

DIVERSITY AND EMOTION: THE NEW FRONTIERS IN ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR

RESEARCH

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*Acknowledgement:* This paper was funded in part by a grant of the Australian Research Council.

The authors express their thanks for editorial assistance provided by Louise Earnshaw, and to

*Journal of Management* Editor Micki Kacmar and two anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

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ABSTRACT

This article provides a review of recent developments in two topical areas of research in contemporary organizational behavior: diversity and emotions. In the first section, we trace the history of diversity research, explore the definitions and paradigms used in treatments of diversity, and signal new areas of interest. We conclude that organizational behavior in the Twenty-First Century is evolving to embrace a more eclectic and holistic view of humans at work. In the second section, we turn our attention to recent developments in the study of emotions in organizations. We identify four major topics: mood theory, emotional labor, affective events theory, and emotional intelligence, and argue that developments in the four domains have significant implications for organizational research, and the progression of the study of organizational behavior. As with the study of diversity, the topic of emotions in the workplace is shaping up as one of the principal areas of development in management thought and practice for the next decade. Finally, we discuss in our conclusion how these two areas are being conceptually integrated, and the implications for management scholarship and research in the contemporary world.

## DIVERSITY AND EMOTION: THE NEW FRONTIERS IN ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR RESEARCH

In this article, we canvass two issues that we believe are both topical and important in organizational behavior: diversity and emotions. We present an analytical review of recent theoretical and empirical developments in these fields, and suggest that integration of these two issues has exciting theoretical and research implications. The first part of our paper deals with diversity. In common with the study of emotions, this area of organizational study underscores how the cognitive-rational paradigms of organizational behavior (e.g. Simon, 1976) are today being challenged. In the first section of our paper, therefore, we trace the history of diversity research, explore the definitions and paradigms used in treatments of it, and signal new areas of interest. In the second section, we direct our attention to discussion of the current and growing interest in the study of emotions in organizational settings. Although interest in emotions in work settings is spread across a broad range of topics, our reading of the trends in this area leads us to the conclusion that four domains areas are especially worthy of attention: mood effects, emotional labor, affective events theory, and emotional intelligence.

Why diversity and emotion? As we show below, these are relatively new and still-developing topics in organizational behavior. We argue, however, that modern workplace trends have created an impetus for a focus on these topics. In particular, we identify four trends that, along with their implications, guided our choice to integrate diversity issues and emotions in this article. These are:

*The trend to globalization.* As organizations geographically diversify, and the free movement of labor across national boundaries intensifies, the necessity to interact effectively with broader constituencies becomes critical (see Siebert, 1999). Diversity issues directly address this trend, and emotional issues indirectly address it through the mediating variable of communication. Communicating effectively by understanding, reading, and responding to the emotional nuances in different cultures and environments underscores the importance of the linkage between diversity and emotion in the new millennium.

*The trend of the service economy.* Service is becoming a greater part of nations' economies, with higher levels of international and national tourism and increasing competition (see Bergesen & Sonnett, 2001). Competencies in emotional and cross-cultural management are crucial for organizations to understand how to serve and to retain a customer base that is much more diverse and demanding than in years past.

*The trend of increased technology, especially within the communications arena.* Technological advances aim to increase efficiency, often with an emphasis on decreasing time to production or service (Malone & Rockart, 1993). These advances significantly alter the working environment. For example, technological changes can heighten interaction between individuals in terms of time, intensity, and emotions (see Kasper-Fuehrer & Ashkanasy, 2001). Abilities to understand diverse and multiple perspectives (cultural and emotional) quickly, as well as the potential impact of these perspectives in the interaction can contribute to efficiency, while the lack of such abilities can detract from it. As Kasper-Fuehrer and Ashkanasy (2001) point out, technological advances also

offer the possibility to work with persons one may never meet and from different cultural backgrounds. Again, such changes have implications for emotions and diversity alike.

*The trend of knowledge work.* With organizational viability depending more and more upon the knowledge, skills, abilities and attitudes of employees, management practices that encourage innovation and a high performance and learning culture that embraces all workers are essential (Macdonald, 1995). Diversity and emotional management hold the potential of contributing to such goals.

With only a few exceptions (discussed later in this article), diversity issues and emotions in the workplace have not been extensively linked, either theoretically or empirically. Indeed because of the relatively recent nature of research interest in both areas, their study has followed parallel paths that often began with isolated, individual investigations. Yet, over time, they have evolved and emerged to overarching paradigms and models which are conceptually integrative and sophisticated, and which offer pragmatic implications for the study and practice of management. We hope that our article will offer guidance that will enable scholars to move farther along this path.

## DIVERSITY

Ivancevich and Gilbert (2000) propose that diversity reflects the demise of homogeneity in workgroups and the recognition of the value of inclusion. Litvin (2000) has further challenged diversity researchers with the provocative question: “Is the workforce ever truly homogeneous?” (Litvin, 2000: 87). Indeed, while much diversity research appeals to moral or business imperatives,

the fact that people grapple with the social as well as the task dimensions of work is reason enough to warrant study of diversity. Furthermore, research that has examined interactions between diverse parties frequently points to the role of affective processes as well as affective consequences (e.g., Graves & Powell, 1994; Heilman, McCullough, & Gilbert, 1996). In this review of the diversity literature, we open with a brief outline of the development of diversity research in organisations.

#### A brief history of diversity research in organizational settings

Despite the fact that the industrial revolution began in the Eighteenth Century, studies of work until the early 1900s consistently overlooked the interests of workers (Cooke, 1999). Indeed, Cook has noted that workforce composition was not recognized as a key factor in organizational studies until the 1950s. Diversity as a topic for organizational study appears to have emerged from the anti-discrimination movement that began in the US in the 1960s, and which challenged occupational segregation (Ivancevich & Gilbert, 2000). The 1964 Civil Rights Act required US government agencies to redress the under-representation of minorities and women in their work forces (Naff, 1998). Finally, as Gilbert, Stead, and Ivancevich (1999) point out, Executive Order 11246, issued on April 2, 1972, initiated the notion of affirmative action that at last gave minorities equal employment opportunity (cf. Crosby & Cordova, 1996). In addition, the notion of a representative bureaucracy or a civil service that is truly representative of the Nation's demographic makeup was proffered in the Civil Service Reform Act in 1978, which enacted "affirmative recruitment" as law (Naff, 1998). A subsequent backlash to an anti-discrimination agenda added to the focus on diversity at work, with some parties raising concerns that the established majorities were losing ground to minority groups (see Grossman, 2000). Indeed, scholars (e.g., see Brief et al., 2000; Brief

& Hayes, 1997; Heilman, Battle, Keller, & Lee, 1998) have noted that one of the underlying drivers of modern racism is the assumption that minority groups are receiving a higher status and recognition in society than they have earned. People's reactions, however, depend both upon their own group membership of and the group being favored by a policy (Crosby, 1984; Kravitz & Platania, 1993).

The release of the books *Workplace 2000* and *Civil Service 2015* in the 1980s described the dramatic demographic shifts affecting the US labor force and reinforced the call for diversity management, which continues until this day (see Colella, DeNisi & Varma, 1998; Ivancevich & Gilbert, 2000; Naff, 1998). Further, the increasing use of teams as a way of organizing work added to the pressure for attending to the social aspects of work (Robinson Hickman & Creighton-Zollar, 1998). More recently still, public debates and needs surrounding diversity in the US workplace spurred development of an alternative approach to managing diversity in the workplace, often referred to as the *diversity model*. Unlike its predecessor, affirmative action, the diversity model approach was formulated deliberately as a proactive approach to establishing a diverse workforce (see Soni, 2000; Gilbert & Stead, 1999). Some authors, like Kelly and Dobbin (1998), however, have asserted that the diversity model is just a new dressing for affirmative action, stating that diversity is little more than just the renaming and repositioning of affirmative action to overcome the negative connotations associated with the former.

