

Emotions and Moods

Time cools, time clarifies; no mood can be maintained quite unaltered through the course of hours.

—Mark Twain



LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this chapter, you should be able to:

1 Differentiate emotions from moods and list the basic emotions and moods.

2 Discuss whether emotions are rational and what functions they serve.

3 Identify the sources of emotions and moods.

4 Show the impact emotional labor has on employees.

5 Describe affective events theory and identify its applications.

6 Contrast the evidence for and against the existence of emotional intelligence.

7 Apply concepts about emotions and moods to specific OB issues.

8 Contrast the experience, interpretation, and expression of emotions across cultures.

Can revenge be a motivator? Absolutely. Consider what Terry Garnett says: "I do hold grudges. Am I motivated by that? Absolutely."

In the 1990s, Garnett was a senior vice president at Oracle, reporting to Oracle CEO Larry Ellison. The two traveled around the world together, rubbed elbows with media and movie moguls, and became friends. The families even vacationed together in Japan. Ellison, an ardent admirer of all things Japanese, invited Garnett to join him in the

Sweet Revenge



famed Philosopher's Walk to the Ginkakuji Temple in Kyoto.

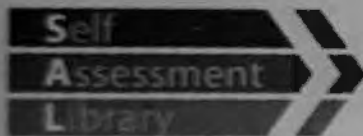
A few weeks after returning from their trip to Japan, Ellison called Garnett into his office and summarily fired him. Feeling numb and lacking a clear explanation for his dismissal, Garnett walked the 30 feet from Ellison's office to his own, packed up his things, and left. "I tried to keep composed," he said. Privately, though, he was seething, telling himself, "There will be a day of reckoning."

Channeling his anger, Garnett started competing directly with Ellison and Oracle by investing in promising start-up projects. A recent example is Ingres, a low-cost software provider that Garnett hopes will compete directly with Oracle's bread-and-butter offering: its

high-price database business (together, Oracle and IBM claim 70 percent of the global database business). Garnett has hired away numerous Oracle employees, forming a small army of engineers and managers to help him take the battle to the enemy. In 2004, Garnett and David Helfrich founded Garnett & Helfrich Capital, a \$350 million private equity fund for mid-sized technology spinouts. Rather than focusing on start-ups or buyouts of well-established companies, Garnett & Helfrich focuses on existing technology businesses or product lines that have struggled.

In reflecting on his successes, Garnett says, "The simplest way to create a culture is to pick an enemy. We have an enemy. It's Oracle."¹ ■

As the example of Terry Garnett shows, emotions can spur us to action. Before we delve further into emotions and moods, get an assessment of your mood state right now. Take the following self-assessment to find out what sort of mood you're in.



HOW ARE YOU FEELING RIGHT NOW?

In the Self-Assessment Library (available online), take assessment IV.D.1 (How Are You Feeling Right Now?) and answer the following questions.

1. What was higher—your positive mood score or negative mood score? How do these scores compare with those of your classmates?
2. Did your score surprise you? Why or why not?
3. What sorts of things influence your positive moods? your negative moods?

Given the obvious role that emotions play in our work and everyday lives, it might surprise you to learn that, until recently, the field of OB has given the topic of emotions little or no attention.² How could this be? We can offer two possible explanations.

The first is the *myth of rationality*.³ From the late nineteenth century and the rise of scientific management until very recently, the protocol of the work world was to keep a damper on emotions. A well-run organization didn't allow employees to express frustration, fear, anger, love, hate, joy, grief, and similar feelings. The prevailing thought was that such emotions were the antithesis of rationality. Even though researchers and managers knew that emotions were an inseparable part of everyday life, they tried to create organizations that were emotion free. That, of course, wasn't possible.

The second explanation is that many believed that emotions of any kind are disruptive.⁴ When researchers considered emotions, they looked at strong negative emotions—especially anger—that interfered with an employee's ability to work effectively. They rarely viewed emotions as constructive or contributing to enhanced performance.

Certainly some emotions, particularly when exhibited at the wrong time, can hinder employee performance. But this doesn't change the fact that employees bring their emotional sides with them to work every day and that no study of OB would be comprehensive without considering the role of emotions in workplace behavior.

What Are Emotions and Moods?

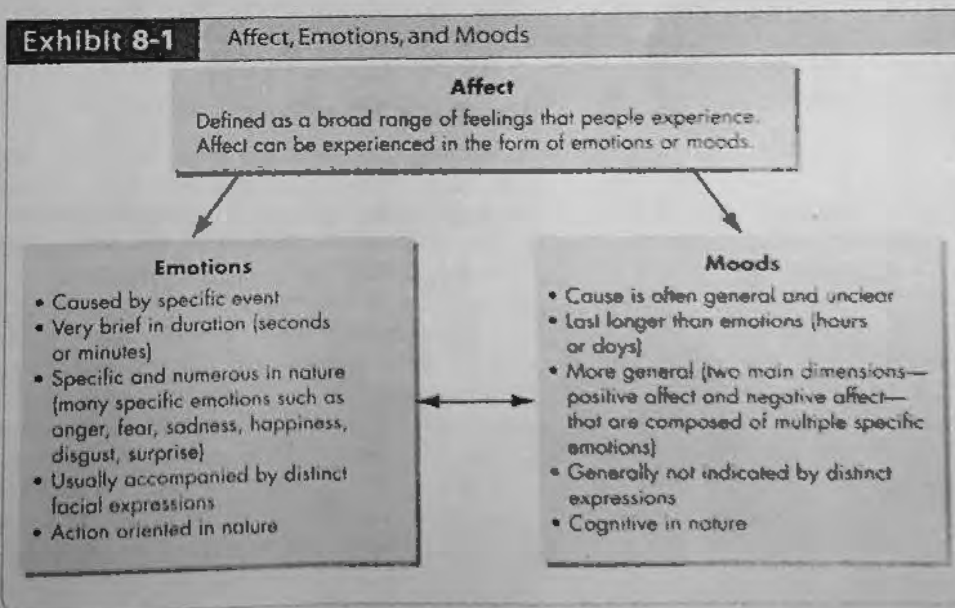
1 Differentiate emotions from moods and list the basic emotions and moods.

Although we don't want to belabor definitions, before we can proceed with our analysis, we need to clarify three terms that are closely intertwined: *affect*, *emotions*, and *moods*.

Affect is a generic term that covers a broad range of feelings that people experience. It's an umbrella concept that encompasses both emotions and moods.⁵ **Emotions** are intense feelings that are directed at someone or something.⁶ **Moods** are feelings that tend to be less intense than emotions and that often (though not always) lack a contextual stimulus.⁷

Most experts believe that emotions are more fleeting than moods.⁸ For example, if someone is rude to you, you'll feel angry. That intense feeling of anger probably comes and goes fairly quickly, maybe even in a matter of seconds. When you're in a bad mood, though, you can feel bad for several hours.

Emotions are reactions to a person (for example, seeing a friend at work may make you feel glad) or event (for example, dealing with a rude client may make you feel angry). You show your emotions when you're "happy about something, angry at someone, afraid of something."⁹ Moods, in contrast, aren't usually directed at a person or an event. But emotions can turn into moods when you lose focus on the event or object that started the feeling. And, by the same token, good or bad moods can make you more emotional in response to an event. So when a colleague criticizes how you spoke to a client, you might become angry at him. That is, you show emotion (anger) toward a specific object (your colleague). But as the specific emotion dissipates, you might just feel generally dispirited. You can't attribute this feeling to any single event; you're just not your normal self. You might then overreact to other events. This affect state describes a mood. Exhibit 8-1 shows the relationships among affect, emotions, and mood.



affect A broad range of feelings that people experience.

emotions Intense feelings that are directed at someone or something.

moods Feelings that tend to be less intense than emotions and that lack a contextual stimulus.

First, as the exhibit shows, affect is a broad term that encompasses emotions and moods. Second, there are differences between emotions and moods. Some of these differences—that emotions are more likely to be caused by a specific event, and emotions are more fleeting than moods—we just discussed. Other differences are subtler. For example, unlike moods, emotions tend to be more clearly revealed with facial expressions (for example, anger, disgust). Also, some researchers speculate that emotions may be more action-oriented—they may lead us to some immediate action—while moods may be more cognitive, meaning they may cause us to think or brood for a while.¹⁰

Finally, the exhibit shows that emotions and moods can mutually influence each other. For example, an emotion, if it's strong and deep enough, can turn into a mood: Getting your dream job may generate the emotion of joy, but it also can put you in a good mood for several days. Similarly, if you're in a good or bad mood, it might make you experience a more intense positive or negative emotion than would otherwise be the case. For example, if you're in a bad mood, you might "blow up" in response to a coworker's comment when normally it would have just generated a mild reaction. Because emotions and moods can mutually influence each other, there will be many points throughout the chapter where emotions and moods will be closely connected.

Although affect, emotions, and moods are separable in theory, in practice the distinction isn't always crystal clear. In fact, in some areas, researchers have studied mostly moods, and in other areas, mainly emotions. So, when we review the OB topics on emotions and moods, you may see more information on emotions in one area and moods in another. This is simply the state of the research.

Also, the terminology can be confusing. For example, the two main mood dimensions are positive affect and negative affect, yet we have defined affect more broadly than mood. So, although the topic can be fairly dense in places, hang in there. The material is interesting—and applicable to OB.

The Basic Emotions

How many emotions are there? In what ways do they vary? There are dozens of emotions, including anger, contempt, enthusiasm, envy, fear, frustration, disappointment, embarrassment, disgust, happiness, hate, hope, jealousy, joy, love, pride, surprise, and sadness. There have been numerous research efforts to limit and define the dozens of emotions into a fundamental or basic set of emotions.¹¹ But some researchers argue that it makes no sense to think of basic emotions because even emotions we rarely experience, such as shock, can have a powerful effect on us.¹² Other researchers, even philosophers, argue that there are universal emotions common to all of us. René Descartes, often called the founder of modern philosophy, identified six "simple and primitive passions"—wonder, love, hatred, desire, joy, and sadness—and argued that "all the others are composed of some of these six or are species of them."¹³ Other philosophers (Hume, Hobbes, Spinoza) identified categories of emotions. Although these philosophers were helpful, the burden to provide conclusive evidence for the existence of a basic set of emotions still rests with contemporary researchers.

