this study addresses emotional expression, both literatures were reviewed.

Many researchers have discussed the significance of emotional intelligence and emotion work in the workplace. Cherniss (2000) argued that emotional intelligence contributes to the bottom line in any organization. Goleman (1998) discussed the importance of emotional intelligence over that of traditional cognitive measures of intelligence. Salovey and Mayer (1990) demonstrated quick recovery from emotional situations. Similarly, Salovey, Mayer, Goldman, Turvey, and Palfai (1995) found emotional intelligence to be an indicator of those who can respond flexibly to change. Emotion work has been discussed as necessary for one's successful job performance

(Callahan, 2000; Hochschild, 1979, 1983) as well as a tool of social influence (Kipnis et al., 1980; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991).

Research has also focused on the relationship between emotional intelligence and leadership abilities. Evidence suggests that emotionally intelligent leadership results in improved business performance (Goleman, 2001). McClelland (1998) studied division heads of a global food and beverage company and found that the divisions of the leaders with strengths in emotional intelligence competencies outperformed yearly revenue targets by a margin of 15 to 20 percent. In a 1994 Catholic Health Association study of outstanding leaders in health care, it was found that effective leaders were more adept at integrating key competencies (Goleman, 2001). Another study indicated that managers with self-awareness, an important aspect of emotional intelligence, are rated as more effective by both superiors and subordinates than those managers without self-awareness (Megerian & Sosik, 1999).

As a result of societal socialization, anger is perceived to be a more acceptable emotion for male than for female organizational leaders (Garner, Robertson, & Smith, 1997; Lewis, 2000; Sharkin, 1993). Leader effectiveness ratings decreased dramatically when women expressed anger, but remained unchanged when male leaders expressed anger (Lewis, 2000). On the contrary, sadness expressed by women resulted in increased perceptions of leader effectiveness, yet expression of sadness by male leaders led to decreased ratings. Therefore, evidence exists for an interaction between a leader's gender, expressed emotion, and perception of their effectiveness as a leader (Lewis, 2000).

These studies indicate that emotional expression and perception of work effectiveness differ by gender because women are taught to acknowledge and express only certain emotions. They may interpret, regulate, and express emotions differently than men. A woman's emotional intelligence and her ability to perform emotion work may thus be influenced by a combination of socialization and workplace learning opportunities. The focus of this study was on the learning and development aspects of the expression of emotion in the workplace. Many studies have stated the importance of emotional intelligence and emotion work, however, none have examined what women learn about emotions in the workplace or the process of their learning.

A good place to examine this question is within the manufacturing environment. Manufacturing has traditionally been male-oriented, therefore the culture and behavioral expectations are likely to follow this pattern. Women managers in this male culture, in order to be successful, would have to learn emotional behaviors which society has traditionally expected from men. Researching women managers in manufacturing therefore provides an appropriate population for examining the process of learning about the expression of emotions in the workplace.

Statement of the Problem and Purpose of the Study

The workplace environment differs for women and men. Options and opportunities for women continue to be limited by traditional attitudes. Women are still sex segregated into careers and pay differences continue to exist (Bierema, 1998). Challenges, pressures, and career development patterns also differ by gender (Bierema, 1998; Marshall, 1995b). One area in which men and women may have different experiences is the expression of emotions in the workplace.

Emotions, defined as short, intense, organized responses (Salovey & Mayer, 1990), have appeared in two new branches of research in the last two decades; emotional intelligence and emotion work. These two areas of research examine emotions in the workplace. Emotional intelligence, popularized by Goleman (1995), involves "the capacity to perceive emotions, assimilate emotion-related feelings, understand the information of those emotions, and manage them" (Mayer, Caruso, & Salovey, 2000, p. 2). Emotion work focuses on active attempts to change, in either quality or degree, an emotion held by an individual (Hochschild, 1979). Similarly, "feeling rules," are tacit guidelines that govern how we should feel (Hochschild, 1979).

Exploring emotions is essential in order to fully understand the elements of organizational life. Success in the workplace has been attributed to emotional intelligence (Cherniss, 2000; Goleman, 1995, 1997) and to effectively performing emotion work (Hochschild, 1983; Kipnis et al., 1980; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991). Understanding how women learn this crucial skill allows for other women to gain from this knowledge and develop skills in emotional intelligence, emotion work, and subsequently advance their careers. Recent theories on women's learning indicate that women do not always learn according to models traditionally developed based on men. No studies have specifically examined what women learn about emotions in the workplace or the process of how they learn about emotional expression.

The purpose of this study was to understand what women managers learn about emotional expression in the workplace and how this knowledge is acquired. The research questions included the following:

1. What do women managers learn about expressing emotions in the workplace?

2. How do women learn what emotions are appropriate to express at work?

Significance of the Study

The problem has many theoretical and practical applications. The questions of what and how women managers learn about emotions in the workplace had not been previously addressed in the emotions literature, the management literature, the human resource and career development literatures, the learning literature, or the psychodynamics literature.

This study added depth to the emotions literature because it contributed the learning component, as no studies existed which examined learning about emotional expression. There was literature about the importance of having emotional intelligence as well as the need to perform emotion work. However, the process of developing these skills had not been examined. This study also deepened the understanding of the relationship between gender, gender roles, and emotional expression as well as the context-specific knowledge of emotions in the workplace.

The management, human resource, and career development literatures gained depth because of the increased understanding about another dimension of managerial lives and women's career development. These literatures had not addressed emotions when examining issues specific to women managers and their careers.

This study added to the learning literature by addressing context, gender, and emotions. Depth was added regarding learning within a specific context, that of the workplace. The gender component further extended the learning literature because this study specifically examined women's learning, building upon the existing literature describing women's learning styles as differing from men's. In addition, this study added

to the learning literature by examining learning about emotions, an area that had not been studied.

There are also numerous practical applications. First, it is necessary to acknowledge that emotions exist in the workplace (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; (Fineman, 1993; Putnam & Mumby, 1993; Wharton, 1993) and that emotion work and emotional intelligence are significant components of work (Fabian, 1999; Goleman, 1998). Second, it is important to specifically address women's experiences with workplace emotion to examine the existence of any gender expectations particularly placed on women (Callahan, 2000; Hearn, 1993; Parkin, 1993).

Third, the understanding of how women learn these workplace skills and behaviors regarding emotion is a crucial step towards improvement of women's workplace status. This will enable other women to apply this knowledge in order to advance their own career development. Fourth, organizations will benefit from this knowledge because it will help them develop their employees' emotional intelligence and employee's ability to perform emotion work. Organizations will improve overall performance if individual career success is increased and reinforced. In addition, acknowledging the existence of emotions will help organizations to encourage healthy expression of emotions and the development of healthy, trusting relationships.

If women's emotional intelligence and ability to perform emotion work are evaluated within a male culture, such as the workplace, where different emotions are expected, women would be viewed as lower in emotional intelligence. This is because they would not conform to those male rules such as "do not cry". Similarly, emotion work would be different, if not greater, for women because of the incompatibility

between how they were taught to behave as women and how they are expected to behave in the workplace. This could affect their career development and success.

Until the workplace is a truly impartial and unbiased environment, every effort must be made to understand the daily lives, issues and strategies used by women to help alleviate the existing differences and inequities of patriarchy. Emotions are an important aspect of womens' work lives that must be understood more fully. Knowing how these women managers learned about emotional expression will allow for others to learn from them. Emotions are significant components of work, therefore, employee ability with emotions is crucial to career success (Cherniss, 2000; Goleman, 1998).

Given the importance of emotional skill to career success, and the fact that women perform more emotion work, it is beneficial to understand how women learn about emotional expression in the workplace. Adding the learning and gender components to the emotion and management development literatures significantly developed existing research. This provided a bigger picture of the real situation experienced by women and an understanding of the learning processes underlying the development of emotional intelligence and how women learn about emotional expression in the workplace. This knowledge benefits women who are trying to develop themselves and increase their chances for effectiveness, promotion, and career success.

Definitions

The following section offers definitions of some terms that were used in this study.

Constructivism

This epistemological view holds that all knowledge is constructed out of interactions between human beings and their world and developed and transmitted within a social context (Crotty, 1998). Emotion and norms and expectations of emotional expression would then be seen as fluid and constructed by people, institutions, and groups.

Emotional Intelligence

A type of social intelligence involving the ability to observe and regulate one's own and others' emotions, to discriminate among them, and to use the information to guide one's thinking and actions (Salovey & Mayer, 1993).

Emotional Labor

This term is used interchangeably with emotion work by some, and by others to refer specifically to organization required emotion performed in exchange for a wage.

Emotion Work or Emotion Management

Emotion work is defined as the active attempt to change an emotion held by an individual (Hochschild , 1983). Although Hochschild used the term in an exploitative sense, in this study it will simply refer to any attempt to change or manage emotions, and were broadly used to include all types of emotion work, whether it serves the purposes, needs, and goals of the organization or the employee.

Epistemology

A way of understanding how one knows what one knows; the theory of knowledge informing the theoretical perspective and the methodology (Crotty, 1998).

Feeling Rules

The second major component of Hochschild 's work, feeling rules have been defined as the socially shared guidelines governing how people experience and express emotion (Hochschild , 1983). The author described them as guiding our internal definitions of acceptable emotions as well as our expression of emotion.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Many women executives are mandated to attend a training program to learn how to avoid being a "Bully Broad." An article published in the New York Times (Banerjee, 2001) describes this rehabilitation program for "Bully Broads" as a training program for women who, according to their male managers, have become "too masculine" and forceful in their roles. They were directed to attend training in order to soften their rough edges and acquire a more feminine management style.

One might think that once they have reached the executive level these women are successful in their careers, with a repertoire of personal and emotional expertise. Yet they are told they are too pushy, too scary and too rude and many are required to attend a training program to "repent and change their ways" (p. 1). It is unfathomable that men would be compelled to attend a program such as this.

Why would a program such as this one exist only for women? One might question the logic and rationality employed in this program given these women's obvious career accomplishments. Furthermore, an examination of their definition of appropriate behavior for women, i.e. no assertiveness, demonstrates the gendered nature of the training program as well as gendered social and emotional behavioral expectations. In other words, men would never be required to attend such a program because men acting

assertively would be perceived as normal. Yet women are "walking a fine line between being seen as confident or intimidating" (Banerjee, 2001, p. 1).

This research study examined just these contradictions: how do women learn (in a male culture) what emotional behaviors are expected of them? How do they learn what expressions of emotion are affirmed or discouraged? How do they use this knowledge to help them advance in their careers? This chapter sets the stage for this study by reviewing relevant literature as well as establishing a feminist theory framework. The areas of literature reviewed include feminist theory, women in management, women's and organizational learning, emotion work, emotional intelligence, and workplace emotional learning. In addition, research on interpersonal psychodynamics is reviewed in relation to gender issues in the workplace and emotional expression.

These areas are reviewed for the following reasons:

1) To explain the importance of examining the feminist theory perspective in order to understand women's experience in the workplace as unique and different from the commonly discussed experiences of men.

2) The women in management literature is important because it provides contextual background for the study. It is necessary to examine what the workplace is like today for women in management in order to understand the context and situations of the women participating in this study, and the stereotypes and societal limitations and implications for women.

3) The learning literature is important because the research questions address the process of women's learning in the workplace. Given the structural inequalities of the workplace, learning for women appears to be qualitatively different than that of men, and

learning in the workplace for women might be different than learning that occurs outside the workplace.

4) A review of the literature in interpersonal psychodynamics is included to gain an understanding of interpersonal relationships and psychological processes and how each may affect emotional expression.

5) The emotion work and emotional intelligence literatures are crucial to forming a framework for this study because the study is about emotions and emotion work and how women learn and develop abilities in these areas. Despite the differences in derivation of the two bodies of literature of emotion work and emotional intelligence, psychology and sociology, their integration in this study is necessary to understand the entire context of women's emotional expression.

6) Research addressing learning about emotions as adults in the workplace is reviewed in order to provide a foundation for this research.

Feminism and Feminist Theories

Feminism is not only a movement, but also a philosophy and ideology of social transformation that aims to create a better world for women. It transcends simple social equality and challenges universalisms, such as with the pursuit of consciousness. Intrinsic to its approach is the belief that women suffer injustice simply because of gender. Under the broad umbrella of feminism there are different feminist theories, each offering its own analyses of the causes and solutions to female oppression (Humm, 1995; Tong, 1998). These include liberal, radical, Marxist-socialist, existentialist, postmodern, multicultural/global, and ecological (Tong, 1998).

With the most long-term history, liberal feminism has as its main concern the idea that female subordination is rooted in legal constraints preventing women from entering into and being successful in the world. Therefore its solution is to acquire equal civil rights and educational opportunities. Gender justice to liberals involves equalizing the rules of the game and ensuring that nobody is disadvantaged (Humm, 1995; Tong, 1998).

Radical feminism argues that women's oppression comes from our categorization as an inferior class and aims to destroy the sex-class system. Radical feminists believe that power, dominance, hierarchy, and competition characterize the patriarchal system and that reform cannot be achieved. Instead radical feminists believe that the system itself must be overturned, including legal and political structures and social and cultural institutions (Humm, 1995; Tong, 1998).

Marxist-socialist feminists claim it is impossible to achieve true freedom in a class-based society because women's oppression originated in the introduction of private property. Marxist feminism describes a relationship between modes of production and women's status. In order to achieve freedom, the capitalist system must be replaced by a socialist system in which the means of production belong to everyone and women are not economically dependent on men (Humm, 1995; Tong, 1998).

Existentialist feminism argues that women are oppressed because of their "otherness" – because she is not man. Man defines existence and woman is the other, the object whose meaning is determined for her. For woman to become a subject instead of an object, she must transcend the definitions and labels that limit her existence. She must become whoever she wants to be (Humm, 1995; Tong, 1998).

A postmodern feminist claim that woman is the other, but rather than rejecting this condition, we should embrace it. They claim that woman's otherness enables individual women to step back and criticize the norms, values, and practices that patriarchal culture imposes on us (Tong, 1998).

A multicultural/global feminist argues that women's selves are fragmented because of cultural, racial, and ethnic causes, rather than sexual. They discuss differences in women, asserting that every woman will experience oppression differently because of their cultural diversity (Tong, 1998).

Ecofeminism strives to demonstrate the connections among all forms of human oppressions and on humans' attempts to dominate the nonhuman world, or nature. Patriarchy's hierarchical and oppressive way of thinking has harmed both women and nature, "naturalizing" women by describing them in animal terms. "If man is the lord of nature, . . . then he has control not only over nature but also over nature's human analog, woman. Whatever man may do to nature, he may also do to woman." (Tong, 1998, p. 247).

While feminist theory serves as a framework for this research, it is a combination of these categories that influence me in my approach to life and research. Liberal, radical, and existentialist all contribute to my way of thinking and each add an important dimension to my research. It is important for women to have equal opportunities, to create a new system that overcomes power and domination, to resist labels and attributes specific to women, and to strive to whatever heights they can imagine themselves. This framework informs my research because I consider the concept of femininity to be a

social construction developed in a patriarchal society by males to serve male purposes. Therefore, what is considered feminine behavior is only a cultural construction.

Feminist theories emphasize women's unique experiences as distinct from men's, yet acknowledges that they are gender-related (socially constructed) rather than specifically biologically male or female. This perspective reframes stereotypical feminine weaknesses into strengths and provides an opportunity to hear voices other than those currently available, focusing on women's perceptions and experiences as a legitimate area of scholarship (Kaplan, 1994). As Gilligan (1982) suggests, if women do not speak in their own voices, they unwittingly perpetuate a male-voiced civilization and a way of living that is disconnected from women.

Gilligan's (1982) work on moral and psychological development and formation of female self-identity provided the earliest feminist theory research and paved the way for further work on women's epistemology, or ways of knowing (Belenky, et al., 1986). These studies drew attention to the limitations of male-only research samples as being a completely representative perspective. Belenky et al. (1986) noted:

> When scientific findings, scientific theory, and even the basic assumptions of academic disciplines are reexamined through the lens of women's perspectives and values, new conclusions can be drawn and new directions forged that have implications for the lives of both men and women (p. 8-9).

Feminism characterizes the world as patriarchal with a masculinist culture (Crotty, 1998). A patriarchy is described by Adrienne Rich (1976) as living under the power of the fathers with access only to have so much privilege or influence as the patriarchy is willing to permit. Feminism also examines society as androcentric, or

male-centered, a concept which goes beyond telling who is in power, and examines how that power is reproduced culturally and psychologically (Bem, 1993).

A feminist perspective is appropriate for this study because this research examines women's behavior within the workplace, which is known to be a traditionally male-oriented context. Bierema (1994) describes how the corporate world is a tribe to which women must gain access and in which they have yet to reach high levels in sufficient numbers. In order to examine and understand women's behavior within this environment, one must examine women's unique experiences, prescriptions for feminine and masculine behaviors, and consider women's development within the context of a patriarchal, masculine society. These behaviors can then be viewed in terms of cultural products (Crotty, 1998). Knowing that women live in a foreign culture characterized by ways of thinking, knowing, and learning that are not intrinsic to them (Schaef, 1981) helps one understand the difficulties women have in overcoming natural tendencies and socialization, in fitting in, and in being successful in a system which was not developed for their success. The context within which women accomplish this is described in the following section.

Women in Management

Demographics

Statistics indicate that women are still strongly encouraged, if not pushed, into careers traditionally associated with and defined as belonging to women (Bierema, 1998; Hayes, 2000; Wharton, 2000). Examples of these careers include technical, sales, or administrative support and service occupations (Hayes, 2000) and wage differentials by gender continue to exist. In the year 2003, there are only six women CEO's in the

Fortune 500 companies (CatalystWomen.Org, 2001). It is clear that "the glass ceiling," the transparent barrier preventing women from moving up the corporate ladder, is still present. Yet this glass ceiling exists not in one spot, but as varied and pervasive forms of gender bias occurring frequently, both overtly and covertly at many levels (Oakley, 2000).

Structural Inequality

Clearly, women have made advances in the workplace, however, changes are not occurring rapidly (Bierema, 1998). Structural inequalities, negative stereotypes, and psychological impediments prevent women from developing to their highest capabilities (Johnson-Bailey & Tisdell, 1998). Because our patriarchal society sees women as less intellectually and physically capable than men, women are excluded and denied opportunities and only those jobs associated with the feminine personality are deemed appropriate (Lent et al., 1996; Schreiber, 1998). In addition to gender biases, additional multiple factors of race, ethnicity, and class add further to the societal limitations placed on women (Johnson-Bailey & Tisdell, 1998).

Career Paths

Women are not encouraged to reach management levels because their career paths may differ from those of men. They are expected to do the child rearing, which often results in career breaks, work and family balance struggles, and a need for alternative arrangements (Bierema, 1998) such as part-time work. Women's career development is also affected by social position according to gender, race, sexual orientation, and class, therefore rendering traditional white male career models inappropriate (Johnson-Bailey &

Tisdell, 1998). Social context clearly influences women's career development, and for this reason, a literature review of current research on women in management is necessary.

Oakley (2000) describes two categories of theorizing concerning women's lack of presence in senior management positions. One categorizes barriers as created by corporate practices favoring gender imbalance. These can include recruitment, retention, and promotion of males instead of females. For example, women are not often given the opportunity for line experience, yet this type of work experience has traditionally been a prerequisite for a CEO position.

The second category examines behavioral and cultural causes such as stereotyping, tokenism, power, preferred leadership styles, and the psychodynamics of male/female relations. Some examples in this category include behavioral double-binds, communication and leadership styles, old boy networks, tokenism, and differing attitudes toward power.

Double-binds

A double-bind is defined as "a behavioral norm that creates a situation where a person cannot win no matter what she does" (Oakley, 2000, p. 324). A typical double-bind for a woman in a management position is that she must appear tough and authoritative in order to be taken as seriously as a man, yet as a woman she would be perceived as a "bitch." An example of this is the “Bully Broads” training recently held in New York for executive women perceived as too scary and too mean. Jean Hollands, executive coach and founder of the Bully Broads, conducted a series of seminars focusing on how women can transform themselves from "Bully Broads" to compelling, collaborative leaders (Banerjee, 2001). Emotionally, women are expected to cry, simply

by nature of their sex. However, in the workplace, emotional expectations are like those associated with men – tough, angry, and aggressive. The double-bind illustrates the problem that they are expected to conform to men's roles in order to appear qualified for management, yet are criticized for acting too much like men.

There are two additional important issues to discuss regarding this program and double-binds. The first is that the women likely achieved success precisely because they acted in ways associated with men. Women at senior hierarchical levels in organizations score significantly higher on measures of masculinity scales (Fagenson, 1990). The second thing to note is that a program such as "Bully Broads" would never be developed for men. Thus this is a perfect illustration of a double-bind. Oakley suggests that double binds have been used throughout history by those in power to suppress those without power, most often women.

Another example of a double-bind is what Jamieson (1995) calls the femininity-competency bind, where acting feminine, as defined by society, is associated with incompetence. On the other hand, appearing competent involves displaying traits associated with masculinity, resulting in the conclusion that one cannot be feminine and competent simultaneously. Evidence of societal acceptance of this belief can be heard when men make statements referring to their surprise at finding a woman who is both beautiful and bright. Another example of this is a reference to the Bully Broads training program by Joyce Fletcher, a professor at Simmons College, the only women's-only MBA program. Referring to the program's goal of teaching women to be feminine and softer, she described how women who speak in soft language are seen as lacking in

confidence. She stated that it is this catch-22 and this mindset that needs to change, not the personalities of the women (Banerjee, 2001).

Communication Styles

Another explanation of women's lack of presence in senior management from a behavioral and cultural perspective (which is also a double-bind) is that of gender and communication styles. Girls are taught to downplay their knowledge and not call attention to themselves. Then they grow up to apply this knowledge in the workplace by self-promoting less than men. As a result, women are perceived as less confident, less aggressive and assertive, and therefore unacceptable in upper management (Oakley, 2000).

Gender Stereotyping and Management Culture

Gender based stereotypes have been shown to affect women in management, as women are believed to be less self-confident, less analytical, less emotionally stable, less consistent, and as having lower leadership skills. Subsequently, successful corporate leaders choose to conform to traits associated with males (Offermann & Beil, 1992). Oakley (2000) describes additional ways that women's stereotypes serve as barriers to advancement. These include dress, voice, and physical attractiveness. A low-pitched, masculine-sounding voice is considered the norm for leadership, as well as male styles of clothing. Anything feminine, including clothes that accentuate femininity or physical attractiveness, decreases women's credibility (Heilman & Stropek, 1985; Oakley, 2000).

Men may perceive women in management as threatening because women want to change the status quo, thereby endangering the "old boy network." The "old boy network" is defined as "an informal male social system that stretches within and across

organizations, and excludes less powerful males and all women from membership" (Oakley, 2000, p. 328). Members of the network transfer power advantages and alliances. Allowing women into the club would challenge this power advantage as well as the prevailing masculine cultural norms. Additionally, because women are paid lower salaries for the same positions as men, bringing women into the club would threaten to reduce the average compensation level for high-level positions (Oakley, 2000).

Another cultural phenomenon affecting women's careers is tokenism. Women's experiences in organizations are influenced by the proportions in which they find themselves. Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) suggested that only in balanced groups, where there is close to a fifty-fifty proportion of social types, such as men and women, will organizational outcomes depend more on structural and personal factors than on the dynamics established by the group itself. Since most women in traditionally male-dominated occupations find themselves as tokens in skewed groups, they stand out. According to Kanter, effects of tokenism and standing out result in changes in behavior. For example, members of the dominant group may become self-conscious or may test the token members. As a result, the contrast between the dominant and token members becomes more obvious and increases the likelihood of stereotyping and negative attention. These tendencies increase performance pressures on tokens, causing them to try to overachieve, or on the contrary, become invisible (Kanter, 1977).

For the few women who have made it to the top, tokenism may have such a negative effect on attitudes that it serves to drive away many women. The pressure and scrutiny from others increases performance pressure and works against women's promotion potential (Oakley, 2000).

Many reasons have been presented to explain women's lack of presence in senior management positions. A need for integration of gender awareness into mainstream theorizing has been stressed in the literature (Marshall, 1995a). Marshall described the trends in research on women in management and discussed a changing focus on gender differences. Whereas earlier research attempted to stress similarities between men's and women's leadership behaviors (Marshall, 1995a), later research, including the current trend, is to discuss gender differences, a perspective that rejects the traditional view of male as norm and instead values stereotypically "female" traits (Marshall, 1995a).

This current pattern of thinking has significant implications for research on women in management. Whereas an alternative women's perspective was needed and appreciated by many, this perspective was and is controversial because of its suggestion that gender (masculine or feminine) is inseparable from sex (male or female). Thus, arguments equivocating sex and gender, such as the research by Belenky, et al. (1986) and Gilligan (1982), are considered by some to reinforce stereotypes, men's power over women (Hayes, 1997; Tong, 1998) and male-female dualism (Bordo, 1993). Whenever attributes unique to women are recognized, the results are double-edged (Faludi, 1991).

This literature review reflects the latter focus on gender differences, not only epistemologically, but also contextually and structurally, with women facing unique limitations and challenges. Marshall's (1995b) qualitative study described the challenges and pressures of organizational life for women in senior management. The author found several themes as the women discussed issues of living in and seeking to be effective in male-dominated organizational cultures. These include dealing with bullying, hostility, being placed in difficult circumstances, and men banding together against women.

Women's Leadership

A prominent theme in the literature on women in management is the interactive, relationship-oriented nature of women. Women's leadership style may be characterized as transformational--getting workers to put group consensus over individual interest as opposed to men's transactional style--viewing jobs as a series of transactions. This style of women attributes power to personal characteristics such as personal contacts, charisma, and interpersonal skills (Crampton & Mishra, 1999).

Astin and Leland's (1991) study on women and leadership described women's commitment to social change on behalf of women, the conception of leadership as a creative process of working with people, and use of strategies such as networking, clarifying values, listening to others, and doing their homework. Their study sought to expand the concept of leadership roles by focusing on the motives for leadership and the accomplishments of three generations of women. The researchers differentiated leaders with positional power, such as a college president, from those of non-positional leadership, such as scholars that have influenced others. They included as contributions those actions that decreased overt forms of gender discrimination, increased the visibility of women, expanded educational and career opportunities for women, and validated personal experiences and emotions. They identified a feminist conceptual model of leadership in which the focus was on the outcome of social change and the processes used to empower others toward collective action.

Astin and Leland's study had three main findings: First, the women they interviewed had a strong commitment to social change on behalf of women; second, the women conceived of leadership as a creative process of working with and through

people, and third, the women exhibited consistent performance in dealing with challenges, using strategies such as networking, clarifying values, listening to others, and doing their homework.

Other studies have suggested that women have a feminine style of leadership. Rosener (1990) studied 355 high-achieving women in a variety of businesses, academia, and government and compared them with 108 men in similar situations. She found that men, and the first wave of women to enter top management, (those that came of age in the 1960's) tended to use a commanding and controlling style. However, women in the second wave are leading with a more feminine approach by drawing on their socialization as women and being successful in some work environments. Their interactive style encourages participation and inclusion of group members, shares power and information, enhances the self-worth of others through giving credit and praise, and energizes others through the leader's enthusiasm.

Helgesen's (1990) research on four top women leaders revealed very different values and patterns from men. The author found that whereas men place value on vision, these women concentrated on voice, inclusion, and sharing of information. Rather than hierarchy, they used "webs of inclusion" (p. 46) and sharing of information as power rather than withholding of knowledge. Instead of domination and autonomy, they stressed interconnection and building long-term relationships. A significant aspect of the feminine leadership style observed by Astin and Leland (1991), Rosener (1990), and Helgesen (1990) is that women seek input from others in an attempt to make them feel included and to create an open flow of communication.

Women in Management and Emotions

As described, women in management are expected to act in masculine ways, however, are simultaneously treated differently because they are women. Women are guided toward particular careers with subsequent behavioral expectations simply because they are women. Career success is dictated by assuming masculine attributes, stereotyped gender roles, and following a set of "rules" for success. The result of these dynamics is the acculturation of women into male work culture, devaluation of women's gender roles, and deprivation of women's identity. Women's need or desire to buy into the "old boy" network may therefore be explained by either suppression of femininity or unawareness of themselves as gendered beings (Bierema, 2000; Caffarella, Clark and Ingram, 1997).

