

**University of Strathclyde
Department of Management**

The Moral Economy of Emotional Intelligence

Kathryn Thory

**A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

2009

This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has led to the award of a degree.

The copyright of this thesis belongs to the author under the terms of the United Kingdom Copyright Acts as qualified by University of Strathclyde Regulations 3.50. Due acknowledgement must always be made of the use of any material contained in, or derived from, this thesis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I would like to thank my primary supervisor, Professor Sharon Bolton for her guidance, encouragement and shared moments of benevolence and humanity (and humour) throughout the PhD journey. Her professionalism, warmth and kindness were truly inspirational. I would also like to thank my second supervisor, Dr Dora Scholarios for her support and feedback on an earlier draft of this thesis.

I would also like to thank my family – my mum, dad and brother for their unconditional love and faith in me. I cannot find the words to thank them for all their support, without which this work would not have been possible.

In addition, I would like to thank my partner and friends – who were always there to offer a reflective and listening ear, an encouraging/supportive chat, advice, pep talk and take me to the pub at times when it was most needed. In addition, the practical support they gave me was invaluable at certain points on this journey.

Last but not least my warmest thanks are due to the participants in this study; who gave up their time to engage so enthusiastically in this project. It is their voices that bring this study to light.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	3
LIST OF TABLES	8
LIST OF FIGURES	8
ABSTRACT.....	9
CHAPTER ONE: EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE IN THE NEW ECONOMY.....	11
INTRODUCTION	11
The popularity of Emotional Intelligence	12
A realist framework.....	15
The Research Process.....	16
Introducing a typology	19
SITUATING EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE.....	20
Emotional Intelligence in Enterprising Cultures	20
Enterprising Employees	22
Organisational Change and Workforce Restructuring	24
Customer Service.....	29
Speed and Technology in Global Work Relations.....	30
Stress and well-being at Work	31
HRM, Social Capital and the Resource Based View of the Firm.....	33
SETTING THE CONTEXT: A STUDY OF EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE.....	35
CHAPTER TWO: EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE: A REVIEW AND CRITIQUE OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH	39
AN INTRODUCTION TO EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE MODELS	40
The ‘Mixed’ Models of Emotional Intelligence.....	40
Goleman et al’s Emotional Competence Inventory (ECI and ECI-2).....	42
Bar-On’s Emotional Quotient Inventory (EQ-i)	44
The ‘Ability’ Models of Emotional Intelligence	46
THE HISTORY OF EI	48
THE PERFORMANCE EVIDENCE OF ‘MIXED’ EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE...	50
A CRITIQUE OF ‘MIXED’ MODELS OF EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE	54
Theoretical and Conceptual Concerns.....	54
How is Emotional Intelligence formed?	54
What is Emotional Intelligence?.....	56
Emotional Intelligence and Positive Psychology	58
Emotional Intelligence in the workplace: Individual and Organisational Benefits.....	62
The EI-Performance Link	63
The EI Training-Performance Link	66
CONCLUSION	69

CHAPTER THREE: A SOCIO-ECONOMIC CRITIQUE OF EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE	72
INTRODUCTION	72
EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE, CLASS AND GENDER	74
Emotional Intelligence: A Class Act?	75
Gendering Emotional Intelligence	79
POWER, POLITICS AND POSITIONS IN THE WORKPLACE	84
THE POWER OF HUMAN CONNECTION	87
CONCLUSION	94
CHAPTER FOUR: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES: STUDIES OF EMOTION AND EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE	97
INTRODUCTION	97
THE POST-STRUCTURALISTS' ANALYSIS OF EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE AND SOCIAL SKILLS	98
AN INTERPRETIVIST APPROACH TO EMOTIONS RESEARCH	104
A 'RADICAL' PERSPECTIVE: LABOUR PROCESS THEORY AND ITS ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL CAPITAL	111
REALISM	119
CONCLUSION	124
CHAPTER FIVE: EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE IN THE WORKPLACE: INTRODUCING A NEW ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND TYPOLOGY	128
A NEW ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK TO STUDY EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE IN THE WORKPLACE	128
A TYPOLOGY OF EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE IN THE WORKPLACE	140
CONCLUSION	149
CHAPTER SIX: THE EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE TRAINING PROGRAMMES... ..	151
THE GOLEMAN COURSE	152
Influence/genesis of course	152
Focus and learning objectives	152
Key themes	153
Positive psychology	154
Developing one's EI	155
THE BAR-ON COURSE	156
Influence/genesis of the course	157
Focus and learning objectives	158
Key themes	158
Positive psychology	162
Developing EI	163
THE HYBRID COURSE	165
Influences/genesis	165
Focus and learning objectives	166
Key Themes	167
Positive Psychology	170
Developing EI	170
MANAGERS AND LEADERS' TRAINING EXPERIENCES	173

CONCLUSION	175
CHAPTER SEVEN: CALCULATIVE SELF DEVELOPMENT AND TACTICAL SURVIVAL	179
CALCULATIVE SELF DEVELOPMENT	180
The new model emotion worker in contemporary capitalism	182
Keeping it positive? EI prescription and positive psychology	189
Using the Enneagram to manage staff more effectively and achieve one's goals	193
Calculative empathy: a controlled production of the heart	197
Reality testing to aid problem solving.....	201
Using EI knowledge and skills to boost one's marketability to clients	201
TACTICAL SURVIVAL	205
Using EI principles to work less and live more.....	205
Demanding recognition and respect through increased self confidence and assertiveness	209
Using EI to exit the organisation	211
CONCLUSION	214
CHAPTER EIGHT: WELFARE PROVISION AND MORAL AGITATION	217
WELFARE PROVISION	218
Being empathic, supporting and caring to enhance others' well-being and flourishing	219
Development and recognition of others' needs conducive to well-being through increased social awareness	229
Using EI to support deep growth and development	231
Respect and non-humiliation towards others	235
MORAL AGITATION.....	235
Respect for character for its own sake.....	236
Justice, fairness and recognition enacted through EI	238
Protecting staff/fighting for a work environment conducive to well-being.....	241
CONCLUSION	243
CHAPTER NINE: THE MORAL ECONOMY OF EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE	248
CONCLUDING COMMENTS	248
A moral order	248
The hybrid character of action	250
Emotional Intelligence as a moral response to capitalism?.....	252
Interpretive viability of EI as a management model	255
Assessment and training in EI.....	256
Gains and losses	257
Powers, politics and positions and EI.....	259
Summary of theoretical and empirical implications	260
LIMITATIONS TO THE RESEARCH.....	262
FUTURE RESEARCH.....	265
PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH	268
REFERENCES	248
APPENDIX A: METHODOLOGY	292

INTRODUCTION	292
ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS AND RESEARCH APPROACH.....	292
RESEARCH DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION	293
Research Design.....	293
Organisational and participant access	294
Organisational access.....	294
Access to participants	295
Sample Composition	296
Research methods and data collection.....	298
Research Ethics	301
Data analysis	302
Researcher Reflexivity	304
Functional reflexivity.....	305
Positionality	306
Methodological Limitations	306

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: The Emotional Competence Inventory Version 2 (ECI-2)	43
Table 2: The Emotional Quotient Inventory (EQ-i)	44
Table 3: The four branch model of Emotional Intelligence MSCEIT	47
Table 4: Key Features of the Three Training Courses	172
Table 5: Description of EI training courses	295
Table 6: Participants	297

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: A Model of the Theoretical Framework	139
Figure 2: A Typology of Emotional Intelligence in the Workplace	142

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines managers and leaders' motivations for attending an Emotional Intelligence (EI) training course and their experiences and outcomes of using EI at work. It offers a critical review and analysis of the current literature and new empirical work. It also seeks to give visibility to participants' experiences by adopting a qualitative methodology, which provides individuals with the opportunity to describe, reflect on and evaluate their experiences. Participant observation work was conducted on three different types of commercial EI courses run by independent consultants. Semi-structured interviews were then conducted with leaders and managers as the main sample several months later. The rationale for this was to represent, as much as possible, the types of EI training programmes available in the marketplace and the occupational groups attending them.

It is argued that Emotional Intelligence is widely adopted as a management tool in business communities and frequently discussed in practitioner literature, but has yet to be clearly debated in academic arenas outwith psychology. A new method of theorising workplace Emotional Intelligence is introduced which is sociologically informed and advances a link between agency and structure in the presentation of peoples' everyday use of EI at work. The conceptual framework draws on Sayer's (2006; 2007) moral and economic context and Archer's (2000; 2003; 2007) conceptualisation of human beings to capture the politics of working life and an active, reflective agency embedded in an organisation.

From the empirical work undertaken in this study, a typology is presented which highlights four uses of Emotional Intelligence in the workplace: *Calculative Self Development*, *Welfare Provision*, *Moral Agitation* and *Tactical Survival*. The model highlights the variable, complex and sometimes contradictory uses of Emotional Intelligence at work by illuminating the place of people within the economy but one which requires selected qualities, attitudes and virtues that people may exhibit, particularly benevolence and concern for others, to oil its wheels.

This contribution presents a new, original theoretical framework and analytical device to analyse EI at work. It sheds light on human beings in an entirely different way compared to the psychological approach and thus makes a substantial contribution to academic debates and critical analyses on EI in sociology, psychology and organisation studies. This, in conjunction with the exposition of rich, qualitative data which illuminates the voices and

experiences of participating managers and leaders, makes this study the first ‘critical’ empirical project conducted on Emotional Intelligence to date.

CHAPTER ONE: EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE IN THE NEW ECONOMY

INTRODUCTION

This research study aims to *capture the relationship between Emotional Intelligence prescription, people and place in organisational life*. Drawing on a sample of managers and leaders, it aims to capture the variable, complex and sometimes contradictory uses of Emotional Intelligence (EI) at work by illuminating the place of people within the economy but one which requires selected qualities, attitudes and virtues that people may exhibit, particularly benevolence and concern for others, to oil its wheels.

Through a thorough review of the literature this contribution sets out to ask several core questions: Why Emotional Intelligence and why now? Why is it so popular? How does EI conceptualise human beings as a whole? Does or does EI not contribute to individual and organisational performance and effective and satisfying interpersonal relationships? In other words, can it fulfil its promises? By adopting a different conceptualisation of human beings, can we better explain the impact of EI rhetoric and practice upon both individuals and organisations?