In summary, the genesis of much of the contemporary management literature on diversity research is the political and philosophical debates arising from the anti-discrimination movement in the US. Further, an examination of diversity studies from organizational scholars in other parts of the world

reveals variants on the US research and political paradigms, as well as novel approaches corresponding to a nation's unique socio-political traditions (Wrench, 2001). In the international arena, a major debate is whether the US approach to diversity is generalizable to other countries. The majority of published works, however, appear to agree that diversity is an important topic of organizational research. Nonetheless, our review of the history of diversity research highlights the need to acknowledge the role of socio-political ideology in the diversity paradigms used in practice and in research (see Eagly, 1995; Jones, Pringle, & Shepherd, 2000). In this respect, Eagly (1995) suggests that the literature on diversity issues in the US has been, and continues to be intertwined with social and political agendas and needs to be weighed in light of this.

#### Perspectives on defining diversity

In accordance with the key concerns of the US anti-discrimination movement, consideration of diversity in organizational studies largely began with race and gender (Cooke, 1999). Some scholars (e.g., Grossman, 2000; Linnehan & Konrad, 1999) advocate continuing with a definition that reflects historical disadvantage; others, such as Rijsman (1997), advocate a definition encompassing all difference; and still others, recognising the complementary of the views (e.g., Härtel & Fujimoto, 2000; Fujimoto, Härtel, Härtel, & Baker, 2000), attempt to integrate aspects of both approaches. These different viewpoints about how to define diversity are mirrored in the practitioner community (Wellner, 2000). Consequently, attending to what the diversity construct is (and is not) has been an important undertaking of organizational scholars working in this area.

Scholars advocating defining diversity along historical lines of oppression argue that the goal of diversity research and practice is to address power imbalances (Grossman, 2000). Cooke (1999), for example, argues that understanding diversity requires understanding oppression and how it functions in society and organizations. Litvin (2000) highlights the need to understand that society is still not desegregated, and that emotions related to this fact must surface in order to obtain the paradigm shift in work culture that diversity ideals represent. Litvin (1997, 2000) has also suggested that the key to equal opportunity in the workplace is the removal of social labels from language and the valuation of variation.

Several scholars argue for combining the historical disadvantage and individual differences definitions, although detail on how to do this is provided by only some of the authors. For example, Robinson Hickman and Creighton-Zollar (1998) present a comprehensive definition of diversity that emerged from a survey of 32 organizations. They emphasize that defining diversity comprehensively does not necessarily imply that all such differences have the same effect. This argument echoes that of Härtel and Fujimoto (2000), who recognized the differential impact of historically oppressed groups by separating the definition of diversity into two dimensions. The two dimensional definition they advocate allows for describing workgroups as variable by group status and individual differences, a definition that acknowledges that individuals within group categories can vary on the individual differences dimension as well (see also Litvin, 1997, 2000).

Other scholars, however, have voiced concern over the basis for separating diversity into types. Jehn, Northcraft, and Neale (1999) argue that diversity typologies often confuse which particular characteristics belong to a particular type. Jehn and her associates also criticize typical definitions

of “social category diversity”, which they argue inappropriately cluster three types of diversity together, namely, informational diversity, social category diversity, and value diversity. Value diversity, Jehn et al. (1999) further argue, must be examined independently of social category diversity. They use the term value diversity to refer to the extent to which group members hold different conceptualizations of core work activities and purposes. Jehn and her colleagues also point out that the effects of diversity have many contingencies. They thus posit that performance improvements can only be expected when diversity increases the availability of task-important variables such as information or perspective, but only if the group can manage the difficulties of interacting effectively. It follows, therefore, that the types of conflict in the workgroup evoked by diversity must mediate the effect of diversity on performance (see also Finn & Chattopadhyay, 2000). This latter point is picked up and expanded in research by Ayoko and Härtel (2000a,c; in press) and Gilbert and Ivancevich (1999), who provide empirical evidence for the relationship between conflict management in a workgroup and its performance outcomes (cf. Zhong-Ming, 1997).

In a line of argument similar to Jehn et al. (1999), Schneider and Northcraft (1999) state that previous research confuses the types of variation present in workforces. One such confusion is around social category membership diversity type such as race or ethnicity. This type, they state, reflects legal and moral stances toward creating demographic representation in the workforce. In contrast, workforces can be described using a functional characteristic category, which refers to characteristics such as knowledge, skills, or abilities that directly affect organizational performance. Much diversity research to date, they contend, fails to recognize this as one of the fundamental assumptions of diversity.

## Perceptions of the purpose of diversity research

One source of the variation in approaches to defining diversity is the perceived purpose of diversity research and initiatives. For example, Linnehan and Konrad (1999) believe that the field of diversity research has been diverted from its traditional aims of improving work opportunities for traditional excluded demographic groups. Accordingly, they advocate that the purpose of diversity initiatives should be the equalization of power relations between identity groups. Additionally, this view acknowledges that organizations are comprised of individuals with conflicting sets of interests (cf. Schalk & Freese, 1997) and with different social experiences (e.g., educational opportunities and inequality in the home).

On the other hand, scholars such as Jehn et al. (1999) assume that the purpose of diversity research is to link differences present in workgroups to organizationally valued outcomes such as conflict, satisfaction, and performance. Adoption of this orientation leads to consideration of informational diversity and value diversity, types of diversity that would be excluded from a strict group inequalities perspective.

Putatively, Litvin (2000) provides an alternative perspective: that the richness of the debate over defining diversity serves to emphasize the construct's socially and politically charged nature. In this respect, meanings and justifications for diversity management are essentially reflections of historical and political trends in the development of work organization in Western culture. It is these issues,

then, that organizational researchers are grappling with and will continue to grapple with as diversity research develops and moves across cultural and disciplinary boundaries.

### Managing diversity

A multitude of psychological, social, legal, business, and political forces have contributed to an ongoing concern with diversity management (cf. Eagly, 1995). The traditional rationale underpinning the concept of diversity management was that affirmative action was not enough to transform organizational culture fully (see Ivancevich & Gilbert, 2000). In this respect, Thomas (1990) argued that affirmative action represents a reactive and narrow approach to the concept of diversity and that a new model was required. Diversity management refers to a model of inclusion of all employees in both formal company programs and informal networks (Gilbert, et al., 1999; see also Ivancevich & Gilbert, 2000). It represents a voluntary organizational program that enhances the perception of employees and potential candidates, and where women and other disadvantaged minorities in the workforce are positioned according to merit (Gilbert and Stead, 1999). Accordingly, and as we have discussed earlier, diversity management is often portrayed as the evolutionary successor to the affirmative action approach to diversity management (Gilbert & Stead, 1999).

Rationales for diversity management mirror those underpinning the various definitions of diversity reviewed above. Some authors evoke a competitive argument, stating that organizations need diversity management to maintain a competitive edge. Gilbert and Stead (1999) argue that this is because so many new hires in the years to come will be women and racial minorities. This effect is

further exacerbated by the groupwork demanded by the flatter structures common to contemporary organizations (see Schneider & Northcraft, 1999). Such discussions often refer to Cox and Blake's (1991) "six benefits to organizations". A variant on the competitive argument is the strategic approach, which proposes that organizations need to design a strategy based upon the way in which diversity affects its competitive edge (Soni, 2000). Another rationale for diversity management is based on ethical concepts such as the golden rule, the disclosure rule, the rights approach, and the valuing approach (Dobbs, 1998; Gilbert, et al., 1999). The ethical argument appeals to legal and philosophical notions of fairness and justice.