Women's uncritical career development not only causes them to adapt to a masculine model, but also prevents them from addressing power differentials or claiming a career on their own terms as women. Social and contextual expectations are powerful teachers of appropriate roles and behavior, including emotional behavior. If success means emulating men, women managers, in order to be successful, are likely conforming to the masculine model of emotional expression, resulting in a predominant absence of emotional expression. Thus the double-bind previously discussed applies to emotional expression as well. While women are expected to appear tough and display no emotions, they are also expected to express emotions associated with women, such as crying, or admonished for expressing emotions associated with men, such as anger. Therefore, just as with general workplace "rules," following societal rules for emotional expression in the workplace may result in women's loss of identity and authenticity.

Women's Learning and Development

This section will summarize the literature or women's learning and development as distinct from men's. Since this study focuses on women learning in the workplace, it is essential to examine the literature in women's learning and development. Traditional learning theories have assumed universality of learning experiences and participants, resulting in a lack of information and understanding about women's learning and education (Hayes, et al., 2000). Women's learning experiences, including workplace learning, may differ than those of men because of cultural beliefs and biases.

The foundational writers in this area, such as Belenky, et al., (1986), expressed concern with gender-biased models of adult development and argued that these models negatively impact women's learning. Gilligan (1982) discussed how developmental theories have been built only on observations of men's lives and argued that it is necessary to recognize different voices and put them to effective use. It is important to not only recognize, but also appreciate and respond to different styles of working, ways of knowing and learning.

Gendered patterns of learning and development are described in the feminist theory literature. These themes include connected knowing and learning, necessity for voice, and the influences of social context and culture. In addition, the concepts of self-identity and self-esteem are interwoven throughout.

Connected Learning

Women's need for connected learning and knowing is a consistent theme in the literature. Women see a world composed of relationships and the self is delineated through connections with others (Flannery & Hayes, 2000). Many authors have

corroborated the notion that women approach life from a position of relationship and connection to those around them while men operate from a position of separation and autonomy, thereby revealing the distinctive perspectives through which women view reality. Learning and knowing through interactions and relationships with others is a theme in the women's literature discussed by many authors (Belenky, et al.,1986; Bierema, 1994; Caffarella & Olson, 1993; Giesbrecht, 1998; Gilligan, 1982; Hayes & Flannery, 2000; Helgesen, 1990; MacRae, 1995; Ruddick, 1996; Tannen, 1990; Van Velsor & Hughes, 1990). Connection is discussed both in terms of connection to self and connection to others.

Gilligan (1982) began the discussion of connection when she found that women learn and know in a way that is different from men. The author contrasts different modes of moral understanding, those of care and justice. These modes are described as different ways of experiencing oneself and the world. The care voice, most often female, reflects a morality of responsibility and a concern for relationship and connection. The justice voice, most commonly found in men, reflects a morality of rights and a need for separation. Whereas women's terms are of attachment, men use adjectives of separation (Gilligan, 1982).

The author found that women saw a world composed of relationships, a woman's self was defined by others, and that women used affiliations when making moral decisions. She found that whereas men's moral development resulted from an ethic of justice, women's stemmed from an ethic of care. The author discussed how people focus on either problems of fairness or disconnection, losing sight of the other perspective (Gilligan, 1982).

Gilligan was opposed to the use of male norms for constructing theories of development. This practice of using male norms resulted in women appearing as less moral than men, rather than simply different. The author argued that researchers must take into account the effect of gender on moral reasoning. She successfully argued that it was the standards used to judge women's growth that were inferior and needed to change, not the women themselves.

The assumption in traditional learning theories, such as Kohlberg (1973), Maslow (1970), and Erickson (1982) was that development is a universal phenomenon with stages that must be successfully negotiated in order for a person to be considered a mature adult. Another important factor is that these theories were developed using only male subjects (Caffarella & Olson, 1993). There has been a tendency, therefore, to discount women's learning experiences (Merriam, 1993). Kohlberg's theory of six stages of moral development provided the impetus for the Gilligan study because it presented women as unable to progress past a critical stage (Tong, 1998). Gilligan can be commended for being the first to present the women's viewpoint as an equally valid alternative.

Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986), in *Women's Ways of Knowing* (WWK), studied the ways in which women come to learn. The authors interviewed 135 women of different races, classes, and ages. Challenging the invisibility of women's experience, the goal of their work was to develop a theory based solely on women. Believing that knowledge has historically been constructed by men and that academic institutions do not serve women's needs, Belenky et al. (1986) wanted to understand how women conceptualize knowledge and truth. They wanted to establish a women's

epistemology as legitimate and valuable as that of men (Belenky, et al., 1986; Flannery & Hayes, 2000).

The research of Belenky et al. (1986) identified five main categories of women's ways of knowing. These five perspectives included Silence, Received Knowing, Subjective Knowing, Procedural Knowing (further subdivided into Separate Knowing and Connected Knowing), and Constructed Knowing.

In silence, women perceive themselves as voiceless and at the mercy of all-knowing authorities. The women in this category saw themselves as almost incapable of communicating, receiving or generating knowledge. With received knowledge, women see themselves as incapable of creating knowledge but able to receive it from external authorities. These women saw knowledge as coming from outside themselves, from an "other." With subjective knowledge, women conceive of knowledge as entirely subjective and personal and reject outside knowledge. In procedural knowledge, women employ objective methods to acquire and to communicate knowledge. With constructed knowledge, women perceive all knowledge as contextual and believe themselves to be creators of knowledge, using both reason and feeling.

Although the authors take great care to explain that these five categories are epistemological positions and not stages, there does appear to be a hierarchy. The constructed knowers are presented as most likely to see themselves as powerful and as having agency in their lives and in the world (Belenky et al., 1986; Reddy, 1991).

Belenky et al. (1986) attributed differences in women's ways of knowing to their experiences in the family and school, and particularly to their relationships with male authorities. Based on their f'indings, the authors proposed a model of connected

teaching. This model was intended to challenge the dominant mode of instruction in higher education at the time (Flannery & Hayes, 2000). They found that environments emphasizing connected teaching and learning are best for women learners because the women begin to recognize their own voices and their ability to think independently (Tisdell, 1993). The authors define connected teaching as assisting "the students in giving birth to their own ideas, in making their own tacit knowledge explicit and elaborating on it" (Belenky et al. 1986, p. 217).

Adult Learning and Cognitive Development Models

The Belenky et al. (1986) model contrasts sharply with traditional models of adult education and adult development. The three most prominent adult learning models, developed prior to the infusion of feminist research (Merriam, 1993), include Knowles' andragogy, self-directed learning, and Mezirow's transformative learning theory. These traditional models assume that everyone learns in the same manner and that all people pursue the same course of development, with a linear pattern striving toward self-directedness. These models dismiss alternative ways of learning and developing and do not specifically examine women learners (Brookfield, 1986; Merriam, 1998).

Knowles (1980) described andragogy as "the art and science of helping adults learn" (p. 43), although he later modified his definition, describing a pedagogy-andragogy continuum, with a range of student-directed to teacher-directed learning occurring in both children and adults. The self-directed learning model describes adults as independent and therefore self-directed in their learning (Houle, 1961; Merriam, & Caffarella, 1999). The third prominent model, Mezirow's theory of perspective transformation (1990), explains adult learning as different from childhood learning

because adults need to be critically aware of how presuppositions constrain perception and understanding about the world (Merriam, 1993). Mezirow (1981) describes critical reflection as important in understanding why certain meanings are attached to reality. Thus the Belenky et al. (1986) model introduced a fresh perspective to the existing learning models.

Another criticism of traditional learning models is the conception of mature adult thought. Traditional cognitive development models were developed using Piaget's work as a foundation. Piaget proposed four stages of development, with the final stage, the formal operational stage, occurring between the ages of fifteen to twenty (Piaget, 1972). This stage is characterized by the ability to think abstractly and implies that there is no further development past the age of twenty. However, there is research indicating that cognitive development does not end with this stage and that there are stages that go beyond or differ from that of formal operations.

For example, Arlin (1975) identified a fifth stage of development, described as a problem-finding stage. This stage involves using creative thought to solve problems and generate new questions and problems. Kitchener and King (1981) identified seven stages, with the final stage being reflective thinking. For the last stage, they describe knowledge used to solve problems as constructed and understood by the person within the context in which it was generated. Labouvie-Vief, DeVoe, and Bulka (1989) acknowledged the importance of context in cognitive development. Rather than accepting the notion that formal logic was the ultimate stage of development, the author proposed that adults adapt to life's realities, and it is more one's social context rather than one's age that accounts for differences in cognitive development.

Clearly, many believe that cognitive development can vary and can continue well into adulthood, particularly if one's context calls for such development. For women, the work context will challenge them, requiring development of abilities with emotional expression because of the clash between the male workplace culture and women's socialization around emotions. Therefore the potential for the development of women's emotional intelligence in adulthood is great.

Feminist Pedagogy

Another perspective to inform the field of adult education, feminist pedagogy, is concerned with teaching women more effectively. It also emphasizes connection, relationship, and women's emerging sense of power (Tisdell, 1993). There are five themes of feminist pedagogy: how knowledge is constructed, voice, authority, identity as shifting, and positionality (dealing with differences based on the social structures of race, class, and sexuality) (Tisdell, 2000). Some proponents of feminist scholarship emphasize the nature of structured power relations in society resulting in women's oppression (the liberatory or emancipatory model), while the gender model, the other feminist perspective, focuses less on context but instead on empowerment of women (Merriam, 1993; Tisdell, 1993). Both perspectives take a critical stance in order to assess women's experience and both are helpful in understanding adult learning (Merriam, 1993).

Belenky et al. (1986) make a strong case for transforming not just curricula but also pedagogy. Tisdell (1993) supports this notion by suggesting that bias-free content is irrelevant as long as teachers remain committed to ways of teaching that are fundamentally at odds with women's ways of learning and knowing. Connected learning environments, therefore, help women to see themselves as knowledge creators

(Tisdell,1993). Gilligan (1979) also argues that relationships and connectedness with others are of central importance to women's development and writes, "the female comes to know herself as she is known through her relationships with others" (p.437).

Caffarella and Olson (1993) critically reviewed the literature of psychosocial development of women and found that interpersonal relationships are central to the development of women's self-concept, moral and identity development, self-perception, and well-being. The authors note that "what surfaced as central to the developmental growth of women was the web of relationships and connectedness to others" (p.135).

Tannen (1990) described women as concerned with networks of connection as opposed to men's concern for being one up or one down. The author identified communication patterns illustrating male concern for hierarchical power relations and women's interest with interactions. Hayes & Flannery (2000) discuss the importance of connection in women's learning. They see a predominance of women's learning through interactions and relationships with an environment of mutual support and caring. Nonetheless they still raise caution for overgeneralizing the notion and dichotomizing ways of knowing and learning, assuming that men's and women's ways of knowing necessarily exist in opposition to each other.

MacRae (1995) found, in a study of elderly women, that the women tend to describe themselves in terms of their interpersonal relationships and that the importance of these relationships has been ignored and made invisible. Yet they are important to knowledge and identity development. Giesbrecht (1998) found through factor analysis that in the construction and negotiation of identity, "male perspectives emphasized instrumentality and female perspectives emphasized social connection" (p.7). Ruddick

(1996) notes that the idea of a relational self, or that humans are composed by the relationships in which they participate, helps explain how women become connected knowers.

Clearly, knowledge is constructed in different ways, each of which is equally valid. It is time to acknowledge alternative paradigms. Learning and teaching about the existence and importance of emotions is a critical piece in supporting women's development.

Voice

A third theme is voice and expression as key dimensions of learning and developing identity. Voice can be interpreted in several ways - literally, to signify actual speech, metaphorically, to represent expression of identity, or politically, to represent power and influence (Hayes & Flannery, 2000). Voice can imply communication and connection (Belenky, et al., 1986), and can be used to maintain relationships with people (Tannen, 1994). Hayes & Flannery examine voice as a metaphor for identity and power. Giving voice to, developing voice, and reclaiming a voice all enable women to develop, learn, and obtain more power. Examining voice in this manner demonstrates the importance of gender related patterns of communication as well as identity development and expression as key dimensions of learning.

Hayes (2000) discusses the term "giving voice" (p. 92) as a potentially powerful process of naming experiences that were previously unnamed. The power of this act is in making the experience real and meaningful, usually an affirming and liberating process. The authors use the term "developing a voice" (p. 93) as suggesting a process of evolution where voice gradually unfolds and develops. It is used as a metaphor meant to

explain how women change, develop, and learn to express their identities. "Reclaiming a voice" (p. 95) indicates the need and process for women to gain back their true, real voices which were suppressed as a result of oppressive social and cultural expectations. The author concludes that our identities and voices are a work in progress. Women are continually learning, developing, and "creating and recreating ourselves through voice" (p. 99). This concept of voice has implications for women's emotional expression. For example, if a woman is taught that she should not have a voice, only fragile emotional expressions would feel appropriate for her.

Organizational Learning

Women's emotional learning happens within a social context, in this case, the context is the organization. Therefore it is important to understand the nature and process of organizational learning within and between contexts. Some authors have examined the gendered nature of organizational culture and learning, while others focus solely on learning processes within that culture. One apparent theme is that organizational learning is a social activity.

Organizational culture reproduces cultural biases and the symbolic order of gender. Some cultures seem distinctly male, while others appear to have a feminine atmosphere (Gherardi, 1994). Bierema (1994) studied how executive women functioned and developed within the context of white male-dominated organizational culture. The author interviewed and observed 11 executive level women and found that they function and develop in their corporate environment by cultivating self-confidence, maximizing learning opportunities, and defining and negotiating the culture. She concluded that these women use cognitive, experiential and collaborative learning in order to learn and

negotiate actively and passively through this environment. The author discussed career development differences between men and women and the importance of relationships, such as networks and mentors, for women's career success (Bierema, 1999).

Dixon (1994) supports the discussion of connection with others as a method for enhancing learning. The author metaphorically discusses the use of conversations in hallways as a means of learning. Dixon stressed the importance of developing processes that have the positive characteristics of real hallways so that everyone has access to collective learning. Applying this example to the workplace could mean regular staff meetings where upper level management informs their subordinates of any and all information. Or it could mean regular informal get-togethers that give employees the opportunity to discuss workplace issues and gain knowledge.

Gherardi (1998) discussed learning in the workplace and described it as a cognitive and social activity. The author described learning as rooted in other everyday activities and not as an individual activity. It "takes place among and through other people" (p. 2). The author examines the functions of language and community of practice in workplace learning, and describes situated curriculum, a pattern of activities that instruct the process of socialization of new employees. Therefore, both Dixon and Gherardi corroborated the notion of interactive, social learning. Gherardi in fact states that “learning takes place among and through other people,” illustrating the connected and social nature of learning (Gherardi, 1998, p. 2).

Informal and Incidental Learning

It may appear that all organizational learning occurs within a formal, structured, pre-planned, and institutionally sponsored arena, yet informal learning can be at least as

powerful as that which occurs within a formal training session. Marsick, Volpe, & Watkins (1999) describe informal learning as not highly conscious, often influenced by chance, triggered by a jolt, predominantly experiential, and noninstitutional. It also involves an inductive process of reflection and action and is linked to the learning of others. Incidental learning is described as a sharing and assimilation of cultural information and values, unintentional, and a byproduct of another activity.

Examples of informal learning include self-directed learning, networking, coaching, mentoring, and trial and error (Marsick, Volpe, & Watkins, 1999). A female employee learning about emotions through informal learning might read books, discuss the topic with other female managers, or intentionally experiment with different scenarios and reactions. Incidental learning, on the other hand, includes learning from mistakes, assumptions, beliefs, attributions, and hidden curriculum (Marsick, Volpe, & Watkins, 1999). Therefore a female employee learning about emotions through incidental learning might learn from prior emotional experiences, realizing that a particular behavior may or may not have been an effective emotional expression.

The model developed by Marsick and Watkins (1990) illustrates the importance of context in informal and incidental learning. According to this model, when learning takes place from an experience, people frame the new situation based on previous experiences. They then consider solutions through that contextual lens, assessing constraints and limitations against the practicality of each possible solution. Once a strategy or invention is formulated, people may need to learn how to produce that strategy. The implementation of the strategy leads to consequences which may be

intended or unintended. People then become conscious about assumptions of the strategy's success, leading to meaning-making and learning from the experience.

One may surmise that the process of emotional learning is similar. In a specific context and situation, a person expresses a particular emotional response, and then based on the outcome of that response assesses whether that emotion was appropriate and effective or not. Learning ensues, and he or she can then apply that learning to the next situation when considering emotional responses. If the context in the second situation differs from the first, the person will re-assess the effectiveness of that particular emotional expression.

Additional studies in informal learning include Cseh (1998) and Ellinger (1997). Cseh's study of Romanian small company owner-managers and their critical learning experiences modified the model presented by Marsick and Watkins (1990) by adding categories of learning. The author included triggers, learning strategies, lessons learned, and framing the business context. Cseh concluded that managers applied lenses to frame their world, their critical incidents, and learning experiences, and that triggers of the incidents were embedded within that context. Learning from others and from experience were the major learning strategies employed by these managers.

Ellinger (1997) studied learning organizations and the extent to which managers can act as facilitators of learning. Ellinger argued that organizations need to be flexible, adaptive, and creative in order to thrive in a competitive global and technological economy. The author argued that managers can facilitate learning by attracting, developing, motivating, and training their employees. Managers' perceptions of their

beliefs, behaviors, triggers, and outcomes influenced learning through self-directed learning, trial and error, and learning from relationships.

Both Cseh (1998) and Ellinger's (1997) studies have implications for this research. These studies suggest that the participants' emotional experiences provided a framework for future emotional experiences, and that perceptions of new experiences, as well as learning taking place during incidents, were approached and evaluated from prior outcomes. Thus informal and incidental learning is effective, meaningful, and likely influences women at least as much as formal learning. Informal and incidental learning should be considered as one way in which women may learn about emotions in the workplace.

Social Context

A consistent theme in the women's learning literature revolves around culture, social context, and opportunities. Learning must be understood as occurring within a social context that dictates norms, gender roles, and behaviors (Bierema, 2001). Hayes & Flannery (2000) discussed the importance of understanding social context in order to understand women's learning, and the relationship between women's self-identity, self-esteem, and learning. Hayes & Flannery discuss how gender shapes women's opportunities for learning, particularly in contexts traditionally associated with men, such as the workplace. Because the workplace is primarily male-dominated, it reproduces the power structures of society (Bierema, 2001). Therefore, women's access to learning may be limited, women may encounter biased curricula as well as a culture that supports men's learning more than women's.

Societal power relationships and gender biases affect education and learning (Hayes & Flannery, 2000; Johnson-Bailey & Tisdell, 1998. Bierema (2001) describes how women and men receive different developmental experiences in their careers, with women being expected to demonstrate personal strength and prove themselves in order to be promoted. This can result in women doubting their own abilities, differences in interactions and support for women, values placed on certain kinds of knowledge, limitations of occupational opportunities, and differences in formal and informal workplace learning opportunities (Hayes & Flannery, 2000). Johnson-Bailey & Tisdell (1998) describe how their career paths have been affected by socialization because of limited opportunities dictated by gender as well as race, class, and cultural background. The authors discuss how structural inequalities, stereotypes, and psychological impediments resulting from power relationships and gender biases affect the education, learning, as well as career development of women.

Examples of possible effects of these societal differences can include funding differences for training for men and women or differences in selection, availability, and style of learning opportunities for men and women. Although women may learn more effectively through interaction with others, this is devalued in the workplace and may not be available as a learning method for women. Similarly, if stereotypical beliefs prevail, those in charge may limit learning to certain subjects for women. As a result, women are prevented from experiencing learning to their greatest abilities. In addition, self-identity and self-esteem are inevitably affected by these pervasive and exclusionary cultural attitudes. Supporting this notion are studies investigating gender differences in causal attributions. Women most often show a more maladaptive style, placing more weight on

lack of ability as a cause of failure (Stage, Muller, Kinzie, & Simmons, 1998). Gender therefore, influences learning, development, self-identity and self-esteem.

Gilligan (1982) states that cohorts of women have different developmental issues and patterns, depending on their particular culture and context. Hayes & Flannery (2000) stress the importance of multiple social contexts in understanding women's learning, including formal education, family, workplace, and community. The authors describe social settings as having texts from which people learn. Culture and societal expectations around women and family responsibilities influence women's development, resulting in development which is diverse, non-linear, and full of role discontinuities.

The importance of context to adult cognition is illustrated in the phenomenon of situated cognition. This approach recognizes inseparability of thinking and the context in which thinking occurs. Cognition, therefore, is not an independent process inside someone's head, but is connected to the surroundings and experiences of an individual (Merriam, 1998). Similarly, social context influences the manner in which women learn about emotional expression. Emotions can only be understood within a particular social context. They are socially learned and interpreted and culturally specific. Many explain emotions not merely as biological forces, but as learned behaviors from both early and work-related organizational socialization (Domalgalski, 1999). Comparatively, learning is situational and dependent on the environment that provides tools and cues to guide learning. Therefore, there is a distinct relationship between context and emotional learning

Emotions

Emotion has traditionally been viewed as inappropriate for organizational life, disruptive and illogical, and has received relatively little attention as an area of research within organizations (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Fineman, 1993). A polarized view of emotionality and rationality came to pervade the Western industrialized world's way of thinking, resulting in the removal of emotion from scientific inquiry (Callahan, 1999). This view may have stemmed from a belief that emotion is relevant only to those interested in an individual's cognitive and psychophysical states. However, the phenomenon of emotion is in fact relevant to studies of social bodies and contexts (Putnam & Mumby, 1993).

Emotions are not the antithesis of the rationality that is so traditionally valued in work settings. They are central to and inseparable from everyday organizational life (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995). Emotions shape social transactions and contribute to the structure and culture of organizations (Fineman, 1993). Emotional behaviors and feelings are learned not only from early socialization and development, but also from organizational and occupational socialization (Domagalski, 1999).

Psychological Perspective

Theoretical development of emotions as an area of inquiry has been attributed to psychology (Domagalski, 1999), however, the theoretical grounding of emotion remains an issue. The premise of psychology-based emotions theories is that emotions are instinctively driven responses, physiological sensations, cognitive appraisals, and individual phenomena located within the body. Psychodynamic explorations of emotion at work examine the unconscious forces that motivate people and the defenses individuals

and groups create to avoid anxiety (Long, 1999; Neumann & Hirschhorn, 1999; Vince, 2002).

Sociological Perspective

Those from the social constructivist paradigm examine emotions as contextual and social in nature (Domagalski, 1999). This perspective takes the viewpoint that emotions are seen as uncomfortable in the workplace and employees try to de-emotionalize and rationalize emotions (Fineman, 1993; Vince, 2002). Hochschild (1979) describes the sociology of emotion as:

> But the sociologist of emotion does not usually focus on a person's childhood development *per se*, or on injury and repair, but instead on the sociocultural *determinants* of feeling, and the sociocultural bases for defining, appraising and managing human emotion and feeling. (p. 5)

Organizational theorists examine the social and cultural dimensions of emotion because organizational processes, structures, and practices are socially created and sustained. The presence of physiological sensations is seen as one component, yet the emphasis is on cultural norms and influences.

The two realms of the study of emotions, emotion work and emotional intelligence, derive from these different perspectives. While emotional intelligence takes a psychological perspective (Goleman, 1995), emotion work brings a sociological viewpoint. In fact, Hochschild is considered by many to be the founder of a new sociological field known as "the sociology of emotion" (Fabian, 1999, p. 5). Emotional intelligence is considered psychologically based because of its cognitive and physiological associations. It addresses the appraisal, regulation, and utilization of

emotion in oneself and others, focusing inward rather than outward. In contrast, emotion work examines contextual and social factors, addressing the organizational or job requirements. Hochschild describes the sociologist of emotion as focusing on the "sociocultural determinants of feeling, and the sociocultural bases for defining, appraising and managing human emotion and feeling" (1997, p. 5).

Why then, does this study propose merging the two areas of research? Individual behavior cannot be understood without an understanding of the context, as the two are intertwined. Emotions occur "in the context of a personal narrative" (Briner, 1999, p. 323). In order to understand why a particular emotion is expressed at work, it is necessary to know about the event that triggered the emotional response as well as the history of that person and his or her situation. It is essential to explore both the person and the environment together to understand the person-environment transaction, or the relationship between them (Briner, 1999). Briner (1999) describes an emotion-cognition-behavior sequence, where a person's emotional responses lead to behaviors and cognitions that then influence the environment, which in turn influences the person. It is the entire cycle that must be examined within a framework of a transactional process or emotional episode.

Similarly, emotional intelligence and emotion work function together. When a woman human resource director effectively understands and expresses emotions in the workplace, her emotional intelligence gives her the foundational ability to perceive the display rules of her workplace and learn about emotions in her particular context in order to perform the necessary emotion work. Display rules constitute the social consensus about behavioral expectations and which feelings can be properly shown when (Davis et

al., 1992; Goleman, 1995; Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989). Fabian (1999) states that "an individual may have the ability, yet fail to act on that ability" (p. 7). In order for a manager to have the emotional intelligence to regulate an emotion, she must be aware of what emotions are expected, acceptable, and unacceptable of her in a given context. Social settings are texts from which people learn lessons about themselves and others in a hidden curriculum (Hayes, 2000), and research suggests that women's learning and development are particularly influenced by social context and socialization (Chodorow, 1995; Hayes, 2000).

The concepts of emotional intelligence and emotion work overlap because management of emotions requires the intelligence to perceive, learn, and adjust behavior as necessary. Research, therefore, must consider both concepts when examining emotional learning and behavior within the workplace.

Research Streams

Two streams of emotion research pervade current theory. The naturalistic stream of research examines biological antecedents and physical manifestations of emotion (Callahan, 1999) and is based on an assumption that humans have natural, authentic emotions (Lerum, 2000). The second way of understanding emotions is called *symbolic interactionism* or *social constructivism*, and it focuses on the social context of emotion, viewing emotion as fluid and constructed by institutions and groups (Callahan, 1999; Lerum, 2000). The perspective this study takes falls under this second stream of social constructivism. One example of how emotions are constructed by context is emotion work. This area of literature is reviewed in the next section.

Emotion work

Emotion work is the field that examines emotion from a sociological, cultural, and environmental perspective. Beginning with Hochschild's (1979) foundational research on emotion work, emotions in the context of organizational life have received increased attention. Emotion work, also referred to by some as emotion management, or emotion labor, was described by Hochschild (1979) as the active effort to change or control emotions in oneself or in others in order to meet social guidelines. The author also defined the related concept of feeling rules as the culturally embedded, socially shared guidelines that govern how we should feel. These definitions by Hochschild (1983) established the groundwork for emotion work to be viewed mainly as organizational control of emotions.

Hochschild's studies (1979, 1983) were the foundational pieces of research in emotion labor. She used the term to apply to situations where emotion work is exchanged for a wage. The author studied airlines and the required emotional behaviors of service workers, particularly airline flight attendants. Hochschild (1979) found two general types of emotion work including evocation - eliciting an emotion that is not present, and suppression - eliminating or subduing an emotion that is present.

Hochschild (1979) described three techniques that can be used alone or in conjunction with one another in order to perform emotion work: cognitive, bodily, and expressive. With the cognitive approach an individual changes mental models or cognitive schema in order to change associated emotions. Using the bodily, or physiological technique, an individual attempts to control physical manifestations of emotion. The expressive technique requires the individual to "change outward

expressions of emotion in an attempt to change the inner experience of emotion" (Callahan, 1999, p. 55).

Emotion work has been studied in a wide variety of organizations, including the military, airlines, police departments, bill collection agencies, health care agencies, and the Disney corporation (Callahan, 2000b; Hochschild, 1983; Pogrebin & Poole, 1991; Smith & Kleinman, 1989; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989). Morris and Feldman (1996) used the term emotional labor to describe the effort and control necessary for the expression of organizationally desired emotion. The authors conceptualized the construct of emotional labor along four dimensions - frequency of required emotional display, attentiveness to required display rules, variety of emotions to be displayed, and emotional dissonance.

Organizationally imposed emotion work

The emotion work research has examined how organizations have applied expectations and boundaries for employees' acceptable emotional expression. Methods used to accomplish this include screening and selection, training, off-the-job socialization opportunities, and reward and punishment (Domagalski, 1999). The expression of emotion, once a personal decision, has become a marketplace commodity, with standards and rules dictating how and when emotion should be expressed (Morris & Feldman, 1996). Display rules have even been incorporated into job requirements.