The study is theoretically underpinned by a realist view of human beings. Based on a thorough review of the psychological and critical literature on Emotional Intelligence and more broadly, emotions in organisations, a realist ontology was selected which enables a rich theorisation of human beings. The adoption of this framework provides an original contribution to studies of Emotional Intelligence because it sheds light on people in an entirely different way compared to the psychological approach that underpins existing empirical research. More broadly, it is the first ‘critical’ empirical study on Emotional Intelligence in the workplace to date.

The popularity of Emotional Intelligence

Emotional Intelligence (EI) claims to offer much to businesses of the twenty first century with benefits ranging from improved customer relations, leadership, general performance and gains to the bottom line. These promises, like those offered by other management trends, have attracted substantial attention from organisations. The range of benefits along with EI's apparently scientific rigour has played a major part in its popularity in industry. Further attraction has been generated by numerous different versions of models being launched into the market at around the same time which, in their appeal to a broad audience, has sustained momentum for the EI 'movement'. In addition, the growth of the concept as an emotional prop for individuals striving to survive in a turbulent world has received international media attention. For example, Goleman's (1996) first book, *Emotional Intelligence: Why it can matter more than IQ* appeared in the *New York Times* Best-Sellers List the same year it was published (Matthew, Zeidner and Roberts, 2002). His book has now sold more than five million copies worldwide (Cartwright and Pappas, 2008). Key articles on the benefits of EI are often cleverly presented to target practitioner audiences in business journals such as *Harvard Business Review* or *Sloan Management Journal*. As one commentator eulogised at an Annual Meeting of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology: "When the Harvard Business Review published an article on the topic two years ago, it attracted a higher percentage of readers than any other article published in that periodical in the last 40 years" (Chernis, 2000: 1).

One of the key reasons why Emotional Intelligence has been so popular with business organisations is because of what it promises to deliver. Emotional Intelligence offers opportunities to 'increase your return' on your Emotional Intelligence 'asset' (Caruso and Salovey, 2004: back cover) and to turn 'human resources' into 'human capital' (Sawaf, Bloomfield, and Rosen, 2001:330). Sensible investments into the emotionally intelligent world beckon: "Emotional literacy is one of the best investments we can make in our culture". Weisinger (1998) claims that:

“Experts now acknowledge that emotional intelligence is *the* major determinant of success in the workplace” (from the dust jacket). Chapman’s *The Emotionally Intelligent Pocketbook* (2000) comes complete with cartoon images of workers stuck at a juncture in their career where the signposted options are the high road to Emotional Intelligence or the low road to oblivion. Goleman (1996) makes the statement that EI has up to 80% predictive ability of the variance in life outcomes, beyond the 20% predictability of IQ. In his follow-up book, *Working With Emotional Intelligence*, Goleman (1998) links EI with increased retention rates in executives, sales and general performance, excellence in the job, heightened profits, team capabilities and increased recovery from distress. He also claims that 85-95% of the difference between a “good leader” and an “excellent leader” is due to Emotional Intelligence (Goleman, 1998). The idea that EI can be measured and enhanced has increased its popularity for work-based training and development. Training courses, self-assessment questionnaires and self-help books on the topic have been marketed with boundless energy and conviction in this endeavour and supported by scholarly research. This has also given EI further legitimacy as something other than merely another management fad.

There are many different ‘types’ or models of Emotional Intelligence used in academic and business settings and this number appears to be growing all the time. Making sense of these different versions has been helped by scholars who have sought to categorise them into groups. Mayer, Salovey and Caruso (2000b) first made the distinction between ‘mixed’ and ‘ability’ models, terms which have since been widely used. The ‘mixed’ type denotes Emotional Intelligence models which include a *mixture* of skills, attributes, traits and aptitudes. The ‘ability’ models refer to Emotional Intelligence models which view the construct as an ability, not dissimilar to IQ which can be measured under test conditions using expert scorers. ‘Mixed’ models have also been termed ‘trait’ Emotional Intelligence (e.g. Petrides and Furnham, 2001) or ‘self-report’ whereas ‘ability’ models are sometimes referred to ‘performance-based’ measures.

‘Mixed’ models of EI have been academically researched from an individual and organisational psychological perspective. Heavily critiqued by psychologists, they have been disregarded on the basis of theoretical and conceptual concerns and a lack of convincing empirical evidence of the EI-performance link. The tension between the ‘ability’ and ‘mixed’ EI camps has led to stagnant debates and a widening gap between the two EI communities. These communities are best distinguished by the academic circles, largely psychologists, most interested in the ‘ability’ models and practitioner based communities including practitioner-academics and management consultants who strongly support the ‘mixed’ model approach.

The stagnant debates are viewed as being harmful to the EI field as a whole, particularly as researchers are currently working hard to discard EI’s bad reputation. This bad reputation is attributed to ‘mixed’ EI’s over-estimated predictions on individual and organisational performance and the construct’s overlap with existing concepts and measures such as personality (Schulze, Wilhelm, and Kyllonen, 2007). As Schulze, Wilhelm, and Kyllonen (2007) note: “after little more than 15 years of research, the landscape of EI assessment still seems to be in a state of disarray” (p.221).

Despite its rejection by the scholarly research community, the ‘mixed’ view is highly popular and used in organisations to a greater extent than ‘ability’ models (Bar-On, 2004; Cartwright and Pappas, 2008; Day and Kelloway, 2004). Mixed EI’s popularity has influenced workplace opinions on effective management styles (Ross-Smith et al, 2007) and according to the flourishing management consultancy industry, EI competencies are taking centre stage in staff selection (Hatcher, 2008). A 1997 survey of benchmark practices in leading North American organisations by *The American Society for Training and Development* found that four out of five companies are trying to raise awareness of Emotional Intelligence in their staff through training and development (Goleman, 1998:8). In addition, the number of Emotional Intelligence training programmes available has proliferated since the construct has been linked to organisational performance (Clarke, 2006). Calls for EI training can be found in sectors and occupational groups such as medicine, nursing,

pharmacy, the legal profession, leaders, managers, executives and students, to name but a few (Clarke, 2006, Bharwaney, 2006; Matthew, Zeidner and Roberts, 2007; Reilly, 2005). However, this begs the question why is ‘mixed’ EI so popular in industry when the academic community is so damning of it?

Although advocates of ‘ability’ Emotional Intelligence have all but rejected ‘mixed’ EI, the mixed versions have yet to be thoroughly debated in academic circles outwith the field of psychology. Thus new research perspectives have the potential to make a valuable contribution to understanding why industry continues to fully engage with EI and whether the mixed models contribute anything useful to organisational life. What is needed is an examination of EI through a sociological lens that brings to the fore the relationship between Emotional Intelligence prescription, people and place in organisations. To address the current gap the research presented here relies on a realist framework.

A realist framework

There are several factors which influenced the adoption of a realist view of human beings as a whole. An early reading of Margaret Archer’s (2000) *Being Human* strongly informed a general dissatisfaction with current accounts of Emotional Intelligence and their portrayal of human beings as ‘silent’ workers without any properties or powers. In conjunction, a personal interest in EI as an ex-management consultant who left the industry because of disillusionment with the prescriptive philosophy underpinning managerial assessment and development methodologies helped to shape the approach. For example, it was felt that the motives for, and experiences of managers and leaders attending training courses were often complex and multi-dimensional. Thus, there was a sense of wanting to find some way of better portraying people’s broader experiences in a scholarly study.

In conjunction with this, an early reading of Bunting’s (2004) *Willing Slaves*, Sennett’s (1998) *The Corrosion of Character* and Gorz’s (1999) *Reclaiming Work* highlighted concerns over the growing marketisation and rationalisation in the ‘new economy’ and how this is placing increasing demands on employees to develop

social skills which, in turn, is instrumentalising worker behaviour. Reflecting on the consequences of appropriating social relations in this way was provocative reading in the early stages of this project. Following this, a review of the sociological literature highlighted people's broader needs and concerns in economic life, including their social needs. Comparing this literature to existing research accounts of 'mixed' Emotional Intelligence indicated a narrow pre-occupation with economic gains and raised concerns that something might be missing.

However, a decision was made not to immediately rely on Archer's work as some weaknesses were identified in her approach. Instead, it was considered a useful exercise to undertake a broader review of what organisational analysis might be able to offer. Following a review of the literature, a new theoretical framework was developed which combined Andrew Sayer's (2000a; 2006; 2007) moral economy approach which is concerned with the place of people within the economy but one which requires shared selected qualities, attitudes and virtues that people may exhibit, particularly benevolence and concern for others, to oil its wheels and Margaret Archer's (2000; 2003; 2007) rich depiction of human character. The framework offers a way of conceptualising a subject of action who has self-reflective, evaluative and choosing capacities within an organisation.

The Research Process

Adopting a longitudinal design, this study researches a sample of managers and leaders who voluntarily attend an 'open' Emotional Intelligence training course. Through participant observation and interviews with thirty one individuals, the study follows each participant through an EI training programme and back into the workplace three to four months later. It explores participants' motivations for attending the EI training course, their experiences of using EI at work, the outcomes and any structural constraints. (Please see Appendix A for a full description of the methodology.)

In this study, managers and leaders were chosen as the main sample group because they were representative of those occupational positions who typically attend 'open'

EI training programmes and who are most frequently targeted in practitioner and commercial writings (e.g. Caruso and Salovey; 2004; Chapman, 2001; Cooper and Sawaf, 1997; Goleman, 1998; Goleman, Boyatzis, and McKee, 2002). This study focuses on participants who voluntarily attended an 'open' EI training course because it reflects recent academic accounts which note a transfer of responsibility to employees for investment of their human capital (Thompson, 2007). This research design was also chosen because of reports that new competitive models of learning and development request that employees take more responsibility for their skill acquisition (Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development, 2007). The sample has the added benefit of six people who were in non-managerial positions. Methodologically this is not a large enough sample to say that the study is about non-managers but it does offer scope for exploring whether the motivations and experiences of managers are the same as non-managers. Within this sample, the managerial positions included line, middle and senior management. Participants came from a broad cross-section of industries. Four trainers were also interviewed within this sample.

Following realist methodological guidelines, an intensive design was adopted (Ackroyd, 2009; Danermark et al, 2002; Sayer, 2000b). An intensive research design aims to study a few cases where the participants involved make up a causal group and they are studied in context. In accordance with an intensive realist design, this study adopted participant observation and interactive, semi-structured interviews as methods of investigation. This was appropriate because to fully explore people's experiences and outcomes of using EI at work, a small number of cases could only be explored in depth. Full immersion in the training programme as a participant observer, combined with in-depth interviews with trainers and participants provided rich, reflective, insightful data. Data was collected from three different 'mixed' Emotional Intelligence training courses which best reflected the most popular models used in commercial consultancy and organisational settings. For ease of reference these were called the 'Goleman', 'Bar-On' and 'Hybrid' courses.