In contemporary research, psychologists have tried to identify basic emotions by studying facial expressions.¹⁴ One problem with this approach is that some emotions are too complex to be easily represented on our faces. Take love, for example. Many think of love as the most universal of all emotions,¹⁵ yet it's not easy to express a loving emotion with one's face only. Also, cultures

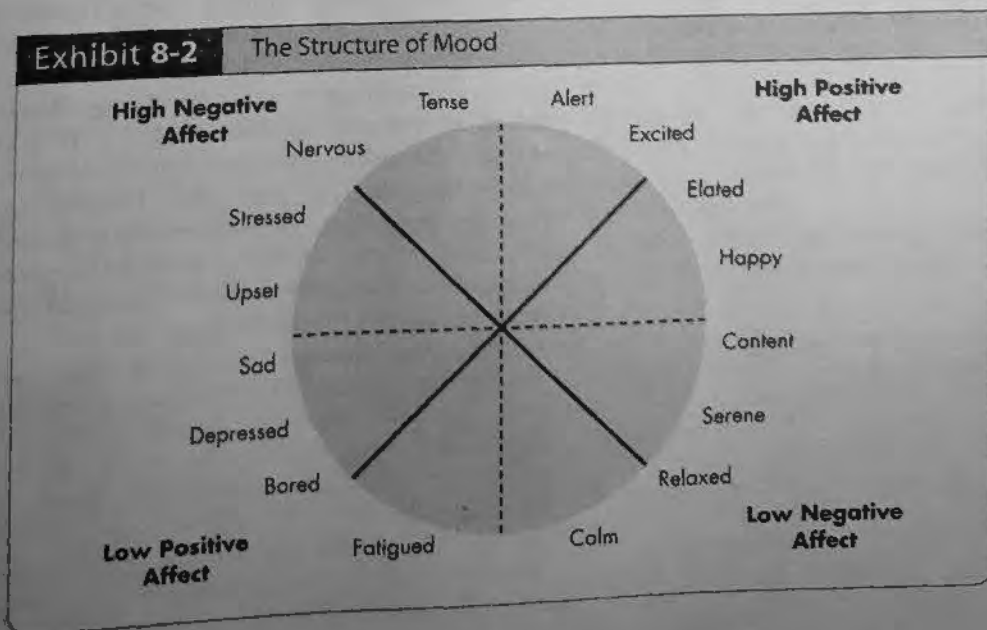
have norms that govern emotional expression, so how we *experience* an emotion isn't always the same as how we *show* it. And many companies today offer anger-management programs to teach people to contain or even hide their inner feelings.¹⁶

It's unlikely that psychologists or philosophers will ever completely agree on a set of basic emotions, or even whether it makes sense to think of basic emotions. Still, enough researchers have agreed on six essentially universal emotions—anger, fear, sadness, happiness, disgust, and surprise—with most other emotions subsumed under one of these six categories.¹⁷ Some researchers even plot these six emotions along a continuum: happiness—surprise—fear—sadness—anger—disgust.¹⁸ The closer any two emotions are to each other on this continuum, the more likely it is that people will confuse them. For instance, we sometimes mistake happiness for surprise, but rarely do we confuse happiness and disgust. In addition, as we'll see later on, cultural factors can also influence interpretations.

The Basic Moods: Positive and Negative Affect

One way to classify emotions is by whether they are positive or negative.¹⁹ Positive emotions—such as joy and gratitude—express a favorable evaluation or feeling. Negative emotions—such as anger or guilt—express the opposite. Keep in mind that emotions can't be neutral. Being neutral is being nonemotional.²⁰

When we group emotions into positive and negative categories, they become mood states because we are now looking at them more generally instead of isolating one particular emotion. In Exhibit 8-2, excited is a specific emotion that is a pure marker of high positive affect, while boredom is a pure marker of low positive affect. Similarly, nervous is a pure marker of high negative affect, while relaxed is a pure marker of low negative affect. Finally, some emotions—such as contentment (a mixture of high positive affect and low negative affect) and sadness (a mixture of low positive affect and high negative affect)—are in between. You'll notice that this model does not include all emotions. There are two reasons. First, we can fit other emotions such as enthusiasm or depression into the model, but we're short on space. Second, some emotions, such as surprise, don't fit well because they're not as clearly positive or negative.



So, we can think of **positive affect** as a mood dimension consisting of positive emotions such as excitement, self-assurance, and cheerfulness at the high end and boredom, sluggishness, and tiredness at the low end. **Negative affect** is a mood dimension consisting of nervousness, stress, and anxiety at the high end and relaxation, tranquility, and poise at the low end. (Note that positive and negative affect *are* moods. We're using these labels, rather than *positive mood* and *negative mood* because that's how researchers label them.)

Positive affect and negative affect play out at work (and beyond work, of course) in that they color our perceptions, and these perceptions can become their own reality. For example, one flight attendant posted an anonymous blog on the Web that said: "I work in a pressurized aluminum tube and the environment outside my 'office' cannot sustain human life. That being said, the human life inside is not worth sustaining sometimes . . . in fact, the passengers can be jerks, and idiots. I am often treated with no respect, nobody listens to me . . . until I threaten to kick them off the plane."²¹ Clearly, if a flight attendant is in a bad mood, it's going to influence his perceptions of passengers, which will, in turn, influence his behavior.

Importantly, negative emotions are likely to translate into negative moods. People think about events that created strong negative emotions five times as long as they do about events that created strong positive ones.²² So, we should expect people to recall negative experiences more readily than positive ones. Perhaps one of the reasons is that, for most of us, they're also more unusual. Indeed, research shows that there is a **positivity offset**, meaning that at zero input (when nothing in particular is going on), most individuals experience a mildly positive mood.²³ So, for most people, positive moods are somewhat more common than negative moods. The positivity offset also appears to operate at work. For example, one study of customer-service representatives in a British call center (probably a job where it's pretty difficult to feel positive) revealed that people reported experiencing positive moods 58 percent of the time.²⁴

The Function of Emotions

Do Emotions Make Us Irrational? How often have you heard someone say, "Oh, you're just being emotional"? You might have been offended. The famous astronomer Carl Sagan once wrote, "Where we have strong emotions, we're liable to fool ourselves." These observations suggest that rationality and emotion are in conflict with one another and that if you exhibit emotion you are likely to act irrationally. One team of authors argues that displaying emotions such as sadness, to the point of crying, is so toxic to a career that we should leave the room rather than allow

others to witness our emotional display.²⁵ The author Lois Frankel advises that women should avoid being emotional at work because it will undermine how others rate their competence.²⁶ These perspectives suggest that the demonstration or even experience of emotions is likely to make us seem weak, brittle, or irrational. However, the research disagrees and is increasingly showing that emotions are actually critical to rational thinking.²⁷ In fact, there has been evidence of such a link for a long time.

Take the example of Phineas Gage, a railroad worker in Vermont. One September day in 1848, while Gage was setting an explosive charge at work, a 3¹/₂" iron bar flew into his lower-left jaw and out through the top of his skull. Remarkably, Gage survived his injury. He was still able to read and speak, and he performed well above average on cognitive ability tests. However, it became clear that Gage had lost his ability to experience emotion. He was emotionless at even the saddest misfortunes or the happiest occasions. Gage's inability to express emotion eventually took away his ability to reason. He started making irrational choices about his life, often behaving erratically and against his self-interests. Despite being

2

Discuss whether emotions are rational and what functions they serve.

By studying brain injuries, such as the one experienced by Phineas Gage, whose skull is shown here, researchers discovered an important link between emotions and rational thinking. They found that losing the ability to emote led to the loss of the ability to reason. From this discovery, researchers learned that our emotions provide us with valuable information that helps our thinking process.



an intelligent man whose intellectual abilities were unharmed by the accident, Gage drifted from job to job, eventually taking up with a circus. In commenting on Gage's condition, one expert noted, "Reason may not be as pure as most of us think it is or wish it were . . . emotions and feelings may not be intruders in the bastion of reason at all; they may be enmeshed in its networks, for worse *and* for better."²⁸

The examples of Phineas Gage and many other brain injury studies show us that emotions are critical to rational thinking. We must have the ability to experience emotions to be rational. Why? Because our emotions provide important information about how we understand the world around us. Although we might think of a computer as intellectually superior, a human so void of emotion would be unable to function. Think about a manager making a decision to fire an employee. Would you really want the manager to make the decision without regarding either his or the employee's emotions? The key to good decision making is to employ both thinking *and* feeling in one's decisions.

What Functions Do Emotions Serve? Why do we have emotions? What role do they serve? We just discussed one function—that we need them to think rationally. Charles Darwin, however, took a broader approach. In *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, Darwin argued that emotions developed over time to help humans solve problems. Emotions are useful, he said, because they motivate people to engage in actions that are important for survival—actions such as foraging for food, seeking shelter, choosing mates, guarding against predators, and predicting others' behaviors. For example, disgust (an emotion) motivates us to avoid dangerous or harmful things (such as rotten foods). Excitement (also an emotion) motivates us to take on situations in which we require energy and initiative (for example, tackling a new career).

Drawing from Darwin are researchers who focus on **evolutionary psychology**. This field of study says we must experience emotions—whether they are positive or negative—because they serve a purpose.²⁹ For example, you would probably consider jealousy to be a negative emotion. Evolutionary psychologists would argue that it exists in people because it has a useful purpose. Mates may feel jealousy to increase the chance that their genes, rather than a rival's genes, are passed on to the next generation.³⁰ Although we tend to think of anger as being "bad," it actually can help us protect our rights when we feel they're being violated. For example, a person showing anger when she's double-crossed by a colleague is serving a warning for others not to repeat the same behavior. Consider another example. Rena was a secretary at a prominent law firm. Her boss wouldn't stop touching and grabbing her. His treatment of her made her angry. So she did more than quit—she sued, and won a multimillion-dollar case.³¹ It's not that anger is always good. But as with all other emotions, it exists because it serves a useful purpose. Positive emotions also serve a purpose. For example, a service employee who feels empathy for a customer may provide better customer service than an seemingly unfeeling employee.

But some researchers are not firm believers of evolutionary psychology. Why? Think about fear (an emotion). It's just as easy to think of the harmful effects of

positive affect A mood dimension that consists of specific positive emotions such as excitement, self-assurance, and cheerfulness at the high end and boredom, sluggishness, and tiredness at the low end.

negative affect A mood dimension that consists of emotions such as nervousness, stress, and anxiety at the high end and relaxation, tranquility, and poise at the low end.

positivity offset The tendency of most individuals to experience a mildly positive mood at zero input (when nothing in particular is going on).

evolutionary psychology An area of inquiry which argues that we must experience the emotions we do because they serve a purpose.

fear as it is the beneficial effects. For example, running in fear from a predator increases the likelihood of survival. But what benefit does freezing in fear serve? Evolutionary psychology provides an interesting perspective on the functions of emotions, but it's difficult to know whether this perspective is valid all the time.³²

Sources of Emotions and Moods

3 Identify the sources of emotions and moods.

Have you ever said, "I got up on the wrong side of the bed today"? Have you ever snapped at a coworker or family member for no particular reason? If you have, it probably makes you wonder where emotions and moods come from. Here we discuss some of the primary influences on moods and emotions.