The influence of social norms and cultural prescriptives in organizational settings is most apparent when they are violated. Deviations can be met with sanctions or pathological labels (Domagalski, 1999). In Leidner's 1993 study, new employees were "reprimanded for not smiling" (p. 160). In another study, various factors including

wider societal socialization processes, management designed organizational feeling/display rules, peer group influences, customer expectations, and self-regulation all influenced the emotion management of staff (Sandiford & Seymour, 2000). The authors found that for employees learning about emotion work in English pubs, even "customers were involved in the informal socialization process, often trying to mold new staff into 'their' environment, sometimes using bullying," (p. 23) sarcasm, displaying overt or covert dissatisfaction, or simply not returning in the future. Organizational members, therefore, can *learn* organizational emotion rules from a combination of formal and informal socialization, including reward and punishment.

Emotional Labor

The term emotional labor is used to describe the effort and control necessary for the expression of organizationally desired emotion (Hochschild 1979; Morris and Feldman, 1996). Morris and Feldman (1996) conceptualized the construct of emotional labor along four dimensions - frequency of required emotional display, attentiveness to required display rules, variety of emotions to be displayed, and emotional dissonance. The authors conclude that with an increase in frequency, attentiveness, and variety of emotions expected in a position, the more psychological and physical effort expended, and therefore more emotional labor. Lastly, the authors define emotional dissonance as the conflict between emotions genuinely felt and those required to be expressed.

Many authors have used the terms emotional labor and emotion work simultaneously, however Callahan and McCollum (2001) propose the separation of these terms. Using emotion management as an overarching term, the authors propose that it is the purpose for which the emotion management is performed that determines whether

emotion work or emotional labor is the appropriate term. They distinguish the two as such: Emotion work is "internally controlled emotions not connected to an individual's compensated work" and emotional labor is "externally controlled emotions connected to – but not directly a part of – an individual's compensated work" (Wells & Callahan, 2002, p. 3).

Self-initiated emotion work

Other studies have examined emotion work from a different perspective regarding the impetus and effects of such work. In addition to organizational requirements of positive emotional display for the purpose of influencing customers, research has also demonstrated that the use of emotions may not be exploitative and may even have positive effects, and that they can be used as a tool of social influence. This perspective argues that some employees perform emotion work for their own benefit (Kipnis, Schmidt, & Wilkinson, 1980; Lerum, 2000; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991), and that acknowledging and addressing emotion work requirements can benefit individuals as well as organizations (Wharton, 1993).

Lerum (2000) described the task of emotion work as not necessarily exploitative or harmful, but as an optional control maneuver. The author found positive effects from emotion work conducted by service workers, including increased power and legitimacy. Fabian (1999) found that emotion work was performed for individual as well as organizational purposes. The author found the majority of emotion work to be evocation and suppression, and this work to be performed most often by women. Kipnis, Schmidt, and Wilkinson (1983) described the use of negative emotions to influence others while

Rafaeli and Sutton (1991) specifically identified five strategies used by criminal interrogators and bill collectors to assist them in their work endeavors.

Lerum (2000) describes emotional labor along three dimensions: object of focus, depth of acting, and effect of emotional manipulation. The first dimension distinguishes between self-focused or other-focused emotion work. Whereas other-focused refers to taking care of and producing other people's emotional well-being, self-focused emotion work is geared toward preserving one's own emotional well-being.

The second dimension, depth of acting, refers to the level on which the employee is performing emotion work, whether "surface acting" or "deep acting" (Hochschild, 1983). Surface acting involves following an obligatory, contained, and predictable script, whereas deep acting, although still shaped by work boundaries, draws upon real emotions.

The third dimension of emotional labor examines the effect on the worker. Some authors view the employee as performing emotion work for his or her own benefit while others view it as a reaction resulting in detrimental effects. The view of exploitative organizational control of emotions would appear to fit in this category.

Gendered nature of emotion work

Another aspect of the emotion literature is the gendered nature of emotion work. This section will review literature describing the increased expectancy and need for women to perform more emotion work than men. Research has supported that which Hochschild (1983) originally described regarding the socialization of emotions in regard to gender. Hochschild (1983) stated that more emotion management occurs at the bottom of the gender system, meaning, emotion work is more prevalent for women. The

author stated that both men and women do emotion work in both their private lives and at work, however, emotion work is more important for women than for men. The reasons for this are that women have less access to money, power, authority, and status in society, and that this carries several consequences.

First, women use feeling as a resource and offer it in exchange for material resources they lack. Second, emotion work is important in different ways for women because each gender tends to be called on to do different kinds of this work, with women being expected to mask anger and aggression and be nice, and men being expected to master fear and vulnerability. Third, the subordination of women leaves every woman with a weaker shield against the displaced feelings of others. For example, in Hochschild's 1983 study, female flight attendants were found to be easier targets of customer aggression and male flight attendants had to handle the unwarranted aggression directed towards the women. The fourth consequence of power differences between men and women is the different types of emotion work. The author found that women used sexual beauty, charm, and relational skills, whereas men more often used anger in a commercialized way (Hochschild , 1983).

Many authors discuss the gendered nature of emotion work. Parkin (1996) states that women are prepared for and placed in emotionally expressive positions and Wharton (1993) concluded that women's jobs demand more emotion work than do men's. Some authors claim that power differentials between men and women in the workplace cause women do more emotion work than men (Gallois, 1993; Hearn, 1996).

Callahan and Schwandt (2000) described how culture and gender biases cause the need for emotion work and how most emotion management is performed by women,

most likely influenced by the perception of required neutrality, or suppression of emotions (Callahan, 2000). Using interviews and a Likert-type scale, the authors asked professional staff men and women in the U.S. air force to describe their personal emotion work and their perceptions of affective culture in that organization. The authors found that women performed more emotion work than expected based on their representation in the sample and that the majority of incidents of emotion work were suppression of felt emotions.

Those emotions most often suppressed included negative emotions such as frustration, anger, disappointment, fear, and sadness. Although the type of emotional suppression did not differ substantially between men and women, women were found to continually suppress felt emotions and evoke unfelt emotions regarding the subject of their devalued gender role. They did this in order to fit in to the culture. However, because they pretended to be content about the situation, ironically, the "very emotion work they performed to fit in impeded the transition to a more evolving culture" (Callahan, 2000, p. 111).

Research suggests that emotion requirements function to reproduce structural oppression (Brody, 2000; Callahan, 2001; Parkin, 1993) and that socializing men and women to express different emotions serves to maintain polarized gender roles and power and status differences (Brody, 2000). Emotions are controlled by those in power who define what is appropriate, imposing a pathology on emotional expressions that do not fit criteria (Parkin, 1996). The higher the power differential between men and women, the more women need to be aware of and act accordingly in the emotional context (Gallois, 1993; Hearn, 1993). In addition, the very context maintains the gendered nature of

emotion work. This was illustrated by Callahan (2001) when she described how emotion management maintains organizational culture and reinforces patterns of marginalization. For example, the author was afraid to declare her true feelings regarding open biases against women, therefore, her inability to express her feelings "maintained patterns of power that formed a culture" (p. 11) that did not value women's contributions.

The expression of anger in the workplace has been linked to gender expectations in many studies. Davis, LaRosa, and Foshee (1992) concluded that women supervisors judged anger displays as more costly than did male supervisors. As a result of socialization, anger is perceived to be a more acceptable emotion for men than for women (Garner, Robertson, & Smith, 1997; Lewis, 2000; Sharkin, 1993). Leader effectiveness ratings decreased dramatically when women expressed anger, but remained unchanged when male leaders expressed anger (Lewis, 2000). On the contrary, sadness expressed by women resulted in increased perceptions of leader effectiveness, yet expression of sadness by male leaders led to decreased ratings. Evidence exists then for an interaction between a leader's gender, expressed emotion, and perception of effectiveness (Lewis, 2000).

Emotional intelligence

Emotional intelligence is another aspect of emotion studies that has been recently applied to the organizational setting. Emotions were discussed within the framework of intelligence as early as 1920, when Thorndike first identified an aspect of emotional intelligence he called social intelligence (Goleman, 1995). Social intelligence was described as one of many different types of intelligence individuals possess, affecting the ability to understand and manage people. Skill in identifying emotions, one aspect of

social intelligence, was a component of the George Washington Social Intelligence Test. This test was widely known at the time, yet undone with Thorndike and Stern's conclusion that attempts to measure social intelligence had failed (Cherniss & Goleman, 2001).

Adding to the failure of the concept was Wechsler's IQ test, developed in the 1950's. Wechsler described affective, personal, and social abilities as admissible factors of intelligence, referring to them as the non-intellective, yet necessary, factors that determine intelligent behavior (Cherniss, 2000). However, his widely used IQ test had a far greater influence, as the next half-century was dominated by IQ testing (Cherniss & Goleman, 2001) and the view of emotions as the antithesis of rationality (Callahan, 1999).

Not until the 1980's was the idea of multiple intelligences revived. Initially described by Gardner (1983), these multiple intelligences included: linguistic, logical-mathematical, bodily-kinesthetic, spatial, musical, interpersonal and intrapersonal. Emotional intelligence theory was influenced by Gardner's elaboration of the role of emotions in the interpersonal and intrapersonal intelligences (Cherniss & Goleman, 2001). Gardner described these intelligences as just as important as the type of intelligence measured by IQ tests (Cherniss, 2000).

The next steps in the evolution of emotional intelligence were Bar-On's development of the emotional quotient, or EQ, test (1988), followed by the naming of the term emotional intelligence by Salovey and Mayer (1990). Bar-On (1997) characterizes emotional intelligence as “an array of noncognitive abilities, competencies, and skills that influence one’s ability to succeed in coping with environmental demands and pressures”

(p. 14). Citing a need to distinguish emotional intelligence abilities from personality or social traits, Salovey and Mayer (1990) developed a model with a cognitive emphasis focused on specific mental aptitudes.

Whereas Gardner (1983) described seven types of intelligence, Salovey and Mayer (1990) depicted emotional intelligence as subsuming Gardner's interpersonal and intrapersonal intelligences. They defined emotional intelligence as involving "the ability to monitor one's own and others' feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them and to use this information to guide one's thinking and actions" (p. 189). Goleman (1995, 1998) popularized the concept and applied it to the workplace. He discussed the importance of emotional intelligence for success and claimed that the impact of emotional intelligence is even greater within top levels of leadership.

According to Mayer & Salovey (1997), a comprehensive emotional intelligence model needs to include some measure of thinking about feeling, missing in models that focus on the perception and regulation of feelings. The authors describe emotional intelligence as comprising four levels of abilities that range from basic psychological processes to more complex processes integrating emotion and cognition. The model is developmental: the complexity of emotional skill grows from the first tier to the fourth, and skill in the first is required in order to possess the skills of the next levels. The first level, emotional perception, includes skills that allow an individual to perceive, appraise, and express emotions. These abilities include identifying one's own and other's emotions, expressing one's own emotions, and discriminating the expressions of emotion in others. The second level, emotional integration/facilitation, involves emotions facilitating and prioritizing thinking. Emotions enter the cognitive system, are

recognized and labeled, and subsequently alter thought. The cognitive system can then view things from different perspectives (Mayer, Salovey & Caruso, 2000).

The third level is emotional understanding and reasoning. At this level emotional signals are understood, along with their implications. These implications, such as feeling or meaning, are then considered. The fourth level, emotional management, involves an openness to emotions which allows personal and intellectual growth. This level of emotional intelligence is more complex, with skills that allow individuals to selectively engage in or detach from emotions and to monitor and manage emotions in themselves and in others (Mayer, Salovey & Caruso, 2000).

Mayer, Salovey, and Caruso (2000) make a distinction between models that are mixed and those that are pure models, or ability models, focusing exclusively on cognitive aptitudes. Mixed models contain a mixture of abilities, behaviors, and general disposition and confuse personality attributes—such as optimism and persistence—with mental ability (Cherniss, 2000). They describe mixed models as all-inclusive definitions, as popular research rather than scientific, and as adding nothing new to the literature. Mayer et al. contend that Goleman's (1995) popular book is a mixed model in which "emotional intelligence is redefined and redescribed frequently through that book, each time including a somewhat different set of personality attributes" (p. 101). In addition the authors stated that Goleman "expanded the concept without any regard to its moorings" (p. 103).

Goleman (1995) defines emotional intelligence as having five parts: knowing emotions, managing emotions, motivating oneself, recognizing emotions in others, and handling relationships (p. 43). Elsewhere in the book the definition includes self-

awareness, impulse control, delay of gratification, handling stress and anxiety, and empathy (p. 259). In Goleman's subsequent book (1998), the five dimensions are further broken down into twenty-five different emotional competencies. The authors argue that their own version presents emotional intelligence as an ability theory, a distinct intelligence, and operationalized and measured as such.

An individual's inclination towards a specific definition of emotional intelligence will undoubtedly affect more than terminology. The extent to which one believes emotional intelligence can be learned, as well as the belief in its importance in life and the workplace are reflections of particular perspectives. The debate on the value of emotional intelligence versus traditional IQ is an important one because of its potential application to the workplace. Goleman (1998), Cherniss (2000, 2001), and others argue that IQ alone has little relation to how well people do at work and in life (Cherniss, 2000). Many researchers maintain that aspects of emotional intelligence, rather than traditional IQ, make the biggest difference in a person's success in life (Bar-On, 1997; Cooper, 1997; Cherniss, 2000, 2001; Goleman, 1995, 1998; Lusch & Serpkenci, 1990; Weisinger, Weisinger, and Williams, 1997).

Cherniss (2000) provides multiple examples of research suggesting the importance of emotional intelligence to success in the workplace. A longitudinal study of Ph.D. graduates indicated that social and emotional abilities were four times more important than IQ in determining professional success and prestige. The "marshmallow studies" at Stanford University indicated that four year olds who were able to resist temptation later had a total SAT score that was 210 points higher than those kids who were unable to wait.

Lusch and Serpkenci's 1990 study of retail store managers argues that there is a critical influence of managerial effectiveness on retail store performance. The authors found that "the ability to handle stress predicted net profits, sales per square foot, sales per employee, and per dollar of inventory investment" (p.6). The authors also concluded that inner-directed managers, those who perceive events in their lives as being a consequence of their own actions and therefore controllable, cope with stress much better than those who are other-directed.

Empathy, one of the aspects of emotional intelligence as defined by Goleman, has been described as particularly important (Cherniss, 2000). Pilling and Eroglu's 1994 survey of retail sales buyers found that sales representatives were most valued for their empathy. The authors concluded that both empathy and professionalism were found to positively and significantly affect buyers' willingness to make a purchase from sales people who have these abilities.

Emotional intelligence clearly has the potential to contribute to workplace success. Goleman's model (1998) examines emotional intelligence as a theory of performance, adapting it to predict personal effectiveness at work and in leadership. In his second book, the author discusses emotional competence, defining it as "a learned capability based on emotional intelligence that results in outstanding performance at work" (Goleman, 2001, p. 1). According to Goleman (1998), emotional competencies, although requiring an underlying ability in emotional intelligence, are job skills that can be learned.

Goleman (2001) further argues that each of the four domains of emotional intelligence derives from distinct neurological mechanisms, describing it as "a bridge

between brain function and the behaviors described in the EI model of performance" (p. 3). In other words, emotional intelligence is the behavioral manifestation of underlying neurological circuitry. The author suggests that an understanding of these neurological foundations has critical implications for how people can best learn to develop emotional intelligence competencies, however, he does not elaborate on those implications.

Research has also focused on the relationship between emotional intelligence and leadership abilities. Evidence suggests that emotionally intelligent leadership results in improved business performance (Goleman, 2001). McClelland (1998) studied division heads of a global food and beverage company and found that the divisions of the leaders with strengths in emotional intelligence competencies outperformed yearly revenue targets by a margin of 15 to 20 percent. In a 1994 Catholic Health Association study of outstanding leaders in health care, it was found that more effective leaders were more adept at integrating key competencies (Goleman, 2001). Another study indicated that managers with self-awareness, an important aspect of emotional intelligence, are rated as more effective by both superiors and subordinates than those managers without self-awareness (Megerian & Sosik, 1999).

Transformational leaders, defined by their "individualized consideration, intellectual stimulation, inspirational motivation, and idealized influence" (Megerian & Sosik, 1996), are apt to be high in emotional intelligence abilities (Bass & Avolio, 1994; House, 1995; Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993; Megerian & Sosik, 1996). These leaders serve as positive role models (Bass & Avolio, 1994), selectively arouse followers' motives (House, 1995), and create strong emotional reactions, identification with, and belief from followers (Megerian & Sosik, 1996). "Emotional intelligence has as much to

do with knowing when and how to express emotion as it does with controlling it" (Cherniss, 2000, p. 7).

Emotional intelligence and women

Several studies have had findings related to gender and emotional intelligence in adults. All have found some gender differences, while some have concluded that overall levels of emotional intelligence are similar between men and women, but that each gender has particular strengths.

Bar-On (2000), using the EQ-i with varied gender, age, and ethnicity, found no differences between males and females regarding overall emotional competency. However, significant differences existed for a few factors of the construct. The author found that females scored higher in interpersonal skills and were more aware of emotions, more empathic, and acted more socially responsible. Yet males were stronger in intrapersonal capacity with higher self-regard, were more independent, coped more effectively with stress, were more flexible, and were better problem-solvers.

Sutarso (1996), using the Emotional Intelligence Inventory on college students, showed a significant effect of gender on certain EQ factors. Female students had higher scores on compassion/empathy and self-awareness. Petrides and Furnham (2000), using the Emotional Intelligence Questionnaire with college students, investigated gender differences in actual and self-estimated scores. The authors found that there is a self-enhancing bias in men and a self-deprecating bias in women, with men estimating their emotional intelligence to be higher than it actually is. In actuality, women scored higher on the social skills factor than men, however, the definition of "social skills" was not provided by the authors.

Thus being effective with, or having high emotional intelligence, will presumably advance women's management careers.

Interpersonal psychodynamics

This section examines interpersonal psychodynamics and psychodynamic theory. Psychodynamic theory examines motivational forces experienced within individuals and groups (Neumann & Hirschhorn, 1999). Psychodynamics refers to cognitive, emotional, and motivational processes that consciously and unconsciously affect one's behavior ((Neumann & Hirschhorn, 1999).

It appears that there are psychodynamics working around gender. For example, de Vries (1995) describes men's discomfort with women in powerful positions as related to an unconscious fear of powerlessness resulting from an association with feelings toward their mothers. Unresolved rage, envy, dependency, or fear with their mothers can cause this devaluation of women in power. Oakley (2000) describes the related fear and shame of being "one-upped" or losing in competition to a woman. Women executives report male colleagues' feelings of discomfort or threat because of the women's presence, resulting in competitiveness and fear. Thus psychodynamics between men and women provides another cultural or behavioral viewpoint to understand the lack of women in senior management.

Another important aspect of interpersonal dynamics in the workplace is examining emotional drives and their affect on behavior and interpersonal relations. Presumably, one's behavior and interpersonal competence will affect one's career development in the workplace. Psychodynamics is therefore relevant to the study

because the study examines emotions, behavior, and women's development and effectiveness in the workplace.

Emotions experienced in the workplace produce different behavioral reactions depending on the person and the context. The psychodynamic literature emphasizes one emotion in particular, that of anxiety, because it seems to spark a common reaction in all people. "One of the primary cohesive elements binding individuals into institutionalized human association is that of defence against psychotic anxiety" (Jaques, 1955, p. 479). Elliott Jaques introduced the concept of social defenses against anxiety in 1955, and others continued to examine forms of defenses in the workplace (Argyris, 1993; Bion, 1989; Hirschhorn, 1977, 1999; Moxnes, 1998).

Social defenses are created unconsciously by members of an organization to protect themselves from the experience of anxiety. To avoid feelings, people engage in ritualistic processes. These processes function as a social defense. Social defenses work through processes such as projection, splitting, and introjection. Projection is defined as: "A defense mechanism whereby unacceptable motives, characteristics, or desires unacceptable to the ego are attributed to someone else." Introjection is defined as: the unconscious incorporation of the values, attitudes, and qualities of another person into the individual's own ego structure." Splitting is defined as: "a phenomenon wherein a person splits conceptions of self and others in either all-good or all-bad categories, neglecting to recognize people's mixed qualities" (Dictionary of Psychology, 2002).

Feelings of anxiety are the roots of distorted relationships at work. Hirshhorn (1999) provided an example of the use of social defenses at work when describing nurses who felt anxiety from helping sick, dying patients. In order to depersonalize the situation

and not experience their true emotions, the nurses split off from their own feelings and projected their experience onto the social defense. They obediently followed ritualistic rules regarding drug administration in order to avoid feeling personally connected to the patients, thus never questioning the rationality of the rules and never having to acknowledge their feelings. They engaged in these rituals and routines, which also included wearing uniforms and rotating nurses, in order to control the anxiety of nursing.

Organizational structures, routines, and processes take away the anxiety without examining the social realities that give rise to the anxiety in the first place. In other words, a social defense is an unconscious quick fix solution, completely externalizing a defensive process onto a set of mandated actions. This disregards emotions and depersonalizes relationships. These deeper, less conscious, and more irrational processes infuse organizations and allow people to retreat from work roles. They are maladaptive, deeply ingrained in the system, and very difficult to change. The powerful emotion of anxiety results in rational procedures being distorted by irrational processes (Hirschhorn, 1999).

Unconscious processes and defenses are themes that flow throughout the work of many authors, although they may use different terms to describe the same processes. Bion (1963) and Hirschorn (1999) employ the terms basic assumptions, collective unconscious, and social defenses, whereas Argyris describes these processes as defensive routines. Yet within each of these theories, the purpose and result of these defenses is the avoidance of feelings, specifically, anxiety or embarrassment (Argyris, 1957; Bion, 1989; Hirschhorn, 1977, 1999).

Bion (1961) described the "basic assumptions" (p. 146) as powerful emotional drives which divert work activity. They are defined as unconscious assumptions or fantasies about group life (Hirschorn, 1999). Hirschorn applies Bion's basic assumption concept to his discussion of social defenses, including it as one of the social defenses, along with the covert coalition and the organizational ritual.

The basic assumption, a concept based in psychoanalysis and in particular the 1931 work of Melanie Klein, is represented by a particular pattern of behavior whereby a group assumes that one cohesive mind exists (Hirshhorn, 1999). Members of the group have unconscious feelings and unknowingly reinforce each other's sentiments. With this type of behavior, group members "are living in a dream" (Hirschhorn, 1999, p. 59).

Covert coalitions control anxiety in a different manner. They are a set of relationships that echo the character of family relationships, with people taking up family roles at work as they are needed and reinforced by the culture. This process directs work-induced anxiety through these relationships (Hirschhorn, 1999).

The organizational ritual, the most durable and externalized form of defense against anxiety, is a procedure or practice that is seemingly unconnected to rational experience and that takes on a life of its own (Hirschhorn, 1999). With the organizational ritual, the defensive process is externalized into mandated actions, helping to depersonalize relationships to work. "Rituals induce thoughtlessness, and by not thinking, people avoid feeling anxious" (Hirschhorn, 1999, p.2). For example, Bion (1988) describes how nurses can use uniforms, drug administration routines, and procedures such as rotating nurses to control the anxiety of nursing.

Similarly, Argyris discusses defensive routines and assumptions. Like Bion (1963) and Hirschhorn (1999), Argyris describes defensive routines as escapes from emotions, in particular, embarrassment, threat, or anxiety (Argyris, 1993). Model II behavior, the ideal behavior (Argyris, 1982, 1990, 1993), involves sharing thoughts and feelings, information, and responsibility, therefore eliminating the use of defensive routines. In contrast, Model I behavior avoids feelings - one's own as well as others. In Model I behavior people make assumptions, attributions, and avoid solving problems.

Another important similarity between these authors is the unproductive and paradoxical nature of these defensive routines. Hirschhorn (1999) describes how the more a social defense becomes visible and durable, the more difficult it becomes to see and understand its relationship to anxiety. The better the method to escape anxiety, the more intense and impenetrable the defense itself becomes.

Similarly, Argryis (1990) describes people engaging in defensive routines to avoid embarrassment or threat, being unaware of their defensive routines, and ending up in a pattern that has become so ingrained that they cannot identify their defensive routine or any gap in their espoused theory (what they believe they value) versus theory-in-use (the rules they are actually using). Because they are unwilling to acknowledge these issues, they become experts in "skilled incompetence," avoiding just the issues that create the problems to begin with. Therefore the same routine which prevents the anxiety also prevents the person from discovering the cause of the anxiety.

An additional recurring theme with each of these authors is the "undiscussables" (Argyris, 1990). Argyris describes the lack of discussion of feelings, of those issues which provoke anxiety or defensive routines, of mistakes, and of gaps between espoused

theories and theories-in-use. Similarly, Hirschhorn (1997) describes the need to develop a work culture of openness, where employees can and should discuss feelings and make themselves real and vulnerable. Leaders need to present themselves as human beings with passions, fears, and values. The author suggests we have learned too well how to suppress feelings and that we need to learn to re-integrate them or else regress both in emotion and work performance.

Because these defense mechanisms are initiated whenever a person feels anxiety, conflict, frustration, or failure and is then unwilling to discuss it or take responsibility (Argyris, 1957), it is essential to examine the nature of these initiating behaviors. Where these authors are lacking is in addressing a relationship between gender and defensive routines. It is emotions that provoke these defensive routines. Because socialization around emotions may differ by gender, so too may the process of defensive reactions.

Gender may affect the underlying causes of defensive routines as well as the defenses themselves. Men and women are taught different lessons about emotions and therefore proceed into the workplace with different basic assumptions, beliefs, and espoused theories. If men are socialized to focus on the rational and avoid acknowledgement of feelings they are entering the workplace with very different assumptions than are women. Because avoidance of feelings is the root of Model I behavior and defenses, the fact that organizations are male-driven and male-defined is an important consideration.

It is crucial to examine why and how many organizational cultures discourage discussion of feelings and mistakes even though the importance of this dialogue is evident. Unconscious and unstated feelings and processes play a critical role in shaping

work life (Hirschhorn, 1999). Employees cannot allow threatening feelings to organize behavior and exert too great a pull on thinking (Hirschhorn, 1997). Yet organizational cultures do not encourage healthy expression of emotions or healthy, trusting relationships. Argyris (1974) describes how bureaucratic organizations lead to shallow and mistrustful relationships that do not allow for natural and free expression of feelings. This results in a lack of authenticity and decreases interpersonal competence. On the contrary, organizations employing humanistic or democratic values lead to trusting relationships, interpersonal competence, inter-group cooperation, and flexibility. He argues that it is in this environment that employees as well as the organization can develop to their fullest potential.

Defenses and Emotion

The social defenses research demonstrates the importance of emotions and feelings in employees and provides an example of how emotions can manifest themselves in harmful ways. It supports the emotional intelligence literature regarding the idea that the recognition and processing of emotions is important (Goleman, 1995; Hirschhorn, 1997; Salovey & Mayer, 1990) and that denying or falsely reproducing an emotion may not be the best for an employee's performance. Supporting this notion, Argyris' immaturity-maturity continuum (1957) describes mature behavior as including an awareness or control over self. If organizations prevent employees, through management practices, from acting maturely by encouraging passivity, dependency, and subordination, the worker will act immaturely and may not process emotions properly.

Labouvie-Vief et al. (1989) describe a relationship between psychological defenses and emotional conceptualization and expression. The authors found that more

mature adults tend to use the defenses of reversal and turning against the self as opposed to projection, turning against others, distancing, denial, escape or avoidance. Individuals who show the more mature pattern of coping and defense strategies scored higher on a dimension of emotional developmental complexity.

In conducting this study, the research question addresses how women learn about emotions. Just as Argyris describes Model I behavior as more prevalent than Model II in women or men (Argyris, 1982, 1990), certain emotional behaviors are more prevalent in one gender than another. Socialization causes and maintains gender differences in emotional expressiveness so that different emotional expressions are acceptable for the two sexes.

The rules and behaviors towards which men are socialized are identical to those that prevail in the workplace. Ironically, Argyris & Schon (1974) describe Model I behavior, the less effective form of behavior, as based on control, winning, rationalism, and self-protectiveness. These are exactly the same behaviors toward which men are taught to strive and which organizational cultures follow. In fact the expression of emotions "such as shame and embarrassment are viewed as unmanly" and men who display such emotions are . . . evaluated more negatively than females" (Siegel & Alloy, 1990). Accordingly, the workplace applies the same criteria and the unfortunate result becomes employees learning to engage in immature behavior and defensive routines.

Learning about Expressing Emotions in the Workplace

The literature describing learning about emotions in the workplace as derived from both the psychological/developmental and sociological perspectives. The psychological/developmental perspective focuses on the biological and neurological

development of the ability to process emotions and includes discussion of emotional intelligence training programs. The sociological perspective includes research that describes how employees are taught by their organizations to express the appropriate emotions for their jobs.