The methodology in this study aims to illuminate the voices and experiences of participating managers and leaders. Key to the theoretical framework was accessing people's self-reflective, and evaluative 'inner' commentaries which precede, accompany and reflect upon their (in)actions and concerns (Archer, 2003). Gaining access to people's inner thoughts and reflections helped to gain insights into participants' reasons, needs, choices and commitments for attending the EI course, their experiences and outcomes back in the workplace. It also provided an understanding of the structural enablers and constraints which interviewees felt had impacted on their EI use. Although acquiring this rich material sounds a little tricky for those subjects participating in the study, it was assumed that their experiential, professional background and work success had partly been caused by their agential success. Thus they were not passive individuals; but rather they had a degree of active control over their lives, and their inner conversation was a key part of this.

During the three training courses, a rapport was established with the subjects and sometimes personal stories and raw emotions were shared. As a researcher there was an acute awareness of a dual role as: an observer, listener, note taker and questioner; and as a training delegate and a fellow human being. These different roles in ethnographic research are important because by understanding their relevance, the self becomes a fieldwork tool (Reinharz, 1997). Full participation as a delegate enabled an attunement to what others might be going through or thinking which, it is believed, enhanced sensitivity to key issues and themes which informed the research. To this end, there were many special moments of shared humour and humanity during the fieldwork phase of the project. The interactions were treated as very privileged exchanges where people opened up their life spaces permitting the researcher to step inside and share in some detail, albeit briefly. It is also believed that this rapport enhanced the depth of understanding and analysis of the data at a later stage. This was because through this connection, a deeper *experiential* understanding of what EI meant to the interviewees and the worth and value they placed on it in work settings was gained.

Introducing a typology

Informed by an extensive literature review, a preliminary data analysis on a sample of participants (Thory, 2008) and then further testing on the remainder of the data, a typology was developed which highlights four kinds of use (or actions) of Emotional Intelligence in the workplace according to the dimensions of individualism/human connectedness and synchronistic/antagonistic. Traversing these dimensions generates a four quadrant grid which produces the following uses: *calculative self development* (individualism/synchronistic), *welfare provision* (human connectedness/synchronistic), *moral agitation* (human connectedness/antagonistic) and *tactical survival* (individualism/ antagonistic). Changing contexts in daily work life offer opportunities for managers and leaders to develop a moveable and lasting set of social skills which meet different needs pertaining to economic/instrumental goals (individualism) and non-instrumental, social goals which go beyond the social demands of the instrumental sphere of work life (human connectedness). These activities may be in accordance with (synchronistic) or in conflict with (antagonistic) organisational objectives.

This typology serves as a unique analytical device which captures the variability and richness of managers and leaders' uses of Emotional Intelligence in contemporary, global capitalism. It illuminates managers and leaders as discerning, contemplative and interpretive social actors who take up EI as a form of currency. However, clearly this currency is not, as the psychological and prescriptive management accounts portray, solely an instrumental currency. The key theoretical contribution this study makes is that it portrays how managers and leaders use EI in a moral and economic context – to serve moral and social needs and concerns which go beyond the instrumental preoccupations of the employer. Thus, the currency of Emotional Intelligence is far more complex than a simple economic exchange as described in psychological accounts. Adopting the theoretical framework of Andrew Sayer and Margaret Archer enables a rich portrayal of human beings as individual and collective and explains peoples' varied uses of EI in contemporary capitalism.

SITUATING EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

Before the research does all of this, however it is relevant to ask: Why Emotional Intelligence and why now? Why is it so popular? This introductory chapter sets out to explore how practitioner and pop-psychology accounts assert how the ‘new economy’ is shaping organisational forms which in turn is creating demands for Emotional Intelligence skills in the workplace. It explains how a niche has emerged that has ensured Emotional Intelligence’s broad appeal in the workplace, to both employer and employee. Overall, it aims to illustrate the persuasive narrative the business community is exposed to when it engages with the ideas, concepts and principles of ‘mixed’ EI found in the most accessible popular literature. By illustrating the connection between the demand for ‘mixed’ EI and new organisational configurations in enterprising cultures, Chapter One offers some insight into why ‘mixed’ models of Emotional Intelligence are popular in industry now and why they hold such powerful currency.

Emotional Intelligence in Enterprising Cultures

Work life has changed considerably over the last twenty to thirty years in response to new economic demands. Deregulated markets, increasing global business operations, and trends towards rationalisation and e-commerce mean that organisations are on the search for new configurations to cope with these changes (Webb, 2004). Two of the much talked about hallmark attributes of the ideal contemporary organisation are flexibility and networks. In order to meet contemporary business demands, organisational flexibility is achieved through the types of employment contracts offered to staff, new skill requirements, new business strategies and organisational structures. Networks are the preferred organisational structure because they facilitate flexibility through their dynamic and fluid nature (Webb, 2004). Increasingly integral to late modern organisations operating under the conditions of flexible capitalism is a prescription for entrepreneurial behaviour, teamworking and focused customer service (Castells, 2001; Knights and Wilmott, 2000). In addition, flatter structures commensurate with matrix management and cross-functional project work are also

desirable (Webb, 2004). The use of information technology to manage disparate global business relationships and the adoption of leadership styles which emphasise a visionary and democratic approach to bind increasingly dislocated workers together also appear to be key ingredients for this archetypal flexible, networked structure.

What does this mean for employees? Working in these contemporary organisations creates new demands on individuals to manage their career as portfolios, to constantly change skill sets in response to new organisational demands (Fleming and Sturdy, 2008; Sennett, 1998), and to manage the inevitable stresses of working in unstable internal and external job markets. Archer (2007) notes that globalised work life in the third millennium generates contextual discontinuities for workers which require an on-going refurbishment of skills.

Emotional Intelligence carefully draws on the discourse of flexible capitalism and its concomitant organisational and human demands, using it as a core component for its successful marketability to business organisations. Whilst a number of counter-arguments and tempered images have been carefully articulated against some key concepts of the organisational reforms highlighted in this introduction, this chapter sets out to illustrate that the ‘mixed’ models of Emotional Intelligence convincingly tap into all representations of contemporary capitalism and the topography of the late modern economic order. A highly tailored and convincing story unfolds that Emotional Intelligence can meet all the demands (and ills) of contemporary workplaces whatever the individual or organisation’s polarity on the flexible capitalist continuum. By mapping out the broad-sweeping attraction to organisations, management and workers, this chapter offers explanatory power for EI’s current appeal in an era of increasing scepticism over new management fads and fashions. In effect, it is argued that the commercial narrative of Emotional Intelligence subtly capitalises on the fears and demands inherent in contemporary economic life. This chapter aims to make the connection between Emotional Intelligence and these themes through an address of enterprising employees, organisational change and workforce restructuring, customer service, speed and technology in global work

relations, stress and well-being at work and strategic Human Resource Management (HRM) issues.

Enterprising Employees

There is a general understanding that the new market-based society and its associated economic processes emphasise an individualisation of responsibility for one's accomplishments which, in turn, has led to a more calculative approach to work life (Webb, 2004). This section explores the ways in which employees seek to be 'enterprising' and self-sufficient at work and illustrates the appeal for 'mixed' Emotional Intelligence skills to fulfil these needs.

In response to more competitive markets, the narrative of the enterprising culture and entrepreneurialism have become attractive vehicles for 're-enchanting' the organisation around the customer (du Gay and Salaman, 1992: 624). Relevant commentaries chart how management has attempted to instil market principles inside the organisation, transforming employee relations into those of internal consumer and producer. Entrepreneurial conduct has become popular within academic writings as it is considered a critique of the bureaucratic organisation and as a response to an increasingly globalised marketplace and organisational changes towards more informalised and networked organisational structures (Courpasson and Reed, 2004). It also offers a new flexible and more competitive way to govern corporate and employee behaviour in response to increasing differentiation of consumer demand (Courpasson and Reed, 2004; du Gay, Salaman, and Rees, 1996; du Gay and Salaman, 1992). In order to value a broad sweeping marketing mentality, the commercial enterprise has undergone a structural re-organisation to promote more entrepreneurial ways of working by reducing boundaries across hierarchies, job and titles, tasks and departments (Kanter, 1989). In this environment, the manager and employee are armed with the task of negotiating, influencing and selling their services across departments within the organisation (Bunting, 2004). Entrepreneurial behaviour requires skills in building personal and professional relationships across internal networks and with external parties (business partners, customers and suppliers), using power and authority legitimised less so from formal positions but

from effective interpersonal skills and self confidence. It is in this enterprising culture that employees are subjected to increased emotional display rules and perform more emotion management with each other (Bardzil and Slaski, 2003; Bunting, 2004; Kunda and van Maanen, 1999; Mann, 1997).

For example, Bunting (2004) and Mann (1997) indicate that emotion management facilitates relationship building and collaboration. Similarly, Goleman (1996:161) describes how important it is that people can 'work a network'. Emotional intelligence skills may be sought for building relationships with competitors which rely simultaneously on socio-emotional abilities to handle complex situations of 'conflict and cooperation, chaos and creative collaboration' (Cooper and Sawaf, 1997: 182). In these cases the emotionally intelligent individual simulates the desired attributes of the enterprising employee where he or she perfects a range of skills to negotiate, influence, collaborate and build bonds across horizontal and vertical networks, and to perform with confidence, flexibility and assertiveness. Illustratively, the enterprising or entrepreneurial self calls for skills in self-regulation and understanding, reflexivity, confidence, responsibility, energy, optimism, initiative, communication and image building talents (du Gay, Salaman, and Rees, 1996; Gabriel, 2005; Keats, 1991; Kunda and van Maanen, 1999). Similarly, Goleman's Emotional Intelligence encourages personal competencies in self awareness, self assessment and self-confidence as well as emotional self control, conscientiousness, initiative, achievement drive and communication skills (Goleman, 1998: 26/27). Equally, Bar-On (1997) describes EI qualities of self awareness, assertiveness, strength of character, enthusiasm, adaptability and interpersonal skills. Thus promoting an emotionally intelligent workforce appears to act to cohere and strengthen a marketing mentality within the firm.