Personality Moods and emotions have a trait component—most people have built-in tendencies to experience certain moods and emotions more frequently than others do. Moreover, people naturally differ in how intensely they experience the same emotions. Contrast Texas Tech basketball coach Bobby Knight to Microsoft CEO Bill Gates. One is easily moved to anger, while the other is relatively distant and unemotional. Knight and Gates probably differ in **affect intensity**, or how strongly they experience their emotions.³³ Affectively intense people experience both positive and negative emotions more deeply—when they're sad, they're really sad, and when they're happy, they're really happy.

Self
Assessment
Library

WHAT'S MY AFFECT INTENSITY?

In the Self-Assessment Library (available online), take assessment IV.D.2 (What's My Affect Intensity?).

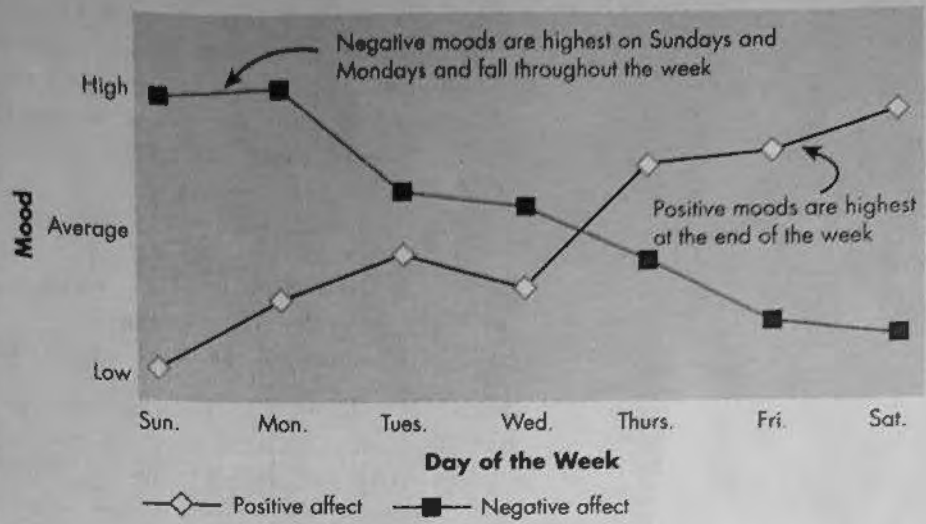
Day of the Week and Time of the Day Are people in their best moods on the weekends? Well, sort of. As Exhibit 8-3 shows, people tend to be in their worst moods (highest negative affect and lowest positive affect) early in the week and in their best moods (highest positive affect and lowest negative affect) late in the week.³⁴

What about time of the day? (See Exhibit 8-4.) We often think that people differ, depending on whether they are "morning" or "evening" people. However, the vast majority of us follow the same pattern. Regardless of what time people go to bed at night or get up in the morning, levels of positive affect tend to peak around the halfway point between waking and sleeping. Negative affect, however, shows little fluctuation throughout the day.³⁵ This basic pattern seems to hold whether people describe themselves as morning people or evening people.³⁶

What does this mean for organizational behavior? Monday morning is probably not the best time to ask someone for a favor or convey bad news. Our workplace interactions will probably be more positive from midmorning onward and also later in the week.

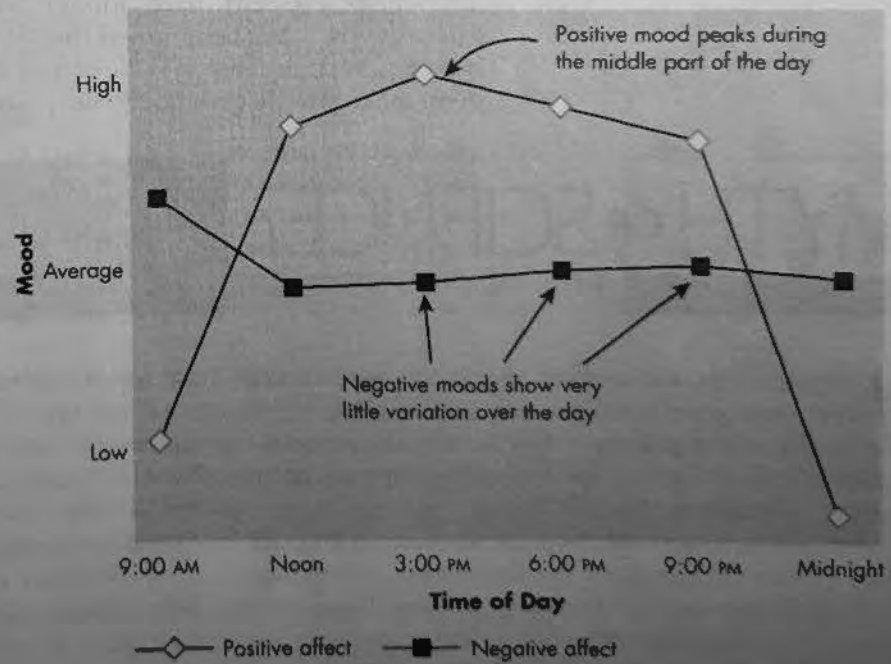
Weather When do you think you would be in a better mood—when it's 30 degrees and sunny or when it's a gloomy, cold, rainy day? Many people believe their mood is tied to the weather. However, evidence suggests that weather has little effect on mood. One expert concluded, "Contrary to the prevailing cultural view, these data indicate that people do not report a better mood on bright and sunny days (or, conversely, a worse mood on dark and rainy days)."³⁷ **Illusory correlation** explains why people tend to *think* that nice weather improves their mood. **Illusory correlation** occurs when people associate two events but in reality there is no connection.

Exhibit 8-3 Our Moods Are Affected by the Day of the Week



Source: D. Watson, *Mood and Temperament* (New York: Guilford Press, 2000).

Exhibit 8-4 Our Moods Are Affected by the Time of the Day



Source: D. Watson, *Mood and Temperament* (New York: Guilford Press, 2000).

affect intensity Individual differences in the strength with which individuals experience their emotions.

illusory correlation The tendency of people to associate two events when in reality there is no connection.

Stress As you might imagine, stress affects emotions and moods. For example, students have higher levels of fear before an exam, but their fear dissipates once the exam is over.³⁸ At work, stressful daily events (for example, a nasty e-mail, an impending deadline, the loss of a big sale, being reprimanded by your boss) negatively affect employees' moods. Also, the effects of stress build over time. As the authors of one study note, "a constant diet of even low-level stressful events has the potential to cause workers to experience gradually increasing levels of strain over time."³⁹ Such mounting levels of stress and strain at work can worsen our moods, and we experience more negative emotions. Consider the following entry from a worker's blog: "i'm in a bit of a blah mood today . . . physically, i feel funky, though and the weather out combined with the amount of personal and work i need to get done are getting to me." Although sometimes we thrive on stress, for most of us, like this blogger, stress takes a toll on our mood.⁴⁰

Social Activities Do you tend to be happiest when you are out with friends? For most people, social activities increase positive mood and have little effect on negative mood. But do people in positive moods seek out social interactions, or do social interactions cause people to be in good moods? It seems that both are true.⁴¹ And does the *type* of social activity matter? Indeed it does. Research suggests that physical (skiing or hiking with friends), informal (going to a party), or epicurean (eating with others) activities are more strongly associated with increases in positive mood than formal (attending a meeting) or sedentary (watching TV with friends) events.⁴²

Sleep With businesses spread over in several countries, today, people generally sleep less and have longer working hours than they did earlier. Interestingly, it has been noted that people work longer hours, whether or not it is required, because it is viewed as a good thing in India. Does this lack of sleep make people grumpier? Sleep quality does affect mood. Undergraduates

MYTH OR SCIENCE?

"People Can't Accurately Forecast Their Own Emotions"

this statement is essentially true. People tend to do a pretty bad job of predicting how they're going to feel when something happens. The research on this topic—called *effective forecasting*—shows that our poor job of effective forecasting takes two forms.

First, we tend to overestimate the pleasure we'll receive from a future positive event. We tend to think we'll be happier with a new car than is actually the case, that owning our own home will feel better than it actually does once we buy it, and even that marriage will make us happier than it will. Research on effective forecasting shows that we overestimate both the intensity (how happy we'll feel) and the duration (how long we'll feel happy) of future positive events. For example, when Joakim Noah was contemplating being a first-round basketball draft pick, a reporter asked him what he'd most look forward to. Noah said he couldn't wait to have "the best bathroom in the NBA." Noah was a first-round pick (by the Chicago Bulls), so chances are he

got his world-class bathroom in Chicago, but chances also are that it didn't make him as happy as he thought it would.

A second area where we are not very good at affective forecasting is negative events. Just as positive events tend not to make us feel as good as we think they will, negative events don't make us feel as bad as we think they will.

Many different studies have supported our poor affective forecasting abilities: College students overestimate how happy or unhappy they'll be after being assigned to a good or bad dormitory, people overestimate how unhappy they'll be 2 months after a break-up, untenured college professors overestimate how happy they will be with tenure, and women overestimate the emotional impact of unwanted results for a pregnancy test.⁴³

So, there is good news and bad news in this story: It's true that the highs aren't as high as we think, but it's also true that the lows aren't as low as we fear. Odds are, the future isn't as bright as you hope, but neither is it as bleak as you fear. ■

Many organizations believe that exercise increases positive moods, resulting in happier, healthier, and more productive employees. Anil Dhirubhai Ambani, CEO, Reliance Telecommunications, runs almost everyday to keep fit.

Source: Fotocorp



and adult workers who are sleep deprived report greater feelings of fatigue, anger, and hostility.⁴⁴ One of the reasons less sleep, or poor sleep quality, puts people in a bad mood is that it impairs decision making and makes it difficult to control emotions.⁴⁵ A recent study suggests that poor sleep the previous night also impairs peoples' job satisfaction the next day, mostly because people feel fatigued, irritable, and less alert.⁴⁶

In India, with more and more young people working in the BPO sector, there have been concerns regarding their health and psychological well-being. Lack of adequate sleep can cause premature aging and affect overall performance at work. The performance of young people working in night shifts in BPOs is affected; their efficiency and alertness is less compared to those who get sufficient sleep.⁴⁷

Exercise You often hear that people should exercise to improve their mood. But does "sweat therapy" really work? It appears so. Research consistently shows that exercise enhances peoples' positive mood.⁴⁸ It appears that the therapeutic effects of exercise are strongest for those who are depressed. Although the effects of exercise on moods are consistent, they are not terribly strong. So, exercise may help put you in a better mood, but don't expect miracles.