The developmental psychology literature includes a substantial body of research detailing how infants and children learn to accurately express, understand, and regulate their emotions, including much discussion about school-based programs. Authors have discussed the importance of developing a child's social and emotional intelligence for future happiness and productivity in life (Gardner, 1983; Goleman, 1995) and have indicated a developmental process involving progressive levels of emotional awareness. This would imply that an adult's ability to develop emotional intelligence relies on the extent to which it was developed during childhood.

A large body of research suggests that it is possible for adults to develop emotional intelligence. Weisinger, et.al. (1997) describes emotional intelligence as something that "can be nurtured, developed, and augmented" (p. 1) as opposed to a trait that one either has or does not have. He argues that it can be increased by learning and practicing the necessary skills. Labouvie-Vief et al. (1989) demonstrated significant differences from adolescence to late adulthood in ability to cope with emotional experiences, with adults around mid-life achieving the highest scores. Similarly, Bar-On (2000) argues that people develop their emotional intelligence throughout life, and that older people have higher levels of emotional intelligence than those that are younger. The author found that older groups scored significantly higher than younger groups on most of the EQ-I scale scores, with those in their late forties and early fifties receiving the

highest mean scores. In addition, Cherniss and Adler (Cherniss & Adler, 2000) describe multiple adult workplace programs that have been successful in developing social and emotional competencies.

The social and cultural dimensions of emotion are important to consider. "Emotions cannot be fully understood outside of their social context" (Fineman, 1993, p. 10). Mayer and Salovey (1997) discuss the importance of contextual dependency and describe the need to consider culture and subculture in order to understand individual frameworks and perspectives. The authors state that subcultures may have different definitions of appropriateness and may teach different ways of dealing with emotional situations. Thus workplace learning about emotional expression is contextually dependent.

Rules for display of emotion in organizational settings are communicated in various ways. Organizations wanting to teach their employees to express emotional behaviors specific to that organization or to that job accomplish this through formal and informal training, reward and punishment, and selection and socialization (Hochschild, 1983; Jablin & Krone,1994; Staw, Sutton & Pelled, 1994; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989. Employees also learn display rules through self-observation and communicating with others (Kramer & Hess, 2002).

Formal training can indicate what our feelings should be. Rafaeli (1989) observed that convenience store clerks were specifically trained and then required to display positive emotions. Bill collectors were trained to communicate urgency at all times as well as specific rules for handling the variety of debtors they called (Sutton, 1991). At Disney World great efforts were taken to assure that ride operators express the

appropriate positive emotions to guests (Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989). A handbook advises:

> First, we practice a friendly smile at all times with our guests and among ourselves. Second, we use friendly, courteous phrases such as "May I help you." "Thank You," "Have a Nice Day." "Enjoy the rest of your stay" and many others are all part of our daily working vocabulary (Walt Disney Productions, 1982, p. 6, in Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987).

Research indicates that organizations select employees based on their ability during an interview to communicate according to emotion display rules for the organization or for their particular occupation. Disney ride operators were selected for particular rides based on their ability to display positive and appropriate emotions (Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989) and bill collectors were selected based on their ability to communicate the correct level of urgency and irritation in their voices (Sutton, 1991). A training manual for McDonald's urges store managers to select employees that impress customers as 'all-american boys' (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Jablin and Krone (1994) concluded that interviewees were more likely to be rated positively and receive second interviews if they displayed self-enhancing impression management techniques such as agreeing with and complimenting the interviewer.

Learning appropriate rules for emotional expressions continues throughout employees' careers through socialization, via rewards and punishments. Disney operators were secretly watched, and if caught failing to comply with display rules, were punished (Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989). Store clerks expressing appropriate positive emotions to mystery shoppers received $25 bonuses (Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988). Bill

collectors were secretly monitored on the telephone and received fewer raises and promotions if they failed to express emotions properly. Staw, Sutton, & Pelled (1994) reported that hospital and auto manufacturing employees who expressed positive emotions in their jobs received more social support, higher evaluations, and pay raises.

Emotional expression is learned through informal means as well. Hochschild (1983) described how social sanctions teach us feeling and display rules. This occurs when others react to what they think we are feeling with scolding, teasing, ridicule, or encouragement. Their reaction leads us to interpret our feeling as correct or incorrect. If we sense a gap between the actual and ideal feeling, we make an effort to change our feeling or expression. Similarly, Kramer and Hess (2002) concluded that employees learn less through direct instruction, rewards or punishment, than by observing the consequences of displaying emotions. The authors described how observations of positive or negative effects of emotional expression influence employees' future emotional behaviors. Rafaeli & Sutton (1987) described emotional transactions as a "sequence of communication between sender and receiver" (p. 28), with verbal and nonverbal cues from the receiver influencing the sender. In an ethnographic study of English pubs, Sandiford and Seymour (2000) found that colleagues and customers socialized employees regarding emotional expression. Reward or punishment in the form of tipping, complaining, public humiliation, bullying, or sarcasm discouraged or reinforced particular behaviors. Thus there are many informal techniques that enable an employee to learn about emotional expression at work.

Women's Learning and Emotions

The relationship between women's learning and emotions is one that should be addressed. The abundance of literature indicating that women learn through connection and relationships has important implications for emotional learning. Relationship and connection are critical to women's development, yet the expectation to suppress emotions in the workplace inhibits establishing intimate connections with others and developing awareness of feelings. If connection is discouraged, women's ability to learn and develop skills in emotional intelligence and emotion work will decrease. Thus, support for relationships in the workplace seems crucial for the opportunity for connected learning and development of emotional skills.

Chapter Summary

This literature review covered the areas of feminist theory, women in management, women's learning and development, organizational learning, emotion work, emotional intelligence, interpersonal psychodynamics, and learning about expressing emotions in the workplace.

This literature review has shown that people learn in many ways and that women may learn and develop in a fashion that differs distinctly from men. Whereas men learn and work in a linear, competitive fashion, women use connectedness and relationships to develop their knowledge, themselves, and their careers. Women are socialized to learn and behave in "feminine" ways, which may contradict what is necessary for success in the workplace. In addition, the psychodynamics literature indicates that unconscious and unresolved issues may affect relationships, particularly between men and women and that avoiding anxiety is an important motivator of behavior.

This literature review also demonstrates the importance of skillful and intelligent emotional behavior in the workplace. Although the interpretation of "intelligent" is subject to societal definitions of gender roles and gender appropriate behavior, emotional intelligence and emotion work both appear to be critical to one's career success. It is therefore important to examine the methods, whether formal or informal, by which women develop emotional intelligence and learn about emotion work in the workplace.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to understand what women managers learn about emotional expression in the workplace and how this knowledge is acquired. This chapter addresses how the study was conducted and provides the rationale for the selection of a qualitative research design and methodology in order to answer the following two research questions:

1. What do women managers learn about expressing emotions in the workplace?
2. How do women learn what emotions are appropriate to express during their work?

A qualitative study was undertaken in order to answer these questions. The study was exploratory in nature, with no hypotheses or predetermined outcomes being investigated. This research sought to discover new knowledge and information about women managers' learning about emotions in the workplace. The goal of this research was to contribute to our understanding of emotions in the workplace and women's learning in this arena. Qualitative research enabled me to explore learning about emotional expression in context. This chapter includes research design and methodology, theoretical framework, sample selection, data collection, data analysis, researcher bias, validity and reliability, limitations of the study, and participant profiles.

Research design and methodology

The four elements of research, a researcher's epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology, and methods, should inform each other (Crotty, 1998) and the selection of a study's design should emerge from its purpose (Merriam, 1998; Patton, 1990). The epistemology, the "way of understanding and explaining how we know what we know" (p.3), should inform the theoretical perspective, which should inform the methodology, which should inform the methods. Therefore, this chapter begins with an explanation of each of these elements as they pertain to this study.

Epistemology

The epistemology that informed this study was constructivism. This view holds that all knowledge is constructed out of interactions between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within a social context. Meanings are constructed and no object can be described in isolation from the person experiencing it. Knowledge is therefore contingent upon these interactions between human beings. In constructivism, meaning is not discovered, but constructed, therefore requiring an active consciousness. An object can therefore not be described in isolation from the conscious being experiencing it. It is not imposing meanings on objects, as is subjectivism, but rather an emergence of meaning from the interaction between human being and object (Crotty, 1998).

The constructivist viewpoint asserts the importance of context. To understand how human beings are "engaging with their world and making sense of it" (Crotty, 1998, p. 53) requires a historical and social perspective and an understanding that people are born into a world of meaning, a system of intelligibility and symbols (Crotty, 1998). We

each therefore view the world through cultural lenses. Culture is "a system of significant symbols" (Crotty, p. 53) that guide our behavior. It is defined as the "patterns of expectations, beliefs, values, ideas, and material objects that define the taken for granted way of life for a society or group" (Andersen, 1997, p. 382). Workplace culture, therefore, is "an organization's values, beliefs, and rules about how things get done" (Bierema, 1996, p. 145) and are those expectations and values specific to that particular workplace.

The relevance of the constructivist viewpoint to this research is that culture and interactions with others produce knowledge and meaning around emotions. How a manager learns to express emotions in the workplace was dependent upon what is learned through that particular workplace culture and its members.

An epistemology of constructivism was appropriate for this research because of the focus on construction of meaning, interactions between people, and context. This research examined how women learn and know within a work context. Information received from this research must be understood as situated within this social milieu. Work as a cultural context affects how women learn and construct meaning. Through their interactions with people and their cultural understandings, they construct meaning around emotions and their expression in the workplace.

Theoretical Framework

The epistemology of constructivism informs the theoretical framework, that of feminist theory. A conceptual framework specifies who and what will be studied and influences what dimensions are important to a researcher (Miles & Huberman, 1984). It describes the philosophical position behind the methodology and illuminates the

assumptions a researcher brings to his or her methodology (Crotty, 1998). In this study, a theoretical framework of feminist theory served as the foundation for utilizing a feminist perspective. A feminist perspective presumes the importance of gender in relationships and societal processes (Bierema & Cseh, 2000; Maguire, 1996; Patton, 2002; Reinharz 1992; Thompson, 1992; Worell, 1996). The focus of inquiry and the data analysis are framed by one's conceptual framework, which in this case was the feminist perspective. Analysis and findings were also interpreted and given meaning based on this perspective (Patton, 2002).

A conceptual framework allows a researcher to determine relationships, which relationships are meaningful, and what information should be collected and analyzed (Miles & Huberman, 1984). The following criteria from the *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, a journal for the advancement of the development of feminist theory, served to influence the perspective informing this research: challenge traditional or devaluing views of women, provide alternative views of women's lives, engage collaboratively with participants, examine sex and gender contrasts within a context, explore empowering alternatives for women and minorities, and contain implications for social change (Worell, 1990).

A feminist theoretical perspective provided a framework from which to design the study. In the following section, each of the above criteria is described in further detail.

Challenges traditional scientific inquiry and devaluing views of women

Researchers taking a feminist perspective reject the notion of an objective truth and an objective science. This research rectifies sexism and bias in research procedures, resulting in transforming disciplines and rethinking basic concepts. Alternative forms of

research and women's lives are considered valuable. Women are seen as participants that contribute to a collaborative research effort. Research with a feminist perspective focuses on the experiences of women and provides alternative views of women's lives. It is for and about women, legitimizing women as an area of study and affirming women's strengths and experiences (Bierema & Cseh 2000; Thompson, 1992; Worell, 1996).

Considers asymmetrical power relationships

Research with a feminist perspective empowers girls and women and recognizes power and status issues and influences. It considers differences in relation to power and opportunities and transfers responsibility from victim to perpetrator (Bierema & Cseh, 2000; Worell, 1996).

Examines sex and gender contrasts within a context

Research with a feminist perspective considers structural inequalities that affect women's lives by analyzing how social structure privileges some, denies others, and reproduces hegemonic and hierarchical differences (Bierema, Tisdell, Johnson-Bailey, & Gedro, 2002). A researcher must examine societal prescriptions for feminine behaviors and understand behavior as a cultural product (Crotty, 1998).

Contains implications for social change

By critically evaluating a phenomenon, research with a feminist perspective benefits women by documenting oppression, raising consciousness, and valuing alternative ways of being (Bierema, 2002). It uses knowledge for change and to contribute to women's liberation and emancipation. It reconceptualizes science, theories, and methods in order to encourage gender justice and social change (Bierema & Cseh, 2000; Patton, 2002; Worell, 1996).

Attends to language and the power to name

Women are constructed through language and representation (de Lauretis, 1984). de Lauretis (1984) describes how gendered subjectivity is constructed by our languages and our cultural practices. Research utilizing a feminist perspective must rename and restructure language so that language is inclusive of women and does not subjugate by gender. Similarly, naming, by talking about something, creates awareness of a hidden phenomenon.

Explores empowering alternatives for women and minorities

Research utilizing a feminist perspective improves situations for women and creates information for women, rather than about them (Bierema, 2002). Feminist research aims to emancipate and enhance their lives (Thompson, 1992). It acknowledges and values "women's ways of knowing" (Patton, 2002). The awareness of an alternative, or "women's way," is one consequence of feminist research. Social change will hopefully follow from the initial awareness. Both the awareness and the consequential social change each serve to empower women.

Just as the theoretical framework is informed by the epistemology, the methodology is informed by the theoretical framework.

Methodology

The constructivist epistemology and the feminist theoretical perspective inform the methodology. This research was designed as a qualitative, interpretive study of the process of women's learning about emotions. Miles and Huberman (1984) suggest that qualitative inquiry is an effective technique for finding explanations of processes. The authors describe the advantages of qualitative data by highlighting the following features:

it focuses on naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings, describing real, lived experiences; it is appropriate for understanding the meaning people place on the events, processes, and structures of their lives; its richness can reveal complexity and provide thick, vivid descriptions; and it is advantageous for discovery, exploration, development and testing of hypotheses.

According to Merriam (1998), the main philosophical assumption of qualitative research is that individuals construct their own reality by interacting with their social worlds. Therefore, people's realities are framed by their contextual, subjective experiences and their positionality. The qualitative researcher must strive for a depth of understanding of a participant's unique situation, context, and social interaction.

Qualitative research is concerned with the study of phenomena. There are no predetermined hypotheses, no treatments, and no manipulation of variables. Researchers observe, use intuition, and sense what occurs in a natural setting. Qualitative research emphasizes process rather than outcome and is naturalistic and descriptive. Qualitative research is concerned with a holistic perspective of the phenomenon under investigation and is sensitive to the social, historical, and temporal context of the study (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Merriam, 1990, Patton, 1990).

Qualitative research is concerned with how people negotiate meaning (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). It assumes that meaning is embedded in people's experiences that they have in the world (Merriam, 1998). Qualitative research seeks to understand the meaning of relationships and events, enabling the researcher to make sense of the world of the participants and how they interpret their experiences, rejecting the notion of an objective "truth" (Merriam, 1998). Rather than seek this objectivity, individuals are examined and

described from the individuals' perspectives, relying on the researcher as the primary instrument for collecting, analyzing, and interpreting data. Therefore in this study, I looked for the participants' personal understandings about emotional expression. I wanted the participants' perspectives on how they learn what emotions they can express and what it means to express emotions in the workplace as a woman in management in a manufacturing setting.

Methods

The methods are informed by, and follow logically from, the methodology (Crotty, 1998). The methods used in this study include the critical incident interview and constant comparative method of analysis. These are methods that complement an epistemology of constructivism, a theoretical framework of feminist research, and a methodology of qualitative research. Specifics of the methods are described throughout the remainder of this chapter.

Sample selection

In order to ensure the rich, thick description that qualitative research seeks, the sample selection for this study was purposeful and used snowball sampling in order to obtain participants. Purposeful selection begins with establishing criteria essential for selecting participants (Merriam, 1998) in order to locate participants who have experienced the phenomena and meet the criteria (Creswell, 1998). The snowball strategy of locating participants involves asking referral sources for other individuals who meet the study's eligibility criteria (Merriam, 1998). A purposeful sample enables the researcher to obtain information-rich cases. "Information-rich cases are those from

which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research" (Patton, 1990, p. 169).

Therefore, the criteria established for participants in this research was designed in order to locate information-rich cases. This criteria included a diverse group of participants selected based on their workplace, their current position, and their ability to remember in detail two incidents that occurred in the workplace that were significant to their learning about emotional expression in that setting. Therefore, the specific characteristics that guided participant selection include:

1. Workplace and position: Women who occupy a management level position in a manufacturing setting. I aimed for approximately half of the participants to be women in a manufacturing environment with human resources management responsibilities. The other half were women managers in a manufacturing organization who did not work in human resources.
2. Ability to recall events: Women who were able to recall with detail two incidents that were significant to their learning about appropriate emotional expression at work.
3. Diversity: Geographic and racial diversity were sought in the participants.

Participants working within a manufacturing setting were selected because this is a traditionally male setting. Therefore, emotional expression was expected to be more problematic for women and resulting in increased learning. Employees at the management level were selected as the basis for this research. It was assumed that since they had reached this level, they had learned appropriate and effective expression of emotions, and could therefore share some acquired knowledge.

To help ensure that the participants were able to contribute knowledge, they were located through snowball sampling, as well as searching in arenas where people meeting the criteria were likely to be found. These arenas included a human resources management association, Society for Human Resources Management (SHRM), an association devoted towards organizational change, entitled Organization Change Alliance (OCA), and a series of seminars entitled "Women in Management." To further facilitate sample selection, interview questions were provided prior to the interview so that potential participants would fully understand the nature of the research as well as assess their ability to recall such events. If potential participants met the criteria and agreed to be interviewed they were chosen as a participant in the study.

Diversity in respect to race and geographic background was sought because ways of learning and ideas about emotional expression were expected to differ around these dimensions. Subsequently, diversity in participants was expected to provide more rich information. Mayer and Salovey (1997) describe the need to consider culture and subculture in order to understand individual frameworks and perspectives. An example provided by Mayer and Salovey (1997) is the difference in Christian and Jewish anger expression. Whereas the Christian value is to turn away upon confrontation, the Jewish attitude is one of "employing anger to expose injustice and hence repair the world" (p. 21). Subcultures therefore, may have different definitions of appropriateness, and may teach different ways of dealing with emotional situations. Diversity in participants was sought in order to capture a variety of experiences.

Unfortunately one can see from the participant profile that the objective of racial diversity was not realized. The reason for this was that there was not a large group of

people who were willing to discuss their emotions and emotional occurrences who worked or lived within a reasonable driving distance from me (two hours or less). Therefore, it was necessary to interview anyone who fit the criteria who was willing to participate. This turned out to be all Caucasian women. All other diversity goals, however, were met.

Participant Descriptions

Participants included ten women managers, each in different companies. Five were human resources managers and five were managers in other areas such as operations. There was also diversity in age, education level, and geographic background. The age range spanned from twenty-seven through fifty-three. Education levels ranged from Bachelor's, Masters, to one with work toward a Ph.D. The span of experience in management ranged from two to twenty-six years. Geographic backgrounds of the participants covered four distinct areas including Northeast, Southeast, South, and Midwest. The participant profile table below illustrates the demographics of the participants.

Table 1: Profile of managers participating in the study

Pseudonym	Title	Age	Years in position	Total years in Mgt.	Education level	Geographic Background	Mar. Stat.	Industry
Ann	Plant Mgr.	47	2	20	BA	Midwest	M	Food
Anne	Mgr. Process Excellence	50	17	17	BA	Northeast	M	Consumer health care
Annette	Bus. Mgr.	36	4	7	MBA	Midwest	M	Power & automation technologies
Caitlin	HR Mgr.	49	1.5	22	BS	Military/ All over	M	Plastics
Erica	Director Marketing	53	4	22	Masters, some Ph.D work	South	M	Pharmaceuticals
Jane	HR Coordinator	27	2.5	2.5	Masters	Southeast	M	Packaging
Maria	Mgr. Process Engineering Network	45	2	18	BA	Southeast	S	Oil
Nicole	HR Mgr	53	2	26	MBA	Southeast	S	Wholesale industrial equipment
Stephanie	HR Mgr	44	12	20	BS	South	M	Pharmaceuticals
Virginia	Office Mgr/HR	36	2	12	BS	Southeast	S	Metal rollers

In order to provide some context and a greater sense of these women and their lives, a brief summary of each participant is presented here. The participants are presented in alphabetical order.

Ann

Ann is a 47 year-old Caucasian woman who is the first woman Plant Manager for a large *Fortune 500* company in the food industry based in the Midwest. Ann worked her way up to this position, working in different capacities and changing geographic locations in order to reach her current level. This plant is the largest one in the company, and as Ann described, is a "crown jewel plant" as well as one of the most technologically sophisticated plants in the company.

She described growing up with brothers and the lack of coddling in her house. She attributed her forthrightness, low emotionality, and ability to stay calm during stressful times to the environment in which she grew up. She described herself as able to take a cheap shot without returning it, and able to defuse it professionally. In addition she stated that she does not get hung up on personal interactions or projections.

Ann comes across as being extremely capable, confident, and able to fit in anywhere and with anybody. However, her description of herself is very humble and down to earth, as she seems to be unimpressed with the wonder of her own accomplishments. She described her reaction when offered her current position as differing from the overly confident manner, regardless of ability, that one would expect from a man. Even though she had 20 years in manufacturing and had worked for four *Fortune 500* companies, she felt and expressed fear when offered the position, admitting to her boss that "this scares the shit out of me" and that she felt like throwing up.

When asked to summarize what she learned about emotional expression from the incidents described, she stated that she learned to deny her instinct to cry. She stated that if she allows someone to see how he or she affected her, it causes her to lose power. In addition she described her ability to stay calm and reasonable and point out illogical statements, resulting in others inevitably apologizing and increasing her credibility.

Anne

Anne is a 50 year-old Caucasian woman who works as Manager of Process Excellence at a large *Fortune 500* company based in the Northeast. Anne has worked at this company throughout her entire managerial career and described being the youngest and first woman manager the company had ever had.

Anne considers herself to be a pioneer and is at the end of her career, as she is planning on retiring shortly. She feels the need to mentor women and share her learning experiences with the younger women managers. This interest was evident in the way she eagerly volunteered to participate in this research.

She described the changes in her organization's culture over the course of her 17 years there. Earlier in her career she believed that in order for women to be accepted into management they needed to act like men. She feels that women can be more open and free now. This includes expressing emotions, discussing feminine issues, or taking time off for childbirth without repercussions. When asked to summarize what she learned about emotional expression from the incidents described, she stated that she learned it can be acceptable to be emotional at work but that it is important to be careful about to whom you show your emotions.

Annette

Annette is a 36 year-old Caucasian woman who works as a Business Manager at a plant of a large, international company based in Switzerland. Annette described having been the only woman among men for years, from engineering school to manufacturing management. Annette was the first woman on staff at her company and discussed feeling like an outcast while sitting at a table full of men at meetings.

Although appearing quite strong and able to manage herself and others, she described herself as unable to control the flow of tears. She stated that tears come whether she is sad or angry and that expressing her feelings through tears has caused her great pain.

Annette described male managers as having difficulty with women's emotional expression and the rule that crying at work is unacceptable. She discussed how she can say something exactly like a man yet be evaluated more negatively than the man. She also described herself as having a very readable face where her emotions are evident. When asked to summarize what she learned about emotional expression from the incidents described, she indicated the need to watch her emotions when reacting because tears are interpreted as a weakness. In addition, she has learned to walk off by herself before addressing anyone in order to calm down first.

Caitlin

Caitlin is a 49 year-old Caucasian woman who works as a Human Resources Manager at a small company located in a small southern city. Caitlin has 22 years of management experience and lived in many places while growing up in a military family. She described the importance of not showing your emotions at work because of the

subsequent perception of weakness and loss of power. Specifically, she discussd the necessity to be a calm, rational peaceful person who could arbitrate and turn anything into a win-win situation.

Caitlin gives the impression of being a determined, strong-minded and extremely intuitive person, yet she describes having to have been told to stand up for herself and to avoid crying at work. She described having to continually navigate the cultural expectations in her workplace, sometimes being expected to act like a man and sometimes like a woman. It is important to her that everybody is not treated equally, and that individual needs and personalities are taken into consideration in order to work with each person in the most effective manner.

In addition, Caitlin argued that emotional expression is often beneficial when it is appropriate. It may make others feel better to see her expressing an emotion which they are unable to express or it may level the playing field when a man is crying to see her cry with him. In summarizing what she learned about emotional expression from the incidents described, she indicated the importance of not showing any of her emotions as well as the importance of context. In certain situations, emotional expression may be accepatable and helpful.

Erica

Erica is the Director of Marketing for a large manufacturing company based in Germany. She works in an industry where men are the majority. She grew up in the south of the United States and appears as someone who is composed, prepared, and calm. She was the most highly educated of all the participants, having completed her masters degree as well as coursework towards a Ph.D.

Erica described the importance of being true to oneself, however, simultaneously indicated that showing emotions is a weakness and that a woman must sometimes override emotions and think with her head, not her feelings. She discussed the importance of being strong in a business situation, and directing her feelings instead of allowing her feelings to direct her.

She attributed her ability to put her emotions aside to her practice of separating her business life from her personal life. In other words, she finds it easier to maintain control over her emotions when it is a business issue. To help her separate business and personal issues, she keeps "people more at an arms length or distance" and avoids getting close to them, often assuming that they have hidden political agendas.

In summarizing what she learned about emotional expression from the incidents described, she described the need to be prepared, to maintain calmness, "and don't ever let them see you sweat."

Jane

Jane works as the Human Resources Coordinator at one of two plants for a small company based in the southeastern United States. Jane, at 27, was the youngest of all the participants and had been in her position, her first management position, for two years.

Jane appeared as an extremely calm, methodical and composed person. She described the importance in a human resources position of being "unsympathetic." She expressed the need to appear impartial so as to avoid the appearance of favoring one employee over another. She discussed her realization that people will not like her because of her position and the resulting lack of authenticity brought about by denying her feelings.

In summarizing her learning, Jane indicated the need to be impartial, treat everyone the same, disregard people's opinions about you, and to do things you may not agree with.

Maria

Maria, a 45 year-old Caucasian woman, is the Manager of Process Engineering for a large, international company based in the United Kingdom. Maria grew up in the Southeast United States and has always been in the minority mainly working with men. She discussed learning about norms in a male work environment, one of which is that confrontation is normal.

Maria attributed some of her attitudes toward emotional expression and working with men to her upbringing. She was raised by a mother who also worked as an engineer and primarily with men. She described her mother having discussed stress in a positive way and never speaking in terms of being victimized.

Maria's opinions about emotional expression were strikingly different than those of the other participants. She described learning that men need an open conflict to understand where boundaries lie. Confrontations establish what is appropriate behavior and what is not, and therefore she eagerly embraces confrontation as a way to work out differences. Illustrating her opinion, she stated, "I just went off on the guy and it was wonderful." Maria stated that whenever she has expressed emotion at work it had always worked out with a positive outcome. In sum, Maria learned continued confidence in the accuracy and appropriateness of her emotions and emotional expressions.

Nicole

Nicole is a 53 year-old Human Resources Manager at a manufacturing company in a small city located in the Southeastern United States. She was the first woman in labor relations in the company. She described herself as a tomboy, having grown up playing with all the boys in her neighborhood and preferring games traditionally played by boys rather than those of girls. She always viewed men and women as equal and saw no differences between her mother and father.

Nicole described her shock during her first job after college in 1972, when as the only professional woman at a meeting with men at similar levels, they turned to her expecting her to get them all coffee. Her reaction was an emotional one, and she realized then the extent of differences in gender roles and how it might affect behavioral expectations at work.

Nicole was the only woman manager for years, and described learning the following: Men are uncomfortable when women display emotions, if you get emotional you lose all your ground, a woman has to control her emotions because if she does not she will be perceived as volatile, weak, or hysterical. In addition, Nicole stated that she learned quickly that in this unionized male-chauvinistic world it was important to appear fair and sympathetic without appearing motherly, nurturing, upset, or weak.

Stephanie

Stephanie is a 44 year-old Caucasian woman working as a Human Resources Manager for a subsidiary of a large, *Fortune 500* company. The company is based in Northeastern United States but the subsidiary and her plant are located in a small

Southeastern city. Stephanie described growing up as a tomboy and as the only female in her household. She stated that she interacts better with men than with women.

Stephanie comes across as confident, capable and assertive yet described having been told to be more assertive at work. She tells of learning that "you've just got to be out there and in people's face or they don't consider you to be competent no matter what technical skills you have." She stated that while men advance in their careers through establishing relationships, the women who have moved forward are the ones that are more forceful and strongly assertive in addition to being technically competent.