What underpins 'mixed' Emotional Intelligence's popularity is the fact that it is portrayed as a (bundle of) 'soft skills' in practitioner literature. This is attractive because today most jobs require assessment which goes beyond tangible outputs such as achievement of sales targets, financial budgeting and production outputs. The near eradication of the discrete isolatable elements of jobs and the replacement with more collaborative work structures such as cross-functional team working has done much

to facilitate this growing acceptance. Solving problems, managing others, making decisions, communicating, building trust, support and consensus all require more discreet or unobtrusive behaviours and skills within groups and on an individual level. Authors have reported that these interpersonal competencies or 'soft skills' are growing in value in work activity (Gorz, 1999; Grugulis, 2007a; Sennett, 1998; Warhurst et al, 2004). Relatedly, Edwards and Wajcman (2005: 82) point out that the shift to flexible corporate structures with fewer hierarchical levels places 'a higher premium on attitudinal, behavioural, and personality factors' such as empathy and cooperative managerial styles. They call this the 'personality package', arguing it is becoming more salient for career success in contemporary organisations (p. 84). These type of behaviours are part of the *process* of work, necessary to achieve desired outcomes which until more recently were hidden from senior directors, shareholders, clients and customers. Emotional Intelligence capitalises on the logic and familiarity of soft skills within the enterprising discourse because it represents a familiar social skills portfolio which seems progressive (something new) but not deviant or retrogressive.

Organisational Change and Workforce Restructuring

Continuing the theme of contemporary capitalism and 'enterprising cultures', Emotional Intelligence skills have gained attention because of their benefit during downsizing and structural change programmes. These issues continue to be key challenges in the workplace (Kersley et al, 2004). Proponents of the 'mixed' EI models have tended to rely heavily on workforce shrinkage discourses to promulgate their EI wares. Goleman (1998:11) argues that the current business environment has created a bleak workplace which resembles a 'quiet war zone' of job threats, necessitating each employee to become his or her 'own little shop' of saleable skills. Employees must be self sufficient and ready to find another job at any point (Goleman, 1998). Part of the key to surviving and thriving, he argues, is acquiring Emotional Intelligence, mainly because technical skills and educational backgrounds are no longer sufficient to guarantee work in today's business environment. The idea that trying to survive in a turbulent organisational environment can reduce loyalty to the organisation and raise the need for workers to commit to one's profession, career

and skill development is not a novel one (e.g. Reilly, Brett and Stroh, 1993; Gini, 2000). Yet, this prioritisation of needs or ‘sequential loyalty’ as Gini (2000) calls it, is coupled with subjective benefits: an acceptance that social skills and related attributes such as confidence are now viewed as key to promotional opportunities and recruitment success in candidates (Gini, 2000; Fox and Spector, 2000). Equally, developing high levels of Emotional Intelligence helps workers to expertly cultivate external social networks and relationships to progress their own careers (Chapman, 2001). New priorities such as these might be seen as a reason for managers to enthusiastically receive Emotional Intelligence training, whether financed by their organisation or not. These trends may explain the Chartered Management Institute’s Coaching at Work survey (Chartered Management Institute, 2002) which found that 26% of management respondents were keen to develop their Emotional Intelligence, suggesting these were more desirable than time management skills.

Against the backdrop of market rationalisation, EI models have other attractive features for business managers, leaders and employees to help them survive and thrive in enterprising cultures. The aspects of personal attributes highlighted throughout many of the ‘mixed’ models of Emotional Intelligence include emotional self control, enthusiasm, perseverance, assertiveness, strength of character, self-esteem, emotional fitness, flexibility, adaptability, resilience and optimism (e.g. Bar-On, 1997; Cooper and Sawaf, 1997; Goleman, 1998; Higgs and Dulewicz, 2002; Hughes, 2005; Matthews, Zeidner and Roberts, 2002). These appear to be the types of attributes or dispositions necessary for the organisation to persuasively steer ‘the moral character of employees’ (Hughes, 2005: 613) towards managerial and capital objectives during downsizing, re-organisation and harsh cost-cutting initiatives. Being robust, having a positive attitude and strong work ethic are organisational requisites to ensure employees can ‘weather the storms’ of hardships during uncertain times, enabling them to ‘persist and bounce back’ (Goleman 1998: 125 and 126). Emotional intelligence has also been found to predict an employee’s capacity for tolerating job insecurity and short-term unemployment (Ashkanasy and Jordan, 1997 as cited in Abraham, 2005). As Abraham (2005) notes: “The underlying cause of such tenacity may have been higher organizational commitment based on

emotional resilience, which confers on the individual the tenacity to “hang in there” and endure the vicissitudes of the workplace” (p. 267). Such attributes are clearly attractive to corporate bosses.

For those who argue that the workforce shrinkage discourses which Goleman relies on so heavily, have not affected, for example, middle management over the last period, there is still scope for claiming EI is a useful tool. Warhurst and Thompson (1998) contend that if any changes have occurred for middle managers these are not job losses but mostly related to the adoption of new job titles and a movement towards dual organisational structures: the traditional vertical hierarchy now being cut across by a ‘shadow division of labour’, described as horizontal structures shaped around largely temporary project based work (Warhurst and Thompson, 1998: 17). In this scenario, proponents would argue that EI provides managers with the skills to respond constructively and sensitively to a more complex arrangement of organisational life which demands greater interpersonal interface and co-ordination across functions and project groups.

As part of Goleman’s workforce shrinkage narrative, he argues that as a result remaining employees are more accountable and visible within the workplace and this has necessitated an increased level of Emotional Intelligence (Goleman, 1998: 8/9). The opportunities to hide a ‘hot temper’ or ‘shyness’ have declined in the stripped-down, downsized structures of contemporary organisational life (Goleman, 1998:9). From a post-structuralist perspective, Gabriel (2005) adopts the imagery of the organisation, not as Weber’s root metaphor of the rational iron cage but one of glass where ‘its open plan offices, glass facades and its huge atria’ produce ‘an enclosure characterised by exposure to the eye of the customer, the fellow employee, the manager’ (p. 18). Arguing that managers can no longer ‘scream abuse at employees’ in an environment that emphasises and demands appropriate emotional displays amongst its staff, he extends preoccupations over monitoring ‘the smile’ and ‘the look’ in customer service roles to appropriate emotional display and the management of emotions in every interaction. Views such as these indicate a crucial role for emotionally intelligent workers in this transparent organisational environment as much as in Goleman’s delayed and pruned down corporation.

There is also an appeal for managers who are charged with the task of operationalising change programmes to develop Emotional Intelligence skills. For example, according to practitioner accounts and academic case studies, managers may flex new emotional competences to manage employee concerns during downsizing, merger and other re-organisation programmes, to persuade employees to commit to such initiatives, lay off workers, counsel remaining staff and manage their own feelings of guilt, sadness, sympathy or anxiety when imparting bad news (Carr, 2001; Goleman, 1998; Huy, 2002; Molinsky and Margolis, 2006; Turnball, 2002). Some academic accounts have attempted to capture and acknowledge emotional experiences during change by highlighting the importance of emotions in constructing meaning during re-organisation, guiding and motivating individuals towards change and exploring how emotional responses are constructed in groups and teams (e.g. Kiefer, 2002; Vince and Broussine, 1996). Others research studies attest to the adoption of an emotionally intelligent management approach during radical change to facilitate social adaptation and learning (Huy, 1999). For example, Emotional Intelligence skills can be used during downsizing to help workers vent their feelings through corporately endorsed, managed workshops, focus groups and team briefings so that they can expediently ‘mourn’ the loss of colleagues or closed work sites and then shift their emotional commitment to new work paradigms (Huy, 1999; 2003). The underlying objective is assumedly to minimise any loss of productivity incurred from low morale and turnover. Discussing the benefits of capturing and harnessing managerial altruism during organisational change, Huy notes: ‘a good manager will encourage this behaviour, keep it positive, and use it to keep work on track’ (Huy, 2001:78). Here, Emotional Intelligence provides a means to control employee emotions during change and offers an explicit prescription of engineered sensitivity and support, clearly with the bottom line in mind.

Indeed, it is noticeable just how much of the practitioner EI material is targeted at managerial and leadership levels in an explicit way - Caruso and Salovey’s (2004) *The Emotionally Intelligent Manager*, Cooper and Sawaf’s (1997) *Executive EQ* and Chapman’s (2001) *The Emotional Intelligence Pocketbook* are specifically targeted

at managers, as are many other non-academic publications. For example, Goleman (1998) emphasises a link between EI and transformational leadership in his 1998 book *Working with Emotional Intelligence* and his more recent collaborative book *Primal Leadership: Realising the Power of Emotional Intelligence* (Goleman, Boyatzis and, McKee 2002). Goleman (1998) boldly states that transformational leadership is an essential ‘emotional craft’: “For success at the highest levels, in leadership positions, emotional competence accounts for virtually the entire advantage” (p. 34).

In addition, Emotional Intelligence offers solutions to the current conundra of problems relating to the devolvement of human resource responsibilities to line managers. In general terms, Human Resource Management (HRM) refers to the practices of job design, management of change, recruitment, appraisal, training and development, reward systems and communication. The uptake of HRM activities by line management has several causative strands: cost reductions, to provide a more comprehensive service, to position HRM responsibility with managers most responsible for management of staff and to increase the speed of decision making (Renwick, 2003). As Francis and Keegan (2006) note, the line manager is now increasingly responsible for tasks related to employee well-being. Consequently, line managers are finding themselves responsible for absence management, grievance handling, discipline issues and counselling employees (Francis and Keegan, 2006) as well as appraisal and selection activities, general motivation and coaching. These are all tasks which appear to require a degree of emotional savvy-ness, particularly in relation to empathy, listening skills and managing emotions. However, in addition to the resources, time, motivation and structural constraints line managers face in dealing with staff related HRM issues (Cunningham and Hyman, 1999; Keen and Vickerstaff, 1997; Renwick, 2003), they experience personal skills and general competency gaps to carry out the work (Cunningham and Hyman, 1999; Gennard and Kelly, 1997; Renwick, 2003). Following this, EI becomes a potentially attractive set of competences to meet these relational skill gaps and to help line managers fulfil the new ‘employee champion’ type roles.

Key sellers of Emotional Intelligence ‘wares’ are keen to point this out. For example, in his discussion of employee grievances, Goleman (1996) notes ‘too many managers have poorly mastered the crucial art of feedback’ and this impacts on employee satisfaction and productivity (p.151). One could argue that the message imparted from HR departments who have handed many HR responsibilities over to the line or have outsourced parts of HR in pursuit of a more strategic ‘business partner’ role, is that employee well-being has slipped in priority on the organisational agenda. If perceived in this way, the idea that Emotional Intelligence offers a more calculative approach to managing employees’ feelings is appealing to line managers who consider it practical to take a more rationalised or transactional approach to the role.