#### International perspectives on diversity management

The study of diversity in different cultural and national contexts, the increasingly free movement of labor across national and class boundaries, and the growing attention to the issues involved in managing multinationals have contributed to discussions of diversity beyond power inequities, race, and gender issues (see Glastra, Meerman, Schedler & De Vries, 2000). Consequently, diversity research has broadened beyond consideration of organizational level issues to those at the national and societal levels. The Netherlands' diversity management initiative (Glastra et al., 2000), for example, resulted from concerns over the growing unemployment of ethnic minorities who were largely located in the disappearing low skilled labor industries such as metalworking. Many of the policy and incentive initiatives enacted by the Netherlands government (e.g., immigration policy, employment equity act, job creation ventures) to address this concern failed. Consequently, as Glastra et al. point out, both the government and employers in the Netherlands have adopted

diversity management as the foundation for dealing with a complete re-evaluation of identity and relationships at work.

Poland also takes a societal focus, setting agendas for managing issues arising from cross-cultural differences (Todeva, 1999). Polish researchers focus on four areas: social anthropology, international dimensions of organizational behavior (e.g., cross-cultural leadership, motivational issues), the way in which culture shapes organizational structures of multinational organizations, and international dynamics in management practices, such as communication and negotiation across cultures.

New Zealand, the first country to give women suffrage, still recognizes the roles and rights of indigenous citizens (*Maoris*) and European settlers (*Pakehas*). Diversity management in New Zealand is therefore seen as individualized treatment (as opposed to the US's treating employees the same way), aimed at shifting power relations through reduction of the power difference in manager-employee relationships (Pringle & Scowcroft, 1996: 29). Pringle and Scowcroft contend that the New Zealand diversity initiative evolved from EEO initiatives, which was spurred onwards by discrimination legislation and changing demographics.

Looking forward

The past few years have seen an upsurge of competing and complementary theories in the literature (e.g. see Ayoko & Härtel, 2000; Dreachslin & Saunders, 1999; Fujimoto, et al., 2000; Gilbert et al., 1999; Schneider & Northcraft, 1999). Schneider and Northcraft (1999) conclude, nevertheless, that

there are basically two broad approaches to diversity initiatives: structural and psychological solutions. Psychological solutions forego short-term interests for the long-term good, whereas structural solutions “constrain short-term choices in order to ensure long-term collective interests” (Schneider & Northcraft, 1999: 1456). They argue that structural solutions (legislation) to combat the individual and organizational dilemmas emerging from diversity impose costs for non-participation, but fail to alleviate the perception that there are costs of participation and no benefits.

Clearly, the field of research into diversity in work settings offers many opportunities for advancement. We identify in particular several target areas for future diversity research. These areas are briefly described in the following paragraphs.

As we have shown, one of the key areas of debate within the diversity literature is how we define it and how we study it. Continuing development of diversity constructs can be expected and is needed (Ng and Tung, 1998). For example, Finn and Chattopadhyay (2000) and Barsade, Ward, Turner, and Sonnenfeld (2000) propose that the affective consequences of diversity constitute an important but overlooked dimension of diversity, and there is research that suggests that affect may moderate the consequences of other diversity (e.g., Neumann, Wagner & Christiansen, 1999). These authors suggest in particular that the affective outcomes of diversity depend upon the extent to which people can read each other’s affective signals accurately. Understanding a person’s emotions, they propose, is affected by whether interactants share the same culture. Other authors have highlighted the need to consider the relationship between diversity and emotional reactions (e.g., Ayoko & Härtel, 2000a, in press; Fujimoto, et al., 2000; Linnehan & Konrad, 1999).

Some authors suggest that the way in which we define and study diversity is in itself an important area of study. Litvin (2000) for example, suggests that the means by which we carve up diversity constitutes an unspoken divide between the motivations and needs of managers and their increasingly diverse workforce, based on the personal social constructions and identities of the parties concerned. Linnehan and Konrad (1999) suggest further that the current discourse in workplace diversity research tends to sidestep the difficult issues, such as stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. Indeed, many diversity scholars continue to call for more recognition of diversity in the broader management literature (e.g., Eagly, 1995; Eagly & Wood, 1999). Nemetz and Christensen (1996) also pick up the value of examining the diversity discourse, suggesting that examining it within the organizational context provides important information for predicting responses to diversity and diversity initiatives.

Much diversity research adopts a unidimensional classification of diversity. Thus, a sample may be looked at according to a participant's race or occupation or gender. Even when interactions between different diversity parameters are included, these are rarely conducted from the perspective that social identity is a multidimensional construct. Yet any individual belongs to multiple groups (Brown & Nichols-English, 1999). For example, sexual preferences cross all groups of diversity, including gender, race, ethnicity, age, and personality. How these multiple identities interact, and the importance each plays in an individual's life is an emerging area of interest (see Pittinsky, Shih, & Ambady, 2000b; Shih, Pittinsky, & Ambady, 1999).

Another trend in diversity research is the examination of positive stereotypes or biases that concern prejudices based on *not* belonging to a particular group (Czajka & DeNisi, 1988; Lin, Dobbins, &

Farh, 1992; Pittinsky, Shih, & Ambady, 2000a). This research includes consideration of similarity effects (Gilbert, & Stead, 1999) and how stereotyping can be used as an intervention to enhance or hinder performance (Shih et al., 1999). Like Dipboye (1985), researchers working in this area recognise that stereotypes are held both for people and for jobs (cf. Heilman, Block, Martell, & Simon, 1989). Understanding the processes shaping negative and positive stereotypes and the contextual factors that release or inhibit their expression is an important research imperative (e.g., see Blascovich, Wyer, Swart & Kibler, 1997; Brief & Hayes, 1997; Brief, Buttram, Elliot, Reizenstein, & McCline, 1995; Brief et al., 2000; Colella, DeNisi & Varma, 1998; Crosby, Clayton, Alksnis, & Hemker, 1986; Eagly & Wood, 1999; Elkins & Phillips, 1999; Zaidman, 2000).

Leadership of diverse workforces continues to be a theme in diversity research, and several avenues of this line of research are expanding. In general, leadership studies in the area look at leadership differences attributable to culture, the ease different groups have in accessing positions of leadership, and the leadership of diverse workgroups. For example, scholars continue to look for explanations of why women are less likely to obtain upper management status even when performing at superior levels (Tharenou, 2000). Others have looked at this question with respect to immigrant and racial classification (Sultana & Härtel, 1999). Some scholars focus on the skills required to lead and work in diverse workgroups (Ayoko & Härtel, 2000a,b; Townsend & Cairns, 2000) while others look at the role of organizational climate and culture (Elsass & Graves, 1997\*).

Still other diversity scholars have highlighted those aspects of diversity that have often been overlooked. For example, calls have been made to investigate employment related issues for social class (Magnus & Mick, 2000) and the affective consequences of diversity (Barsade et al., 2000;

Finn & Chattopadhyay, 2000). Fletcher and Kaplan (2000) would like to put sexual orientation on the organizational agenda right from the beginning. These authors argue that, because of societal norms, gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender employees are often ignored. Akin to Fletcher and Kaplan's call for a shift in perspective, researchers such as Fine (1995), Fisher, Härtel, and Bibo (2000), Ivancevich and Gilbert (2000), and Kossek and Zonia (1994) suggest that diversity research in future needs to represent a range of national and cultural perspectives. Additionally, there is need to understand how diverse individuals respond to situations. In particular, when and how do people adapt to work context when they are a member of less favored groups (e.g., Caligirui, 2000; Graves & Powell, 1995).