Stephanie stated that the appropriateness and effectiveness of emotional expression depends upon the person with whom you are interacting and that this is learned by trial and error with each individual. However, she labeled the importance of emotional neutrality in human resources as the need to be "The Rock of Gibraltar."

She described women who grew up in the Southern United States as being more nurturing, as opposed to women from other parts of the country and from Europe who appear more professional in demeanor. She asserted that the nurturing women are limiting themselves in their career progression. Stephanie sums up her learning by stating the need to be forceful and aggressive appropriately, as determined by the particular context.

Virginia

Virginia is a 36 year-old woman working at a plant of a small Southeastern U.S.-based company. Her position mainly consists of human resources duties, however, her job title is Office Manager. Virginia described having learned about emotional expression primarily through observing other female employees. She noted the difficult

position women managers were in because if they are not forceful nobody listens but if they are forceful and assertive they are perceived negatively.

Virginia also described having learned that emotional expression will result in a loss of power and lower performance reviews. She believed that her emotional expression was perceived as a lack of maturity. Virginia is unhappy in her present position because she feels it lacks advancement opportunity and is looking for a new position.

Although the number of managers in this research study was ten, the unit of analysis in this study was the critical incident. Each manager was asked to describe in depth at least two critical incidents. However, many provided more than two. The total number of critical incidents was forty-two (42). Each of these examples given by the participants occurred with a man. Table 2 presents the list of these critical incidents organized according to the manager who provided them.

Table 2: List of Critical Incidents by Manager

Manager	**Critical Incident**
Ann	1. Male manager blowing up at her 2. Her job offer 3. Termination of employee 4. Counseling employee 5. Disciplining students 6. Man cutting line at convenient store 7. Woman driver
Anne	1. Termination of employee 2. The project 3. Anger with boss
Annette	1. The reorganization 2. Performance evaluation 3. The promotion
Caitlin	1. Sergeant Major's feedback 2. Truck drivers' crying
Erica	1. Boss' negativity regarding product 2. Computer purchase disapproval

	3. Co-worker's jealousy 4. Computer with personal emails
Jane	1. Disciplining employee 2. Plant manager's orders 3. Showing emotions in sexual harassment investigation 4. Crying in bathroom
Maria	1. Co-worker harassment 2. Difficult co-worker 3. Major layoff 4. Handling problem project 5. Joking with angry employee
Nicole	1. Get the coffee 2. Watch the language in front of the woman 3. Reacting to sexual harassment investigation 4. Accusation of bias in sexual harassment investigation 5. Quick grievance meeting 6. Emotional grievance meeting 7. Upset employee
Stephanie	1. Assertiveness feedback from boss 2. Poker face boss 3. Candid feedback meeting
Virginia	1. Forceful plant superintendent 2. Rolling eyes in meeting 3. Termination of employee 4. Performance review

Data Collection

In qualitative research, data are collected in three ways: (1) in-depth, open ended interviews, (2) observations, and (3) written documents (Patton, 1990). According to Patton (1990), qualitative data includes:

> direct quotations from people about their experiences, opinions, feelings, and knowledge . . . detailed descriptions of people's activities, behaviors, and actions . . . excerpts, quotations, or entire passages from . . . records, memoranda and correspondence, official publications and reports (p. 10).

To collect data relevant to the research questions, semi-structured interviews were the primary method of data collection in this study. Interviews were effective because they allowed the researcher to gather in-depth information and explore the participant's world (Merriam & Simpson, 1984). Interviewing allowed me to learn more about a phenomenon that was not directly observable. Using a semi-structured interview, some open-ended questions were prepared so that the same information was obtained from all participants. However, this format provided a framework from which I could remain flexible, probe further in particular areas as needed, and be responsive to each participant (Merriam, 1998; Patton, 1990).

Critical incidents

Data were collected in the form of critical incidents. The critical incident technique was developed by Flanagan (1954) for use in the United States Air Forces during World War II. The technique was used to gather specific incidents of effective or ineffective behavior among fighter pilots. Flanagan described the critical incident technique as " a set of procedures for gathering important facts concerning behavior in defined situations" (p. 335).

Flanagan defined directly observable incidents as "any observable human activity that is sufficiently complete in itself to permit inferences and predictions to be made about the person performing the act" (p. 327) and having a clear purpose and consequences. The incidents can however, be reported from memory. Angelides (2001) asserts that major events only become identified as critical after the event, upon reflection, which makes this approach particularly suited to a study of learning. Consequently, we can only examine those major incidents later by interviewing the

participants. Since this research sought to understand managerial behavior in defined situations, the critical incident technique was appropriate.

Boyatzis (1998) describes this variation of the critical incident technique as storytelling and asserts that it can be a valuable source of qualitative information. Ellinger and Watkins (1998) also offer a variation on the traditional form of the critical incident technique as presented by Flanagan. Whereas Flanagan's (1954) version approached research from a positivist framework, emphasizing objectivity, the critical incident technique can also be successfully used from a constructivist framework (Ellinger & Watkins, 1998). The constructivist approach aims to understand experiences from the point of view of the participant and takes context into account. Thus Ellinger and Watkins propose the use of the critical incident technique as a method which not only allows for the counting of incidents, but also enables the researcher "to develop rich narratives of critical incidents that capture both context and meaning from the perspective of the respondents" (p. 288).

This research followed guidelines Flanagan (1954) advised regarding essential steps to increase the value of the critical incidents. The author outlined five main steps that form the procedures associated with this technique. These steps include: 1) establishing the general aims of the activity, 2) developing explicit plans and specifications for data collection, 3) collecting the data, 4) analyzing the data, and 5) interpreting and reporting the data and findings (Flanagan, 1954). Each of these steps is further discussed below.

The first step, establishing the general aims of the activity, was described by Flanagan (1954) as a basic necessary condition - a functional description of the general

aims of the activity. This refers to the precise specification of the objectives and function of the critical incident as well as what is and is not necessary to do. To accomplish this first step in this study I established the objectives and presented each participant with them prior to the interview (refer to appendix).

The second step in the critical incident process is the development of specifications or precise instructions. These precise instructions were developed prior to conducting the research and were described for the reader and presented to the participant. These instructions included the information about critical incidents and what questions they were to be asked. The participants were provided this along with general information about the study and its objectives in order to help the participant focus on incidents that were critical to their learning about emotions in the workplace.

Colllecting the data is the third step described by Flanagan (1954). He discusses the importance of procedural decisions, trying out questions, maintaining anonymity, and applying criteria to the incidents. In addition, the questions must refer to the general aim of the activity. This research met this step because the questions were developed in order to meet the objective and were tested and improved upon through multiple practice interviews. This helps to ensure that criteria were satisfied.

The fourth and fifth steps in this process are analyzing and interpreting the data. The purpose of the fourth step is to summarize and describe the data in order "to increase its usefulness while sacrificing as little as possible of their comprehensiveness, specificity, and validity" (p. 344). The fifth step is to interpret and report data. To avoid problems in the last two steps Flanagan (1954) describes the necessity of identifying a framework, selecting the level of specificity, and studying each step to account for biases.

In this study I accomplished this by developing a theoretical framework, as discussed in Chapter 1, discussing level of specificity in Chapter 3, and accounting for biases, as discussed in Chapter 3.

In order to help me to use the critical incident technique to understand the experiences from the participant's point of view, the interviews were conversations where the participants were asked to describe key examples and times when they recall having a strong emotional reaction in the workplace. They were asked to describe in detail the context, behavior, effect of behavior, and learning that resulted from this incident.

The semi-structured critical incident interview was guided by the following question: Recall two or three critical incidents that occurred at work which were critical to your learning about emotional expression in the workplace. These incidents should be ones that you believe were instrumental in shaping your understanding of what is and is not appropriate emotional expression in the workplace.

The participants were then asked to describe the following for each incident: What happened? What or who triggered your reaction? How did you actually feel and what did you express? What did you learn from this experience about emotions and work? Why did you select these incidents to discuss? In what ways did these incidents affect your work performance? Can you give me an example of an incident where you applied your learning?

In addition the participants were asked the following question: Do you recall ever being given messages about what is appropriate expression of emotions in the workplace? If so, please describe.

Based on this information provided, ten semi-structured interviews were conducted. Interviews averaged fifty to sixty minutes in duration and continued until ten interviews were completed, at which point saturation was reached; little information was found (Creswell, 1998). Most interviews were conducted in the participant's office, except for two in a university office, and one in a participant's house. Geographically, all of the interviews took place in Georgia in varying locations from urban to rural. To facilitate discussion of emotional incidents, all interviews were conducted face to face for a more personal atmosphere. Interviews were conducted between June, 2002 and September, 2002.

During the interviews, a tape recorder was used to record the interviews. The interviews were then transcribed using a word-processing program and were formatted with line numbers. Field notes and a research journal were kept for the purpose of recording additional information that was both descriptive and reflective (Bogden & Biklen, 1988). This information included such things as non-verbal cues, personal observations, characteristics of the participant and setting, and post-interview reflections. These tools helped to serve as an audit trail to add reliability to the study.

The next section, data analysis, describes the last step in the critical incident technique, where rich narratives enabled me to look at themes among the beliefs and behaviors of the participants.

Data analysis

The constant comparative method of data analysis was used to analyze the data of this study. Analysis of the interviews occured throughout the data collection process in order to allow me to reflect on the interviewing process and to enable the data collection

and analysis to influence each other (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Data analysis is "the process of making sense out of one's data" (Merriam, 1998, p. 178) by searching and arranging notes, transcripts, and other materials, working with data, organizing and synthesizing it, searching for patterns, and deciding what is important (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982).

In qualitative research, interpretation yields knowledge that illuminates and facilitates understanding (Patton, 1990). Qualitative interpretation begins with revealing meanings. The researcher asks questions of the data such as, "What does this mean?" "What does this tell me about the nature of the phenomenon?" These questions require the researcher to go back and forth between the data and his or her perspective and understandings in order to make sense of the data (Patton, 2002). Similarly, Strauss & Corbin (1998) describe data analysis as the interplay between researcher and data.

Data analysis of these critical incidents involved continual examination of the data and sorting of the critical incidents into categories and subcategories (Cseh, 1998; Flanagan, 1954). Themes began to emerge after only one interview. Then with each subsequent interview, findings continued to emerge. The process of the constant comparative method entailed organizing and getting a sense of the data (Patton, 1990).

After the data were organized, formal analysis began. The transcripts were read repeatedly in order to identify recurring patterns and incidents (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Patton, 1990). After an initial reading of each transcript, I looked for units of meaning in order to code the data and indicate in one or two words the essence of the unit of meaning (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). I looked for recurrent issues and themes and noted them first on the transcript and then on a separate piece of paper. On this separate paper I

recorded themes along with accompanying location of the data supporting the theme. This included the particular transcript and line number. These themes were constantly compared with those from other interview transcripts. Thus the next step entailed continually comparing the stories and experiences shared by one participant with that of another. The reading and comparing processes delineate patterns or incidents which then become the basis for categories (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

After a preliminary group of categories was established, I reviewed the groupings so that the items in each category did not overlap with other categories. Two tables were created, one for each research question, incorporating themes that addressed that particular research question. Subsequently, themes within tables were compared in order to combine any overlapping themes. After themes and categories were delineated, I theorized about ideas and concepts and generated logical explanations (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This ongoing data analysis concluded when the same patterns or information emerged and the categories reflected the purpose of the study (Merriam, 1998).

In this research, analysis involved examining gendered behavior at work. Emotional expression was understood as a reflection of the participant's construction of gender and acting out of workplace agendas. This research determined the nature of established practices that serve to further entrench gender in the manufacturing culture. Analysis examined the details of the hidden agendas around emotional expression and the established practices with emotions that reproduce gender roles. This allowed for a reconstruction of our society's conceptualization of women and emotional expression.

Reliability and Validity

Issues of reliability and validity are important research considerations. They allow the reader to trust research results and indicate strict rigorous research standards. Reliability refers to the extent to which research findings can be replicated. Internal validity questions how much research findings match reality and external validity addresses the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations (Merriam, 1998).

Regardless of the type of research, assessing the reliability and validity involves examining the component parts of the research, through careful attention to a study's conceptualization, data collection, analysis, interpretation, and presentation of findings. How one ensures reliability and validity in qualitative research differs from that of quantitative (Merriam, 1998). For example, if obtaining understanding of a phenomenon is the objective, as is the case with qualitative research, the criteria for evaluating reliability and validity will differ from a quantitative study in which the goal is to discover a law or test a hypothesis.

Expanding on the differences between qualitative and quantitative criteria for reliability and validity, Wolcott (1994) argues that considering validity in qualitative research is absurd. Qualitative research differs in philosophy from the scientific paradigm, and, instead of validity, he seeks "something else, a quality that points more to identifying critical elements and wringing plausible interpretations from them, something one can pursue without becoming obsessed with finding the right or ultimate answer, the correct version, the Truth" (p. 366-367). What Wolcott seeks is understanding.

Merriam (1998) states that assessing the gap between collected data and reality is an inappropriate determinant of validity for qualitative research because the assumption "underlying qualitative research is that reality is holistic, multidimensional, and ever-changing" (p. 202). Thus, the understandings sought are individuals' constructions of reality. Therefore, the validity rests on the researcher's demonstration that he or she represented the participants' constructions of reality effectively. Since the qualitative researcher is immersed in the participant's world, the proximity of the researcher to the participant's reality increases the internal validity of the research. In this study, I tried to increase the validity by sharing tentative themes and findings with the participants in order to obtain feedback. This was intended to help ensure that I was representing their world accurately. I sent these themes, along with explanations, to five of the participants that I thought would be interested in examining them and that would provide feedback. However, none of the participants provided any feedback.

Both external validity and reliability are problematic in the social sciences because people think about them in terms of an experimental study. In an experiment, generalizability can be ensured because the same design and conditions can be repeated. Reliability is based on the assumption that there is a single reality. However, in qualitative research, reproducing findings and applying them to other situations is not the objective. Small samples are used precisely because the researcher seeks an in-depth understanding of the particular individuals, rather than what is true of multiple people (Merriam, 1998).

Guba and Lincoln (1994) argue that the idea of generalizability should be replaced with one of fittingness. They explain that human behavior is never context-free

and we should therefore "think not in terms of generalization, but of working hypotheses that fit more or less well into a context other than the one in which they were derived" (p. 118). These hypotheses can only be understood within the particular originating context. Similarly, Merriam (1998) suggests that instead of examining the potential for reproducing results, one should question the consistency of the results with the data collected.

In order to increase the fitness of the study, or the validity and reliability, Merriam (1998) makes several recommendations for researchers. First, it is important to explain one's assumptions, biases, and theoretical orientation behind the study. Second, the researcher should present the basis for the selection of the participants. Third, the social context from which data were collected should be described. Fourth, the researcher should use triangulation. This entails the use of multiple methods and multiple sources of data collection and analysis. Fifth, member checking involves taking data and interpretations back to the participant to examine their plausibility. In addition, the use of an audit trail describing in detail how data were collected, how categories were derived, and how decisions were made, will enhance the validity and reliability of the study.

All of these strategies were used in this research. Researcher assumptions, biases, and orientations were presented earlier in this chapter. The second recommendation, presenting the basis for selecting participants, is met in the sample selection section. Third, after the data were collected, a participant profile was developed and included in this chapter. This profile describes the participants, their organizations, and their differing demographics.

In order to achieve triangulation each participant was asked to present two or three incidents. In addition, an audit trail was maintained throughout the data collection detailing research methods in order to increase reliability (Angelides, 2001; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This included maintaining detailed notes of the process and what was accomplished. In addition, field notes and a research journal were kept for the purpose of recording additional information that was both descriptive and reflective (Bogden & Biklen, 1988). This information included such things as non-verbal cues, personal observations, characteristics of the participant and setting, and my post-interview reflections. These tools helped to serve as an audit trail to add reliability to the study.

Member checking occurred twice. In the first instance each participant was given the opportunity to review the transcribed data in order to ensure accuracy. In the second member check participants were shown tentative themes and categories in order for the researcher to obtain feedback

The trustworthiness of this study, or the validity and reliability, was enhanced by following the above strategies. By employing the recommendations above I strived to ensure that my findings were congruent with reality, that the findings captured what was really there, and that I observed what I had intended.

Methodological limitations and researcher bias

Inherent in the strengths of qualitative research are some limitations. Although the methodology is ideal for in-depth understanding of the lives and realities of participants, it lacks generalizability in the traditional sense since it is limited to a particular time and place and particular circumstances (Wolcott, 1990). Its bounded generalizability, sample selection method and small sample size, and data collection

methods each contribute to the potential of the study's findings to be applied beyond the participants involved.

In addition, there are limitations resulting from researcher bias. Researcher bias is a concern because in a qualitative study the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection and interpretation. This places great power in the hands of the researcher to approach and interpret data from his or her framework. Merriam (1998) describes the limitation of the investigator as "being human, that is, mistakes are made, opportunities are missed, personal biases interfere"(p. 20). Similarly, Bogden and Biklen (1998) suggest that the researcher acknowledge the limitations of controlling for personal bias. The authors describe the difficulty of separating one's research from one's beliefs, values, and experiences. Therefore the researcher must seek out his or her own subjectivities throughout the entire research process and be aware of feelings, reactions, and thoughts and how they might influence the process (Peshkin, 1988).

A way this process was encouraged was to articulate these subjectivities at the start of the research. This assisted me in the effort to increase my awareness of my beliefs so that I monitored their effects on me throughout the duration of the research process. This enabled me to present the participant's viewpoints as accurately as possible. In this vein, I explicitly presented my positionality, subjectivities, values, beliefs, and thoughts regarding the derivation of my personal framework.

My subjective view of the world is a result of a combination of influences. Whereas many people consider race, class, and sexuality the main factors influencing one's perspective, I believe that religion and ethnic background play a key role as well. In many respects, when people look at me and think they see a mainstreamed, privileged,

middle class, white heterosexual woman, with concordant values, they are partly correct. However, religious and/or ethnic background plays an important role in inculcating values to a person. Because I was raised Jewish in a Christian country, and had one parent that was born in another country, my subjectivities are somewhat representative of an insider's view while also indicative of an outsider's view.

I believe that our culture has put too much emphasis on the rational, discrediting the emotional as bad or irrational. I feel that emotions are natural, continuous, acceptable, and should not be ignored. I generally value all traits or ways of being that occur naturally more so than those that are produced or manufactured, regardless of the purpose. I think there is something to be learned from our emotions, for they tell us how we truly feel, and may prove helpful in any setting, including that of the workplace.

I believe that emotional expression is both biological and learned, and that it is therefore changeable and can be improved upon. Cultural values and upbringing greatly influence one's values and practices around emotions and their expression. My values stem from ethnic and geographical cultures that have encouraged my belief in the natural expression of emotions. This may be very different from what others have been taught, and will certainly influence me as the researcher. Identifying and describing my perspective will help me monitor my thoughts, responses, and feelings to prevent contamination of the study's findings.

In addition, I also worked in the capacity of a human resources manager within the manufacturing environment. I am aware of the emotional requirements and the context of working in a position such as this one. This insider status may facilitate understanding of participants viewpoints, yet may also prove limiting in data collection

and analysis. Acknowledgement of this potential bias will help to control for any limitations it may provoke. Throughout the duration of this research it was important to carefully attend to my thoughts, feelings, and reactions in order to prevent contamination of the study's findings.

Chapter Summary

This study used a qualitative research design in order to explore how women managers learn about expressing emotions in the workplace. Ten interviews were conducted until the point of saturation. Using semi-structured interviews, I asked women to recall incidents in the workplace that were critical to their learning about emotional expression.

Participants were recruited from referrals and from appropriate venues including professional associations and meetings. Self-recruiting and the snowball method both contributed to locating participants who fit the criteria of women managers in manufacturing.

Interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. The data were analyzed using the constant comparative method in order to determine categories, themes and meanings. After the analysis, findings were presented to participants and peers for purposes of reliability and validity. Findings will be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to understand what women managers learn about emotional expression in the workplace and how this knowledge is gained. The research questions included the following:

1. What do women managers learn about expressing emotions in the workplace?
2. How do women learn what emotions are appropriate to express during their work?

This chapter presents the findings of the study in two sections. The first section addresses the first research question and describes what women managers learn about expressing emotions in the workplace. The second section addresses the second research question 1.

The findings are separated by research question because research question one addresses the content learned whereas research question two is about the process the participants used to learn the content. Thus the intent of separating the findings by research question is to present the findings more clearly and ensure the reader does not get entangled in the data.

What women have learned about emotional expression in the manufacturing workplace

Table 3 delineates overall themes that represent the data addressing what women learn about emotional expression (research question one). The table also provides a brief explanation and example for each theme. What women learn about emotional expression includes:

1. The necessity of maintaining a "poker face" or appearing emotionally neutral.
2. The use of emotions as a strategy of influence.
3. The double-bind that women are faced with from the simultaneous expectations that they behave according to gender roles yet also act like men.
4. The importance of authenticity in emotional expression.
5. The importance of the situation for determining appropriate emotional expression.

Table 3:What women have learned about emotional expression in the workplace

Research question 1: What is learned about expressing emotions in the workplace?	
Themes	*Explanation and Examples*
1. Necessity of "poker face"	• Emotions must not be evident on one's face • Human resource employees require more "poker face" than non-HR
2. Emotion as strategy of Influence	• To control emotions maintains credibility/authority, while to display emotions causes one to lose authority • In some cases, the loudest yeller wins
3. Double-bind	• Women are in a catch-22, needing to be both aggressive, like a man, but not too aggressive, because of being a woman. • If perceived as too aggressive they receive the label "bitch."
4. Importance of authenticity	• To express emotions different from their true emotion feels inauthentic • Some participants feel badly about this discrepancy and insist on remaining authentic.
5. Situational dependence	• The appropriateness of emotional expression depends on the particular situation as well as the person involved.

Necessity of "poker face"

Many of the participants expressed the importance of neutrality in emotions, or maintaining a "poker face." Their workplace cultures expected that employees show no evidence of emotion on their faces at any time. It apparently did not matter if the emotions were negative or positive, although this was more true for negative emotions.

There seemed to be an unquestioned understanding that a stoic expression was the appropriate one while at work and that it carried a connotation of a more professional appearance than did any expression of emotions. This neutral facial expression was a surface requirement, meaning that only facial neutrality was expected regardless of true inner feelings.

This theme of emotional neutrality or "poker face" was particularly important for those working in the human resources field. Their emotion work was a need to maintain a poker face for purposes of liability rather than organizational culture or display rules. For example, they were concerned that if they showed emotions during a sexual harassment investigation they would not appear impartial, thus representing the organization as favoring one employee over another. This HR phenomenon is explained in the section "job role" (under research question 2) because they learned this through their job role.

When answering a question about the acceptability of expressing emotion in her position, Stephanie described the importance of a stoic facial expression in order to work with multiple employees:

> As far as displaying my own emotions, I don't think that's good for an HR professional. But as far as being compassionate and concerned and convening an emotional link with whomever you are working with on any subject, that is critical. So it's like you have to bottle everything up that you are sitting on. You have to be the Rock of Gibraltar.

Virginia described being in a meeting and getting "a dressing down" by a manager and having a hard time avoiding crying. She rolled her eyes and told of having a "readable face," the related feedback she received from a colleague, and the subsequent improvement in performance reviews.

> I have a face, that unless I'm very careful, you can read what's going through my mind. I have very bad habits of rolling eyes and that kind of thing, which is kind of dangerous to do in a meeting. . . I was trying very hard not to cry and was probably making horrible faces. After it was all over, one of the girls that worked with me took me aside and she said, "You know, it's only going to hurt you if you show this on your face" . . . So after that I really made a concentrated effort to keep a blank face as much as possible and not register what was going on inside. . . And I seem to have gotten, once I started doing that, not showing any kind of overt emotion, I got better reviews.

Caitlin discussed how she "was showing what was going on at home at work," for example, bursting into tears when someone was talking to her. In her comments she suggested that stoicism was equivalent to professionalism: "I think people expect a certain professionalism, or a certain stoic appearance that implies that you are professional and implies that you are focusing on what you are supposed to be focusing on at work."

Annette, when discussing what she sees as the rules of emotion in her workplace, refers to a requirement of a non-emotional state regardless of the emotions:

> Emotional rules. It is not acceptable for a female to cry in the workplace. Women tend to show more emotions than men, on the good things just as much. . . I always want to celebrate. . .they say, "why"? . . Whether I'm happy, sad, angry, or whatever, you can read it in my face. You're not supposed to be readable at work.

In sum, many participants described the belief that the appropriate expression of emotions in manufacturing is a lack of emotion. This "poker face" implies that one is professional, serious, and a hard worker. This theme appeared more commonly in those participants working within human resources because of the need for them to appear neutral and impartial toward employees. The next theme is a subtheme of "poker face."

Male avoidance of female emotional expression

A subtheme of the need for a "poker face" is that male supervisors in this study not only did not want to see emotional expression, but that it also made them so uncomfortable that they refused to address it. Participants mentioned that male managers seemed particularly uncomfortable with crying and that they "send crying females to HR to deal with."

Caitlin discussed male managers' unwllingness to deal with emotions, stating that when an employee gets emotional a male manager will bring the employee to HR. She described this reaction male managers have to emotional expression:

> If an employee, male or female, starts getting emotional, the first thing a male manager will do is hustle them to HR – "just get them away from me." . . . I think a lot of the males still in management are very uncomfortable around emotions. They're certainly not

> going to show theirs so we don't want any. So it's just if there is an emotional issue, make it go away so I don't have to deal with it. It may be fire the person, get them to HR, it's just get them away from me.

Annette was telling the story of her promotion and how she began to cry out of happiness. She described being the only female in a manufacturing environment and how the men are uncomfortable with any display of emotion:

> So it is an old manufacturing facility, and being a female, sitting at the table with a group of men, you're kind of the outcast. . . There's a lot of men, like my boss, when he saw the tears coming down my eyes after he told me about this change. They don't wanna deal with emotion. They want to close the book and move on. "Okay, I see you're upset. Okay this is the way it's gonna be" and they get up and leave. Not, "oh I see you're upset, here's some Kleenex. I'll be back". . . And I think that the more and more women are in the workplace, that they have a harder time dealing with women's emotions.

Virginia was describing how her performance appraisals had improved. She attributed this to her active attempt to be less emotional because her boss was uncomfortable with emotion: "I think emotionality, especially in a woman, makes them feel uncomfortable. They want to keep it under the table. Go away, I don't want to hear about it."

Nicole suggested that women are better able to deal with emotions than are men and that male managers ask her, as the Human Resources Manager, for advice on dealing with emotions.

> Usually guys are very embarrassed in dealing with women managers in particular. A lot of times when I have to coach a manager to deal with a performance problem with a woman, whatever that performance problem is, invariably, one of the things he'll say is, "what am I going to do if she starts crying, what am I going to do if she starts yelling at me"?

This sub-theme illustrates a phenomenon described by this study's participants of the perceived discomfort experienced by male managers towards the emotional expression of female employees. Male managers did not want to acknowledge that their female employees have emotions and did not know how to react when they saw emotions such as crying. As in "poker face," the men preferred that the women did not display any emotion.

Another interesting finding is that all of the critical incidents the participants provided were examples of them engaging with men. In addition, most of the critical incidents involved negative emotions. I am noting this observation under the poker face theme because it may relate to men's expectations of women's emotional expression. Further discussion of this observation is in the conclusions. The next theme is the use of emotion as a strategy of influence.

Emotion as a strategy of influence

Many of the participants discussed emotional expression in terms of power dynamics in a work relationship. Some described how men express emotions as a way to increase power and others discussed their loss of power as a result of expressing emotions in their workplaces. This latter theme differs from that of poker face because the women are suggesting not that neutrality of emotions is professional, as in the "poker face" theme, but that expression of emotions such as crying causes them to lose power.

Ann told of a situation where a man was screaming at her because he thought a truck had not been unloaded properly. He was making her feel threatened and "blowing up" at her to the point where she was afraid he might hit her. She thought he was trying to yell loudly enough that it would cause her to back down and unload the truck the way he wanted it done. She knew that if she expressed her true emotions at that moment that it would result in a loss of power in that relationship:

> I was shocked. I was hurt. I was embarrassed. I was scared. I wanted to cry but I knew if I did that I lost. There was a certain stubbornness and pride that I will not let you see me cry. I will not allow that because that would be like giving you a victory that I don't feel like giving you right now. So even though I was feeling it all on the inside I made sure I wasn't showing it on the outside because I didn't want to give him the satisfaction. I think in the back of my head I was thinking . . . if I cried that I would lose status and power. . . so what he saw was someone who was staying very calm and reasonable. . . It got me some

> credibility from him when he saw that he just couldn't break me by yelling at me.