Age Do you think that young people experience more extreme, positive emotions (so-called "youthful exuberance") than older people do? If you answered "yes," you were wrong. One study of people aged 18 to 94 years revealed that negative emotions seem to occur less as people get older. Periods of highly positive moods lasted longer for older individuals, and bad moods faded for them more quickly than for younger people.⁴⁹ The study implies that emotional experience tends to improve with age, so that as we get older, we experience fewer negative emotions.

Gender The common belief is that women are more emotional than men. Is there any truth to this? The evidence does confirm that women are more emotionally expressive than are men;⁵⁰ they experience emotions more intensely,

International OB

Emotional Recognition: Universal or Culture Specific?

Early researchers studying how we understand emotions based on others' expressions believed that all individuals, regardless of their culture, could recognize the same emotion. So, for example, a frown would be recognized as indicating the emotion sadness, no matter where one was from. However, more recent research suggests that this universal approach to the study of emotions is incorrect because there are subtle differences in the degree to which we can tell what emotions people from different cultures are feeling, based on their facial expressions.

One study examined how quickly and accurately we can read the facial expressions of people of different cultural backgrounds. Although individuals were at first faster at recognizing the emotional expression of others from their own culture, when living in a different culture, the speed and accuracy at which they recognized others' emotions increased as they became more familiar with the culture. For example, as Chinese residing in the United States adapted to their surroundings, they were able to recognize the emotions of people native to the United States more quickly. In fact, foreigners are sometimes better at recognizing emotions among the citizens in their non-native country than are those citizens themselves.

Interestingly, these effects begin to occur relatively quickly. For example, Chinese students living in the

United States for an average of 2.4 years were better at recognizing the facial expressions of U.S. citizens than they were at reading the facial expressions of Chinese citizens. Why is this the case? According to the authors of the study, it could be that because they are limited in speaking the language, they rely more on nonverbal communication. What is the upshot for OB? When conducting business in a foreign country, the ability to correctly recognize others' emotions can facilitate interactions and lead to less miscommunication. Otherwise, a slight smile that is intended to communicate disinterest may be mistaken for happiness.

Source: Based on H. A. Elfenbein and N. Ambady, "When Familiarity Breeds Accuracy: Cultural Exposure and Facial Emotion Recognition," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, August 2003, pp. 276-290.

they tend to "hold onto" emotions longer than men, and they display more frequent expressions of both positive and negative emotions, except anger.⁵¹ Although there may be innate differences between the genders, research suggests that emotional differences also are due to the different ways men and women have been socialized.⁵² Men are taught to be tough and brave. Showing emotion is inconsistent with this image. Women, in contrast, are socialized to be nurturing. For instance, women are expected to express more positive emotions on the job (shown by smiling) than men, and they do.⁵³

Emotional Labor

If you've ever had a job working in retail sales or waiting on tables in a restaurant, you know the importance of projecting a friendly demeanor and smiling. Even though there were days when you didn't feel cheerful, you knew management expected you to be upbeat when dealing with customers. So you faked it, and in so doing, you expressed emotional labor.

Every employee expends physical and mental labor when they put their bodies and cognitive capabilities, respectively, into their job. But jobs also require **emotional labor**. Emotional labor is an employee's expression of organizationally desired emotions during interpersonal transactions at work.⁵⁴

The concept of emotional labor emerged from studies of service jobs. Airlines expect their flight attendants, for instance, to be cheerful, as

4 Show the impact emotional labor has on employees.

When Apple's iPhone first went on sale at an Apple Store in San Francisco, employees enthusiastically greeted the first customers. Giving customers a warm reception with smiling faces and applause is an example of displayed emotions, those an organization requires employees to show and considers appropriate in a given job.



expect funeral staff to be sad; and we expect doctors to be emotionally neutral. But really, emotional labor is relevant to almost every job. Your managers expect you, for example, to be courteous, not hostile, in interactions with coworkers. The true challenge arises when employees have to project one emotion while simultaneously feeling another.⁵⁵ This disparity is **emotional dissonance**, and it can take a heavy toll on employees. Bottled-up feelings of frustration, anger, and resentment can eventually lead to emotional exhaustion and burnout.⁵⁶ It's from the increasing importance of emotional labor as a key component of effective job performance that an understanding of emotion has gained heightened relevance within the field of OB.

OB In the News

Cathay Pacific Smile Strike

Flight attendants are required to deliver services with a smile. In 1999, flight attendants of Cathay Pacific refused to smile for one hour during every flight to

show unhappiness over the management plan to eliminate automatic pay increases. Attendants had to remember not to smile during this period. This "smile strike" raises some interesting questions. For instance, if the flight attendants felt like smiling during the strike hour, did they expand emotional labor by, say, thinking of a negative emotional situation to control the smile?

emotional labor A situation in which an employee expresses organizationally desired emotions during interpersonal transactions at work.

emotional dissonance Inconsistencies between the emotions people feel and the emotions they project,

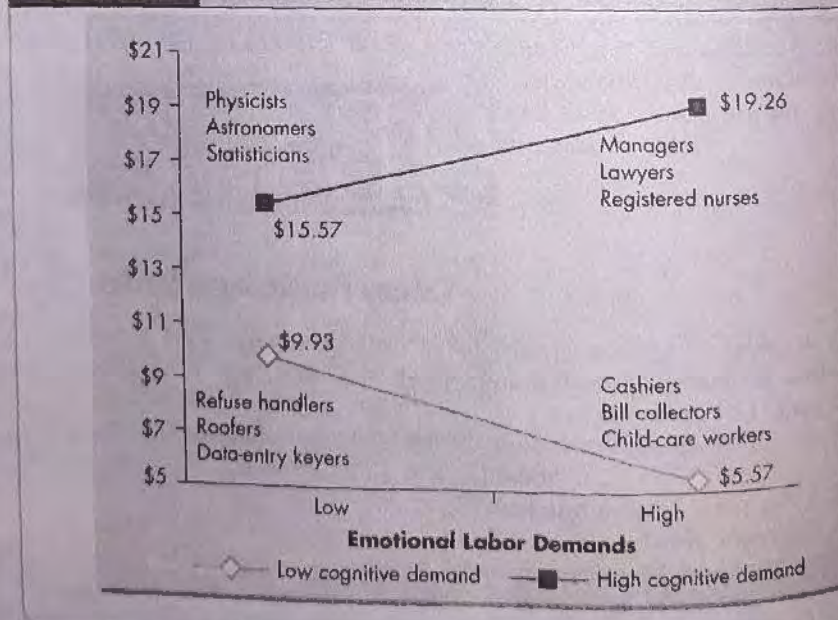
Emotional labor creates dilemmas for employees. There are people with whom you have to work that you just plain don't like. Maybe you consider their personality abrasive. Maybe you know they've said negative things about you behind your back. Regardless, your job requires you to interact with these people on a regular basis. So you're forced to feign friendliness.

It can help you, on the job especially, if you separate emotions into *felt* or *displayed* emotions.⁵⁷ **Felt emotions** are an individual's actual emotions. In contrast, **displayed emotions** are those that the organization requires workers to show and considers appropriate in a given job. They're not innate; they're learned. "The ritual look of delight on the face of the first runner-up as the new Miss America is announced is a product of the display rule that losers should mask their sadness with an expression of joy for the winner."⁵⁸ Similarly, most of us know that we're expected to act sad at funerals, regardless of whether we consider the person's death to be a loss, and to pretend to be happy at weddings, even if we don't feel like celebrating.⁵⁹

Effective managers have learned to be serious when giving an employee a negative performance evaluation and to hide their anger when they've been passed over for promotion. And a salesperson who hasn't learned to smile and appear friendly, regardless of his true feelings at the moment, isn't typically going to last long on most sales jobs. How we *experience* an emotion isn't always the same as how we *show* it.⁶⁰

Yet another point is that displaying fake emotions requires us to suppress the emotions we really feel (not showing anger toward a customer, for example). In other words, the individual has to "act" to keep her job. **Surface acting** is hiding one's inner feelings and forgoing emotional expressions in response to display rules. For example, when a worker smiles at a customer even when he doesn't feel like it, he is surface acting. **Deep acting** is trying to modify one's true inner feelings based on display rules. A health care provider trying to genuinely feel more empathy for her patients is deep acting.⁶¹ Surface acting deals with one's *displayed* emotions, and deep acting deals with one's *felt* emotions. Research

Exhibit 8-5 Relationship of Pay to Cognitive and Emotional Demands of Jobs



Source: Based on: T. M. Glomb, J. D. Kommeyer-Mueller, and M. Rotundo, "Emotional Labor Demands and Compensating Wage Differentials," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 89, no. 4 (August 2004), pp. 700-714.

shows that surface acting is more stressful to employees than deep acting because it entails feigning one's true emotions.⁶²

One of the ways in which one can alter one's felt emotions while serving a customer is by adopting Mahatma Gandhi's view of the customer. According to him, the customer is the most important visitor and is not dependent on us. Rather, we are dependent on him. He is doing us a favor by giving us an opportunity to serve him.⁶³

Interestingly, as important as managing emotions is to many jobs, it seems that the market does not necessarily reward emotional labor. A recent study found that emotional demands matter in setting compensation levels, but only when jobs are already cognitively demanding—such as jobs in law and nursing. But, for instance, child-care workers and waiters—holders of jobs with high emotional demands but relatively low cognitive demands—receive little compensation for the emotional demands of their work.⁶⁴ Exhibit 8-5 shows the relationship between cognitive and emotional demands and pay. The model doesn't seem to depict a fair state of affairs. After all, why should emotional demands be rewarded in only cognitively complex jobs? One explanation may be that it's hard to find qualified people who are willing and able to work in such jobs.

Affective Events Theory

As we have seen, emotions and moods are an important part of our lives, especially our work lives. But how do our emotions and moods influence our job performance and satisfaction? A model called **affective events theory (AET)** has increased our understanding of the links.⁶⁵ AET demonstrates that employees react emotionally to things that happen to them at work and that this reaction influences their job performance and satisfaction.