Customer Service

Contingent on increased global business competition, service sector growth and rising customer expectations, one of the central attractions to Emotional Intelligence lies in its effects on customer service. Much of the focus on contemporary customer service interactions emphasises efficient but authentic or personalised quality encounters. The objective is to maximise customer satisfaction, trust and repeat purchase loyalty as part of a strategy to attract and retain customers. This is particularly important in a global business environment where the provision of quality customer care may be the only means of differentiating an otherwise standardised product or service.

However, as organisations place more emphasis on quality interactions, consumers are simultaneously becoming more astute at differentiating between a genuine service and a feigned one and distinguishing between authentic or inauthentic emotions (Taylor, 1998; Erickson and Wharton, 1997). It is in relation to this dilemma that the ‘mixed’ models of Emotional Intelligence claim to offer much assistance. Academic studies on EI suggest that general customer service training is not enough to promote helpful, thoughtful, considerate and co-operative workers in the long term. Instead, developing Emotional Intelligence encourages a self-awareness which is necessary for social skill development and the creation of a sustainable positive service environment (Bardzil and Slaski, 2003). In the

practitioner writings, Goleman (1998) argues that empathy, emotional self awareness and trustworthiness, some of the core rubrics of his Emotional Intelligence model, help to generate authentic client interactions. He makes the focus of his EI construct specifically tailored to organisational pre-occupations with customer service by including the skill-set or competency 'service orientation' within it (Goleman, 1998). Drawing from research on financial advisors at American Express, Goleman (1998:55) argues that learning how to be more emotionally self aware and empathic creates trusting and long-term relationships with customers resulting in greater sales. This combination helps illustrate how organisations generate a more sophisticated customer service approach than that offered by standard customer service training, or indeed emotional labour (c.f. Hochschild, 1983). Moreover, when EI is used to recruit customer service workers, assumedly it can select those best emotionally equipped to deal with the strains of repetitive, emotionally draining and sometimes abusive call-centre work, via assessment of emotional self control, stress tolerance and happiness for example.

Speed and Technology in Global Work Relations

Thematically linked to the enterprising culture and new organisational practices is the emerging need for contemporary business relationships to be built quickly and informally. In the past, work associations were based on exchanges where trust and reciprocity were developed over long periods of time, engendering the interactions with a sense of loyalty and mutual commitment (Sennett, 1998). Today we're told there is 'no long term' (Sennett, 1998: 24); we now work in a society where the contextual backdrops to relationships have been somewhat eroded and robbed of their traditional sequences and time lapses as increased workload, multi-tasking and rapid networking become prevalent realities of work. With team working now a central part of many peoples' jobs, Emotional Intelligence offers employees skills that help them to 'harmonize' socially with others, critical to maximising group performance (Goleman, 1996: 160). For those organisations which do not have the time or resources to train entire teams in EI, making individuals a member of an emotionally intelligent group will apparently help them become more emotionally

intelligent simply by the virtue of them being present in such a team (Cherniss, 2001:7).

In addition, work relationships which have responded in form and function to globalisation and the new technological innovations which support them involve fewer face-to-face encounters and an increasingly meretricious, individualistic culture (e.g. Bunting, 2004; Goleman, 1998; Sennett, 1998). The resulting work arrangements require technological support for communications and quick rapport building techniques such as in virtual or global project teams, remote working and global partnerships. Here contact is largely reliant on information systems which eradicate important face-to-face communication cues which help to build trusting, effective relationships. 'Mixed' Emotional Intelligence appears to provide a rulebook for behaviours as it aids in the development of 'fast-track' and 'genuine' relationship building techniques and skills necessary for this impersonal market place (Caruso and Salovey, 2004). Overall, it could be argued that Emotional Intelligence provides individuals with an essential 'inner technology' (Sawaf, Bloomfield, and Rosen, 2001: 327), to deal with the (outer) technological advancements of the information age.

Stress and well-being at Work

The business case for 'mixed' models of Emotional Intelligence extends to issues of bullying, stress, conflict and diversity at work. After its successful introduction into schools to deal with bullying (Elias et al, 2006), the idea that Emotional Intelligence can be used in the workplace as a tool for remedial action for bad behaviour is starting to receive attention. Similarly, where stress management training and employee assistance programmes took prominence as management tools to help relieve financial losses from stress induced sickness, absenteeism, employee burnout and litigation in the 1990s, Emotional Intelligence can now be sold as the latest remedy for mopping up stress at work. Undoubtedly, stress can also manifest itself as a result of unsatisfying and difficult work relations which provides further marketable leverage for the construct through its corrective action on interpersonal skills.

Stress has been viewed as a major concern for organisations for some time, accountable for immense human and organisational costs. The financial losses are often reported in relation to absenteeism, turnover, presenteeism, reduced productivity and work-based relationships, compensation claims and medical expenses. Some psychological approaches address stress management as a solo pursuit, viewing the employee as ‘individualized, naturalized, decontextualized and depoliticized’ (Newton, 1995: 63). Coping with stress or becoming ‘stress-fit’ through taught techniques reflects a level of individualised success at work as it ‘encourages employees to define themselves in terms of their ability to successfully handle job pressures’ (Newton, 1995: 77). It symbolises a level of robustness (and productivity) against the structural pressures of work (high task loads, uncertainty and responsibility, increased monitoring and performance assessment) and signifies a willingness to accept individualised accountability often extrapolated as an indicator of the worker’s organisational commitment and loyalty. Emotional intelligence is attractive to managers because of its claims on stress and strain reduction which may be a likely consequence of growing workloads, longer hours and decreasing job security. Some models of Emotional Intelligence contain stress management scales or techniques which make the link between the two concepts explicitly persuasive for marketing purposes (e.g. Bar-On, 1997; Chapman, 2001). Overall, the general notion that paying attention to, understanding, releasing or managing emotions evoked in demanding situations will make one feel and cope better makes perfect sense.

Ultimately, when considering the causes of ineffective organisations in this context, the desirable employer becomes epitomised as one who is emotionally intelligent, an employer who understands the link between empathy, value, respect, empowerment and employee emotions. Of course, if Emotional Intelligence can help to minimise costs from legal proceedings and damage to corporate image from stress or bullying then its translated worth becomes something worth talking about.

Relatedly, themes of stress management and well-being are linked to societal participation in spiritual and personal growth which is currently very popular and prevalent in non-work leisure pursuits. This is evidenced in self help literature, meditation, yoga and a host of other mind/body therapies and extra-organisational activities. The 'mixed' Emotional Intelligence narrative has explicitly harnessed this as part of its marketability with a focus on workers and their employers. This trend has been particularly exploited by the emphasis placed on personal development within personal relationships, parenthood and education (Goleman, 1996; Mc Bride and Maitland, 2002) where it is currently fashionable to 'work on' being a more emotionally literate partner or parent. Popular self help EI books tout the benefits of optimism and positive emotions for health and longevity and an improved and more positive life (Bharwaney, 2006; McBride and Maitland, 2002). A key way that EI has entered the work domain is through the argument that the 'personal' impacts on the 'professional'. Here the underlying message is that in today's business environment we must learn to better manage and control ourselves and this means dealing with personal issues and stressors outside of work that may act as triggers for negative feelings and behaviour in the work sphere (McBride and Maitland, 2002).

HRM, Social Capital and the Resource Based View of the Firm

Emotional Intelligence has also gained currency with organisations because it fits in with current trends in competitive business and HRM strategy practices. In the past HRM has been typically described using two perspectives, the 'hard' and 'soft' models. From the 'hard' perspective, employees are viewed as a headcount resource, to be managed as part of a cost rationalising approach. The 'soft' model views people as valued assets, their labour to be harnessed through high-commitment, people-centred practices such as culture, trust, empowerment, involvement and autonomy (Legge, 2005). In other words, the 'soft' approach purports to nurturing 'thick' employment relationships by promoting recognition, respect and reciprocal obligation (Bolton and Houlihan, 2007).

Increasingly an organisation must manage all of its employment relationships to achieve optimal efficiency and productivity to fulfil its strategic HRM goals. To

promote a competitive strategy, it is more likely to adopt both the hard (rationalising) and soft (high commitment) models. The argument follows that adopting both approaches allows the organisation to manage core employees through high commitment strategies and periphery employees through a cost rationalising approach (Legge, 2005b).

For some time now, an externally focused, cost-based business strategy has been viewed to provide limited strategic returns for organisations. Instead, the Resource Based View (RBV) of the firm has become a more attractive strategy model. This approach is compatible with strategic HRM because it establishes a linkage between a firm's internal characteristics, assets, capabilities and processes as sources of sustainable competitive advantage (Barney, 1991). The resource based view aims to generate a value-added strategy based on physical, financial, human and intangible resources by identifying a bundle of core competencies or processes that will ensure competitive advantage. This offers a clear means of incorporating essential enterprising skills such as those found in mixed EI models into a strategic framework as human capabilities. Harnessing these human resources more intentionally as part of an organisation's competitive strategy offers further attraction to mixed models of EI.

These skills may be viewed as a form of social capital by employers and seen as key to a resource based view because they are socially complex and thus difficult to imitate by competitors. Social capital is the relations between people which have the potential to generate productive behaviour with an emphasis on the person-to-person social skills required in human interactions in a work role (Coleman, 1990; Thompson, 2007). Most organisations value social capabilities in one form or another, viewing worker connections and managerial practices "as much part of the equation of effective work as cost minimisation, capital investment and enterprise" (Hutton, 2002:2) (e.g. Capelli, 1995; Cremlin, 2003; Chartered Institute for Personnel Development, 2007; Grugulis, 2007b). In line with the RBV narrative, key promoters of 'mixed' EI tools claim emotions are 'something nobody can copy' (Cooper and Sawaf, 1997: 13). Clearly then, Emotional Intelligence becomes

attractive as part of a resource based strategy because it holds currency as a form of inimitable social capital which offers gains to effective work practices.