Caitlin was referring to showing her emotions at work because of issues at home and suggested that it hurt her credibility. She described the need for women to avoid emotional expression because men will attempt to use women's expression of emotion against women, while men's emotional expression can be used to gain men power:

> Men in the workplace very much will try and get females to show emotion, they're more powerful, it's a power play, and we are guilty of allowing it to perpetuate. Because if I cried out of anger and somebody saw me do it, I would allow them to think that they have gained some power because I would feel that I had demeaned myself. Well bull, what's worse about crying out of anger than putting a fist through a wall, but boy that's clever!

Nicole described her difficulty in maintaining her composure during a sexual harrassment investigation and the importance of not losing power by showing emotions in just such a situation:

> And I would get so upset . . . If you get emotional or if you get upset, you lose all your ground. . . I learned very quickly there that at any time as a woman that if I . . . was not just totally blank in my expression that I would not get the respect from the person.

Virginia also saw the expression of emotions as something that resulted in a loss of power. In reflecting upon her facial expressions during a meeting, she realized that

having her emotions so evident on her face hurt her: "You weren't supposed to show any kind of emotion or you gave away your power. Yeah, you gave away your power."

Similarly, Erica suggested that not showing your emotions would help you keep your edge in a situation: "To be prepared when you go into a situation that you realize is going to be highly uncomfortable, don't ever let them see you sweat. Don't let them get the best of you."

Whereas the previous examples illustrated how women might lose power by showing their emotions, some participants discussed how men can gain power by expressing emotions such as anger. It is a situation described by participants as "the loudest yeller wins," where two employees are arguing with each other, and the one that keeps up the longest and the loudest is the one who gaines the edge, or the power in that particular relationship. Every participant who discussed this mentioned only men utilizing this method of gaining power.

Caitlin was describing a boss whom she felt was professional. She believed that he used emotional expression effectively and used this method of out-yelling when he determined that it was the best way of dealing with a particular person:

> He could stomp and yell with the best of them when it was appropriate. We are in a meeting and you want this to happen and I want this to happen and we are going to yell and scream and whoever screams loudest wins, but [he was] never emotional when it wasn't appropriate. He wasn't a constant yeller, screamer, jump up and down. It was when he was dealing with somebody who was and he felt that was the best way to deal back with them, he would out –yell them.

Ann also described a boss who acted in the same manner, and how she would not lose power by crying in front of him. He was calling her names and she wanted to cry but she knew that he was yelling in order to get her to back down and do what he wanted. However, she believed that in order to be credible she had to stand by her beliefs that a product had to be unloaded and corrected regardless of the verbal abuse he gave her:

> So anyway, he blows up at me, he calls me names, he's unloading four letter words . . . I just stood there and I wanted to cry . . . No one ever treated me like that. I mean I honestly considered at one point that he was going to hit me . . . he went off again and I really think he thought if he just yelled loud enough, and maybe in the past that had worked with other women, that if he just yelled loud enough, then I would back down.

Stephanie described how her boss called a meeting between her and another colleague to explain to them that they needed to change their level of assertiveness. They informed her that she was not assertive at all and that she needed to change that. She since came to believe that her lack of assertiveness resulted in a loss of power and that being assertive changed her appearance and her effect on people:

> They put me on the very low end of the continuum where I was not assertive at all . . . so that was a really interesting learning for me in that you've just got to be out there in people's faces or they don't consider you to be competent no matter what technical skills you have.

In sum, this theme was one where the participants acknowledged that expression of emotions, or lack thereof, can affect the level of influence one has over another. When

these women displayed emotions it often resulted in what they perceived as a loss of power. When they were expected to react to something emotionally but did not appear to react, it gained them authority, credibility, or influence in that relationship. The next theme is the double-bind experienced by women.

Double-bind

The term double-bind applies to a phenomenon described by many of the participants where they are held to male standards and their behavior is interpreted differently than men simply because they are female. It is a double-bind because they are expected to act like the men, but at the same time they are evaluated more negatively than the men for their stereotypically male behavior because they are female.

Annette was discussing how her emotional expression affected her performance appraisal because her boss told her on her review that she need to take emotion out of her reactions. She described her belief that gender affected her performance evaluation, as she is evaluated differently than men even though she is displaying the same emotions and behaviors:

> I'll tell you that a man out here can chew somebody out and get him to do a job and he's considered a hero. I could go out and say the exact same words in the exact same tone of voice and I'm labeled with a B [bitch]. I'm labeled automatically even though he's a hero. Even though he may be an arrogant butt, he's a hero. I go do exactly the same thing and I'm labeled with a B.

Nicole was discussing a sexual harassment investigation where she was accused of not being impartial simply because she is a woman and would therefore side with the

woman in the investigation. Nicole became emotional in response to this, raising her voice and becoming red in the face, and believes that this increased the man's defensiveness. Nicole's boss removed her from the investigation and he completed it himself. She discussed her learning from this event that it is important for her to be careful because women's emotional expressions are both perceived and evaluated differently than that of men's:

> I felt anger. I felt frustration. I did not want to raise my voice. I think it is more so [like this for women] than for a man. A woman has to control her emotions because we are perceived as different. We are perceived as volatile and highly emotional and can either go into a screaming fit or can start crying hysterically.

Virginia described an instance where a woman had tried to nicely reprimand some men and they ignored her. She then determined it necessary to be more forceful about it, and her behavior was evaluated harshly because she was a woman appearing forceful and aggressive:

> They had a plant superintendent who was female and it was very interesting to me to see how she operated. She was very sweet and nice, you know, please do this, please do that, but she had problems with the employees because she wasn't aggressive or forceful enough with them and you would hear conversations among the guys. They would laugh behind her back practically. One day there was an incident where two very big guys were out on a forklift and. . . she had to go out there and call them down. They got in her face. I

> remember I happened to be over there for something. Well she got pretty nasty and said, "you will get off them, turn the . . . off and . . . that's it." They backed down finally, but they made fun of her for that. She was the bitch because she had to draw the line.
>
> So it really made an impression on me. I thought, you can't come in there as a female wishy-washy cause if you do, you're going to get it… you're damned if you do, damned if you don't.

Caitlin elaborated on the double-bind, describing the difficulty of knowing when she is supposed to act like a man and when she is supposed to act like a woman:

> There are times that they want you to be a man and times they don't. It's like, could somebody please run up a flag so I will know which one I'm supposed to be right now. And it is hard sometimes to gauge and that's why I think a lot of times women test the water rather than just jumping in because your first inclination may not be correct and if you jump in with both feet, it's hard to back out.

Stephanie agreed with the other participants in discussing the acceptability of men displaying anger at work and the unacceptability of women displaying anger. When told that some of the other research participants thought it was acceptable for men to display anger, she interjected: " Where a woman is a bitch if she does that."

Stephanie also described a similar type of double bind where women are required to have superlative skills in order to be perceived as equivalent to men, while they are simultaneously required to maintain those qualities typically associated with being female. After telling me about her boss instructing her to be more assertive, she stated:

> That was a big learning for me because before I thought I was technically competent. . . A woman has to be forceful, in your face, nurturing, and lady-like all at the same time. The foundation for all of that, all of that is great and wonderful, but if you're not technically competent than it just doesn't matter. Women do have to be more technically competent in the workplace [than men] to be on even ground [with men].

Stephanie told of a female employee who comes across as a nurturing southern woman, and how in demonstrating this behavior expected of her gender, she simultaneously hinders her own career:

> We have one particular lady who's been in management for a while and we call her mother. I mean that's how nurturing she is, [she says] "and let me help you." She's in a technical role but she holds a lot of people's hands to get through their projects and assignments, so they refer to her as mother now. That probably will limit her career progression because of how she's viewed.

Ann also addressed the difference in ability or effort required by women to be perceived on a level equal to men: "You feel like you have to be 150 percent, and sometimes if it's a male they only have to be 10 percent to get the same level of respect or credibility."

This theme described several double-binds experienced by women. These double-binds occur when women are held to different standards than men yet are simultaneously expected to act like men. In addition, they are expected to act like

women too, and are criticized when they are not womanly enough. Thus women are expected to be nurturing and feminine, but are then told they are not manly enough. They are expected to act angry and tough, yet are then considered to be bitches. In addition, they are required to be more competent than men in order to be considered on an equal competency level to that of men. This results, as one participant put it, in a "damned if you do, damned if you don't" situation. The next theme is the importance of authenticity.

Importance of authenticity

The importance of authenticity was a common, although somewhat varying theme. For some of the participants, authenticity of emotions was so critical that they did not withhold expressing an emotion they were feeling. On the contrary, some others were distinctly aware of differences between the emotions they were displaying and the emotions they were truly feeling. This was acknowledged and discussed as a feeling of unavoidable inauthenticity resulting from workplace behavioral expectations.

Jane discussed how as a human resources manager she was required to discipline employees, and that sometimes she felt badly for the person, yet could not express that because of her need to appear impartial. Jane described the difficulty of separating her feelings from her job and the resulting feeling of inauthenticity:

> Unfortunately my job is to be unsympathetic. . . neutral is a better word. I have to be impartial . . I'm not able to be the real me in terms of being emphathetic towards people and listening to their problems as much as I would like to. . . I felt conflicted because there was a part of me that wanted to help her and say, you know, we can work together and work this out. But there's the other part of me that was thinking

> it's my job to enforce the rules and be impartial and to not make exceptions. . . I guess it upset me because the employees may not always know the person I really am. . . [This incident] kind of taught me about leaving emotions at home and trying to remain neutral and emotionless. . . that I have to be a different person at times.

Maria also discussed authenticity as an issue, yet the issue differed for her than for the other participants. She described what she learned from her critical incident, in which a plant was being shut down and people were emotionally devastated, yet did not feel that they could discuss their emotions. She always acknowledged her own and other employees' emotions throughout the duration of the closing. Maria stated her belief that it was okay to express herself and trust her emotions, and described how she allows herself to convey the true emotion that she is feeling:

> I feel, I think that my emotions are always right. . . something about my ability to just be able to talk about it that was very valuable. Acknowledge them . . . I guess I learned not to fear them [emotions] very much. I don't really fear other people's emotions or mine. . . I guess maybe just value too, I mean there is real value in that [in emotions]. It's significant of who you are. There is a real value there.

Annette described her learning from her critical incident in which she cried in front her boss, and in response he criticized this on her performance review. She questioned the negative reactions people have about emotional expression and our need to conceal our emotions. She implied the need to be authentic:

> I have not learned yet how to hold back my tears. I don't know if tears are so bad. They're interpreted as bad, as a weakness. But they may not be a weakness. Allow that person to have an emotion. Having emotions doesn't make you bad. It doesn't make you right or wrong. But I think that personally, I will never get rid of all my tears.

This theme presents several participants' viewpoints that authenticity is important to them. In some cases they are able to be authentic, and in others they are not. One found a way to be true to herself while still appearing professional. However, the common thread between all of them is that they appreciate the importance of authenticity in their emotional expression. The next theme descrbies how the appropriateness of emotional expression is situationally dependent.

Situational dependence

Participants indicate that emotional expression is dependent upon the situation. The situation includes both the person and the particular event. The rules, or the appropriateness of emotional expression, may therefore change from one person or one situation to another.

Caitlin mentioned how sometimes she is supposed to act like a man and sometimes like a woman. When I asked her how she knows which is appropriate at a given moment, she discussed the importance of assessing the person and the situation in order to determine how to act:

> A lot of it I think is trying to get to know the people you are working with and then again you learn it a little here and there.

> Once you have had a confrontation, okay now you know them better and you know how they are going to play it. The more you know them the more you know is this guy truly a chauvinist jerk or is this guy a really nice person who thinks he has to jump up and down and scream.

Anne cried when her boss blew up at her because he disagreed with the way she handled a project that was very important to her. She believed that her boss perceived her crying as a weakness because he told her that her job was outgrowing her and that perhaps she needed to do something else. She learned from this critical incident that it is important to know the person with whom you are interacting in order to determine which emotions are safe to express. She stated that she should have known that this particular boss would perceive tears as a weakness:

> I think the learning I got from this is be real careful who you show your emotions in front of. . . I guess I just knew from experience working with him because I'd known him for a long time. . . I knew that and I knew the minute I started crying that I'd lost any credibility with him.

Ann described two incidents where the person involved in the situation influenced her reaction. In the first incident she was in line at a convenience store and told off a man who had cut into the line. In the second incident she made a mistake in traffic and had already apologized, but the other driver got out of the car and continued to yell at her and insult her, eventually causing Ann to tell her off also. Ann suggested that

the person to whom you are expressing your emotions and the importance of the relationship with that person determined whether or not she would restrain her emotions:

> You pick the hills you die for and to me that would just not have been a hill to die for, and at that point I was just miserable. . . what I learned from that is it felt good [to express her emotions] but it was low risk. I knew I would never see the woman again. I knew I didn't have a relationship with that woman and so maybe I went a little bit above what I would normally do. . . there were no long-term consequences.

Erica had a similar perspective in that her emotional expression differs if the situation is a personal one or if it is business related. Reflecting on her boss that wanted to discontinue her division, she stated:

> You really have to override your basic emotions and think with your head instead of your feelings and realize that you have to be strong in a business situation. . . It's easier for me to do in business than it is in my personal life. Because business is business. . . you keep it in perspective. Like that it is easier to be in control than let your emotions control you. I think you have to set your priority.

Stephanie described a discussion with a boss who never displayed any emotion. When she was attempting to discuss something important with him and went into his office pounding his desk and demanding that he do something, he did not hear her issue. When she tried again quietly and without emotion, with a letter detailing the problem, he

responded. She discussed how everyone is different, and therefore emotional expressions and behavior will differ depending on the person:

> It's just trying to figure out everybody. Every individual is different and what works with one won't work with another. I could go to another individual who is very calm and have a non-emotional, sterile demeanor and not get anywhere. [They think] If you're not pounding the fist then everything is okay. So a lot of it is just trying to learn how to work with individuals on an emotional level so that you get their attention. . . so that was a big learning for me and learning how to work with a lot of individuals in different levels with different personalities. There is no one right answer. It's just like raising children. One day time out may work and the next day something else is required. So it's the same with people in the workplace.

Stephanie also discussed how the particular situation or moment will affect which emotional expression is most appropriate:

> So the expectation that women behave forceful and assertive is out there . . .you have to show up that way in the right place at the right time. You have to counter that with a more feminine style, the nurturing and the compassion at the appropriate time, but not at an inappropriate time.

The situational dependence theme illustrates the need to evaluate the person and the situation one is in so that a choice can be made about appropriate emotional

expression. The participants stated that the appropriateness of their emotional expression differed depending on the particular context and person.

How women have learned about emotional expression in the manufacturing workplace

Table four provides a visual display of the findings regarding research question two. The three main themes that answer the second research question of how women learn about emotional expression in the workplace include:

1. Women learn emotional expression from watching or receiving feedback from others, including supervisors or colleagues.
2. Knowledge about emotional expression increases with age and work experience and occurs informally and incidentally on a daily basis.
3. Emotional expression is learned as part of upbringing and as an aspect of societal gender rules.

Table 4: How women have learned about emotional expression

Research question 2: **How do women learn what emotions are appropriate to express at work?**	
Themes	*Explanation and Examples*
1. Learning from others	• Observing others • Mentoring and receiving feedback from others • All critical incidents were with men
2. Learning informally and incidentally including through age, experience, and job role	• Gaining knowledge about emotional expression with age and experience. • Learning informally and incidentally on a day-to-day basis, by trial and error. • Learning as part of job role, particularly those participants who worked in HR
3. Learn from upbringing/socialization	• Growing up with boys makes women feel comfortable and enables them to learn how to express emotions around men.

Learning from others

This theme illustrates how women have learned norms about emotional expression at work from other people. The participants described learning about emotional expression at work from others using methods such as observation, feedback, or mentoring. Those they learned from included supervisors or co-workers.

One recurring comment from participants referred to the need to watch and imitate men. Participants acknowledged the need to emulate male behavior because the manufacturing workplace is historically male and male gender related behavior has become the norm. Thus, men's behavior is associated with success so women view it as the ideal. In some cases participants stated that there was no choice but to imitate men, as there were no women in management level positions to emulate.

Observation of others

Anne, who had been in the workforce the longest of all the participants, was the only female manager at the beginning of her career. She described having had no choice but to learn from observing male managers:

> When I made the management level at the plant I was the youngest one at that level and I was the first female that they ever had. . . So I kind of always thought of myself as being a pioneer because there weren't that many women in manufacturing at the management level positions. So I always tried to make myself, I guess I felt the best way for women to be accepted into management was if they act like men.

Anne was reflecting on a critical incident where she was the only one who did not want to terminate an employee. She felt strongly against it and stopped herself from

crying. She described how, even though she did not actually cry, she should have been more like the men that were present for the discussion:

> I almost cried. And maybe I did stop myself from crying. I did not cry, I know that, because I remember the first time I cried. I did not cry because I just knew that I should have been more like the men. I should have been more unemotional and cold and data-driven.

Jane learned that she did not want to cry at work from observing a coworker who did cry. Her impression of this woman as unprofessional led to her own opinion about crying:

> I knew to go into the bathroom and not to cry in front of other people. No one told me. I knew not to. Well, part of that is I do have a co-worker that cries and it looks unprofessional to me. When people hurt her feelings, she'll start crying. And I just see that and I think I'm not gonna do that because I perceive that as unprofessional.

Feedback from others

Some of the participants received direct feedback from others at work about their emotional expression.

Caitlin was reflecting on an incident which had occurred early in her career which was critical to her learning about emotional expression. A male manager had let her know that she should work on being less emotional. Caitlin stated that this was an important early learning experience because she realized that she needed to act like the

men and since they did not express emotions she should not. This example illustrates both feedback and observation of men:

> It was early enough in my career that I was trying to learn how to be a manager. I was trying to learn what was and wasn't acceptable and how to work with a group of managers who were largely males, and so rather than being incredibly embarrassed, which I could have been later on in my career, it just taught me a pretty tough lesson right off the bat, that you don't show a lot of emotion in the workplace.
>
> Men don't, therefore you don't.

Anne received direct positive feedback about her emotions after a meeting where she cried in front of her boss. This example also illustrates how women might be expected to be more emotional than they are in order to fit gender role expectations:

> So then I was talking with my boss afterwords. I said "I'm sorry I got so emotional. I really shouldn't have done that." And he made the comment to me he said, "no it's very important that you do that. . . " what the boss said to me was that if you don't represent the female side of the business, there's no one here on the staff that's going to. So it's kind of like he wanted me to do that. I mean I think he liked what he heard me say. He encouraged me to continue from that point on to be more emotional.

Anne also discussed an incident where she cried in front of a different boss who was yelling at her. He did not like a decision she had made which she felt very strongly about. She was upset that he did not agree with her decision and she cried upon seeing

his reaction. She received negative feedback from this boss as a result of being emotional:

> And the plant manager blew up . . . I don't want to say he was threatening to fire me but that's almost what it got to . . . I mean I got really upset at this time because I was frustrated and I did start crying. . . I said "I apologize for crying but this meant a lot to me". . . The learning I got from that though, I know this particular boss saw that as a weakness. I know he did. . . because he talked with me a little bit afterwords saying things like, "I think this job's outgrowing you." So he definitely looked on it as, I definitely think he thought it was a weakness.

Virginia learned about maintaining a neutral expression as a result of feedback from a co-worker who commented on her emotional expression during a meeting. This was the meeting where she was lectured by the managing director:

> I was trying very hard not to cry and was probably making horrible faces. After it was all over, one of the girls that worked with me took me aside and she said, "You know, it's only going to hurt you if you show this on your face."

Nicole described her first professional meeting where her male colleagues inappropriately asked her to get their coffee. She described her emotions as clearly showing on her face. She received direct feedback from her boss about her emotional

expression and subsequently realized that emotions are more evident on her face than others.

> I remember I kind of got mad. Then I got embarrassed and I know that my face was probably turning red because I did not know what to do . . . And later, after the meeting, I talked to my boss at the time . . .I said, I did not know what to do, I was so embarrassed. . . and like I said, I got mad, but my face must have turned beet red. A matter of fact, my boss told me that, well your face turned so red, I knew that you were upset. So that was the first time I realized too that the way I displayed emotion was different [than the men].

Annette described an incident where she cried because her boss told her she was promoted but had to leave the area where she had been managing. She had accomplished so much with the employees in that area and had established relationships with them. She stated that her crying affected her performance rating because her boss interpreted it as a sign she was inflexible and not able to adapt. Therefore she learned she needed to control her emotions because of the direct feedback she received from her boss:

> There's a lot of men, like my boss . . . They don't wanna deal with emotion . . . he told me, you're taking this too personal. You have tears coming down your face so obviously "you're taking this too personal". . . When I got evaluated, had my mid-year evaluation, there's a place on there, there's one on there about adaptability and the flexibility for change. Guess what came up? That exact situation. Because of why? Because of my crying. Obviously I was

> upset, therefore the interpretation was that I wasn't adaptable because I was crying.

Caitlin described how she allowed her problems to show at work by being emotional and the subsequent feedback she received from a supervisor about this:

> There was a gentleman I worked with. I didn't directly report to him but he was kind of a dotted line, and we called him sergeant major. . . I would come into work upset because of something my husband had done the night before. One day the sergeant major came in and . . .he said, "Caitlin, when you are tired of being shit on, stand up." And it took me a couple of days to ponder on that one and the more I thought about it I thought, okay, number one I have just let people in the workplace see that I have no backbone, number two, I have allowed personal issues to really affect what I am doing and number three, the perception when you do that is that you are a weak little female and you are going to take any abuse that is heaped on you. . . you can't just let things affect you. That is just going to show all over the place at work because when you do that the perception is that you are a weak person and particularly male managers have no respect for people, they will tear you to shreds.

In each of these scenarios, participants learned from others, either by direct feedback or by observation. This theme depicts the reality that the women in this study often emulate men in order to learn about manufacturing workplace norms. Men may be

the only ones in management positions and/or women realize that it is the established male standard which they have to meet. It is often male managers that provide women with feedback on their emotional expression at work.

All critical incidents were with men

The participants provided a combined total of 42 critical incidents. After analyzing the data, it became clear that every incident presented involved one of the (female) participants with a man. Prior to the interviews, the participants were asked to describe critical incidents in which they learned about emotional expression in the workplace. There were no instructions that addressed gender. Yet of the 42 critical incidents, none of them involved another woman.

This finding illustrates the possibility that these women primarily learn about emotional expression from their interactions with other men. In addition, the majority of the critical incidents involved negative emotions. This suggests either that the women learned primarily from negative situations or that interactions with men are more frequently negative. A discussion of possible reasons for these findings is found in Chapter 5 under conclusions.

Learning incidentally and informally

Many of the employees discussed learning about emotional expression informally and incidentally with additional age and experience or through their job role. Participants described learning that corresponded to the definition of informal and incidental learning (Marsick, Volpe, & Watkins, 1999), including experiential means such as trial and error and as a byproduct of another activity. Their learning was often influenced by chance and through a series of events.

Experiential Learning

When asked why she chose to share the incidents she did, Stephanie described learning about emotional expression as part of her daily routine:

> So you're asking me some questions that are very hard for me to answer because it's been a lot of years of just daily little incidences that build up to a body of knowledge and it's really hard to say . . . so you've asked for two significant events and I've given you two that have caused me to radically shift my approach, but the key learning is not in that. It's just in the experience over time.

Stephanie also told of learning about emotional expression through trial and error:

> It's really trial and error. I've got so many bruises and skid marks, scars on my back from just learning everything the hard way because there is nobody. I don't have a mentor in this organization and I think that may be a big factor too. I don't think women can find mentors as quickly as men do, so women have to learn everything by themselves. How to behave, what's appropriate, what's acceptable and it's just trial and error through the years and then you kind of start finding a balance where you are accepted and invited into these domains that you may not have been invited into if you didn't behave and demonstrate this level of emotional intelligence or maturity with them.

Virginia described her incidental learning about emotional expression as a part of learning about workplace culture, and how women learn differently than men:

> I think you have to learn it on your own. Maybe it's a day-to-day thing. You just see experiences and kind of learn day-to-day what is and what's not . . .most of the time they [men] have mentors. You may not call it that but they seem to have somebody that will kind of latch on that's been there, and really help them get through the culture. Sometimes that's where they can really, they give you a handbook . . . but really the culture is more important I think to learn to get around there. . . It takes [a woman] a lot longer to learn the same kinds of things that a guy might get in a week.

Caitlin also described age, experience, as well as trial and error as important factors in her learning about emotional expression:

> Well speaking from my antiquated age that I am, I think I'm not sure if age was necessarily the right term, although to a point it was. Age and experience okay, but experience comes with age so when you are younger, when you are less experienced you are learning things and sometimes the hard way, hopefully not all the hard way. . . . People my age or older and some younger had to learn a lot of this the hard way because there weren't very many female managers out there and so the only thing you could learn from was either styling yourself after the men, which isn't effective either, or oh man that was stupid and I'm not going to do it again, but chalk this one up for stupid.

Jane, in responding to my question about how she learned the importance of being emotionally neutral, also referred to learning through trial and error: "No. I don't think anyone ever told me that. It's something you learn from trial and error and experience."

These participants have described informal and incidental learning about emotional expression as they gain experience and get older. In these examples they described learning as an aspect of working or as a naturally occurring byproduct of work experience. Another aspect of learning incidentally, or as an aspect of working, is learning about emotional expression as part of the job role.

Job role

Many of the participants describe their learning about emotional expression as part of learning about their job role. This was particularly common with those participants who worked in a human resources function. What they often learned from their job role was the need to be emotionally neutral. This theme may therefore appear to overlap with the "poker face" theme under research question 1. The difference however, is that the job role theme answers the process question of how the participants learned about emotional expression. It was due to their job that they learned to behave in this emotionally neutral fashion.

When questioned about the importance of emotional expression to working in human resources, Stephanie described the need for HR workers to avoid emotional expression when dealing with employees:

> Displaying my own emotions, I don't think that's good for an hr professional . . . HR professionals become that Rock of Gibraltar and they watch out for everyone else, maybe more than they watch

> out for themselves. A lot of HR professionals I know behave that way. . . one question is what do people feel their role is as an HR professional. . . everybody is safe and sound and accountable for their results. Firm and fare. There is a tough side.

Jane spoke of the sexual harassment investigation in which she expressed sympathy and showed emotion. She believed she became too emotionally involved prior to learning that the accusation was false. Having been embarrassed by demonstrating a feeling toward either party, she learned the importance of remaining neutral. She reiterated how it is crucial for HR employees to be neutral and show no emotions on their faces:

> Unfortunately my job is to be unsympathetic. . . I have to be impartial and can't say "I'm sorry, I'm sorry about your personal problems" . . . I have to put on that hr hat or that role. I have to treat people the same way. . . I can't be concerned about how people perceive me. . . I have to leave my emotions at home.

Caitlin discussed how she is supposed to act and be perceived because she is in the role of human resources:

> I really think that's why a lot of HR is leaning towards female right now. Operations people are the yellers, the screamers, the hit them upside the head people. HR is supposed to be the calm, rational, little haven of peace who can arbitrate and do anything and can turn anything into a win-win situation and nobody leaves with hurt feelings.

Nicole described her experiences working in human resources and attending sexual harassment investigations. Like Jane, she discovered the importance of showing no emotions in sexual harassment investigations by first making mistakes:

> I would get so upset, and you can't in a situation like that. I learned very quickly that any time as a woman, that I show sympathy towards other women, that I was not just totally blank in my expression, that I would not get the respect from the person whom I was interviewing - the male counterpart I was interviewing. As a matter of fact, when I came in to talk with him, the fact that I am there on a sexual harassment type accusation and being a woman, they automatically thought that I was going to side with that person, the woman. . . he was very defensive when I came in. He just knew I was going to automatically side with her . . . and I remember the more emotional I got, the more defensive he got and the whole thing just deteriorated.

Virginia also discussed the inappropriateness of emotional expression during a function which is typically performed by human resources:

> I had to fire somebody. That was really hard. I hated to do it. I just wanted to break down and cry, but I knew that wouldn't do her any good. I tried to stay real calm. . . I had to leave. I felt horrible.