Exhibit 8-6 summarizes AET. The theory begins by recognizing that emotions are a response to an event in the work environment. The work environment includes everything surrounding the job—the variety of tasks and degree of autonomy, job demands, and requirements for expressing emotional labor. This environment creates work events that can be hassles, uplifting events, or both. Examples of hassles are colleagues who refuse to carry their share of work, conflicting directions from different managers, and excessive time pressures. Examples of uplifting events include meeting a goal, getting support from a colleague, and receiving recognition for an accomplishment.⁶⁶

These work events trigger positive or negative emotional reactions. But employees' personalities and moods predispose them to respond with greater or lesser intensity to the event. For instance, people who score low on emotional stability are more likely to react strongly to negative events. And their mood introduces the reality that their general affect cycle creates fluctuations. So a person's emotional response to a given event can change, depending on mood. Finally, emotions influence a number of performance and satisfaction

5 Describe affective events theory and identify its applications.

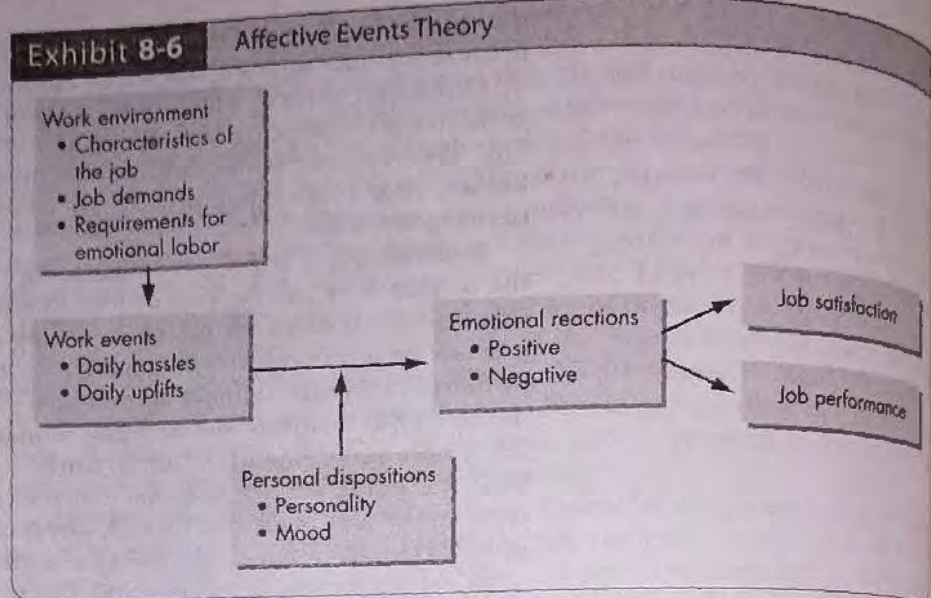
felt emotions An individual's actual emotions.

displayed emotions Emotions that are organizationally required and considered appropriate in a given job.

surface acting Hiding one's inner feelings and forgoing emotional expressions in response to display rules.

deep acting Trying to modify one's true inner feelings based on display rules.

affective events theory (AET) A model that suggests that workplace events cause emotional reactions on the part of employees, which then influence workplace attitudes and behaviors.



Source: Based on N. M. Ashkanasy and C. S. Daus, "Emotion in the Workplace: The New Challenge for Managers," *Academy of Management Executive*, February 2002, p. 77

variables, such as organizational citizenship behavior, organizational commitment, level of effort, intentions to quit, and workplace deviance.

In addition, tests of the theory suggest that (1) an emotional episode is actually a series of emotional experiences precipitated by a single event. It contains elements of both emotions and mood cycles. (2) Current emotions influence job satisfaction at any given time, along with the history of emotions surrounding the event. (3) Because moods and emotions fluctuate over time, their effect on performance also fluctuates. (4) Emotion-driven behaviors are typically short in duration and of high variability. (5) Because emotions, even positive ones, tend to be incompatible with behaviors required to do a job, they typically have a negative influence on job performance.⁶⁷

An example might help better explain AET.⁶⁸ Say that you work as an aeronautical engineer for Boeing. Because of the downturn in the demand for commercial jets, you've just learned that the company is considering laying off 10,000 employees. This layoff could include you. This event is likely to make you feel negative emotions, especially fear that you might lose your job and primary source of income. And because you're prone to worry a lot and obsess about problems, this event increases your feelings of insecurity. The layoff also puts into place a series of smaller events that create an episode: You talk with your boss, and he assures you that your job is safe; you hear rumors that your department is high on the list to be eliminated; and you run into a former colleague who was laid off 6 months ago and still hasn't found work. These events, in turn, create emotional ups and downs. One day, you're feeling upbeat and that you'll survive the crisis. The next day, you might be depressed and anxious. These emotional swings take your attention away from your work and lower your job performance and satisfaction. Finally, your response is magnified because this is the fourth-largest layoff that Boeing has initiated in the past 3 years.

In summary, AET offers two important messages.⁶⁹ First, emotions provide valuable insights into understanding employee behavior. The model demonstrates how workplace hassles and uplifting events influence employee performance and satisfaction. Second, employees and managers shouldn't ignore emotions and the events that cause them, even when they appear to be minor, because they accumulate.

Emotional Intelligence

Diane Marshall is an office manager. Her awareness of her own and others' emotions is almost nil. She's moody and unable to generate much enthusiasm or interest in her employees. She doesn't understand why employees get upset with her. She often overreacts to problems and chooses the most ineffectual responses to emotional situations.⁷⁰ Diane Marshall has low emotional intelligence. **Emotional intelligence (EI)** is a person's ability to (1) be self-aware (to recognize her own emotions when she experiences them), (2) detect emotions in others, and (3) manage emotional cues and information. People who know their own emotions and are good at reading emotion cues—for instance, knowing why they're angry and how to express themselves without violating norms—are most likely to be effective.⁷¹

Several studies suggest that EI plays an important role in job performance. One study looked at the characteristics of engineers at Lucent Technologies who were rated as stars by their peers. The researchers concluded that stars were better at relating to others. That is, it was EI, not IQ, that characterized high performers. Another illuminating study looked at the successes and failures of 11 American presidents—from Franklin Roosevelt to Bill Clinton. They were evaluated on six qualities—communication, organization, political skill, vision, cognitive style, and emotional intelligence. It was found that the key quality that differentiated the successful (such as Roosevelt, Kennedy, and Reagan) from the unsuccessful (such as Johnson, Carter, and Nixon) was emotional intelligence.⁷²

EI has been a controversial concept in OB. It has supporters and detractors. In the following sections, we review the arguments for and against the viability of EI in OB.

Meg Whitman, CEO of eBay, is a leader with high emotional intelligence. Since eBay founder Pierre Omidyar selected Whitman to transform his start-up into a global enterprise, she has emerged as a star performer in a job that demands interacting socially with employees, customers, and political leaders throughout the world.

Whitman is described as self-confident yet humble, trustworthy, culturally sensitive, and expert at building teams and leading change. Shown here, Whitman welcomes Gloria Arroyo, president of the Philippine Islands where eBay has an auction site, to eBay headquarters.



emotional intelligence (EI)

The ability to detect and to manage emotional cues and information.

OB In the News

Emotional Intelligence Beneficial for Organizations

- A study on 523 educators demonstrated that EI is an important predictor of work affectivity and job satisfaction. Positive and negative affect at work substantially mediate the relationship between EI and job satisfaction, with positive affect exerting a stronger influence. Use of emotion and emotion regulation were significant predictors of affect at work whereas perceiving others' emotions was uniquely associated with job satisfaction.
- Positive affective display in service interactions, such as smiling and conveying friendliness, are positively associated with important customer outcomes such as intention to return, intention to recommend a store to others, and perception of overall service quality.
- Top-performing sales clerks are 12 times more productive than those at the bottom and 85 percent more productive than an average performer. About one-third of this difference is due to technical skill and cognitive ability while two-third is due to emotional competence.
- Workers with high work pressures and poor time management skills are twice as likely to miss work; employees who have strong self-management skills cope better with work pressures.
- In a multinational consulting firm, partners who showed high emotional intelligence competencies earned 139 percent more than the lower-EI partners.
- After supervisors in a manufacturing plant received training in emotional competencies, lost-time accidents were reduced by 50 percent, formal grievances were reduced from an average of 15 per year to 3 per year, and the plant exceeded productivity goals by \$250,000.
- American Express tested emotional competence training on financial advisors. Trained advisors increased business 18.1 percent compared to 16.2 percent, and nearly 90 percent of those who took the training reported significant improvements in their sales performance. Now all incoming advisors receive four days of emotional competence training.
- Another study reveals that employees' display of positive emotions is indeed positively related to customers' positive affect.
- After a Motorola manufacturing facility used HeartMath's stress and EQ programs, 93 percent of employees had an increase in productivity.

- In the Whitbread Group of the United Kingdom, restaurants with high-EQ managers had higher guest satisfaction, lower turnover, and 34 percent greater profit growth.
- Compassion Lab has found that companies who have a more "touchy, feely" approach generally have more positive and engaged employees. In one company, the CEO insists on being told within 48 hours if any employee has suffered a close bereavement. This means that managers have to be alert to what is going on with their people, and can sense the "emotional temperature" of their teams.

Source: Based on K. Kafetsios and L. A. Zampetakis, "Emotional Intelligence and Job Satisfaction: Testing the Mediator Role of Positive and Negative Affect at Work," *Personality and Individual Differences*, 44, no. 3 (2008), pp. 710-720; A. Parasuraman, V. A. Zeithaml, and L. L. Berry, "SERVQUAL: A Multiple-Item Scale for Measuring Customer Perceptions of Service Quality," *Journal of Retailing* 64, no. 1 (1988), pp. 12-40; "Business Research on EQ," <http://fredmcgrath.com/html/approach.html>; S. D. Pugh, "Service with a Smile: Emotional Contagion in the Service Encounter," *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 63 (2001), pp. 490-509; "The Impact of HeartMath's Stress Reduction Programs and Technology on Health Outcomes across Diverse Populations," HeartMath 2003, p. 6, http://www.heartmath.com/corporate/Impact_HeartMath_Corporate_Programs.pdf; Reuven Bar-On and Geetu Orme, reported in Orme and Langhorn, "Lessons Learned from Implementing EI Programmes," *Competency & Emotional Intelligence* 10 (2003), pp. 32-39; "Emotional Temperature," *Professional Manager* 16, no. 3, May 2007, p. 26.

The Case for EI

The arguments in favor of EI include its intuitive appeal, the fact that EI predicts criteria that matter, and the idea that EI is biologically based.