Research in the area of diversity practices and interventions is continuing, albeit moving beyond the realms of training. For example, Dovidio et al. (1997) propose that group boundaries can be engineered to reduce intergroup bias and conflict. And Gilbert and Stead (1999), Gilbert et al. (1999), Ivancevich and Gilbert (2000), Ng and Tung (1998), and Soni (2000) want empirical research to examine how diversity practices and interventions impact on the opportunities, attitudes, feelings, stereotypes (positive and negative), and views of employees, both majority and minority members. For example, how does minority withdrawal link to the classification of an organization as monolithic, plural, and multicultural? Glastra et al., (2000) and Linnehan and Konrad (1999) suggest that studies of the impact of the political, employment, social, corporate, and economic contexts on the effectiveness of diversity management initiatives are required. Other researchers (e.g., Bendick, Egan, & Lofhjelm, in press; Elsass & Graves; 1997; Glastra et al., 2000; Kelsey, 2000; Kossek & Lobel, 1996; Kossek & Zonia, 1994) have also identified the need for research to examine the effect of organizational context (e.g., culture, structure, leadership, management,

learning, human resource management) and technology on the outcomes of diversity management practices. Gingrich (2000) and Glastra et al. (2000) have stressed that new methods for managing diversity and comprehensive models of diversity management are required. Understanding the capabilities required to manage culturally diverse groups and across cultures is also demanded by contemporary work practices (Fisher et al., 2000; Townsend & Cairns, 2000).

Dreachslin and Saunders (1999) and Ivancevich and Gilbert (2000) have drawn attention also to methodological issues. These authors would like to see more research on how people actually behave, rather than what they report they do or would behave, more longitudinal and qualitative analyses of diversity and diversity management, and more comparative research (see also Todeva, 1999). Finally, some scholars have focused on developing measures of diversity. New measures include the attitudes toward diversity scale (Montei, Adams, & Eggers, 1996), the openness to dissimilarity scale (Fujimoto, 2000; Härtel et al. 1999), and the organizational diversity inventory (Hegarty & Dalto, 1995).

The final topic we look ahead to is the need to internationalize diversity research. The issues relating to a nation's policy and circumstances largely drive country-specific research relating to diversity. Although much of the research by US scholars has examined the imperatives and impact of anti-discrimination law and practices, research by many scholars outside the US has focused on social and employment problems (e.g., Domsch & Macke, 1999; Wrench, 2001). As we noted earlier, researchers in the Netherlands (e.g., Glastra, et al, 2000; Hoque & Noon, 1999) are particularly concerned with issues relating to the growing unemployment of ethnic minorities. The key issues in Spain, Finland, and Belgium, on the other hand, relate to awareness of and resistance

to redressing discrimination (Wrench, 2001). According to recent work by Wrench (2001), organizational level equal opportunity practices appear in only two countries, the UK and Netherlands, explaining the focus of diversity research in these countries. Research on the links between a nation's socio-political ideology and its responses to diversity is providing valuable new insights to the diversity literature (Wrench, 2001).

#### Summary and conclusion: Diversity

In the first section of the present article, we have provided an overview of the history and of the recent important developments in the diversity research of organizational scholars. While scholars writing within the diversity field view organizations as socially diverse, organizational scholars within the larger academic community all too often write about the workplace as if it were culture-free, race-free, gender-free, and so on. We hope that the material we have presented in this review will serve as an impetus for more organizational scholars to consider the relevance of diversity to their research endeavors.

The diversity debate continues to thrive and is evolving through the inclusion of voices from areas outside the management and psychology disciplines as well as outside the North American context. Today's diversity literature is consequently a rich tapestry of thought, still under construction as researchers work toward resolving issues of definition, varying social constructions, measurement and internationalization. In the next section, we consider another area of organizational behavior that similarly signals a shift to a more holistic and eclectic view of human behavior at work. We conclude with a brief discussion of how the two areas can be integrated.

## EMOTIONS

In this review, we deal with four topics: Mood theory, emotional labor, Affective Events Theory (AET), and emotional intelligence. *Mood theory* refers to the manner whereby moods determine behavior in social (e.g., see Forgas, 1995), and organizational (e.g., see George & Brief, 1992; Forgas & George, 2001) settings. *Emotional labor* is the term used to describe situations where employees, especially those in client contact service occupations, are required to display emotions that may differ from the emotions they actually feel (Hochschild, 1979). *Affective Events Theory* refers to an overarching model of emotions in organizations, premised on the idea that everyday hassles and uplifts determine emotional states that, in turn, underlie the way we think and behave at work (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). Finally, *emotional intelligence* refers to the ability to read emotions in one's self and in others, and to be able to use this information to guide decision-making (Mayer & Salovey, 1993, 1995, 1997; Salovey & Mayer, 1990). Before dealing with these topics in detail, however, we briefly review the history of emotions research in organizational behavior.

### A brief history of emotions research in organizational behavior

For years, organizational behavior has been dominated by the rational-cognitive approach, which also prevailed across much of the social and behavioral sciences (e.g., see Simon, 1976). In the work motivation literature, for example, expectancy theory (Vroom, 1964) presented a view of the worker as a calculative, logical information processor; and similarly motivated by logical, information-based means. As well, the early dominant theories of job satisfaction, and especially

the cognitive judgment approaches, suggest by their very name and content that workers decide to be satisfied based a rational, utilitarian view of their job situation. Emotional issues in organizational behavior were, at best, buried in the service of cognition or, at worst, ignored. Simon (1976), for example, recognized that a purely rational model does not provide an adequate representation of human behavior, and introduced the idea of 'bounded rationality'. Simon, however, still viewed the emotional aspects of organizational behavior to be 'arational' or 'irrational'. In effect, he dismissed behavior that could not be explained by rational, cognitive models.

Yet beneath the surface, the issue of emotions and managing emotions in the workplace has often been implicitly at the core of management practice and development (Mastenbroek, 2000), and is reflected in earlier general (e.g. Simon, 1976) and feminist literature (see Mumby & Putnam, 1992). In this respect, Mumby and Putnam (1992), writing in the radical feminist genre, have suggested organizational behavior is better characterized as 'bounded emotionality', rather than Simon's idea of bounded rationality. Nonetheless, the surge of academic research specifically on emotions in the workplace is relatively recent.

The recent surge of academic interest in emotions in the workplace was stimulated by more general interest in mood and affect in social psychology (primarily through Isen and her colleagues' work, e.g., Isen & Means, 1983). In the late 80s and early 90s, the shift of examining mood and affect moved solidly into the organizational and workplace setting. In the late 1980s, significant contributions were penned by Van Maanen and Kunda (1989) and Rafaeli and Sutton (1987, 1989); the latter authors winning several prestigious awards for their work. These writers were followed in

the early 1990s by contributions from Albrow (1992), Baron (1993a), George (1990), Hosking and Fineman (1990), Isen and Baron (1991), Pekrun and Friese (1992), and Wharton and Erickson (1995).

More recently, however, organizational behavior scholars have begun to call for a broader integrative view of emotions in the workplace. For example, Ashforth and Humphrey (1995), Weiss and Cropanzano (1996), Fisher and Ashkanasy (2000), and Ashkanasy, Härtel, & Zerbe (2000) have argued that worker behavior and productivity are directly affected by employee affect and emotional states. In the following, therefore, we begin with a review the mood theory literature, since it largely paved the way for the current activity. After discussing mood theory, we turn to a discussion of the other three topics of current research that we have identified in the field of emotions in the workplace.

### Mood effects in organizations

In this part of our discussion of developments in the study of emotions at work, we review some of the recent findings on the effects of mood in organizational settings. Much of the background research in this respect has been in the domain of social psychology (e.g., see Forgas, 1992; Isen, 1999). In the organizational context, George and Brief (1992, 1996a) provided the foundation work into emotions in organizations. Their interest in emotions in the workplace has led to studies of trait emotionality and state mood and the respective predictors of these phenomena. Much of this research was actually conducted in work settings and has separately treated positive (Isen & Baron, 1991) and negative mood (George & Brief, 1996b). The consistent findings of these studies have

practical importance for organizational science and practice, and pave the road for future conceptual endeavors regarding emotion in the workplace. More recently, George and Brief (2001) have authored an integrative article, showing how Forgas's (1995) Affect Infusion Theory can be applied in organizational settings. We review some of these findings in the following discussion.