Maria was considering how she formed her opinions about the acceptability of expressing her emotions honestly. She discussed being the only female and having learned from observing and working with all men:

> It [working in a male environment] just made me conscious and I picked it up that there were norms. . . I'm a minority and I always will be and I get the shit beat out of me all the time. That's just the way it is.

This sub-theme illustrated how the job role influenced the interpretation of what is considered appropriate emotional expression. These participants each came from a common perspective, describing the importance of remaining neutral in emotional expression when working in human resources.

Each of the methods of learning in the above examples illustrated informal and incidental learning. Participants learned experientially through trial and error as they got older and gained more experience.

Learning about emotional expression through upbringing and socialization

Some of the participants described their process of learning about emotional expression in the workplace as integrally tied to learning about gender rules. In other words, there are rules about emotional expression that they applied specifically to women. In addition, many of the women who discussed learning about emotional expression as part of gender rules described having grown up with boys, the resulting comfort with men, and the norm of expressing emotions in ways that are like men.

Ann described having grown up with all boys and how it helps her interact with men in the workplace:

> I think it's your comfort level with men more than anything. . . There wasn't a lot of coddling at my house. There was caring, but there wasn't a lot of coddling. I mentioned growing up with two

> brothers and their answer was always in a caring and a kind way. I knew they were always on my side, but more than once they'd tell you, "well [Ann] why don't you build me a bridge and cry a river and get over it." You could only get so far with them. . . because I am who I am, pretty forthright and I'm not real emotional I guess. I feel a lot of things, I really do. . . I feel like I have very strong emotions. I just don't spend a lot of time talking about them I guess.

Nicole also discussed growing up with boys and never seeing gender differences in her household. Her subsequent learning about emotional expression in the workplace was thus a shock because she did not know that expectations could differ by gender:

> Fortunately for me I grew up in my neighborhood, believe it or not, with all guys. . . I guess you could almost refer to me as a tomboy. To me guys were buddies. They were equal. I did not see any differences. . . And then after I graduated . . . I was the only professional woman. . . and I realize that I was showing emotion and I realize it made the room very awkward, especially my male manager, because of the emotion that I was showing. . . [I learned] that you have to be careful what type of emotion you do show. . . for a woman to show that type of aggressiveness or assertiveness is perceived negatively. . .my career was in jeopardy because I raised my voice, because I got mad, because I was perceived as assertive or aggressive. Exactly what a woman is not viewed as.

Stephanie described her experience of growing up with boys and the resulting comfort she now has with male employees:

> The thing about me is that I was a tomboy growing up and the only female in my household and now I have two sons. On the continuum of feminist to not feminist I tend to be more of a male type personality and interact with males better just because of my upbringing and my own household at home and being in this work environment for so long.

Maria described learning from her mother, who had worked as the only female in a male environment:

> There is something in my upbringing because as rare as I am my mother was certainly more so. She was an engineer. . . bump back a couple of generations and now think of what she had to deal with in her workplace. . . she was a rare bird . . . she never spoke of being victimized.

This theme illustrated the common notion that having grown up with boys resulted in a comfort level with men. In addition they imply that they behaved emotionally more like men than like women.

Chapter summary

This chapter described the themes that arose from the data and it answered the two research questions of what women learned about emotional expression in the manufacturing workplace and how they learned it. Table 3 addressed what the participants learned about emotional expression and contained five themes: The necessity

of maintaining a “poker face” or appearing emotionally neutral, the use of emotional expression as a strategy of influence, the double-bind that women are faced with when displaying emotions in the workplace, the need for authenticity in emotional expression, and the importance of the situation for emotional expression.

Table 4 addressed how women learned about emotional expression and included three themes: learning from others, learning informally and incidentally, and learning from socialization and upbringing. The next chapter addresses conclusions to the study.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

Summary of study

The purpose of this study was to understand what women managers learn about emotional expression in the manufacturing workplace and how this knowledge is acquired. The research questions included the following:

1. What do women managers learn about expressing emotions in the workplace?
2. How do women learn what emotions are appropriate to express during their work?

In order to answer the questions above, ten women managers were interviewed. The purposeful sampling criteria required that the participants were female, worked in manufacturing at the management level, and could recall at least two incidents that were critical to their learning about emotions in manufacturing.

The data collection method used in this qualitative study was critical incidents. To ensure the participants selected valuable examples, they were asked to describe incidents that were critical to their learning about emotional expression in the workplace, describing in detail the context, behavior, effect of behavior, and learning that resulted from these incidents. Interviews averaged 50-60 minutes and occurred in participants' offices, at The University of Georgia, and in one case, at the participant's house. Field notes were used to support the data collection and analysis. These notes included my comments on environment, what transpired, any reflections on the participant and the interview or the process, and any initial thoughts about potential themes.

The data analysis method used was the constant comparative method. Analysis of the interviews occurred throughout the data collection process in order to allow me to reflect on the interviewing process and to enable the data collection and analysis to influence each other. The feminist perspective influenced the data collection because I used a feminist research framework (as described in chapter 3) by doing the following: I acknowledged and delineated gender as an important aspect of the research, I considered asymmetrical power relationships at work, I examined sex and gender contrasts within a specific context, and I allowed these women to speak in their own voices.

The findings of the study were that women learned the following about emotional expression in the workplace:

- The necessity of maintaining a "poker face" or appearing emotionally neutral
- Emotions can be used as a strategy of influence
- Women are faced with a double bind when displaying emotions in the workplace
- Authenticity is an issue when expressing emotions
- The appropriateness of emotional expression is dependent on the particular situation and person

The ways in which women learned the above included:

- Observing or receiving feedback from others
- Learning informally and incidentally through aging, gaining experience, and as part of the job role

- Learning to express emotions like men do from having grown up with boys

These findings answer the two research questions of the study, what women learn about emotional expression and how they learn about emotional expression in the workplace. The next sections present the conclusions of the study, implications, and recommendations for future research.

Conclusions

This study indicated six main conclusions:

1. The rules and acceptability of emotional expression in these manufacturing workplaces were influenced by the employee's gender and particular situation.
2. A male dominated system such as the manufacturing environment may create a need for women to perform more emotion work than men by having to emulate male behavior.
3. Social structure is reproduced because of the importance of culture in defining the appropriateness of emotional expression
4. Emotions are used as a strategy of influence at both the organizational and individual levels.
5. Women learn about emotional expression primarily through informal and incidental learning, therefore, HRD professionals must help employees learn through methods other than formal classroom training in order to develop employees' emotional intelligence.
6. Psychodynamics exist in the workplace that continually reproduce the pathology of emotional expression.

Conclusion 1

The rules and acceptability of emotional expression in a manufacturing workplace are dependent upon the employee's gender and particular situation

Many of the participants described experiences where expressing emotions at work resulted in negative perceptions of their abilities. However, the acceptability of emotional expression at work was related to the participant's position, particular context, and gender. The women in this study most often described the need to maintain a "poker face" at work, or a neutral facial expression. For many, a display of emotions, particularly negative emotions such as crying or anger, is considered to be contrary to workplace norms and an impediment to a woman's career success.

This conclusion reviews the history of emotions as inappropriate in the workplace, the relationship between gender roles and rules of emotional expression, and the relationship between the situation and the rules of emotional expression. The discussion of the importance of the situation addresses organizational culture, the employee's position, and the person with whom the participant is interacting.

Emotions as inappropriate

Emotions have traditionally been considered inappropriate at work and rationality has been valued and emphasized in the workplace. This has resulted in an inattention to the emotional context in the workplace with the display of emotions seen as irrational or out of control (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Fineman, 1993; Putnam & Mumby, 1993). Current societal attitudes may have changed somewhat in academia, with more attention

paid toward emotions fields such as emotion work and emotional intelligence. Yet this study indicates that in practice women's emotional expression continues to be perceived as unwise. These participants suggest that the perspective of emotions as irrational still remains.

The polarized view of emotionality and rationality which has situated emotions as the antithesis of the rationality that is so traditionally valued in work settings, seems to persist in today's manufacturing environment. The existence of emotions is rarely discussed and academic study in this area remains scarce. Rationality, characterized by a lack of emotions, continues to be respected, admired, and considered the only acceptable professional manner.

The most consistent example cited of appearing too emotional or unprofessional was crying at work. At these times the participants were told they appeared out of control, unable to handle responsibility, irrational, overworked, and stressed. The expression of crying carried with it negative connotations that impacted their careers due to being perceived as unprofessional or unable to manage their workload. The emotional expression of crying, more than any other, seems to stand in contrast to the traditional ideal of rationality. Crying at work has become the epitome of emotionality. The societal attitude toward crying portrays it as the opposite of rational, or irrational, rather than simply an emotional expression. According to the Oxford Desk Dictionary (1997), irrational means:

1. illogical; unreasonable. 2. not endowed with reason.

To conclude that a person who cries has no logic or cannot reason seems extreme. Yet equating a lack of crying with logic and professionalism has become the norm.

Assuming that crying is an indication of a loss of logic carries great consequences for women in the workplace. If they are seen crying, the belief that they are irrational will affect opinions of colleagues and supervisors. Therefore, maintaining a neutral facial expression is important for one's professional appearance and career success. Maintaining a "poker face" implies a sense of control that one is not perceived to have when displaying emotions on her face.

Society is fixated on maintaining control. While watching a recent television show on women dieters I heard the following comment: "This society insists on people controlling our bodies." Although this comment was referring to weight and body size, it occurred to me that it also applies to emotional expression. When a woman cries at work she appears out of control. This lies in stark contrast to societal expectations that our minds remain in control of our bodies. Therefore when we cry we are perceived as being out of control.

Crying is also assumed to be an indication of sadness, however, many participants indicated that emotions other than sadness provoked crying. Most often anger was mentioned as the basis for crying. In fact, the women were really feeling anger, but crying was the way the anger manifested itself. Rather than express anger by shouting or by using physical force, these women tended to cry out of anger or frustration. However, two participants cried out of happiness. It seems therefore that crying can result from and/or indicate many things. Feeling overwhelmed, whether from anger, frustration, or happiness appears to have been the impetus for the emotional expression of crying.

One might question why this societal perception of emotionality as irrational endures. The reasons why emotional expression continues to be viewed so negatively

may derive from several factors. One view may have stemmed from the misconstrued belief that emotion is relevant only to those interested in an individual's cognitive and psychophysical states, and is therefore not relevant to social arenas (Putnam & Mumby, 1993). This perspective would suggest that emotion is a physiological construct and cannot help researchers understand workplace social phenomena and employee behavior. Anyone espousing this perspective would disregard emotions when studying leadership, organizational behavior, or organizational learning.

Another reason why rationality is still revered and emotions are considered inappropriate is because the rationality-emotionality dichotomy treats rationality and cognition as masculine and emotionality and affect as feminine, evoking a positive masculine image and a negative female view (Putnam & Mumby, 1993). As a result of women's lower social status in this patriarchal society, when something becomes a gendered phenomenon, or associated with femininity, it is viewed negatively. Thus, emotional expression is associated with women and is subsequently viewed negatively. Accordingly, there is a relationship between gender and the acceptability of emotional expression.

Relationship between gender roles and rules of emotional expression

Shields (2002) suggested that "beliefs about emotion. . . inscribe and reinscribe gender boundaries" (p. 170) or that "to do emotion is to do gender" (p. 170). The author suggests that women express emotions in conformity with gender roles and that gendered emotional expression distinguishes women and men from each other, thus maintaining gender boundaries. This study confirmed Shields' (2002) finding that women express

emotions within limits defined by gender. If they do not stay within gender roles they are perceived as lacking in femininity or inappropriate in behavior.

Not only does this study confirm that in the manufacturing environment women express emotions in accordance with gender roles, it supports the literature that women perform more emotion work and that women's jobs may demand more emotion work than do men's (Callahan & Schwandt, 2000; Parkin, 1996; Wharton, 1993).

Thus the gendered nature of emotion affects how emotional expression is perceived. Emotional expression is evaluated from a gendered framework, so that a particular emotion may be evaluated and perceived differently based on whether it is a woman expressing the emotion or a man. Emotionality is associated with women and the stereotype of women as emotional has more to do with sex stereotypes than about women's actual emotions (Shields, 2002).

For example, one stereotype is that women are sweet and passive. Therefore when a woman manager is assertive at work, in exactly the same manner a man might be, she is perceived as being a "bitch." Several of the participants described this phenomenon of being labeled a bitch. They are labeled with this derogatory term because they are female and expressing emotion in a way which does not conform to being female. Therefore their behavior is interpreted differently than if a man had behaved in the same manner.

Women are expected to act like men at work yet are simultaneously evaluated differently than the men for their emotional expression. Thus, when these women asserted themselves as necessary, they believe they were perceived negatively and differently from how a male manager would have been evaluated if he had acted in exactly the same manner.

In essence, these women are required to "do gender." According to West and Zimmerman (1987), gender "is the activity of managing situated conduct in the light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriated for one's sex category" (p. 126). Gender is something we do, an activity and a social dynamic, rather than a property or something we are born with. This concept can be useful to understand how women managers do gender in a particular organizational setting or role. We do gender on a regular basis. According to Shields (2002), it is through daily interactions that gender is practiced and reproduced. This study demonstrates that in the workplaces of these participants, women managers also "do gender" with emotional expression.

Models of leadership are not gender neutral. "Doing leadership," "doing power," and "doing gender" are all linked (Fletcher, 2002). The traits associated with leadership are socially ascribed to men whereas traits ascribed to women include empathy, collaboration, and vulnerability (Fletcher, 2002) and are characteristics not traditionally associated with leadership.

This "sex-role spillover" is transference to the workplace of the skills, expectations, and behaviors women employ in domestic lives (Nicolson, 1996, p. 80). It is evident in models of leadership as well as in practice in the workplaces of these participants. Gender socialization has defined appropriate behavior for women, and when carried over into the workplace, it results in women being viewed as illegitimate, unnatural, or innappropriate (Lorber, 1994; Nicolson, 1994). This study illustrates that the phenomenon of sex-role spillover pertains to emotions associated with women, viewing emotions such as crying as domestic and feminine and inappropriate in the workplace.

The relationship between femininity and gender roles in the workplace is so strong that women who are in some manner less stereotypically feminine, such as lesbians may be, are not held to these traditional female standards (Gedro, 2000). Lesbians are more free to demonstrate nontraditional androgynous gender roles, to explore a wider choice of careers, and are less likely to make vocational choices to accommodate men or gender roles (Gedro, 2000). Applying this notion to emotions, women who look more stereotypically male would not be held to emotional expression requirements typically assigned to women.

Upon meeting some of my participants, I wondered if this phenomenon described by Gedro (2000) may apply to any woman (regardless of sexual orientation) who does not conform to gender with her appearance, for example, those who keep their hair short, do not wear makeup, or who wear clothes considered less feminine. It occurred to me that the ones who appeared less stereotypically female were the ones who had reached higher levels of management and were also the ones who described themselves as having few or no issues around emotional expression or gender roles. Unfortunately, this thought process is limited because this occurred to me in hindsight. In addition, women may not be able to identify a relationship between their appearance and expectations of emotional expression.

Bem's (1993) discussion of how hidden assumptions about sex and gender shape our perceptions is relevant. The author described androcentrism, the assumption of male as normative, as well as gender polarization, gender difference as organizing experience, and biological essentialism, which naturalizes behavior as biologically derived. Just as Bem (1993) suggested, male standards are the norm in organizations, and organizational

feeling rules reinforce polarized gender roles and emotional expression. Emotional expression is seen as biologically derived as are other behaviors related to gender such as degree of agressiveness, nurturance, or athleticism.

The requirement to express emotions according to gender roles creates a double bind that women must endure. On the one hand they are expected to act feminine, resulting in a perception of incompetence because of the "feminine-competency bind" (Jamieson, 1995), the association between femininity and incompetence. And on the other hand, the requirement to act like a man in order to be successful is followed by admonishment for acting in a manner that is contrary to gender roles. These double-binds illustrate how organizational emotion requirements may maintain polarized gender boundaries and roles.

Since managerial effectiveness and behavior have traditionally been judged by male standards and values, women feel the need to "do gender" at work in order to decrease the inequality of the sexes (Gherardi, 1994). Taking into consideration the need to "do gender" at work, these participants' determinations of appropriate emotional expression must be considered as integrally tied to their gender as well as the gender of the organization's culture.

A discussion of the finding that every critical incident provided in this study involved men is relevant to the relationship between gender roles and emotional expression rules. One might consider that one reason every example mentioned by the participants involved a man is the different roles emotional expression plays for each gender. The contradiction in gender roles and therefore expectations around emotional expression lays a foundation for disagreements between men and women trying to

function in a male-oriented context. Intensifying the difficulty is the social structure and the resulting power differences between men and women. Thus any emotional expression perceived as potentially altering the power structure would create conflict.

The negativity of the emotions in the critical incidents may also be related to gender roles due to the traditional identification of emotionality with femininity. Female emotionality is viewed as weak and unstable (Shields, 2002), thus emotional has become synonymous with women and with crying. Therefore, when the participants were asked to provide examples of incidents involving emotions, they most often thought of incidents involving crying.

Both the prevalence of examples with men and the negativity of the emotions could have more simple explanations. The prevalence of incidents with men could be explained by context. These women were in the minority in a male environment, thus it was mostly men with whom they were interacting. Therefore the likelihood of an emotional incident with a man would have been much greater than that with a woman.

The negativity of the emotions could stem from the fact that I asked them to come up with incidents in which they learned something. Not all of the examples were negative, as some participants told of learning from positive incidents. Perhaps it is just natural for some people to remember negative incidents more than positive ones, or to notice them and therefore learn more from negative incidents.

The importance of the culture is described in the following section.

Relationship between situation and rules of emotional expression

Participants described an important determinant of appropriate emotional expression as the particular situation. This refers to the following aspects:

organizational culture, the employee's position, and the person with whom the participant is interacting. Each of these will be described below.

Organizational Culture

Organizational culture is important because sexuality and emotionality both construct and are constructed by the organizational context (Parkin, 1993). Organizational culture is "a system of shared symbols and meanings in which organizations are social constructions" (Smircich, l983, p. 58). Culture is reproduced through interaction and individuals acquire beliefs, norms, and an understanding of reality particular to the context and culture (Hood & Koberg, 1994). Therefore, the culture of the organization in which a participant works determines the appropriateness of emotional expression.

Organizations have pervasively masculine or feminine cultures (Gherardi, 1994). When organizations have a feminine culture traditional feminine characteristics are valued such as nurturing, helping, relationality, inclusion, and serving others (Gherardi, 1994; Hood & Koberg, 1994; Rosener, 1990). In these organizations, it is likely that emotional expression is more accepted, especially those emotions that are associated with feminine roles. In a male culture, expectations around emotional expression will embody male gender roles. Thus the appropriateness of emotional expression is dependent upon one's gender as well as the organizational culture. The participants in this study each work in a manufacturing setting, an environment that is historically masculine. Subsequently, the acceptable emotions in their workplaces will likely follow masculine models.

Employee's Position

The need for a "poker face" was particularly common with the five participants who worked in the human resources field. The issues they raised included the perception of professionalism and the importance of impartiality in human resources. Impartiality was assumed when no emotions were evident on the participant's face and was necessary for litigious reasons.

Human resources work often involves situations where there is potential litigation. Due to the sensitive nature of the work, neutrality of emotions was viewed by these participants as crucial. This neutrality helped the employee to appear both professional and impartial. For example, one participant discussed a sexual harassment case where she expressed concern for one of the employees, only to be later accused of favoring the woman in the case. As a human resources manager, she represents her organization, therefore, appearing to favor either party in a case is unwise. This participant learned from her experience to never show any emotions for fear of appearing partial to either party in the case.

Thus the acceptability of expressing emotion was less for participants working in human resources than for the other participants. Emotion rules differed based on the particular position of the participant. All participants, however, believed that emotional expression is perceived as unacceptable, particularly negative emotional expression such as crying. This study supports previous research in emotion work indicating the unacceptability of emotional expression at work (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Fineman, 1993; Hochshild, 1979; Putnam & Mumby, 1993).

Person

The participants often cited the person with whom they were interacting as a crucial factor in the appropriateness of emotional expression. If the person were someone of consequence to her career, the participant was more conservative in her emotional expression than if it were someone deemed inconsequential. Yet if it were an important work relationship, more care was taken to assess the suitability of a particular emotional display. In addition, participants described the need to discover every employee's personality and modes of interaction in order to determine the best way to behave around that particular person. This illustrates the need to determine the importance of the relationship as well as the variability in personalities and opinions of people before expressing any emotions around them.

Conclusion 2

A male dominated system may create a need for women to perform more emotion work than men by having to emulate male behavior

I have already described the relationship between gender roles and rules of emotional expression. To further examine this phenomenon, it is necessary to address its persistence and underlying cultural variables preventing its change and progression.

Women were performing more emotion work than men because the emotions they are socialized to express differed from those of men. With manufacturing workplace display rules following traditionally male norms, expectations of emotional expression conformed to male behaviors rather than female. Thus these women believed they had to

adapt to these expectations in order to appear professional and behave in accordance with male workplace standards.

The participants in this study support research that successful women have broken through the glass ceiling by emulating male behavior, and that "success normally involves emulating the successful" (Bierema, 2003, p. 3; Diekman & Eagly, 2000; Fagenson, 1990; Maniero, 1994). Career success for women has resulted from acculturating and adapting to masculine models, however some have argued that women's desire to buy into this male culture is explained by a lack of awareness of themselves as gendered beings (Bierema, 2003; Caffarella, Clark, & Ingram, 1997).

Though these participants acknowledge emulating male behavior, many do not lack gender awareness or consciousness. This is evident in the comments by participants about suppressing their emotions in order to appear more like the men while simultaneously acknowledging perpetuating the expectation that they act like men. They state that they dislike perpetuating the male norms yet perceive no choice if they want to appear professional and be successful in their careers. This indicates some awareness of gender related expectations as well as their realization that women's emotion work may prevent the evolution of organizational culture (Callahan & Schwandt, 2000).

This consciousness indicates that some progress has been made since the studies showing women to have low gender awareness (Bierema, 1996, 1999; Caffarella, Clark and Ingram, 1997), however the lack of action in influencing cultural change unfortunately remains. Research (Bierema, 2003; Callahan, 1999) has shown that women buy into the "old boy" network, adapt masculine traits, deprive women's identity,

and do not act to change this perpetuation. This study indicates that women still accept the 'hidden curriculum' and do not challenge roles and rules (Bierema, 2003).

Gender roles are so ingrained that people's reactions and behaviors in the workplace reinforce boundaries and structural oppression. Many participants realized and acknowledged that conforming to emotion rules according to gender served only to reproduce societal expectations that emotional expression correspond with gender. Yet they felt there was no choice but to conform to the expectations because acting to the contrary resulted in negative performance evaluations. Thus this study confirms research suggesting that emotion requirements reproduce structural oppression (Brody, 2000; Callahan, 2001; Parkin, 1993).

Possessing some gender awareness does not accomplish change without action aimed at altering the 'hidden curriculum.' Several researchers have addressed the need for women to amend the male organizational curriculum. According to Bierema (2003), learning and critical assessment of gendered power relations and roles must precede the attainment of gender consciousness for women. Additional research has indicated certain factors must be in place before action and change can occur. Kanter (1977) and Callahan (2003) stated that women's experiences are influenced by the proportion of women to men in the workplace and that women will continue to emulate men unless they have achieved a critical mass within an organization. As long as an environment is male dominated, male standards and gendered behavior will be the norm. Thus the number of women in managerial positions in a particular organization will affect the culture and the behavior of its members.

This enduring phenomenon of women emulating male traits and norms and perpetuating the 'hidden curriculum' applies to all behavior, including that of emotional expression. Emotional expression for women becomes emotion work because of the differences between how women and men are socialized to express emotions. These differences create the need for emotion work because the emotions women want to express may diverge, causing the need to suppress or evoke emotions that are not the ones they are feeling.

As long as a workplace or any male-dominated system remains male-oriented, emotion work will continue to be essential for women. Women will likely continue to perceive the need to emulate men in order to appear professional and be successful, and the perpetuation of the 'hidden curriculum' will persist.

Conclusion 3

Social structure is reproduced because of the importance of culture in defining the appropriateness of emotional expression

Emotion is not categorically devalued, however "appropriate" emotion is valued and encouraged. "Emotional intelligence tends to be measured by the extent to which one has assimilated the culturally dominant views of appropriateness" (Shields, 2002, p. 182). In other words, what is considered appropriate is defined by, and may differ by, culture. Accordingly, if a woman complies with the emotional expression rules of her organization's culture, she is considered emotionally intelligent. In this study the culture was the manufacturing environment. An environment historically influenced by men, these participants were speaking from the perspective of workplace cultures that model

that of the larger patriarchal society. Their emotional expression at work is guided by and interpreted within that framework.

One aspect of culture discussed by the participants was gender roles and the expectation that they conform to these requirements. The findings of this study imply that required emotions are not gender-neutral and that emotional expression has become not only a marketplace commodity, but a vehicle for attaining power and privilege that seems to accrue for men to a much greater extent than for women.

Shields (2002) asserts that emotion language is gendered and that the appropriation of emotion language can be used to gain privilege. The ability to accomplish this depends on the societal position of the person so that who becomes labeled as "emotional" depends on who creates the rules.

In this patriarchal society men have higher positional power, therefore women's emotionality is pathologized while men's is not even identified as "emotion" (Shields, 2002). The masculine logic of effectiveness operating in manufacturing is so accepted that it feels natural and right and "disappears" any behavior that seems inconsistent (Fletcher, 1999). The gender-related dynamics driving this disappearing process allow for the current power structure between the sexes to remain (Fletcher, 1999).

Thus the rules of emotional expression illustrate the culturally dominant views of emotion. Expectations and measures of ability with emotions reflect those cultural norms. The result is that in a male-dominated environment women either assimilate and accept the dominant views or they remain "emotion outlaws" (Shields, 2002, p. 183). This results in women accepting and conforming to behavioral roles and emotional expression requirements in order to be successful in their careers.

Conclusion 4

Emotions are used as a strategy of influence at both the organizational and individual levels

The emotions literature has examined how emotional expression can be related to power and control (Callahan, 2003; Fineman & Sturdy, 1999; Hochschild's, 1979, 1983; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Vince, 2001) at both the organizational and individual levels. At the organizational level, the literature has largely adopted Hochschild's (1979, 1983) original conceptualization of emotional labor as organizational control of employee emotions in exchange for a wage. Some research suggests that emotion requirements function to reproduce structural oppression (Brody, 2000; Parkin, 1996) and that socializing men and women to express different emotions serves to maintain polarized gender roles and power and status differences (Brody, 2000). This occurs because emotions are controlled by those in power who define what is appropriate, imposing a pathology on emotional expressions that do not fit criteria (Parkin, 1996).

In addition to critiques that emotional display and private feelings have become organizationally appropriated and commodified, research also points to the labor required, the controlled or self-controlling, to produce managerially desired/gendered effects (Filby, 1992; Fineman & Sturdy, 1999; Hall, 1993). Emotions play a role in reproducing social systems because they can structure as well as be structured by these social systems. When women accept emotional display rules that reinforce existing power structures they maintain the structure that produced these power differences. It is

only when we deviate from these emotion rules that we can change the structures that created those rules (Callahan, 2002; Tracy, 2000) as well as influence power differences.

Thus emotions play a critical role in teaching and reinforcing the hidden curriculum and are manifested in organizational culture and practices and maintained by those in power. Accordingly, when these participants expressed emotion in ways that were associated with the less powerful gender and were contrary to male-defined expectations, they suggested that this resulted in a loss of power. When they followed conventional emotion rules, they were rewarded with career success. This suggests that "doing leadership, doing power, doing gender" (Fletcher, 2002) as well as "doing emotions" are all aligned and function together to preserve the social structure.

Not only does the hidden curricula reinforce gender roles, but it also reproduces the power structure (Hayes and Flannery, 2000) that created the polarized gender roles. This hidden curriculum reproduces the dominant patriarchal system and teaches women subordination, silence and invisibility (Bierema, 2003). The women in this study reported that men use emotional expression to gain power over women much more often than women use it over men. If emotion requirements reproduce structural oppression and gender roles (Brody, 2000; Callahan, 2002; Parkin, 1996), this suggests that there is a hidden curriculum utilizing emotions to maintain existing power structures.

In addition to discussing power and emotions in terms of the ways organizations gain power and reinforce patterns of domination, there is also research indicating that individuals can use emotions to gain power for themselves. "Individually salient outcomes" (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987) of emotional expression have been demonstrated in the literature. This refers to employee-initiated control moves serving individuals'

purposes and benefiting the employee to gain increased power and legitimacy (Fabian, 1999; Kipnis & Schmidt, 1983; Lerum, 2000; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991). In this study the data analysis indicated that men most often used emotions to gain power over women because if they expressed anger, which is associated with power, and the women cried, an emotion associated with a loss of power, the men further increased their position and status over the women.