Intuitive Appeal There's a lot of intuitive appeal to the EI concept. Almost everyone would agree that it is good to possess street smarts and social intelligence. People who can detect emotions in others, control their own emotions, and handle social interactions well will have a powerful leg up in the business world, so the thinking goes. As just one example, partners in a multinational consulting firm who scored above the median on an EI measure delivered \$1.2 million more in business than did the other partners.⁷³

EI Predicts Criteria That Matter More and more evidence is suggesting that a high level of EI means a person will perform well on the job. One study found that EI predicted the performance of employees in a cigarette factory in China.⁷⁴ Another study found that being able to recognize emotions in others' facial expressions and to emotionally "cavesdrop" (that is, pick up subtle signals about peoples' emotions) predicted peer ratings of how valuable those people were to their organization.⁷⁵ Finally, a review of 59 studies indicated that, overall, EI correlated moderately with job performance.⁷⁶

EI Is Biologically Based One study has shown that people with damage to the part of the brain that governs emotional processing (lesions in an area of the prefrontal cortex) score significantly lower than others on EI tests. Even though these brain-damaged people scored no lower on standard measures of intelligence than people without the same brain damage, they were still impaired in normal decision making. Specifically, when people were playing a card game in which there is a reward (money) for picking certain types of cards and a punishment (a loss of money) for picking other types of cards, the participants with no brain damage learned to succeed in the game, while the performance of the brain-damaged group worsened over time. This study suggests that EI is neurologically based in a way that's unrelated to standard measures of intelligence and that people who suffer neurological damage score lower on EI and make poorer decisions than people who are healthier in this regard.⁷⁷

The Case Against EI

For all its supporters, EI has just as many critics. Its critics say that EI is vague and impossible to measure, and they question its validity.

EI Is Too Vague a Concept To many researchers, it's not clear what EI is. Is it a form of intelligence? Most of us wouldn't think that being self-aware or self-motivated or having empathy is a matter of intellect. So, is EI a misnomer? Moreover, many times different researchers focus on different skills, making it difficult to get a definition of EI. One researcher may study self-discipline. Another may study empathy. Another may look at self-awareness. As one reviewer noted, "The concept of EI has now become so broad and the components so variegated that . . . it is no longer even an intelligible concept."⁷⁸

EI Can't Be Measured Many critics have raised questions about measuring EI. Because EI is a form of intelligence, for instance, there must be right and wrong answers about it on tests, they argue. Some tests do have right and wrong answers, although the validity of some of the questions on these measures is questionable. For example, one measure asks you to associate particular feelings with specific colors, as if purple always makes us feel cool and not warm. Other measures are self-reported, meaning there is no right or wrong answer. For example, an EI test question might ask you to respond to the statement, "I'm good at 'reading' other people." In general, the measures of EI are diverse, and researchers have not subjected them to as much rigorous study as they have measures of personality and general intelligence.⁷⁹

The Validity of EI Is Suspect Some critics argue that because EI is so closely related to intelligence and personality, once you control for these factors, EI has nothing unique to offer. There is some foundation to this argument. EI appears to be highly correlated with measures of personality, especially emotional stability.⁸⁰ But there hasn't been enough research on whether EI adds

insight beyond measures of personality and general intelligence in predicting job performance. Still, among consulting firms and in the popular press, EI is wildly popular. For example, one company's promotional materials for an EI measure claimed, "EI accounts for more than 85 percent of star performance in top leaders."⁸¹ To say the least, it's difficult to validate this statement with the research literature.

Weighing the arguments for and against EI, it's still too early to tell whether the concept is useful. It is clear, though, that the concept is here to stay.

Self
Assessment
Library

WHAT'S MY EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE SCORE?

In the Self-Assessment Library (available online), take assessment I.E. 1 (What's My Emotional Intelligence Score?).

OB Applications of Emotions and Moods

7 Apply concepts about emotions and moods to specific OB issues.

In this section, we assess how an understanding of emotions and moods can improve our ability to explain and predict the selection process in organizations, decision making, creativity, motivation, leadership, interpersonal conflict, negotiation, customer service, job attitudes, deviant workplace behaviors, and forgiveness in organizations. We also look at how managers can influence our moods.

Selection

One implication from the evidence to date on EI is that employers should consider it a factor in hiring employees, especially in jobs that demand a high degree of social interaction. In fact, more and more employers are starting to use EI measures to hire people. A study of U.S. Air Force recruiters showed that top-performing recruiters exhibited high levels of EI. Using these findings, the Air Force revamped its selection criteria. A follow-up investigation found that future hires who had high EI scores were 2.6 times more successful than those who didn't. At L'Oreal, salespersons selected on EI scores outsold those hired using the company's old selection procedure. On an annual basis, salespeople selected on the basis of emotional competence sold \$91,370 more than other salespeople did, for a net revenue increase of \$2,558,360.⁸²

Decision Making

As you saw in Chapter 5, traditional approaches to the study of decision making in organizations have emphasized rationality. More and more OB researchers though, are finding that moods and emotions have important effects on decision making.

Positive moods and emotions seem to help decision making. People in good moods or those experiencing positive emotions are more likely than others to use heuristics, or rules of thumb,⁸³ to help make good decisions quickly. Positive emotions also enhance problem-solving skills so that positive people find better solutions to problems.⁸⁴

OB researchers continue to debate the role of negative emotions and moods in decision making. Although one often-cited study suggested that depressed

The U.S. Air Force uses emotional intelligence as a selection criterion for recruiters, whose jobs demand a high degree of social interaction. By hiring recruiters with high EI scores, the Air Force has reduced turnover rates among new recruiters and decreased hiring and training costs. The recruiter shown here interacts with a new enlistee by teaching her the proper way to salute before she reports to boot camp.



people reach more accurate judgments,⁸⁵ more recent evidence has suggested that people who are depressed make poorer decisions. Why? Because depressed people are slower at processing information and tend to weigh all possible options rather than the most likely ones.⁸⁶ Although it would seem that weighing all possible options is a good thing, the problem is that depressed people search for the perfect solution when rarely is any solution perfect.

Creativity

People who are in good moods tend to be more creative than people in bad moods.⁸⁷ They produce more ideas, others think their ideas are original, and they tend to identify more creative options to problems.⁸⁸ It seems that people who are experiencing positive moods or emotions are more flexible and open in their thinking, which may explain why they're more creative.⁸⁹ Supervisors should actively try to keep employees happy because doing so creates more good moods (employees like their leaders to encourage them and provide positive feedback on a job well done), which in turn leads people to be more creative.⁹⁰

Some researchers, however, do not believe that a positive mood makes people more creative. They argue that when people are in positive moods, they may relax ("If I'm in a good mood, things must be going okay, and I must not need to think of new ideas") and not engage in the critical thinking necessary for some forms of creativity.⁹¹ However, this view is controversial.⁹² Until there are more studies on the subject, we can safely conclude that for many tasks, positive moods increase our creativity.

Motivation

Two studies have highlighted the importance of moods and emotions on motivation. The first study had two groups of people solve a number of word puzzles. One group saw a funny video clip, which was intended to put the group in a good mood before having to solve the puzzles. The other group was not shown the clip and just started working on solving the word puzzles right away. The

Known as an enthusiastic cheerleader for Microsoft, CEO Steve Ballmer travels the world, delivering impassioned speeches to inspire employees and business partners. Through his emotionally charged speeches, Ballmer presents a road map for employees and partners of Microsoft's competitive focus and company vision. "I want everyone to share my passion for our products and services," he says. "I want people to understand the amazing positive way our software can make leisure time more enjoyable and work and businesses more successful."



results? The positive-mood group reported higher expectations of being able to solve the puzzles, worked harder at them, and solved more puzzles as a result.⁹³

The second study found that giving people feedback—whether real or fake—about their performance influenced their mood, which then influenced their motivation.⁹⁴ So a cycle can exist in which positive moods cause people to be more creative, which leads to positive feedback from those observing their work. This positive feedback then further reinforces their positive mood, which may then make them perform even better, and so on.

Both of these studies highlight the effects of mood and emotions on motivation and suggest that organizations that promote positive moods at work are likely to have more motivated workers.

Leadership

Effective leaders rely on emotional appeals to help convey their messages.⁹⁵ In fact, the expression of emotions in speeches is often the critical element that makes us accept or reject a leader's message. "When leaders feel excited, enthusiastic, and active, they may be more likely to energize their subordinates and convey a sense of efficacy, competence, optimism, and enjoyment."⁹⁶ Politicians, as a case in point, have learned to show enthusiasm when talking about their chances of winning an election, even when polls suggest otherwise.

Corporate executives know that emotional content is critical if employees are to buy into their vision of their company's future and accept change. When higher-ups offer new visions, especially when the visions contain distant or vague goals, it is often difficult for employees to accept those visions and the changes they'll bring. By arousing emotions and linking them to an appealing vision, leaders increase the likelihood that managers and employees alike will accept change.⁹⁷

Negotiation

Negotiation is an emotional process; however, we often say a skilled negotiator has a "poker face." The founder of Britain's Poker Channel, Crispin Nieboer,

stated, "It is a game of bluff and there is fantastic human emotion and tension, seeing who can bluff the longest."⁹⁸ Several studies have shown that a negotiator who feigns anger has an advantage over the opponent. Why? Because when a negotiator shows anger, the opponent concludes that the negotiator has conceded all that she can, so the opponent gives in.⁹⁹

Displaying a negative emotion (such as anger) can be effective, but feeling bad about your performance appears to impair future negotiations. Individuals who do poorly in a negotiation experience negative emotions, develop negative perceptions of their counterpart, and are less willing to share information or be cooperative in future negotiations.¹⁰⁰ Interestingly, then, while moods and emotions have benefits at work, in negotiation, unless we're putting up a false front (feigning anger), it seems that emotions may impair negotiator performance. In fact, a 2005 study found that people who suffered damage to the emotional centers of their brains (damage to the same part of the brain as Phineas Gage) may be the *best* negotiators because they're not likely to overcorrect when faced with negative outcomes.¹⁰¹

Customer Service

A worker's emotional state influences customer service, which influences levels of repeat business and levels of customer satisfaction.¹⁰² Providing quality customer service makes demands on employees because it often puts them in a state of emotional dissonance. Over time, this state can lead to job burnout, declines in job performance, and lower job satisfaction.¹⁰³

In addition, employees' emotions may transfer to the customer. Studies indicate a matching effect between employee and customer emotions, an effect that is called **emotional contagion**—the "catching" of emotions from others.¹⁰⁴ How does emotional contagion work? The primary explanation is that when someone experiences positive emotions and laughs and smiles at you, you begin to copy that person's behavior. So when employees express positive emotions, customers tend to respond positively. Emotional contagion is important because when customers catch the positive moods or emotions of employees they shop longer. But what about negative emotions and moods? Are they contagious, too? Absolutely. When an employee feels unfairly treated by a customer, for example, it's harder for him to display the positive emotions his organization expects of him.¹⁰⁵

Job Attitudes

Ever hear the advice "Never take your work home with you," meaning that people should forget about their work once they go home? As it turns out, that's easier said than done. Several studies have shown that people who had a good day at work tend to be in a better mood at home that evening. And people who had a bad day tend to be in a bad mood once they're at home.¹⁰⁶ Evidence also suggests that people who have a stressful day at work have trouble relaxing after they get off work.¹⁰⁷

Even though people do emotionally take their work home with them, by the next day, the effect is usually gone.¹⁰⁸ So, although it may be difficult or even unnatural to "never take your work home with you," it doesn't appear that, for most people, a negative mood resulting from a bad day at work carries over to the next day.

emotional contagion The process by which peoples' emotions are caused by the emotions of others.