### Positive Mood

There has been much research regarding the effects of positive mood and affect in the decision-making literature. Generally, Isen's research has consistently demonstrated that positive affect predicts better creativity and greater cognitive flexibility (Isen & Daubman, 1984; Isen, Johnson, Mertz, & Robinson, 1985; Isen, Daubman, & Nowicki, 1987), as well as the use of heuristic types of cognitive processing strategies (Isen & Means, 1983; Schwarz, Bless & Bohner, 1991). Forgas (1995) proposed Affect Infusion Theory, and provided conceptual depth by proposing that affect influences cognitive judgments through two mechanisms. The first is that affect may directly inform judgments (particularly through fast, heuristic judgments) when "judges use their affective state as a short-cut to infer their evaluative reactions to a target" (Forgas, 1995: 40). This is similar to the mood congruence paradigm where people in more positive moods evaluate things more positively, and people in negative moods evaluate things more negatively (for reviews, see Bower, 1981; Forgas, 1995; Forgas & George, 2001; Isen, Shaker, Clark, & Karp, 1978; Mayer & Salovey, 1988; Mayer, Gaschke, Braverman, & Evans, 1992). The second mechanism occurs where affect can also act to prime judgments through selective influence of cognitive stages such as attention and retrieval (Forgas, 1995); in effect, this mechanism emphasizes the role of mood congruent effects on memory.

Research has also found generally that being in a positive mood leads to positive outcomes (Isen & Baron, 1991), that positive moods lead to more reported job satisfaction (Connolly, & Viswesvaran, 2000), less turnover (Shaw, 1999), more organizational prosocial or helping behaviors (Williams & Shaw, 1999), and even improved performance (Wright & Staw, 1999). Further, findings indicate that positive mood affects individuals' decisions and evaluations in organizations such that a positive mood often leads to positive evaluations in, for example, interviews, performance appraisals, and negotiations (see Kraiger, Billings, & Isen, 1989). Thus, it seems as if positive mood states would be universally desired in an organization. As we discuss below, however, this is not always true, especially in relation to work performance.

In respect to contextual performance, research relating mood to satisfaction and helping behavior is consistent (Connolly & Viswesvaran, 2000). The relationship between positive mood and performance is not so clear, however. It appears that positive mood facilitates performance on some types of tasks, and inhibits performance on other types of tasks (George & Brief, 1996a). For example (and discussed above), a positive mood usually facilitates creativity (Estrada, Isen, & Young, 1994). But positive mood does not necessary always lead to better work performance. Since high-performance employees are likely to be striving to meet challenging goals (Locke & Latham, 1990), it is not unexpected that they are not necessarily in a positive mood.

## Negative Mood

The construct of negative mood is even less straightforward in its effects than positive mood (see George & Brief, 1996b). This is partially because people in a negative mood often want to be rid of their bad mood (Clark & Isen, 1982; Kaufman & Vosburg, 1997; Rusting & DeHart, 2000), and thus may behave inconsistently from their mood (compared to persons in a positive mood wanting to maintain their positive mood behaving consistently). Hence, persons in a negative mood may demonstrate *more* helping behavior, rather than less. Yet generally, persons in negative moods are less satisfied with their jobs and exhibit more withdrawal behaviors (George & Brief, 1996b). Further, persons in negative moods may be more negative in their evaluations of others, giving subordinates lower performance appraisal ratings and interviewees lower ratings (Daus, in press; Kingsbury & Daus, 2001).

On the other hand, people in a negative mood generally process cognitive information more systematically and realistically (Alloy & Abramson, 1979, 1982; Schwarz & Bohner, 1996; Sinclair & Mark, 1992). In fact, some research has demonstrated that persons in a positive mood can be unrealistically optimistic, whereas those in a negative mood are often more accurate and realistic in their perceptions (Alloy & Abramson, 1979, 1982), consistent with our earlier observations that positive mood is not necessarily always linked to higher performance.

## Summary

In summary, a motivational mood enhancement/repair perspective suggests that people in positive moods generally will avoid things that may detract from their mood, such as things that require much cognitive effort. Nevertheless, people in negative moods actually do tend to engage in such

activities (i.e., those that require effortful cognitive processing), which may distract them from their mood (Clark & Isen, 1982; Kaufman & Vosburg, 1997; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). Furthermore, from an evolutionary perspective, a negative mood state signals that something is not quite right, and thus promotes an analytic approach, whereas a positive mood state is associated with the organism being satisfied and happy with the current state of affairs, and thus, less analysis (Bless, Schwarz, Clore, Golisano, & Rabe, 1996; Frijda, 1988; Schwarz & Bohner, 1996).

Mood has important and complex effects in organizations, dependent upon the type of mood, the situation, personality, the social context, and the outcome of interest. The emerging importance of moods in social and organizational settings leads us to the conclusion that this is an area where there are exciting prospects for research in the future. Nonetheless, we propose that the most exciting new work will be in areas where researchers move away from the study of affect as mood, which is a more diffuse, broad-based state, and instead turn to the study of discreet emotions and their precipitating events, such as anger, jealousy and love in the workplace. It is within such domains where we may actually be able to dissect emotional work experiences with more specific, predictive accuracy.

## Emotional labor

The publication of *The Managed Heart* (Hochschild, 1983) represented one of the earliest examples of research into emotions in organizational settings. In particular, this publication introduced the construct of *emotional labor*, the act of managing emotion in the service of one's job. Although still

in a developmental stage, emotional labor research has been prominent in recent studies of emotions in work settings.

According to Hochschild and others (e.g. Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989), many jobs and occupations, particularly those characterized by service work, involve strong norms and/or expectations regarding displays of emotion. Indeed, explicit norms of this nature are embodied in recruitment strategies or included in job descriptions that we see everyday, such as advertisements depicting smiling faces. Implicit norms often also exist, affecting how employees are socialized into the organization's culture (e.g., inviting the 'new kid' to join in Friday evening after-work-drinks); how jobs are valued, with service jobs traditionally devalued in comparison (Kruml & Geddes, 2000); and even the means by which raises and/or rewards are distributed (see Humphrey, 2000). The nature of most service work is that employees need, in part, to be skilled at emotional expression and management; and even at times skilled in projecting one emotion while simultaneously feeling another (Hochschild, 1983).

In this respect, Hochschild's work still dominates our understanding of this phenomenon. Drawing from a series of observations and interviews with flight attendants and bill collectors, Hochschild described the emotionally draining process of managing one's own emotions in the service of a job or organization. She also identified emotional suppression as a source of anger, frustration, and resentment. When these are bottled up, they can result eventually in dysfunctional behavior. For instance, Hochschild describes an incident of a flight attendant who became angry at the rudeness of a passenger, and 'accidentally' spilled red wine on her. Much recent research has revolved around identifying emotional labor as a distinct influence on job performance and customer service, as well

as on employees' and organizations' well-being and survival (see Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000; Tews & Glomb, 2000; Wharton & Erickson, 1995).

In the following sections, we focus on two aspects of emotional labor: The effect of emotional labor in encounters with external agents in a service context, and emotional labor and its effects on the employees who actually do the displaying.

### Emotional labor and customer service

In the early organizational literature on emotional labor in service settings, the work of Rafaeli and Sutton was prominent (e.g., Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987, 1989; Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988). This work focused on emotional labor in service settings, across a variety of service jobs, and showed that customer reactions and organizational outcomes, particularly sales, were indeed affected by how employees express their feelings. Sometimes, however, the effects were unexpected. Sutton and Rafaeli (1988), for example, expected to find that smiling sales clerks would have increased sales. Instead, they found that smiles were associated with the relaxed atmosphere of low-sales stores. It seems that, in busy, high-volume stores, people often don't have time to smile and be sociable. The result was a negative correlation between smiles and sales. Rafaeli and Sutton dubbed this "The Manhattan Effect". Nonetheless, when service agents do display positive emotion, it affects displays of positive affect of customers (Pugh, 2001). Pugh (2001) found that displays of positive emotions by bank employees were related to displays of positive affect by customers, and that these displays impacted positively on their evaluations of overall service quality.