SETTING THE CONTEXT: A STUDY OF EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

By describing how mixed Emotional Intelligence has tapped into notions of enterprising cultures and related demands on people at work, it is easy to see why it holds such powerful currency. This introductory chapter has mapped out a commentary, predominantly according to the key popularised writers on mixed models of EI, of *why* people demand ‘mixed’ Emotional Intelligence skills and why organisations are so interested in EI. It has illustrated how EI meets the interpersonal skill needs of work in today’s fast-paced, unstable, networked, global business environment. Whatever inflection point on the flexible capitalist continuum individuals find themselves on, this group of writers argue EI holds currency in the workplace: from coping with short term contracts and work casualisation to working in boundaryless organisations with fuzzy divides and virtual relationships. The bottom line, as certain advocates contend, is that Emotional Intelligence holds the key to survive and thrive in contemporary capitalism. The underlying message is that employees who individually seek out Emotional Intelligence skills will stand out against their colleagues as high performers and truly successful business men and women.

Within these writings the benefits for the organisation are clearly present in terms of enhanced employee behaviours and organisational success. Much attraction also stems from the mixed models ability to fit easily into HR systems and practices, supplementing existing processes and practices such as soft skill assessments for recruitment, performance management practices e.g. 360 degree assessments and contribution to soft skill competency frameworks as well as management and leadership development. Emotional Intelligence supports a Resource Based View of the firm because it makes social capital in the form of emotion management and relational skills tangible and measurable as part of an organisation’s HRM and business strategy.

Whilst this chapter has sought to set the scene by explaining why organisations and individuals may wish to ‘engage’ with EI, clearly it has relied largely on non-academic, ‘pop’ psychology and practitioner writings. To explore this commentary further, Chapter Two turns to a scholarly account of the mixed models. It provides a full description of the ‘mixed’ EI models and how they compare with the ‘ability’ versions. It presents the research evidence which supports a relationship between ‘mixed’ EI and individual and organisational performance. However, Chapter Two does more than this. It presents a critique of mixed Emotional Intelligence as presented by the psychological community. By laying out the concerns psychologists have with the prescriptive management model of EI, the second part of this chapter aims to explain why the academic community has all but abandoned mixed EI. This review is also essential if broader critical insights are to be gained into the relationship between EI and satisfying social relationships and individual performance and how this literature conceptualises human beings. This review highlights the limitations of the psychological approach to clearly recognise that people are embedded in social and economic structures and have more agential powers than psychological accounts convey. The critique of EI in Chapter Two covers the following themes: theoretical and conceptual concerns - how is EI formed? What is EI? EI and positive psychology; EI in the workplace – the EI-performance link; the EI training-performance link.

Chapter Three moves away from the psychology literature but builds on preliminary themes established in Chapter Two’s critique of the psychological view of EI. It presents a socio-economic critique of the mixed EI literature. It explores the theme of complex web of social relations through an address of three interconnected topics: EI, gender and class; EI, power, politics and positions; and the power of human connection. Adopting a socio-economic perspective Chapter Three sets out to ask again whether EI contributes to satisfying and productive social relationships, individual and organisational performance and how it conceptualises human beings as a whole. It concludes by highlighting the deficiencies of EI research and establishes a need to conceptualise human beings differently.

In Chapter Four a broader analysis of what organisational analysis might be able to offer this study is conducted in order to develop a new theoretical framework. It reviews different theoretical approaches to understanding Emotional Intelligence, emotions and social skills; ranging from post-structuralist to interpretivist to labour process theory to realist accounts. This chapter concludes with the selection of a realist meta-theory or philosophy but acknowledges that a specific theoretical framework within a realist approach is still required to develop a new framework.

Chapter Five presents a new, original, realist conceptual framework drawing on Andrew Sayer (2000a; 2006; 2007) and Margaret Archer (2000; 2003; 2007). It then introduces the empirical typology which serves as an analytical device to capture the relationship between EI prescription, people and place in organisations. Based on an extensive literature review and a preliminary data analysis, the model was constructed and then further tested on the remainder of the data. The four uses of EI - Calculative Self Development, Welfare Provision, Moral Agitation and Tactical Survival are presented. By introducing an integrated treatment of these categories or actions, the model supports an understanding of how changing contexts in daily work life offer opportunities for managers and leaders to develop a moveable and lasting set of skills and aptitudes which meet different needs pertaining to economic/instrumental and non-instrumental goals which go beyond the social demands of the instrumental sphere of work life.

Using the theoretical framework of Sayer (2006; 2007) and Archer (2000), Chapters Six to Eight present the data in this study more thoroughly. Chapter Six considers the three different Emotional Intelligence training courses studied. The key themes, learning objectives, genesis and other aspects of the training courses are presented in this chapter. In addition, a brief summary of managers and leaders' training experiences is provided.

Chapters Seven and Eight describe more fully the empirical typology of EI in the workplace. Through a discussion of the four uses of EI of Calculative Self Development, Welfare Provision, Moral Agitation and Tactical Survival, managers

and leaders' rich uses of EI at work are described. In this typology participants' reflective, evaluative and choosing capacities are celebrated in their use of EI at work. Woven into these chapters are self-reported descriptions of structural factors which constrain participants' uses of EI at work. Chapter Seven presents the two uses of EI: Calculative Self Development and Tactical Survival. What binds these uses of Emotional Intelligence together is an individualistic approach. Chapter Eight describes Welfare Provision and Moral Agitation where the common theme to using EI is to promote a human connection at work.

Chapter Nine concludes with a discussion of the findings, the limitations to the study, theoretical and practical implications of the research and areas for future research.

Appendix A contains a description of methodological issues including ontological and epistemological assumptions and research approach, research design and implementation (including organisational and participant access, sample composition, research methods and data collection, research ethics, data analysis, researcher reflexivity and methodological limitations to the study).

CHAPTER TWO: EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE: A REVIEW AND CRITIQUE OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH

Chapter One described how Emotional Intelligence markets itself in pop-psychology and practitioner publications, helping to explain why it holds such powerful currency with business organisations. This chapter turns to a scholarly description of ‘mixed’ models of Emotional Intelligence and presents a critique of the ‘mixed’ models as presented by the academic psychological community. This chapter highlights that the scholarly academic psychology community has many concerns with the robustness of the ‘mixed’ models which explains why they have been rejected by the majority of this community. This review also enables an assessment of whether ‘mixed’ EI adds anything to organisational life and how the established psychological view of EI conceptualises human beings. This review indicates the inability of the psychological view to clearly recognise that people are embedded in economic, social and organisational structures and that people are more three-dimensional than EI accounts describe. This is not a criticism of a psychological perspective as these themes are outwith their research focus but it highlights the need for a sociological perspective. Overall, this chapter addresses the key research questions: ‘does or does EI not contribute to satisfying social relationships and individual and organisational performance and productivity? What is the core of human character in the EI literature?’.

First, this chapter introduces different streams of Emotional Intelligence models, explaining what they are, their structure and other characteristics. Then a brief history of Emotional Intelligence research is provided to contextualise the current debates. The remainder of the chapter focuses on the ‘mixed’ models which are the focus of this study. The academic evidence that ‘mixed’ EI contributes to individual and organisational performance is presented. The second part of this chapter then conducts a critique of ‘mixed’ models, drawing from reviews by psychologists and also providing further insights. The topics covered in the critique include: theoretical and conceptual concerns - how is EI formed? What is EI? EI and positive

psychology; EI in the workplace – the EI-performance link; the EI training-performance link.

AN INTRODUCTION TO EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE MODELS

As Chapter One highlighted, Mayer, Salovey and Caruso (2000b) have sought to label and categorise the plethora of Emotional Intelligence Models by introducing the terms ‘mixed’ and ‘ability’ models. The first section will introduce the ‘mixed’ and ‘ability’ models, and for each type provide an overview of what Emotional Intelligence is, its structure and other attributes.

The ‘Mixed’ Models of Emotional Intelligence

Proponents working with the ‘mixed’ models generally view Emotional Intelligence as a set of *intra*-personal and *inter*-personal ‘skills’ or ‘competencies’. Broadly speaking, the ‘mixed’ models tend to adopt four key emotion-related themes: emotional self awareness, self-control of emotions, empathising with and understanding others’ emotions and managing relationships successfully. *Emotional self awareness* enables one to recognise, differentiate and understand one’s feelings and their effects, to know what caused them, to monitor oneself and be self observant. *Emotional self control* refers to the ability to prevent and control impulses, manage negative feelings and intentionally generate positive feelings when appropriate. Related competencies typically include emotional self control, impulse control, stress tolerance, independence, reality testing and adaptability. *Empathy and understanding others’ emotions* refers to the ability to sense and understand others’ emotions, needs, concerns and perspectives; to ‘emotionally read people’. It entails taking an active interest and responding to others’ feelings and worries; enabling one to relate to, show sensitivity towards and to get on with others. It is also the basis of altruistic behaviour. Empathy underpins many of the social competencies in the mixed models. *Managing relationships successfully* is largely concerned with maintaining efficient, harmonious relationships to maximise individual and group performance. This aspect of EI draws on influencing, conflict management and communication skills to manage others feelings, to listen to and support others, win

people over, build consensus and share information (Matthews, Zeidner and Roberts, 2002).

Proponents of the mixed models argue that self-management skills (emotional awareness and self-control) need to be mastered before social awareness and relationship management skills can be perfected because the latter are dependent on self insight and control (e.g. Goleman, 1996). For example, a person is better able to manage someone else's angry outburst if they have an awareness of their own emotional landscape and know how to control their own negative emotions.

The 'mixed' EI models are available as assessment inventories or questionnaires which produce a person's overall EI score, not dissimilar to psychometric tests. These tend to be used by organisations as assessment tools as part of leadership and management development, staff training and development, recruitment, one-to-one coaching, and to a lesser degree performance management and stress management. These measures enable an assessment of an employee's level of EI and can form the basis of competency training and development programmes.

A score of one's EI is typically obtained using self report measures which seek to assess *perceived* possession of Emotional Intelligence. They often adopt Likert-type scales (e.g. five or six point scales from strongly agree to strongly disagree) to report on items such as: 'It's fairly easy for me to express feelings', 'Its fairly easy for me to tell people what I think' and 'I don't get along well with others' (Bar-On, 1997). Following this, Emotional Intelligence is marketed as a construct that can be measured and quantified as 'a precise metric' (Goleman, 1998: 5). Its quantifiable nature expressed through its statistical reliability, inventories, self-report measures and national norm tables provides 'comfort in numbers' (Fineman, 2004: 724) and has been a highly valuable asset in its organisational take-up.