Deviant Workplace Behaviors

Negative emotions can lead to a number of deviant workplace behaviors.

Anyone who has spent much time in an organization realizes that people often behave in ways that violate established norms and that threaten the organization, its members, or both. As we saw in Chapter 1, these actions are called *workplace deviant behaviors*.¹⁰⁹ Many of these deviant behaviors can be traced to negative emotions.

For instance, envy is an emotion that occurs when you resent someone for having something that you don't have but that you strongly desire—such as a better work assignment, larger office, or higher salary.¹¹⁰ It can lead to malicious deviant behaviors. An envious employee, for example, could then act hostilely by backstabbing another employee, negatively distorting others' successes, and positively distorting his own accomplishments.¹¹¹ Evidence suggests that people who feel negative emotions, particularly those who feel angry or hostile, are more likely than people who don't feel negative emotions to engage in deviant behavior at work.¹¹²

Forgiveness in Organizations

The examination of forgiveness in organizations has emerged from the new field of study called positive organizational scholarship (POS).¹¹³ POS advocates the investigation of what goes right in organizations rather than what goes wrong, what is life-giving rather than life-depleting, what is experienced as good rather than bad, what is inspiring rather than distressing, and what brings joy and inspiration rather than anxiety and stress. Forgiveness in organizations occurs when emotional, attitudinal, cognitive, and behavioral changes transpire after harm or wrongdoing has been experienced. Negative feelings, bitterness, resentment, desire for revenge, or retaliatory behavior are abandoned and replaced by a neutralized positive at a minimum, and by an increase in positive emotions, affirmative motivations, and prosocial behavior in the ideal.

A forgiving response is more likely, for instance, when three conditions exist: (1) the offender asks for forgiveness or expresses contrition, (2) the effects of the offense are not severe, and (3) the offense is unintentional.¹¹⁴ A study indicated that organizational forgiveness is significantly associated with improvements in productivity after downsizing as well as lower voluntary employee turnover. Forgiveness transforms negative emotions to positive emotions. This leads to a replication of virtuousness and an elevation in positive well-being.¹¹⁵ Positive emotions build high-quality relationships and increase social connections among organization members.¹¹⁶

How Managers Can Influence Moods

In general, you can improve peoples' moods by showing them a funny video clip, giving them a small bag of candy, or even having them taste a pleasant beverage.¹¹⁷ But what can companies do to improve their employees' moods? Managers can use humor and give their employees small tokens of appreciation for work well done. Also, research indicates that when leaders are in good moods, group members are more positive, and as a result, the members cooperate more.¹¹⁸

Finally, selecting positive team members can have a contagion effect as positive moods transmit from team member to team member. One study of professional cricket teams found that players' happy moods affected the moods of their team members and also positively influenced their performance.¹¹⁹ It makes sense, then, for managers to select team members who are predisposed to experience positive moods.

OB In the News

Crying at Work Gains Acceptance

As we have noted, many employers discourage the expression of emotions at work, especially when those emotions are negative. Recently, though, there are signs that the situation is starting to change.

One day, only 4 months into her first job, Hannah Seligson, now 24, was called into the big boss's office and told that her immediate supervisor was not happy with her work. She bawled on the

spot. "I was just floored," she said. "I had been working so hard."

Kathryn Brady, 34, is a finance manager for a large corporation in Atlanta. Occasionally she has had bosses who have driven her to tears. Brady argues that when she has cried, it has been out of frustration, not weakness. "The misinterpretation that I'm whiny or weak is just not fair," she says.

To many, however, these emotional displays are signs of weakness. On the reality show *The Apprentice*, Martha Stewart warned one of the contestants not to cry. "Cry, and you're out of here," she said. "Women in business don't cry, my dear."

Although that "old school" wisdom still holds true in many places, it is

changing in others. George Merkle, CEO of a San Antonio credit company, does not mind if his employees cry. If someone cries, he says, "No apology needed. I know it's upsetting, and we can work our way through it."

Surveys indicate that women are more likely to cry at work than men, but that may be changing, too. When 6'3" 253-pound football tight end Vernon Davis cried after being selected in the first round of the NFL draft, nobody accused him of being a wimp.

Source: P. Kitchen, "Experts: Crying at Work on the Rise," *Newsday*, June 10, 2007; and S. Shellenbarger, "Read This and Weep," *Wall Street Journal*, April 26, 2007, p. B1.

Global Issues

8 Contrast the experience, interpretation, and expression of emotions across cultures.

Does the degree to which people *experience* emotions vary across cultures? Do peoples' *interpretations* of emotions vary across cultures? Finally, do the norms for the *expression* of emotions differ across cultures? Let's tackle each of these questions.

Does the Degree to Which People Experience Emotions Vary Across Cultures? Yes. In China, for example, people report experiencing fewer positive and negative emotions than people in other cultures, and the emotions they experience are less intense than what other cultures report. Compared with Mainland Chinese, Taiwanese are more like U.S. workers in their experience of emotions: On average, Taiwanese report more positive and fewer negative emotions than their Chinese counterparts.¹²⁰ In general, people in most cultures appear to experience certain positive and negative emotions, but the frequency of their experience and their intensity varies to some degree.¹²¹

Do Peoples' Interpretations of Emotions Vary Across Cultures? In general, people from all over the world interpret negative and positive emotions the same way. We all view negative emotions, such as hate, terror, and rage, as dangerous and destructive. And we all desire positive emotions, such as joy, love, and happiness. However, some cultures value certain emotions more than others. For example, U.S. culture values enthusiasm, while the Chinese consider negative emotions to be more useful and constructive than do people in the United States. In general, pride is seen as a positive emotion in Western, individualistic cultures such as the United States, but Eastern cultures such as China and Japan tend to view pride as undesirable.¹²²

Do the Norms for the Expression of Emotions Differ Across Cultures? Absolutely. For example, Muslims see smiling as a sign of sexual attraction, so women have learned not to smile at men.¹²³ And research has shown that in

collectivist countries people are more likely to believe the emotional displays of another have something to do with their own relationship with the person expressing the emotion, while people in individualistic cultures don't think that another's emotional expressions are directed at them. Evidence indicates that in the United States there's a bias against expressing emotions, especially intense negative emotions. French retail clerks, in contrast, are infamous for being surly toward customers. (A report from the French government itself confirmed this.) There are also reports that serious German shoppers have been turned off by Wal-Mart's friendly greeters and helpful personnel.¹²⁴

In general, and not surprisingly, it's easier for people to accurately recognize emotions within their own culture than in other cultures. For example, a Chinese businessperson is more likely to accurately label the emotions underlying the facial expressions of a fellow Chinese colleague than those of a U.S. colleague.¹²⁵

Interestingly, some cultures lack words for standard U.S. emotional terms such as *anxiety*, *depression*, and *guilt*. Tahitians, as a case in point, don't have a word directly equivalent to *sadness*. When Tahitians are sad, their peers attribute their state to a physical illness.¹²⁶ Our discussion illustrates the need to consider the fact that cultural factors influence what managers think is emotionally appropriate.¹²⁷ What's acceptable in one culture may seem extremely unusual or even dysfunctional in another. Managers need to know the emotional norms in each culture they do business in or with so they don't send unintended signals or misread the reactions of others. For example, a U.S. manager in Japan should know that while U.S. culture tends to view smiling positively, the Japanese attribute frequent smiling to a lack of intelligence.¹²⁸

Summary and Implications for Managers

Emotions and moods are similar in that both are affective in nature. But they're also different—moods are more general and less contextual than emotions. And events do matter. The time of day and day of the week, stressful events, social activities, and sleep patterns are some of the factors that influence emotions and moods.

Emotions and moods have proven themselves to be relevant for virtually every OB topic we study. Increasingly, organizations are selecting employees they believe have high levels of emotional intelligence. Emotions, especially positive moods, appear to facilitate effective decision making and creativity. Although the research is relatively recent, research suggests that mood is linked to motivation, especially through feedback, and that leaders rely on emotions to increase their effectiveness. The display of emotions is important to negotiation and customer service, and the experience of emotions is closely linked to job attitudes and behaviors that follow from attitudes, such as deviant behavior in the workplace.

Can managers control their colleagues' and employees' emotions and moods? Certainly there are limits, practical and ethical. Emotions and moods are a natural part of an individual's makeup. Where managers err is in ignoring their coworkers' and employees' emotions and assessing others' behavior as if it were completely rational. As one consultant aptly put it, "You can't divorce emotions from the workplace because you can't divorce emotions from people."¹²⁹ Managers who understand the role of emotions and moods will significantly improve their ability to explain and predict their coworkers' and employees' behavior.

Point

Counterpoint

THE COSTS AND BENEFITS OF ORGANIZATIONAL DISPLAY RULES

Organizations today realize that good customer service means good business. After all, who wants to end a shopping trip at the grocery store with a surly checker? Research clearly shows that organizations that provide good customer service have higher profits than those with poor customer service.¹³⁰ An integral part of customer-service training is to set forth display rules to teach employees to interact with customers in a friendly, helpful, professional way—and evidence indicates that such rules work: Having display rules increases the odds that employees will display the emotions expected of them.¹³¹

As one Starbucks manager says, "What makes Starbucks different is our passion for what we do. We're trying to provide a great experience for people, with a great product. That's what we all care about."¹³² Starbucks may have good coffee, but a big part of the company's growth has been the customer experience. For instance, the cashiers are friendly and will get to know you by name if you are a repeat customer.

Asking employees to act friendly is good for them, too. Research shows that employees of organizations that require them to display positive emotions actually feel better as a result.¹³³ And, if someone feels that being asked to smile is bad for him, he doesn't belong in the service industry in the first place.

Organizations have no business trying to regulate the emotions of their employees. Companies should not be "the thought police" and force employees to feel and act in ways that serve only organizational needs. Service employees should be professional and courteous, yes, but many companies expect them to take abuse and refrain from defending themselves. That's wrong. As the philosopher Jean Paul Sartre wrote, we have a responsibility to be authentic—true to ourselves—and within reasonable limits organizations have no right to ask us to be otherwise.

Service industries have no business teaching their employees to be smiling punching bags. Most customers might even prefer that employees be themselves. Employees shouldn't be openly nasty or hostile, of course, but who appreciates a fake smile? Think about trying on an outfit in a store and the clerk automatically says it looks "absolutely wonderful" when you know it doesn't and you sense the clerk is lying. Most customers would rather talk with a "real" person than someone enslaved to an organization's display rules. Furthermore, if an employee doesn't feel like slapping on an artificial smile, then it's only going to create dissonance between her and her employer.¹³⁴

Finally, research shows that forcing display rules on employees takes a heavy emotional toll.¹³⁵ It's unnatural to expect someone to smile all the time or to passively take abuse from customers, clients, or fellow employees. Organizations can improve their employees' psychological health by encouraging them to be themselves, within reasonable limits.