Overall, and not surprisingly, studies have supported the idea that customers' perceptions of service and employees' attitudes are crucial for favorable assessments regarding both individual and organizational performance (see Schneider & Bowen, 1985). Positive attitudes expressed by employees can create favorable impressions in customers' minds, and negative attitudes can similarly engender unfavorable impressions (Pugh, 2001; Schneider, Parkington, & Buxton, 1980). When employees are seen by customers to be rude, or they behave inappropriately towards customers, an organization may lose in many ways. Not only may a direct sale be lost, but also future revenue from both the offended customer as well as everyone s/he convinces to avoid patronage. Further, while we know that positive outcomes are often associated with positive expression of emotion by employees (Pugh, 2001), the full effects of positive and genuine emotional expression by employees can have far-ranging beneficial effects for their employer. In sum, it is becoming increasingly clear that successful management of emotional labor by employees plays a critical role in the process of customer retention, recovery, and delight.

These studies, in effect, have demonstrated that there is a *matching effect* between employee and customer emotion, and underscore the potent influence that one person's emotional cues can have on another person's emotional states. In effect, people 'catch', or are 'infected' by emotion from others which has come to be known as *emotional contagion* (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994). Emotional contagion has been shown by Verbeke (1997) to be important in service settings, and clearly has exciting and intriguing potential implications for organizational application. Several researchers (e.g., Bartel & Saavedra, 2000; Barsade, 1997; Kelly & Barsade, 2001; Totterdell, Kellett, Teuchmann, & Briner, 1998) have shown that emotional contagion is also manifest among work groups. Their findings show that one member's emotional displays affect group performance.

In particular, Barsade (1997) demonstrated how one group member's positive affect leads to greater group cooperativeness, less group conflict, and positive perceptions of individual task performance.

### Emotional labor and effects on employees

Emotional labor can be particularly detrimental to the employee performing the labor, and can take its toll both psychologically and physically. As we discussed earlier, employees may bottle up feelings of frustration and resentment, often resulting in angry outbursts (Hochschild, 1983). These feelings result, in part, from the constant requirement to monitor one's negative emotions, and to express positive ones. If unchecked, or if not given a healthy expressive outlet, this can lead to emotional exhaustion and burnout (see Kruml & Geddes, 2000; Grandey, 1998). Although burnout was initially reported in persons employed in the helping professions such as nurses, social workers, and customer service agents, the syndrome has been shown to have deleterious effects on individuals and organizations generally (see Cordes & Dougherty, 1993, for a review). Recently, Kruml and Geddes (2000) showed that individuals experience stress when they fake emotion (rather than genuinely expressing what they feel), thereby demonstrating a potential link to burnout. Morris and Feldman (1996) similarly found a positive relationship between emotional labor and emotional exhaustion among debt collectors, military recruiters, and nurses.

Further, inhibiting emotion can also lead to aversive physiological and psychological outcomes (Parker & Wall, 1998). This occurs through a complex process that ultimately weakens our immune system. Adverse health outcomes that can result from non-expression of negative emotion include serious disorders such as hypertension and cancer (Grandey, 2000) and less serious but nonetheless

potentially debilitating symptoms. For example, Schaubroeck and Jones (2000) showed that individuals who perceived a greater demand to express positive emotions (i.e., perceived greater emotional labor requirements) on the job reported a greater number of somatic symptoms such as sleeplessness and fatigue; and Pugliesi (1999) found that emotional labor was strongly and positively related to job stress and increased psychological distress. Of course, it may be different for different employees, where some may be better equipped and/or skilled to perform emotional labor effectively and without adverse personal consequences. Research in emotional labor, however, has not yet evolved to the point of providing a clear demographic picture of the 'successful emotional labor employee'. This may be partly because research in this area to date has concentrated on construct/theory conceptualization or outcomes, (e.g. Morris & Feldman, 1996) rather than empirical identification of antecedents or predictors (see Härtel, Hsu, & Boyle, in press, for an exception). In addition, outcomes may differ depending upon the type of emotional labor undertaken. For example, instead of expressing emotions that they don't feel (emotional dissonance), employees can attempt to change their mood states to match the required emotional expression of the organization. When this is done successfully, for example by focusing on the positive events during the day, the resulting effect may even be positive rather than negative (Grandey, 2000; Tews & Glomb, 2000).

Emotional dissonance, on the other hand, can be especially upsetting for employees and can also lead to health problems (Grandey, 2000; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000). Further, employees experiencing emotional dissonance may not be able successfully to mask their true emotions (Ekman, Friesen, & O'Sullivan, 1988; Mann, 1999). The detection by customers of inauthentic expression may, in turn, lead to even poorer perceptions by the customer of service quality, resulting

in a downward spiral of poor service and increasing emotional labor (Grove & Fisk, 1990; Mann, 1999; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987).

In summary, there has been significant progress in the research of the construct of emotional labor since Hochschild (1983). There is, however, still clearly a need for further research and clarity regarding the specification of the emotional labor construct (see, for example, Rubin, Tardino, Daus, & Munz, 2001), its nature, and the antecedents and effects of it. This includes advancing our understanding of emotional labor in external (service) encounters and in everyday organizational interactions between employees. The long-term effects of emotional labor (e.g., see Grandey, 2000), in particular, need further investigation across a range of organizational settings.

#### Affective Events Theory

The third emotions-related topic we address in this article is Affective Events Theory (AET: Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). The genesis of this theory is based in part on the realization that affect and emotions are not synonymous with job satisfaction. Although Organ and Near (1985) pointed out this simple fact over 15 years ago, it seems largely to have been forgotten until reiterated recently by scholars such as Fisher (2000a) and Weiss (in press). More specifically, Brief and Roberson (1989) and Weiss, et al. (1999) argue that job satisfaction, rather than constituting an affective phenomenon, is a set of attitudes towards work that may or may not include affective feelings. Thus, job satisfaction and affect are distinct constructs, empirically and theoretically, and should be explicated and studied as such.

An important corollary of AET is that the traditional consideration of the way workers feel and display emotions in work settings, often based on retrospectively collected data, is flawed. Based on AET, employees' behavior and performance at work are much more likely to be affected by the way they feel on a moment-to-moment basis than by any vaguely defined set of attitudes related to how satisfied they feel (see Fisher, 2000a; Hodges & Wilson, 1993; Weiss, Nicholas, & Daus, 1999). Specifically, in AET, workplace conditions determine the occurrence of discrete 'affective events' that, in turn, lead to affective responses in workers such as moods and emotions. These feelings can then lead to impulsive behavior at that time. Typical emotion-driven behaviors include negative emotional outbursts such as anger, sadness, or even violence; but can also include positive emotional expression of joy or pleasure, and altruistic behavior. Moreover, in the longer term, moods and emotions can accumulate to influence more stable work attitudes such as job satisfaction. It is attitudes such as job satisfaction that then influence cognitively driven behaviors, such as a considered decision to quit, a decision to engage systematically and consistently in anti- or pro-social activities (Organ, 1990), or conversely, a decision to work productively (Wright, Bonnett, & Sweeney, 1993; Wright & Cropanzano, 1998). AET is thus unique in explicating what happens inside the 'black box' between the work environment and subsequent employee attitudes and behavior. This is clearly an important area, but one that has attracted little research attention until very recently.

Another key component of AET is that work events (daily hassles and uplifts) are determined by elements of the work environment such as job characteristics, role stressors, and requirements for emotional labor. These work events lead to experiences of positive and negative emotions that have the effects on behaviors and attitudes that we described in the previous paragraph. Personal

dispositions, in the form of trait affectivity, also contribute to the formation of these positive and negative emotions.