Additional attraction to 'mixed' EI inventories is generated because they can be used for 360 degree or 'multi-rater' assessment purposes (Bar-On, 1997; Boyatzis, Goleman and Rhee, 2000). This enhances the tool's face validity because it sends out

the message that emotional competencies are distinctly observable and measurable not just by one's self but by one's manager, peers, customers and subordinates. This is attractive to organisations who wish to operate a broader and tighter monitoring of emotional and social skills. High face validity is achieved through explicit competency headings, reinforced by much of the supporting 'pop psychology' literature. In addition, because of the familiar competency language and layout, the 'mixed' models offer clear compatibility with existing Human Resources (HR) practices such as competency frameworks for recruitment, assessment and development purposes. Not only do they 'fit' with HR practices, the mixed models are also marketed as being quick to administer. For example, some measures take up to forty minutes to complete (and have been scaled down in response to industry feedback) and can even be filled out on the internet (e.g. Bar-On, 1997).

The most widely 'mixed' models used in industry are Bar-On's (1997; 2000) Emotional Quotient Inventory (EQ-i) which is marketed and distributed by Multi-Health Systems (MHS) and Goleman's Emotional Competence Inventory (ECI), its successor, the ECI-2 (Boyatzis, Goleman and Rhee, 2000; Boyatzis and Sala, 2004) and more recently the Emotional and Social Competency Inventory (ESCI) developed within the HayGroup. Other less popular mixed models include Cooper and Sawaf's (1997) 'EQ Map', the Boston EiQ (Chapman, 2001) and Dulewicz and Higgs's Emotional Intelligence Questionnaire (EIQ) (Higgs and Dulewicz, 2002; Dulewicz and Higgs, 2004). This list is by no means exhaustive but covers the most widely used measures in industry and includes those 'mixed' versions most researched in academic publications. Next we turn to a brief description of the most popular mixed models in industry and academic writings - Goleman's model and Bar-On's model. This is followed by a brief description of the 'ability' models.

Goleman et al's Emotional Competence Inventory (ECI and ECI-2)

In his first book, *Emotional Intelligence: Why it Can Matter more than IQ*, Goleman (1996) describes Emotional Intelligence as the skills or competencies to be able to know one's own emotions, manage one's own emotions, self motivate as well as recognise others' emotions and handle relationships (Goleman, 1996: 42). In his

follow up book, *Working with Emotional Intelligence*, he describes twenty five personal or social competencies which make up EI. This model was then further developed into a multi-rater questionnaire, the Emotional Competence Inventory (ECI). The most up to date version of the questionnaire is labelled the ECI-2. It includes four key skill areas: self awareness, self management, social awareness and relationship management or social skills. Table 1 describes the ECI-2.

Table 1: The Emotional Competence Inventory Version 2 (ECI-2)

ECI-2 Competencies	ECI-2 Subscale
Self Awareness:	<i>Knowing one's internal states, preferences, resources and intuitions</i>
Emotional self awareness	Recognising one's emotions and their effects
Accurate self assessment	Knowing one's strengths and limits
Self confidence	A strong sense of one's self-worth and capabilities
Self Management:	<i>Managing one's internal states, impulses, and resources</i>
Emotional self control	Keeping disruptive emotions and impulses in check
Transparency	Maintaining standards of honesty and integrity
Adaptability	Flexibility in handling change
Achievement orientation	Striving to improve or meeting a standard of excellence
Initiative	Readiness to act on opportunities
Optimism	Seeing the positive aspects of things and the future
Social Awareness:	<i>How people handle relationships and awareness of others' feelings, needs and concerns</i>
Empathy	Sensing others' feelings and perspectives, and taking an active interest in their concerns
Organizational awareness	Reading a group's emotional currents and power relationships
Service orientation	Anticipating, recognising and meeting customers' needs
Relationship Management or Social Skills:	<i>Skills or adeptness at inducing desirable responses in others</i>
Developing others	Sensing others' development needs and bolstering their abilities
Inspirational leadership	Inspiring and guiding individuals and groups
Influence	Wielding effective tactics for persuasion
Change catalyst	Initiating or managing change
Conflict management	Negotiating and resolving disagreements
Teamwork and collaboration	Working with others towards shared goals; creating group synergy in pursuing collective goals.

Source: Boyatzis and Sala (2004: 154)

Drawing on the key messages in his writings (e.g. Goleman, 1998; 2001b; Goleman, et al, 2001; Goleman, Boyatzis and Rhee, 2001; 2002), this model is focused on work-based productivity and offers a very functional and instrumental approach to maintaining effective social relationships and individual performance at work. This is a point which is expanded on in Chapter Three.

Bar-On's Emotional Quotient Inventory (EQ-i)

According to Bar-On, Emotional Intelligence is defined as:

“a cross-section of inter-related emotional and social competencies that determine how effectively we understand and express ourselves, understand others and relate with them, and cope with daily demands and pressures” (Bar-On, 2004: 117).

Bar-On's Emotional Quotient Inventory (EQ-i) comprises fifteen subscales assessing five aspects of EI: intrapersonal functioning, interpersonal skills, adaptability, stress management and general mood. Bar-On (2006) developed his EQ-i over a seventeen year period. His model is influenced by his experience as a clinical psychologist and related doctoral research on understanding optimum emotional health (Bar-On, 2006). More recently he has argued that the EQ-i is a robust model of emotional-social Intelligence (ESI). Table 2 describes the EQ-i competencies.

Table 2: The Emotional Quotient Inventory (EQ-i)

EQ-i Scales	Description of the EI competencies
Intrapersonal:	<i>Self awareness and self expression</i>
Self regard	To accurately perceive, understand and accept oneself
Emotional self-awareness	To be aware of and understand one's emotions
Assertiveness	To effectively and constructively express one's emotions and oneself
Independence	To be self-reliant and free of emotional dependency on others
Self-actualisation	To strive to achieve personal goals and actualise one's potential
Interpersonal:	<i>Social awareness and interpersonal relationship</i>
Empathy	To be aware of and understand how others feel
Social Responsibility	To identify with one's social group and cooperate with others
Interpersonal Relationship	To establish mutually satisfying relationships and relate well with others
Stress Management:	<i>Emotional management and regulation</i>
Stress Tolerance	To effectively and constructively manage emotions
Impulse Control	To effectively and constructively control emotions
Adaptability:	<i>Change management</i>
Reality-testing	To objectively validate one's feelings and thinking with external reality
Flexibility	To adapt and adjust one's feelings and thinking to new situations
Problem-solving	To effectively solve problems of a personal and interpersonal nature
General Mood:	<i>Self-motivation</i>
Optimism	To be positive and look at the brighter side of life
Happiness	To feel content with oneself, others and life in general.

Source: Bar-On (2004: 141)

Effectiveness in Emotional Intelligence, according to Bar-On, is based firstly on an *intra*-personal ability of self-awareness, to understand one's strengths and weaknesses and to be able to convey thoughts and feelings in a non-destructive way. On an *inter*-personal level it entails being aware of others' emotions, feelings and needs and establishing and maintaining cooperative, constructive and mutually satisfying relationships (Bar-On, 2003:4). Bar-On also claims that many people seem to be searching for meaning, self-expression, relationships and balance in life. In pursuit of these basic human needs he argues that people become more emotionally intelligent and general performance at home and in the workplace increases (Orme and Bar-On, 2002: 24). Bar-On's model is also concerned with how Emotional Intelligence plays a role in self actualisation, a topic upon which he has written specifically (Bar-On, 2001). He describes self actualisation as 'a life-long effort leading to the enrichment of life' and highlights the idea of striving for meaning in life (Bar-On, 2001: 89). Following this, Bar-On's model appears to provide a more holistic approach to Emotional Intelligence, compared to Goleman's, because it offers scope for more divergent social and personal needs and interests than just economic ones.

Bar-On's model is the most popular model used in industry. One million assessments using the EQ-i have taken place between 1997 and 2002, making it the most widely used EI model to date (Bar-On, 2004). Moreover, it is claimed that the majority of academic research has also used the EQ-i (Day and Kelloway, 2004; Austin et al, 2004).

There are numerous other 'mixed' EI models used in industry settings. For example, Cooper and Sawaf's Emotional Quotient (EQ) Map comprises a 'four cornerstone model' of Emotional Intelligence. The EQ competencies include emotional literacy, emotional fitness, emotional depth and emotional alchemy. Dulewicz and Higgs's Emotional Intelligence Questionnaire (EIQ) comprises seven core components: self awareness, emotional resilience, motivation, interpersonal sensitivity, influence, intuitiveness and conscientiousness (Higgs and Dulewicz, 2002). Next we turn to a brief description of the 'ability' models.

The ‘Ability’ Models of Emotional Intelligence

The ‘ability’ models are based on the premise that Emotional Intelligence should be seen as an intelligence that is relatively independent of personality traits (Mayer and Salovey, 1997) but is somewhat related to measures of traditional intelligence (Day and Kelloway, 2004). Following this, ability Emotional Intelligence refers to the accurate processing of emotion related information, underscoring emotion’s cognitive abilities (Brackett and Geher, 2006).

Mayer et al’s (1999) Multifactor Emotional Intelligence Scale (MEIS; Mayer, Salovey and Caruso, 1999) and the revised model, the Mayer-Salovey-Caruso Emotional Intelligence Test (MSCEIT; Mayer, Salovey and Caruso, 2002) are the most popular ability models cited and used in academic research. The MSCEIT refers to a person’s capacity to ‘reason about emotions and to process emotional information in order to enhance cognitive processes’ (Brackett and Salovey, 2004: 181). Both the MEIS and MSCEIT comprise four key branches which defines EI as the ability to: perceive and express emotion; use emotion to facilitate thought; understand emotion and; emotion regulation (Mayer and Salovey, 1997; Geher and Remstom, 2004).

The first to publish academic papers on EI, Salovey and Mayer (1990) argue for the fluid interplay between emotions and cognition, where each enhances the other. In effect, they argue that emotions can enhance mental pursuits such as reasoning and information processing which may enable us to make better choices and see new alternatives. But equally, reasoning and abstracting about feelings can result in sophisticated information processing which may be a process which is just as formal as other intellectual activities. The MSCEIT model, according to Daus and Ashkanasy (2005), meets the criteria of an intelligence because: it is a set of functional abilities; the abilities are inter-correlated, relate to pre-existing

intelligences but also demonstrate inimitable variance; and the construct develops with age.