Questions for Review

- 1 What are the similarities and differences between emotions and moods? What are the basic emotions and the basic mood dimensions?
- 2 Are emotions and moods rational? What functions do emotions and moods serve?
- 3 What are the primary sources of emotions and moods?
- 4 What is emotional labor, and why is it important to understanding OB?
- 5 What is affective events theory? Why is it important to understanding emotions?

6 What is emotional intelligence, and what are the arguments for and against its importance?

7 What effect do emotions and moods have on different OB issues? As a manager, what steps would you take to improve your employees' moods?

8 Does the degree to which people *experience* emotions vary across cultures? Do peoples' *interpretations* of emotions vary across cultures, and do different norms across cultures govern the expression of emotions?

Think and Do

1 Have you observed that emotions and moods matter in explaining individual behavior? Give examples.

2 What, if anything, can managers do to manage their employees' emotions? Are there any ethical implications in any of these actions? If so, what are they?

3 Give some examples of situations in which the overt expression of emotions might enhance job performance.

Experiential Exercise

WHO CAN CATCH A LIAR?

In this chapter, we discussed how people determine emotions from facial expressions. There has been research on whether people can tell whether someone is lying based on facial expression. Let's see who is good at catching liars.

Split up into teams and follow these instructions.

1. Randomly choose someone to be the team organizer. Have this person write down on a piece of paper "T" for truth and "L" for lie. If there are, say, six people in the group (other than the organizer), then three people will get a slip with a "T" and three a slip with an "L." It's important that all team members keep what's on their paper a secret.
2. Each team member who holds a T slip needs to come up with a true statement, and each team member who holds

an L slip needs to come up with a false statement. Try not to make the statement so outrageous that no one would believe it (for example, "I have flown to the moon").

3. The organizer will have each member make his or her statement. Group members should then examine the person making the statement closely to try to determine whether he or she is telling the truth or lying. Once each person has made his or her statement, the organizer will ask for a vote and record the tallies.
4. Each person should now indicate whether the statement was the truth or a lie.
5. How good was your group at catching the liars? Were some people good liars? What did you look for to determine if someone was lying?

Ethical Dilemma

ARE WORKPLACE ROMANCES UNETHICAL?

A large percentage of married individuals first met in the workplace. A 2006 survey revealed that 40 percent of all employees have been in an office romance. Another survey

of singles showed that most employees would be open to such a romance. Given the amount of time people spend at work, this isn't terribly surprising. Yet office romances pose

sensitive ethical issues for organizations and employees. What rights and responsibilities do organizations have to regulate the romantic lives of their employees?

Take the example of Julie Roehm, senior VP of marketing at Wal-Mart, who began dating Sean Womack, VP of communications architecture. When Wal-Mart learned of the relationship, it fired both Roehm and Womack, arguing that the undisclosed relationship violated its policy against workplace romances. After her firing, Roehm sued Wal-Mart, claiming that the company breached her contract and damaged her reputation. Wal-Mart then countersued, alleging that Roehm showed favoritism on Womack's behalf. Eventually, Roehm dropped her lawsuit in exchange for Wal-Mart dropping its countersuit.

The Wal-Mart, Julie Roehm, and Sean Womack saga shows that while workplace romances are personal matters,

it's hard to keep them out of the political complexities of organizational life.

Questions

1. Nearly three-quarters of organizations have no policies governing workplace romances. Do you think organizations should have such policies in place?
2. Do you agree with Wal-Mart's policy against workplace romantic relationships? Why or why not?
3. Do you think it is ever appropriate for a supervisor to date an employee under his or her supervision? Why or why not?
4. Some companies, such as Nike and Southwest Airlines, openly try to recruit couples. Do you think this is a good idea? How would you feel working in a department with a "couple"?

Source: J. Geenwald, "Employers Are the Losers in the Dating Game," *Workforce Week*, June 3, 2007, pp. 1-2; and "My Year at Wal-Mart," *BusinessWeek*, February 12, 2007.

Case Incident 1

THE UPSIDE OF ANGER?

A researcher doing a case study on emotions in organizations interviewed Laura, a 22-year-old customer-service representative in Australia. The following is a summary of the interview (with some paraphrasing of the interviewer questions):

Interviewer: How would you describe your workplace?

Laura: *Very cold, unproductive, [a] very, umm, cold environment, atmosphere.*

Interviewer: What kinds of emotions are prevalent in your organization?

Laura: *Anger, hatred towards other people, other staff members.*

Interviewer: So it seems that managers keep employees in line using fear tactics?

Laura: *Yeah. [The General Manager's] favorite saying is, "Nobody's indispensable." So, it's like, "I can't do that because I'll get sacked!"*

Interviewer: How do you survive in this situation?

Laura: *You have to cater your emotions to the sort of situation, the specific situation... because it's just such a hostile environment, this is sort of the only way you can survive.*

Interviewer: Are there emotions you have to hide?

Laura: *Managers don't like you to show your emotions. . . . They don't like to show that there is anything wrong or anything emotional in the working environment.*

Interviewer: Why do you go along?

Laura: *I feel I have to put on an act because . . . to show your true emotions, especially towards my managers [Laura names two of her senior managers], it would be hatred sometimes. So, you just can't afford to do that because it's your job and you need the money.*

Interviewer: Do you ever rebel against this system?

Laura: *You sort of put on a happy face just so you can annoy [the managers]. I find that they don't like people being happy, so you just annoy them by being happy. So, yeah. It just makes you laugh. You just "put it on" just because you know it annoys [management]. It's pretty vindictive and manipulative but you just need to do that.*

Interviewer: Do you ever find that this gets to you?

Laura: *I did care in the beginning and I think it just got me into more trouble. So now I just tell myself, "I don't care." If you tell yourself something for long enough, eventually you believe it. Yeah, so now I just go "Oh well."*

Interviewer: Do you intend to keep working here?

Laura: *It's a means to an end now. So every time I go [to work] and every week I just go, "Well, one week down, one week less until I go away." But if I knew that I didn't have this goal, I don't know if I could handle it, or if I would even be there now.*

Interviewer: Is there an upside to working here?

Laura: *I'm so much better at telling people off now than I ever used to be. I can put people in place in about three sentences. Like, instead of, before I would walk away from it. But now I just stand there and fight. . . I don't know if that's a good thing or a bad thing.*

Questions

1. Do you think Laura is justified in her responses to her organization's culture? Why or why not?

Source: J. Perrone and M. H. Vickers, "Emotions as Strategic Game in a Hostile Workplace: An Exemplar Case," *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal* 16, no. 3 (2004), pp. 167-178.

Case Incident 2

ABUSIVE CUSTOMERS CAUSE EMOTIONS TO RUN HIGH

Telephone customer-service representatives have a tough time these days. With automated telephone systems that create a labyrinth for customers, result in long hold times, and make it difficult for them to speak to an actual human being, a customer's frustration often settles in before the representative has had time to say "hello." Says Donna Earl, an owner of a customer-service consulting firm in San Francisco, "By the time you get to the person you need to talk to, you're mad."

Erin Calabrese knows all too well just how mad customers can get. A customer-service representative at a financial services company, she still vividly recalls one of her worst experiences—with a customer named Jane. Jane called Calabrese over some charges on her credit card and began "ranting and raving." "Your %%% company, who do you think you are?" yelled Jane. Though Calabrese tried to console the irate customer by offering a refund, Jane only called Calabrese an "idiot." The heated conversation continued for almost 10 minutes before Calabrese, shaking, handed the phone to her supervisor and left her desk.

Sometimes customers can be downright racist. One customer-service representative finally quit her job at a New Jersey company because she constantly heard racial remarks from customers after, she contends, they heard her Spanish accent. "By the time you leave, your head is spinning with all the complaints," she said.

Unfortunately, these employees have little choice but to take the abuse. Many companies require customer-service employees to display positive emotions at all times to maintain satisfied customers. But the result could be an emotional nightmare that doesn't necessarily end once the calls stop. Calabrese stated that she would frequently take her negative emotions home. The day after she received the abusive call from Jane, Calabrese went home and started a fight with her roommate. It was "an all-out battle," recalls

2. Do you think Laura's strategic use and display of emotions serve to protect her?
3. Assuming that Laura's description is accurate, how would you react to the organization's culture?
4. Research shows that acts of coworkers (37 percent) and management (22 percent) cause more negative emotions for employees than do acts of customers (7 percent).¹³⁶ What can Laura's company do to change its emotional climate?

Calabrese, "I just blew up." The former customer-service representative who worked in New Jersey also recalls the effects of the abusive calls on her family. "My children would say, 'Mom, stop talking about your work. You're home.' My husband would say the same thing," she said.

Emma Parsons, who quit her job as a customer-service representative for the travel industry, was frustrated by the inability to do anything about abusive customers and the mood they'd put her in. "Sometimes you'd finish a call and you'd want to smash somebody's face. I had no escape, no way of releasing." She said that if she did retaliate toward an abusive customer, her boss would punish her.

Some companies train their representatives to defuse a customer's anger and to avoid taking abuse personally, but the effort isn't enough. Liz Aherarn of Radcliffe Group, a consulting firm in Lincoln Park, New Jersey, says customer-service employees who work the phones are absent more frequently, are more prone to illness, and are more likely to make stress-related disability claims than other employees. Thus, it is apparent that in the world of customer service, particularly when interactions take place over the phone, emotions can run high, and the effects can be damaging. Although the adage "the customer comes first" has been heard by many, companies should empower employees to decide when it is appropriate to put the customer second. Otherwise, employees are forced to deal with abusive customers, the effects of which can be detrimental to both the individual and the company.

Questions

1. From an emotional labor perspective, how does dealing with an abusive customer lead to stress and burnout?

2. If you were a recruiter for a customer-service call center, what personality types would you prefer to hire and why? In other words, what individual differences are likely to affect whether an employee can handle customer abuse on a day-to-day basis?
3. Emotional intelligence is one's ability to detect and manage emotional cues and information. How might emotional intelligence play a role in responding to

abusive customers? What facets of emotional intelligence might employees who are able to handle abusive customers possess?

4. What steps should companies take to ensure that their employees are not victims of customer abuse? Should companies allow a certain degree of abuse if that abuse results in satisfied customers and perhaps greater profit? What are the ethical implications of this?

Source: Based on S. Shellenbarger, "Domino Effect: The Unintended Results of Telling Off Customer-Service Staff," *Wall Street Journal*, February 5, 2004, p. D.1.

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