Initially proposed as a theoretical model, research on affect at work and AET is still at a relatively early stage of development. Nonetheless, research has to date supported the central tenet of AET: that affective states underlie much of the way that workers think and behave at work (Fisher & Ashkanasy, 2000; Fisher, 2000a; O'Shea, Ashkanasy, Gallois, & Härtel, 1999, 2000a,b; Weiss, et al., 1999). Affect in this sense includes 'state mood' or 'core affect' (see Russell & Feldman-Barrett, 1999), a transient but rather unfocused background feeling state characterized along the two dimensions of pleasantness and activation<sup>1</sup>; and 'discrete emotion', including specific emotions such as joy, pride, fear, anger, or disgust. Specifically, Weiss and his colleagues (1999) and Fisher (2000a) collected data on instantaneous feelings of affect over a two-week period using an experience sampling method (ESM: see Larson & Csikszentmihalyi, 1983). Both sets of results demonstrated that job satisfaction and affect were moderately related, but distinct.

AET carries two important and different messages of importance to management and organizational behavior researchers. The first of these is that emotions in organizational settings and the events that cause them are not to be ignored, even if they appear to be relatively minor. The sorts of hassles that generate negative emotions include interactions with supervisors, peers, and subordinates, and can occur both within and outside the organizational setting itself. By the same token, uplifts in workplace settings can come from the same sources as the hassles. Both hassles and uplifts may have a cumulative nature, and research has shown it is not the *intensity* of hassles and uplifts that lead to affective states, but more the *frequency* with which they occur (see Fisher

1998, 2000a,b). It seems that people at work are capable of dealing with infrequent occurrences, even when these are relatively intense. In particular, the model carries the implication that the deleterious effects of negative affect can be largely avoided if uplifting events, such as support by friends, family, and colleagues, follows the negative event (see Grzywacz & Marks, 2000). The situation is much worse if there is an unremitting series of negative events. In effect, it is the *accumulation* of positive or negative events that determines how we feel and that, according to AET, subsequently determines the way we think and feel at work (see Fisher, 2000a).

The second important message of AET is that emotions may constitute a critical link between workplace contexts and employee behavior. As such, AET has allowed emotions researchers to base their theoretical and empirical work on a cogent framework. Even though there has been a recent upsurge of research activity and interest based on AET, that has largely validated its basic premise that affect mediates the effect of organizational variables on affective and behavioral outcomes (e.g., Fisher, 2000a,b; O'Shea et al, 1999, 2000a,b; Weiss et al., 1999), there is much ground still to be gained before this idea comes to be generally accepted. For example, while recent editions of textbooks carry much more than their predecessors in the way of research dealing with emotions, we have yet to find an organizational behavior textbook with a chapter dedicated to emotions in the workplace. If AET is to be believed, and there is increasing evidence of the model's veracity as we have detailed above, there is a need for management scholars to learn much more about emotions if they are to explain why employees behave as they do.

## Emotional Intelligence

The final topic we cover in this section is emotional intelligence. Emotional intelligence is a relatively recent concept, which, if research bears out the popular press claims, can have important implications for the selection and performance management of employees in organizations (see Fisher & Ashkanasy, 2000). In all of the recent advances in work on emotion in organizational life, this concept is arguably the one with the strongest dual interest by both academics and practitioners, although arguably also the most controversial. Researchers are seeking conceptually to distinguish, to define, and to validate its relationship with important work attitudes and outcomes (e.g. see Jordan, Ashkanasy, & Härtel, in press), while practitioners are seeking to maximize potential employee performance through identification, selection, and training of critical competencies involving the emotional abilities of their employees (e.g. see Goleman, 1998). Detractors (e.g. Davies, Stankov, & Roberts, 1998) point out, however, that many of the more exaggerated claims for emotional intelligence lack theoretical and empirical grounding.

Indeed, despite some dramatic claims for the importance of emotional intelligence (e.g., see Goleman, 1995, 1998) there has been little empirical evidence to support many of these claims. In actuality, emotional intelligence has no clear definition, nor has consensus been reached as to the breadth of the concept and what it should include (see Davies, et al., 1998). Further, because of the recency of the concept, research is currently in the midst of empirical and theoretical debate about the dimensions and competencies comprising emotional intelligence (Ciarrochi, Chan, & Caputi, 2000; Davies et al., 1998). Most agree that emotional intelligence is a related, but distinct concept from other classic orientations of intelligence (Gardner, 1983; Thorndike, 1966) but agreement ends

here. For example, it has been suggested that emotional intelligence is more narrowly composed of distinct abilities all related specifically to emotion, such as perception, identification, understanding, and management of emotion (see Mayer, Caruso, & Salovey, 1999; Mayer & Salovey, 1995).

Others suggest that it is more broadly inclusive of critical competencies for effective social interaction such as empathy, time management, decision-making, and teamwork (Bar-On, 1997; Cooper & Sawaf, 1997; Goleman, 1995). There have even been findings of a neurological basis for emotional intelligence (see Bechara, Tranel & Damasio, 2000).

Emotional intelligence is still in a stage of active development as a construct, so it is not possible to be strongly assertive as to the core properties of the construct. Nevertheless, we feel that some key findings are emerging that provide an early picture of emotional intelligence. Specifically, emotional intelligence appears to be distinct from, but positively related to, other intelligences; it is an individual difference, where some people are more endowed, and others are less so; it develops over a person's life span and can be enhanced through training; and it involves, at least in part, a person's abilities to identify and to perceive emotion (in self and others), as well as possession of the skills to subsequently understand and manage those emotions successfully. In this instance, it would seem to be worthwhile to see what applications are emerging. In the following, we look at three interesting possibilities in organizational behavior: leadership, team effectiveness, and interviews.

## Emotional Intelligence and Leadership

Current dominant theories of leadership today are based on the ideas of charismatic or transformational leadership (see Bass & Avolio, 1994). Transformational leaders project a vision that their followers accept and believe in; inspire and motivate their followers; stimulate their followers intellectually; and at the same time provide individual consideration and succor to their followers (Bass, 1998; Bass & Avolio, 1990). In this respect, the components of transformational leadership clearly resemble the key components of emotional intelligence. Thus, to engage in transformational leadership, leaders need to have clear emotional self-awareness, similar to the emotional intelligence concept of emotional self-understanding (see Bass, 1998). Transformational leaders must also be sensitive to followers' emotional needs; they also need to display empathy towards their followers, and to understand how their followers feel, especially subsequent to followers' experiences of negative events. Most importantly, transformational leaders need to have the ability to inspire and to arouse their followers emotionally. This ultimately leads to commitment to the organization and the leader's vision.

On the one hand, charismatic leadership may be seen as a potentially exploitative technique to gain follower compliance. Indeed, criticism has been leveled at charismatic leadership (Conger, 1990) when it is used in a manipulative and emotionally demanding manner, especially when followers are open to such exploitation (Weierter, 1997). Yet, emotionally intelligent leaders, on the other hand, should be able positively to utilize charismatic leadership skills to regulate their own and others' emotions, and to use emotional information in decision making to achieve creative and positive outcomes. Such leaders are able to empathize with their followers. They can communicate their

vision and enthusiasm, and also form positive and constructive relationships with their followers (Ashkanasy & Tse, 2000). George (2000) and Caruso, Mayer, and Salovey (2001) have recently posited that emotional intelligence is an important catalyst of leadership. In their view, emotional intelligence helps leaders to articulate team goals and objectives; to instill enthusiasm in members; to empathize with members; to establish cooperation, trust, and identity; and to encourage flexibility.