Women can also challenge the power structure because emotional expression may provide individuals the opportunity to use emotions "as a tool to break the cycle of reproducing structural domination" (Callahan, 2003, in press). For example, when employees' expressed emotions do not match organizational norms, "emotional deviance" occurs (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). They disregard feeling rules and express their true inner feelings. Callahan (2003) suggests that it is emotional deviance that provides the opportunity for creating social change and influencing power structures. This perspective suggests that the participants of this study had the opportunity to change their organizational cultures and the power dynamics within them, yet they chose not to because of perceived negative results.

The relationship between emotions and power and the use of emotional expression as a strategy of influence were topics that arose numerous times in this study. Essentially this involved one person, usually a man, using emotions as a tool to gain credibility, authority, or influence over another, usually a woman. On the contrary, the women in this study primarily discussed emotions in terms of losing power resulting from expressing emotions such as crying.

The loss or gain in influence transpires because of the perception of emotional expression. The belief that certatin emotional expression is unprofessional and irrational allows men the opportunity to use emotion as a power tool by causing women to cry. It is as a result of expressing emotions such as crying that one loses influence. Thus if two people are in a conflict, the one who ends up crying "loses" to the one who stays non-emotional. The "winner" wins because of the negative connotation that crying carries.

Another way emotions are used as a strategy of influence is in the display of anger. The use of anger in the form of a loud voice functions as a power tool because of the authoritative position associated with yelling and/or the fear instilled in the receiver of the anger. This was often illustrated by the participants as men yelling at women. Perhaps it is because the man, who already holds a position of power in society due to gender/status, is larger in size and is raising his voice at the smaller woman, accentuating any previously existing status differences. Expressing anger seems to have worked well for these men so they continue to use it. These stories told by the participants support the literature describing the acceptability of anger expression in men (Garner, Robertson, & Smith, 1997; Lewis, 2000; Sharkin, 1993).

Not only is it acceptable for men to display anger; the very expression of anger may not be acknowledged as emotion in that men are considered "unemotional" and women are seen as the emotional sex (Shields, 2002). Thus societal values create an acceptability of anger expression as a result of its lack of acknowledgement, whereas any emotional expression by women is deemed emotional and inappropriate. It is these societal values, the fact that yelling is not acknowledged as emotion but is perceived as powerful and that crying is perceived as losing control, that enable men to use emotional

expression to gain power over women. If these perceptions did not exist, the use of emotions as a strategy of influence would not be possible.

Conclusion 5

Women learn about emotional expression primarily through informal and incidental learning, therefore, HRD professionals must help employees learn through methods in addition to formal classroom training in order to develop employees' emotional intelligence.

This conclusion addresses the nature of the participants' learning, particularly the informal and incidental manner in which they acquired knowledge about emotional expression. The women described varied methods of learning, all of which meet the criteria for informal and incidental learning. These approaches include informal reflective learning, informal situated learning, and connected learning. The findings are related to each of these areas of the adult education literature. Implications for HRD are addressed and are further developed in the section entitled "Implications for practice and research."

Informal and incidental learning

> We can carry on the process of learning in everything we do, like
> a mother balancing her child on her hip as she goes about her work
> with the other hand or uses it to open the doors of the unknown.
> Living and learning, we become ambidextrous (Bateson, 1994, p. 9).

Bateson (1994) aptly describes informal and incidental learning as occurring with everyday activities, along with, during, and as a function and result of living. Similarly,

the participants in this study relayed learning as embedded within their critical incidents. They did not seek out the learning, rather, it happened without plan and just occurred as a result of a situation. This section describes participants' informal and incidental learning including reflective and situated learning.

Of the variety of ways that women managers described learning about emotional expression in the workplace, all can be classified as informal and/or incidental. Whereas the emotion work research describes employees learning the required emotion rules via organizational screening and selection, training, off-the-job socialization opportunities, and reward and punishment (Domagalski, 1999), this study did not align with those findings nor indicate a single incidence of formal classroom training in emotions.

Participants' methods of learning included such activities as trial and error, mentoring and coaching, and learning occurring by chance or as a byproduct of another activity. These ways of learning meet the definition in the literature and confirm the findings on informal and incidental learning (Bateson, 1994; Brooks, 1999; Jarvis, 1992; Marsick & Watkins, 1990; Marsick, Volpe, & Watkins, 1999; Merriam & Caffarella, 1999; Young, 1994) and demonstrate the power of learning informally and incidentally.

Marsick and Watkins (1990) discussed the importance of context in informal and incidental learning. The findings in this study reiterated the importance of the particular situation in determining the appropriateness of emotional expression. As in the authors' model, participants learned from an experience and subsequently framed new situations based on previous experiences, considering any new experience through that contextual lens. If a particular emotional expression resulted in negative (or positive) consequences, the participant considered that experience when she next encountered a similar situation.

Therefore the triggers of the incidents were embedded within the situation or context, as had been previously shown (Cseh, 1998).

Learning from others and from experience were the major learning strategies employed by these managers. This supports previous research indicating that managers learn informally from others, from experience, and can help others learn (Cseh, 1998; Ellinger, 1998; Jarvis, 1992; Young, 1994). Young (1994) revealed that managers relied on interpersonal interaction and learning from others to acquire business knowledge. The managers in this study confirmed these findings as the participants cited learning from others as crucial to understanding appropriate emotional expression.

In addition to learning from others, learning from experience was frequently mentioned by these participants. Jarvis (1992) described learning as "the process of transforming life experiences into knowledge." These women used the experiences described in their critical incidents to learn and grow.

Informal Reflective Learning

Brooks (1999) described critical and reflective learning as informal learning used by managers. Fittingly, research indicates that critical reflection is rarely formal (Freire, 1972; Mezirow, 1981; Brookfield, 1987). In addition, reflection on a triggering event resulting in changed behavior is considered to be incidental learning (Marsick and Watkins, 1997). The participants in this study engaged in reflective learning in many ways.

The participants often utilized reflection on action (Schon, 1987), reflecting on their behavior after the event in order to facilitate learning. This use of reflection on action often resulted in future reflection in action because the learning that occurred from the

previous experience enabled the participants to influence and change their behavior during an experience rather than after.

Participants also learned reflectively through trial and error. With trial and error, the participant reflected on an event after it was unsuccessful, and subsequently changed her behavior. Or to the contrary, if the emotional expression was successful, the behavior was reinforced. Observation of other people's behavior also entails reflection because the participant reflected on the impression that the other person made with his or her behavior. Subsequently, she concluded that a different behavior would be more advantageous.

Reflection would also play a critical role in the learning described by participants as that learning which resulted from age and experience. This kind of learning involved repeated reflection over years of events in order for the women to learn and grow from the multitude of experiences that accumulated throughout their careers. Each of these examples demonstrates that the participants engaged in informal, incidental, reflective learning about emotional expression in the workplace.

In sum, key learning for participants occurred informally from others and from experience, therefore supporting prior research in informal and incidental learning. This has significant implications for HRD. Professionals responsible for developing employees and encouraging learning often accomplish this using formal classroom training. Yet this study demonstrates the significance and influence of informal and incidental learning in settings other than the traditional classroom environment.

The emotional intelligence literature discusses the occurrence of some formal training, for example, training service workers to smile. However, the participants in this

study did not identify any such formal training in their experiences. Without this formal training regarding emotional expression, these women learned informally and incidentally.

Informal Situated Learning

The importance of the situated nature of experience in the participants' learning indicates the criticality of the context and situation and learning through experience. Bateson (1994) describes this type of learning as continually recycling past experiences and acquiring meaning through this process. In addition the author stresses "the text of experience is always open to reinterpretation (p. 105), thus reiterating the importance of learning from experience as well as the need for the particular situation to define appropriateness of emotional expression.

These participants provided examples of learning illustrated through experiences and the acquisition of emotions knowledge while immersed in a particular situation, and the dependency of that knowledge on that particular situation. This type of learning supports the notion of situated learning. A central tenet of situated learning is the importance of context and the unavoidable connection between thinking and a particular context (Merriam & Brockett, 1997).

The participants in this study suggested that the appropriateness of emotional expression relates to the specific context, including the situation and person involved. Whether the context is their position in the organization, a particular given moment, or the person with whom they are interacting, rules of emotional expression will vary. Thus they use situated learning to identify, assess, and determine the most effective emotional expression.

Connected Learning

In conjunction with learning informally many of these participants learned through each other. The women in this study did not learn and develop in the manner indicated by traditional models of adult learning and development. These women learned through connected learning. The participants described learning and knowing through interactions and relationships with others, therefore supporting the literature on women's learning (Belenky, et al., 1986; Bierema, 1994; Caffarella & Olson, 1993; Giesbrecht, 1998; Gilligan, 1982; Hayes & Flannery, 2000; Helgesen, 1990; MacRae, 1995; Ruddick, 1996; Van Velsor & Hughes, 1990). The participants in this study learned through other people, women or men, by observing their actions, from feedback, and from knowledge gained through them.

In addition to mastering new knowledge, some of these women engaged themselves, coming to a better understanding of their feelings, needs, and roles. Recent scholarship indicates that women's learning involves personal growth and change and perhaps changes in identity (Caffarella & Olson, 1993; Merriam, 2000).

This study indicates the existence of this kind of learning and development. In addition to learning, many of the women developed their sense of self through questioning their degree of authenticity in emotional expression and attempting "to maintain a fluid sense of self" (Caffarella & Olson, 1993). According to Flannery and Hayes (2000), for women the self is delineated through connections with others. In this study participants came to an understanding of how to effectively negotiate their emotional expression to the satisfaction of themselves, colleagues, and managers and

they often learned this through and with others. In essence, each woman's emotional self was constructed, and this was accomplished through connections with others.

Considering the concept of connected learning, the participants illustrated three of the categories of learning described by Belenky et al. (1986). These included received knowledge, procedural knowledge, and constructed knowledge. Those who indicated using received knowledge were women who received knowledge from external authorities. As defined by Belenky et al. (1986), these women saw knowledge as coming from others. Participants demonstrating this category of learning provided examples of learning about emotional expression involving only knowledge received from other employees. For example, supervisors and more experienced colleagues provided feedback to them about their emotional expression, provoking them to change the way they behaved at work.

Belenky et al. (1986) defined procedural knowledge as women employing objective methods to acquire and to communicate knowledge. With constructed knowledge, women perceive all knowledge as contextual and believe themselves to be creators of knowledge. Both of these categories of learning were evident in the data by participants who described actively seeking out knowledge about emotional expression. Rather than relying only on feedback (as did the received knowers), these participants actively observed others, sought out mentors and role models, and purposely altered their behavior to fit a particular context.

Conclusion 6

Psychodynamics exist in the workplace that continually reproduce the pathology of emotional expression.

The concept of psychodynamics refers to motivational forces that consciously and unconsciously affect behavior. This includes behaviors and social defenses aimed at the reduction of anxiety, including a discussion of Model I and Model II behavior (Argyris, 1982, 1990, 1993). Social defenses are ritualistic processes that are created unconsciously by members of an organization in order to protect themselves from the experience of anxiety (Argyris, 1993; Bion, 1989; Hirschhorn, 1977, 1999; Moxnes, 1998). This conclusion addresses psychodynamics and anxiety, psychodynamics and gender, and how these unconscious motivational forces exist in the workplace and affect the expressions and perceptions of emotional expression.

One question stemming from this study is what are the motivational forces that are, in most participants' workplaces, encouraging the squelching of emotional expression? Two answers to consider are the following: 1) rationality is more effective than emotionality in avoiding anxiety, therefore, the organizational requirement for rationality is a social defense against anxiety, and 2) gender socialization is reinforced in the workplace in order to maintain societal gender roles and subordination of women.

Psychodynamics and anxiety

Behaviors that seem normal and persist unquestioned may in fact be social defenses that were created and continue to remain in place in order to reduce anxiety. If someone

has emotions or feelings, he or she may feel anxiety. On the contrary, if a person does not acknowledge emotions or is not allowed to show them, it is unlikely he or she can feel any anxiety. Thus, the motivational force underlying the discouragement of emotional expression is an avoidance of anxiety and a depersonalization of relationships.

Emotion work requires evoking an emotion not naturally felt by an employee and may actually cause anxiety. The participants in this study indicated that this occurred; that denying their true emotions caused anxiety due to feeling a lack of authenticity. This would be the result of feeling inauthentic because of a gap between what is truly felt and what is expressed. Some of the participants alluded to this uncomfortable feeling, particularly those working in human resources. Thus the organization's effort to reduce anxiety may backfire if emotion work requires an employee to suppress her true feelings and display alternative emotions. Perhaps the organizational expectation to avoid emotional expression functions as a social defense only at the organizational level.

Argryis' (1990) description of people engaging in defensive routines to avoid feelings and emotions was confirmed in this research. Participants demonstrated the existence of this psychodynamic by describing workplaces that discourage emotional expression so much that performance ratings are decreased as a result of emotional expression. Thus policies and procedures functioned to maintain these defensive routines. However, whereas the participants were aware that their emotional expressions were the cause of poor reviews, they doubted their supervisors would acknowledge or even realize this. This suggests that the supervisors are acting as Argyris' (1990) suggested; that people can be unaware of their defensive routines and illustrate a pattern so ingrained that they cannot identify their defensive routine.

Argyris' (1982, 1990, 1993) descriptions of the ideal behavior, Model II, involves sharing thoughts, feelings, information, and responsibility, and therefore eliminating the use of defensive routines. This behavior is difficult to engage in when the environment discourages emotional expression. In contrast, Model I behavior avoids feelings, one's own as well as those of others. This behavior, and its sanction in the workplace, functions well as a social defense against feelings and anxiety.

Psychodynamics and gender

Another psychodynamic functioning in the workplace is the maintenance of gender roles. I previously discussed the use of emotional expression to maintain social structure and gender roles, however, the psychodynamics underlying this phenomenon was not addressed.

Organizations predominantly have male-defined cultural expectations and male characteristics are rewarded. Accordingly, expectations and evaluation of women's behavior are in terms of gender roles. Therefore, when women display an emotional behavior it is unconsciously evaluated in terms of their gender. For example, if a woman becomes assertive in order to get employees to respond, it is deemed inappropriate and she is labeled a bitch. Thus emotional expression is contained within limits of gender. The result is that gender socialization is reinforced and perpetuated in the workplace.

These requirements for women by their workplaces state that they should contain their emotional expression within boundaries deemed appropriate for women. This is similar to expectations of women's body size, movement, and language. Just as social and cultural expectations suppress women's voices (Hayes, 2000; Oakley, 2000), boundaries also exist for women in terms of physical presence, body size, position, and

status (Humm, 1995; Tong, 1998). Emotional expression follows suit in societal efforts toward developing and maintaining female limitations and boundaries.

Even though some of the participants were conscious of the purposes of emotion rules, the norms continue to exist. Supporting the notion of "undiscussables" (Argyris, 1990) and the difficulty of seeing a social defense (Hirschhorn, 1999), emotional display rules in these participants' workplaces continue to exist because they remain undiscussable and unchallenged, causing the defenses themselves to become more intense and permanent. As a result, emotional expression in the workplace continues to be pathologized.

Implications for Practice and Research

This study revealed that women managers learn about emotional expression primarily through informal and incidental learning. They learned that maintaining a "poker face" is often the best tactic and that appropriate emotional expression is dependent on the situation as well as gender because of the importance of conforming to gender roles. They learned the need to emulate men in order to be perceived as professional and that they continue to be evaluated based on gender, facing many double-binds as a result. In addition this study revealed that these women managers were informally learning about emotional expression through others and through their experiences. This research has implications for women, managers, mentors, and human resources professionals.

Organizations

This study illustrated the importance of cultural views reinforcing existing social structures. This reinforces the importance of critically examining organizational

practices, policies, and structures to ensure that they do not function to reproduce gendered power relations. Organizations need to support women in their careers in respect to any learning that affects their careers, including that of emotional expression.

Organizations can create cultures which would encourage the development of learning opportunities. This could include creating continuous learning opportunities, encouraging dialogue and collaboration, and establishing systems to promote and share learning. A learning organization (Watkins & Marsick, 1993) promotes continuous learning, thus increasing the likelihood of learning informally from each other. It creates an environment where people are more honest and communicative and use each other to learn without fear of repercussions.

These practices will help organizations to develop their employees' emotional intelligence and employee's ability to perform emotion work, resulting in improved individual and organizational performance. In addition, acknowledging the existence of emotions will help organizations to encourage healthy expression of emotions and the development of healthy, trusting relationships.

A commitment to leveling the playing field for women should manifest in constructive and supportive systems. Organizational systems including hiring, promotion, training, and compensation need to avoid reproducing the existing power structure.

Managers and human resource professionals

One important implication is that informal training programs for emotional intelligence may be as effective as formal classroom learning situations. This indicates the importance of considering alternative methods to develop employees' emotional

intelligence. These methods can include mentoring, creating continuous learning opportunities, and encouraging dialogue and collaboration.

A mentoring program in which more experienced managers, preferably women, can guide less experienced women in effective emotional expression would help young and inexperienced women. The advantage a mentoring program would offer over a traditional classroom training program in emotional expression or emotional intelligence is the ability to learn about emotional expression within a particular context. The participants indicated the importance of the particular situation, including person, position and gender, in determining emotional expression. Informal situated learning may be more sensitive to differences in situations, employee position, and gender than formal learning situations. The disadvantage of mentoring is that it may reproduce patriarchal culture (Bierema, 1996).

Those that are in a position to influence culture in organizations should encourage more open and honest communication if the motivation behind avoiding emotional expression is a defense functioning to reduce anxiety. They should consider that an alternative Model I mode of behavior would result in a healthier and more effective working environment where there are no undiscussables and employees are aware of defensive routines and demonstrate this type of behavior. This would result in a further increase of discussion and learning.

It is important to consider that rules around emotional expression may function as yet another aspect of the glass ceiling. These rules prevent women from advancing because of insurmountable double-binds that exist around emotional expression, resulting in women's work performance being perceived as less effective than it is in reality. It is

critical that human resource professionals and managers acquire gender consciousness so they are aware of evaluating employees based on gender rather than performance.

While more formal in nature, an additional training method for human resource professionals and managers to consider for developing emotional intelligence is action learning. Action learning involves learning about real problems, in the action, and within an actual work context (Bierema, 2001). The importance of context and learning about emotional expression through experience has already been presented. Action learning would provide a simulated situation and experience through which the employees can learn without jeopardizing their performance or career success. Action learning teams could be established with a combination of employees perceived as high in emotional intelligence and some as low. This would allow those that are more knowledgeable to give immediate feedback to those needing to learn. This provides a real situation in which to learn yet avoids negative consequences.

Women and men employees

Women and men need to gain an awareness and understanding of gender roles and their impact on behavioral expectations, career development and success. Gaining this consciousness is critical to development and to making progress toward change. Becoming aware of the powerful and pervasive impact organizational culture can have on employees and performance will help prevent unconscious acceptance of values and influences on behavior.

Managers should not operate within "darkness" (Lampe, 2002). Both women and men need to be critical of their own behavior and understand why they behave the way they do. Understanding the source of values and being conscious of decisions, behaviors,

and their potential implications will prevent unknowingly perpetuating those values, systems, and structures.

In addition it is critical to provide education for men in order to make them conscious of patriarchal values, perpetuating behaviors, and how they can avoid reproducing the social structure.

Research

This study raised issues for further research as well as provided support for its methodology in studying emotions. Emotions research needs to continue in order to acknowledge the existence of emotions and emotional expression in the workplace and examine their importance to managerial effectiveness, career development, and success.

Several studies that could further advance the field are to examine the methods suggested above for developing emotional intelligence. Establishing a mentoring program, developing a learning organization, and implementing an action learning program were all suggested under implications for practice. Studying the effects of each of these programs on emotional intelligence and women's ability to learn about emotional expression would provide needed data for the emotions literature.

Another study that would provide important knowledge for emotions research would be one that examines the relationship between emotional expression and performance ratings. This is necessary because if data indicates that managers are rating women lower because of emotions, it is important to determine if it is emotional expression, gender role conformity, or actual performance on which they are rated. Gender specific expectations of emotional expression affect women's potential for career success because they must conform to these gender roles. This results in women looking

unsuitable for the workplace, negatively impacting their careers. Thus it is important to verify if this phenomenon exists and try to determine how to remedy the situation.

Research on the potential for informal learning to enhance emotional intelligence is critical. The literature has provided an increasing number of examples in the last decade of emotional intelligence training programs. These have all been formal classroom training programs (Cherniss & Adler, 2000; Cherniss & Goleman, 2001; Weisinger, 1998). The women in this study indicated successful learning occurring from informal and incidental learning. This is an area of research that would greatly benefit the emotions literature as well as support the existing informal learning literature.

A noteworthy phenomena in this study is that all the participants' critical incidents involved men. Future research could examine women's emotional experiences with other women. A comparison of the types of emotions elicited with other women as compared to with other men could provide interesting information on gender roles, gender consciousness, and employee interaction.

Lastly, a recommendation for future research can be made regarding methodology. The use of critical incidents in this research allowed for participants to provide me with emotional data that may have been difficult if another research method was used. If they had been asked directly about how emotional expression affected them, there likely would have been two major problems. The first problem is that they may not remember or be conscious of what and how they learned about emotional expression. Second, if discussing this was emotionally difficult for them they would not have shared enough quality information with me. Thus critical incidents permitted them to tell a story,

keeping the situation safe and comfortable for them and allowing me to sort through their stories for critical information.

Chapter Summary

This chapter summarized the study and presented the findings. The remainder of the chapter detailed the following six conclusions of the study:

1. The rules and acceptability of emotional expression in a manufacturing workplace are dependent upon the employee's gender and particular situation.
2. A male dominated system may create a need for women to perform more emotion work than men by emulating male behavior.
3. Social structure is reproduced becaues of the importance of culture in defining the appropriateness of emotional expression
4. Emotions are used as a strategy of influence at both the organizational and individual levels.
5. Women learn about emotional expression primarily through informal and incidental learning, therefore, HRD professionals must help employees learn through methods in addition to formal classroom training in order to develop employees' emotional intelligence.
6. Psychodynamics exist in the workplace that continually reproduce the pathology of emotional expression.

After explaining each conclusion and relating the conclusions to the literature, implications for practice and research were presented.

Limitations

It is important to note several limitations that affect the findings and conclusions of this study. First are methodological limitations. Qualitative research lacks generalizability in the traditional sense since it is limited to a particular time and place and particular circumstances (Wolcott, 1990). The circumstances of this study include the small sample of women managers in manufacturing. The sample decreases the applicability of the study's findings beyond the participants and environments involved.

In addition, there are limitations resulting from researcher bias. The areas in which my bias was strong included my belief that behavior, including emotional expression, is both biological and learned, and that emotional expression should not necessarily be avoided. My bias in these areas may have influenced the analysis and findings if I unconscoiusly looked for data supporting my beliefs.

The critical incident method can potentially limit findings. The findings are based on the particular critical incidents recalled by the participants. These critical incidents rely on the memory of the participants. First, the incidents they described were often not recent, thus detail may have been lost and memory of the event may have become vague. Second, those incidents they did not recall or present to me may have carried important messages and themes. It is possible that both of these limitations could have affected the findings.

The critical incident method also relies on context. Thus, findings must be considered in relation to that context. It is necessary to question how much has to do

with a specific context. For example, the fact that these critical incidents all involved men may have only to do with context rather than suggest an important finding. Similarly, the suggested importance of informal learning of emotions skills may have more to do with the informal context than the effectiveness of informal learning over formal. All of the above must be considered along with the findings and conclusions.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Interview Guide

Our interview together will follow the general guidelines below and will last approximately one hour. The questions I will ask you appear below so you may spend any time necessary reflecting on experiences before discussing them with me. As you reflect on the events you have chosen and on the questions, you may want to make notes as recollections occur between now and the actual interview. You may wish to use these as a reference during the interview as well. These questions are intended as a guide or starting point for our discussion, therefore I may ask follow-up questions in addition to these.

Thank you for participating in this study. I look forward to our meeting together.

Questions:

Recall two incidents that occurred at work in which you may have experienced a strong emotional reaction, whether it was expressed or not. These incidents must be ones that were critical to your learning about emotional expression in the workplace. For each incident, please describe the following:

- the event and the context
- how you felt
- your expressed emotional reaction
- why you chose this reaction
- the result of your chosen emotional expression
- what you learned from this incident about emotions and the workplace
- Why did you choose this incident as your critical incident?
- What impact, if any, do you think this had on your performance?
- In addition, do you recall ever being taught about expressing emotions in the workplace?

Participant background information:

1. What is your current position?
2. For how long have you held that position?
3. For how many years total have you been at management/director level?
4. Demographics: (optional)
   Race:
   Geographic background:
   Age:
   Education:
   Marital Status:

APPENDIX B

Description of the Study

The workplace environment differs for women and men. Options and opportunities for women continue to be limited by traditional attitudes. Women are still segregated into careers designated as feminine and pay differences continue to exist. One area in which men and women may have different experiences is the expression of emotions in the workplace. Just as with career expectations, there are societal gender expectations around emotional expression with certain emotions seen as more appropriate for women, such as sadness and friendliness, and others for men, such as anger and aggression.

Women put more effort into expressing emotions defined as gender appropriate such as friendliness, a lack of aggression, or behaviors that help them become accepted into male cultures. These gender specific expectations affect women's potential for career success because they must conform to these roles.

Success in the workplace has been attributed to effectively expressing emotions. Given the importance of emotional skill to career success, it would be beneficial to understand how women learn about emotional expression in the workplace. Understanding how women learn this crucial skill will allow for other women to gain from this knowledge and develop these skills, and subsequently advance their careers.

The participants for this research will be women managers in manufacturing. The data for this research will be collected in the form of critical incidents. Critical incidents are interviews or conversations where participants tell a story. They will describe key examples and times when they recall having a strong emotional reaction in the workplace. These incidents must be ones that were critical to their learning about emotional expression in the workplace. They will be asked to describe in detail the context, behavior, effect of behavior, and learning that resulted from this incident. The interviews will be analyzed by continually examining the data and sorting of the critical incidents into categories and themes.

APPENDIX C

Consent Form

I agree to participate in the research study *Women Managers: Learning about Expressing Emotions in the Workplace*, which is being conducted by Rose Opengart, Department of Adult Education at the University of Georgia. This study is under the direction of Dr. Laura Bierema, University of Georgia, Department of Adult Education, 403 River's Crossing Building, Athens, GA 30602. Either can be reached at 706-542-2214.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw my consent to participate at any time without penalty, and have the results of my participation returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The reason for this research is to explore how women at the director or management level learn about emotional expression in the workplace. Through my participation in this study, I will be contributing to the body of knowledge advancing women's learning, learning in the workplace, and emotions in the workplace. In addition, I may gain insight that could benefit my own career.

If I volunteer to take part in this study, I will be asked to do the following things:

1. Procedures:
    a. Participation will involve one interview with the researcher lasting approximately one hour. It is possible that a brief follow-up interview may be necessary if the researcher needs to clarify information.
    b. The interview will be tape recorded and transcribed by the researcher or by a typist employed by the researcher. My personal identity and all other personally identifiable information will be kept confidential. I will be asked to review the interview transcript for accuracy, and the amended transcript will then be returned to the researcher.
    c. I will be asked to review an information packet prior to the interview which will include a brief description of the study, an explanation of the procedure, and interview guidelines, including questions to be addressed during the interview. This will allow you time to select and recall two events in your life to discuss during the interview.
2. I understand that there may be some emotional discomfort due to the recollection of and discussion of an emotional event in my life.
3. I understand that my identity will be kept confidential, and will not be released in an individually identifiable form without my prior consent. Data tapes will be erased by June, 2003. The transcripts will be retained for future research purposes.
4. The researcher will answer any questions about the research now or at any time during the course of the study. She may be reached by telephone at 706-542-2214.

My signature below indicates that the researchers have answered all of my questions to my satisfaction and that I consent to volunteer for this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____	_____
Signature of Researcher Date	Signature of Participant Date
Rose Opengart	

For questions or problems about your rights please call or write: Chris A. Joseph, Ph.D., Human Subjects Office, University of Georgia, 606A Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-6514; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu.

PLEASE SIGN BOTH COPIES. KEEP ONE AND RETURN THE OTHER TO THE RESEARCHER.