### Emotional Intelligence and Teams

Research to date has focused on emotional intelligence as an individual difference (Bar-On, 1997), something akin to intellectual intelligence (Mayer & Salovey, 1993), or associated with personal ability (e.g. Caruso et al., 2001; Goleman, 1995). The concept of emotional intelligence can have important implications at a level beyond the individual, and as such, has been studied in team situations. In particular, the question remains as to whether emotional intelligence contributes to more effective team functioning and performance, as suggested in the practitioner literature (e.g., Druskat & Wolff, 2001). In effect, is there any such thing as an “emotionally intelligent team”?

A preliminary answer to this question was provided in a recent study by Jordan, Ashkanasy, Härtel, & Hooper (in press). Participants in the study were members of five- to seven-person “semi-autonomous learning teams” in an undergraduate management skills class. The course was based on “student-centered learning,” where students were coached over a nine-week period in goal-setting, interpersonal communication skills, and emotional understanding (Engel, 1993). At the end of the study, the team members completed measures of emotional intelligence. “Team emotional

intelligence' was calculated by aggregating the emotional intelligence of team members. Results showed that the low emotional intelligence teams performed worse than the high emotional intelligence teams at the beginning of the nine-week period, but that both sets of teams were performing at the same level at the end of the period on the two measures: goal focus and team process effectiveness. These results imply that work team development can be made more efficient if low emotional intelligence teams are targeted for training. While this study carries potentially important implications for managers, its results can be considered only preliminary because it was based on a student sample rather than working managers, and team emotional intelligence in the study was crudely calculated by taking the average of team members' emotional intelligence scores. Clearly, while the results of this study are intriguing, further research in field settings is needed before this and other questions can be answered definitively.

### Emotional Intelligence and Interviewing

The final aspect of emotional intelligence that we deal with is emotional intelligence in interviews. Most managers and job applicants will attest that the interview process can be a highly emotionally charged situation, for both the interviewer and interviewee. The interview process is fraught with emotion, and emotional relationships and contingent interactions which all may impact the outcomes (Baron, 1993b). Interviewees are, at best, energized and aroused to present an image of an effective potential employee. At worst, they are crippled by anxiety and the fear they might not be able to answer the interview questions 'correctly', or that they will otherwise be seen to behave inappropriately in the interview. Interviewers, on the other hand, are challenged with the tasks of managing affect generated by first (and subsequent) impressions of a candidate, be they positive or

negative; maintaining consistency in their mood states and concomitant effects on the interview process; and balancing the desire to make candidates feel comfortable with presenting a professional interview orientation.

Baron's (1993b) work has shown in particular that emotional competence is important in the interview. More recent research (Fox & Spector, 2000; Kingsbury & Daus, 2001) has found that interviewees who express positive affect and are empathetic are likely to be more successful in generating positive impressions in the interviewer. Similarly, interviewers can be biased by their own mood states, as well as susceptible to having their moods influenced by the candidate (see Baron, 1993b; Fox & Spector, 2000), possibly leading to an unfair evaluation of the candidate. Since knowledge beyond these findings is limited, it would prove fruitful to investigate further the impact of the interviewer's specific emotional competencies and weaknesses on the conduct of the interview process, and consequently the quality of interviewer evaluations and decisions regarding the applicant's suitability. This information should subsequently guide interviewer training and development. Positive insights may serve to improve the widely regarded unreliability of the interview process.

In summary of our discussion of emotional intelligence in work settings, it is clear that this is an exciting but still evolving field. While the construct of emotional intelligence has its detractors, and while it is still too soon to be able to draw more definitive conclusions of the nature and impact of emotional intelligence, we nonetheless anticipate that it will figure prominently in future management research and practice. The increasing acceptance of the importance of emotions in the workplace, coupled with the need of greater attention by managers, will support further

investigation into the area. The empirical evidence to date, although limited, suggests that there may also be scope to investigate ‘emotional intelligence training,’ and that such research may in the end prove beneficial (e.g., Jordan, Ashkanasy, Härtel, & Cooper, in press).

### Summary and Conclusion: Emotions

In this section, we have summarized the state of emotion research and foreshadowed what is on the horizon. We now have constructs that draw upon that are distinct from the broader mood and emotion literature. First, emotion in organizations has progressed to the construct or theory level, which provides overarching organizing frameworks to the rather disparate, distinct examination characterizing the study early on. This goes beyond taking two established constructs, for example, and examining their interaction in a simple prediction of a third outcome. Mood theory research largely paved the way for the three subsequent areas we discussed in depth: emotional labor, AET, and emotional intelligence. These areas all incorporate new ideas and new ways of combining previous information, and hold potential to escalate research on emotion in organizations to more complex study. We believe contemporary research suggests the emergence of a true field of research on the organizational domain called *emotions in the workplace*, and worthy of study in its own right (like organizational attitudes or leadership).

In addition, we find it exciting that current research incorporating mood is moving beyond mood as a simple antecedent or outcome, and appropriately establishing mood as an intervening construct (e.g., a mediator) between antecedents and outcomes, or as a variable which impacts the relationship between them (e.g., a moderator). This also progresses the field of emotions in organizations to a

new level, one that is synthesizing and integrating decades of diverse findings into conceptually compelling and practically useful models and theories.

## CONCLUSION AND INTEGRATION

As we enter the second century of research into organizational behavior, it is clear that rationality and emotionality both have a role to play in determining behavior in organizations. The research into emotion and diversity that we have reviewed in this article highlights that management is more than simple reason and thought. Both topics cause us to probe in the mysterious realms of hitherto untouchable areas of irrationality identified by Simon (1976). It is not surprising then, that our two topics converge in recent studies by Ayoko and Härtel (in press), Barsade et al. (2000), Finn and Chattopadhyay (2000) and Härtel and Fujimoto (1999). These researchers are pursuing the effects of the interaction between diversity and emotion, and argue that diversity acts as an environmental variable, and which therefore engenders emotional reactions. Combining this with the topics we covered in our discussion of emotion, we can see that diversity may constitute a source of affective events (see Finn & Chattopadhyay, 2000, for a more complete discussion); and that dealing with diversity often involves some amount of emotional labor (hiding feelings) that may require emotional intelligence to be managed appropriately (see Jordan et al., in press). In effect, research into the emotional side of organizations offers potential for understanding seemingly 'irrational' decision-making that appears to underlie the resilience of diversity divisions in society (cf. Litvin, 2000). This conclusion highlights the commonality of the diversity and emotion fields: both concern understanding and managing organizational members' reactions to task and social features of work life.

Returning to our trends identified in the opening of our review, globalization of business calls for an increasing need for understanding and valuing diverse individuals. To the extent that a better understanding of emotions and its interaction with diversity in organizations will help individuals in organizations accomplish this, and thus give them a competitive edge, both diversity and emotion issues are critical. As we mentioned in our introduction, the move to a more service-oriented economy also demands a greater awareness and understanding of diverse individuals' preferences, values, and emotional expressions, particularly in service interactions. Organizations that can apply the theoretical and empirical knowledge we reviewed will be better poised to capitalize on service encounters. Communication, as it changes and evolves with technology, increasingly necessitates quick and accurate perceptions of social behavior in interactions. Individuals and organizations that understand the emotional and diverse nuances of communication should also be more efficient in quickly satisfying customers and constituencies. Finally, high performance and learning organizations pride themselves on learning from successes and failures. Navigating the murky and often socially charged waters of emotional and diversity issues will give organizations valuable practice and skills for future challenges. In the end, understanding of these topics, in common with contemporary organizational behavior research generally, is about creating environments that promote positive and healthy reactions to the whole of work.

#### ENDNOTE

<sup>1</sup> Researchers do agree that there are two basic dimensions underlying the structure of affect. However, there is, of course, extensive debate on which are the appropriate dimensions

represented by Watson and colleagues on the one hand, arguing for the dimensions of positive and negative affect; and Russell and his associates on the other hand, arguing for the rotated axes or dimensions of activation and pleasantness (see Russell & Carroll, 1999a,b; Watson & Tellegen, 1999).

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