The MSCEIT and MEIS rely on test-based conditions rather than self-report inventories and contain questions which have correct and incorrect answers matched against modal judgements provided by large norm samples and expert scoring (Geher and Renstrom, 2004). The idea behind the ability models is that the scientific community has sought to develop an Emotional Intelligence scale which produces reliable and valid *observable* behaviour or data through test like conditions which can be scored by an examiner, similar to an intelligence test. Table 3 gives a summary of the four branches of the MSCEIT.

Table 3: The four branch model of Emotional Intelligence MSCEIT with examples

Branch Name of EI	Brief description of abilities involved
Perception of emotion (Branch 1)	The ability to perceive emotions in oneself and others, as well as in objects, art, stories, music, and other stimuli (<i>e.g. identify emotions expressed in photographs of peoples' faces and feelings suggested by artistic designs/landscapes</i>)
Use of emotion to facilitate thought (Branch 2)	The ability to generate, use and feel emotion as necessary to communicate feelings or employ them in other cognitive processes (<i>e.g. Which tactile, taste and colour sensations are reminiscent of a specific emotion such as mapping the emotion shame onto other sensory adjectives e.g. cold, blue, and sweet; identify how moods might facilitate or interfere with the successful performance of various cognitive and behavioural tasks</i>)
Understanding of emotion (Branch 3)	The ability to understand emotional information, how emotions combine and progress through relationship transitions, and to appreciate such emotional meanings. (<i>e.g. analysing blended or complex emotions - such as acceptance, joy and warmth often combine to form what?; understanding how emotions change over time or how they follow one another (changes)</i>)
Management of emotion (Branch 4)	The ability to be open to feelings and to modulate them in oneself and others so as to promote personal understanding and growth (<i>e.g. assessment of how individuals manage the emotions of others – individual reads a vignette about someone else then decides how effective several different courses of action would be in coping with emotions in the story (social management) and management of their own emotions (self management)</i>).

Adapted from Mayer, Caruso and Salovey, 1999; Salovey and Mayer, 1990; Brackett and Salovey, 2004.

Currently the academic community has been working hard to establish the psychometric properties of the ability models (validity and reliability). Much of this research is tempered in its claims and adopts a more impartial approach, full of

specifications and conditionals. By contrast, proponents working in the mixed model 'camp' claim to solve problems which are of real concerns in organisations (Murphy and Sideman, 2006b: 45). The current trend of activity with the 'mixed' models is building up evidence of predictive validity linking Emotional Intelligence to improved performance on the job (Bar-On, 2004). On the whole, much bolder and outlandish claims are made by those writers in the mixed EI field, particularly by Goleman and Bar-On. These writers also tend to contribute to practitioner writings more frequently than those working with the 'ability' models which denotes the commercial angle of these models.

The next section presents a historical overview of the genesis of Emotional Intelligence which helps to contextualise the debates between the 'ability' and mixed' model camps in the remainder of this chapter

THE HISTORY OF EI

Earliest reportage of concepts similar to Emotional Intelligence were used in behavioural studies in the early 1900s. In particular, it is frequently documented that E.L. Thorndike (1920) first used the term Social Intelligence to explain variations in outcome measures not accountable for by abstract and mechanical intelligence and this spawned much research in the 1920s and 1930s (Matthews, Zeidner and Roberts, 2002). The foundation of his speculation was 'that intelligence could and should be measured in many different ways and in many different venues' (Landy, 2005: 414). Seventeen years later, Thorndike's son, R.L. Thorndike, a distinguished psychometrician highlighted that whilst numerous measures had been developed since his father's 1920 paper, many were associated with but did not specifically measure Social Intelligence, described at the time as 'the ability of an individual to react satisfactorily to other individuals' (Thorndike and Stein, 1937: 284).

In the following decades, several revered theoreticians and psychometricians such as Cronbach and Wechsler chose not to incorporate Social Intelligence into their work as they saw it added little value (Landy, 2005: 418). This certainly implies that the

poor reliability and validity of the measures deterred ‘serious’ scientists from incorporating social intelligence tests into their assessment inventories. For example, in Cronbach’s publication of *Essentials of Psychological Testing* (Cronbach, 1960/70) he concluded that after half a century of sporadic research, the construct remained undefined and unmeasured (p. 319). The dwindling interest in Social Intelligence was further exacerbated by a growing research interest in behavioural and cognitive psychology (Higgs and Dulewicz, 2002; Matthew, Zeidner and Roberts, 2002).

The landscape of Social Intelligence started to change in the 1980s when a number of researchers initiated an expansion of the concept of intelligence to include a wider number of mental abilities. For example, Gardner (1983; 1993) used the term multiple intelligences to include intrapersonal and interpersonal intelligence. In 1985 a doctoral student, Wayne Payne produced a thesis entitled: ‘*A study of emotion: developing emotional intelligence; self integration; relating to fear, pain and desire*’ (Payne, 1983/6) but he did not publish his work. The term ‘Emotional Intelligence’ was not publicly used until Salovey and Mayer published their first academic article on the subject in 1990. They defined EI as ‘the ability to monitor one’s emotions and others’ feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them and to use this information to guide one’s thinking and actions’. However, the term did not receive much academic or lay attention until 1995 when Daniel Goleman allegedly came across Mayer and Salovey’s work and decided to rename the book he was researching on emotional literacy in educational settings as Emotional Intelligence (Ashkanasy and Daus, 2005). It is also alleged that Bar-On took the name from Goleman’s 1995 book and applied it to a measure he was researching on psychological well-being (Ashkanasy and Daus, 2005: 442). Whether this is conjecture or fact is hard to ascertain but Bar-On was already close to adopting the term in 1988 when he coined the term emotional quotient (EQ) in his doctoral thesis which explored the determining factors of emotional health. What is clear is that both Goleman and Bar-On were generally thinking along the same lines in relation to capturing and measuring emotional and social skills. After the publication of Goleman’s 1995 book, Bar-On presented his measure, the Emotional Quotient

Inventory to the American Psychological Association in Toronto in 1997. In 1997 Mayer and Salovey published their first official definition of Emotional Intelligence (Mayer and Salovey, 1997), and Goleman published his second book *Working with Emotional Intelligence* in 1998.

Today, the whole concept of Emotional Intelligence is viewed as problematic. Debates over whether it is made up of ability, cognitive or non-cognitive, personality or skills based, intra- or inter-personal components continue. It is contended that ‘ability’ and ‘mixed’ EI do not refer to the same concept (Daus and Ashkanasy, 2005). For example, it is argued that ‘mixed’ models do not correlate with intelligence or ‘ability’ measures of EI which indicates these models are measuring something quite different (Conte and Dean, 2006). Many scholars argue that mixed EI measures personality (e.g. Matthews, Zeidner and Roberts, 2002), a point returned to shortly. Because of the separation of the ‘ability’ and ‘mixed’ approaches, it seems unlikely that one single approach to Emotional Intelligence will ever evolve as long as there is disagreement on the theoretical properties of the construct (Schulze, Wilhelm and Kyllonen, 2007: 202).

THE PERFORMANCE EVIDENCE OF ‘MIXED’ EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

The idea that mixed Emotional Intelligence is a key source of individual difference in work success has been central to its popularity. The pre-occupation with profit motives and enhanced work behaviours conducive to improved performance is evident in the practitioner, commercial and scholarly writings on the mixed models. This section reviews these claims before examining them more critically in the remainder of the chapter. This section simply skims the surface of evidence; to produce a comprehensive coverage of all the literature would be beyond the realms or word limit of this contribution, moving the focus too far afield. This section starts by briefly documenting some of the broad-sweeping performative claims made in practitioner writings by those who have been involved with the development of ‘mixed’ models or work closely with the model designers. It then moves on to review the academic evidence that mixed EI contributes to four key outcomes: individual

performance, leadership, positive organisational behaviour and psychological health/well-being. This is not an exclusive list but these themes have been chosen because they are the most widely discussed in the literature. First, we turn to some of the practitioner claims.

A key website which markets the financial benefits for mixed models of Emotional Intelligence is the *Consortium for Research on Emotional Intelligence in Organisations* (www.eiconsortium.org), originally set up by Goleman himself. On this site, Cherniss's (1999) paper: 'The Business Case for Emotional Intelligence' cites nineteen pieces of 'evidence' for why Emotional Intelligence adds to the bottom line in *any* organisation. The example below perfectly encapsulates the type of work outcomes claimed on this website:

“In a national insurance company, insurance sales agents who were weak in emotional competencies such as self-confidence, initiative, and empathy sold policies with an average premium of \$54,000. Those who were very strong in at least 5 of 8 key emotional competencies sold policies worth \$144,000” (Cherniss, 1999: 2).

Elsewhere, Cherniss argues that EI influences organisational effectiveness in employee recruitment and retention, development of talent, teamwork, employee commitment, morale and health, innovation, productivity, efficiency, sales, revenues, quality of service, customer loyalty and client outcomes (Cherniss, 2001).

In Cooper and Sawaf's (1997) commercial book entitled *Executive EQ* they state their EI increases employee motivation, speeds up and enhances reasoning and decision making, builds trust and connection with others, activates ethical values, sparks creativity and innovation, generates influence without authority and increases rationality (p. xxxii and xxxiii). Cooper and Sawaf (1997) argue that people with high Emotional Intelligence are more motivated, take the initiative and they are willing to take on additional responsibilities beyond their job remit, especially during organisational change and crises (p.xxxiv). Taking up the theme of creativity,

numerous academic studies indicate that aspects of Emotional Intelligence help to generate creativeness in individuals by enhancing novel problem solving (Estrada et al, 1994; Isen, et al, 1987). In a global economy which places much emphasis on continuous acts of creativity and innovation as part of business success (e.g. Porter, 1990; Williams, 2004), the appeal to organisations starts to become apparent.

The purveyors of EI tools tend to capitalise on scientific words and claims in their 'hard sell' of performative gains. Fineman (2000: 104) highlights Goleman's persuasive use of terms such as 'landmark studies', 'Harvard Professors' and his reference to a bank of two and half decades of empirical studies which inform current work. In his follow-up 1998 book, *Working with Emotional Intelligence*, Goleman argues that the data is based on 'studies of tens of thousands of working people, in callings of every kind' and that he himself has conducted an 'exhaustive review' of the relevant research to produce 'scientifically grounded guidelines' in Emotional Intelligence (p. 3, 5 and 14). Cooper and Sawaf (1997) use equally enticing language in discussion of their EQ Map: "Using state-of-the-art mapping technologies, a research team.....launched this scientific initiative, drawing on a corporate client base totalling more than 2,000 organizations" (p. xiv). They continue: "...emotional intelligence is one of the most indispensable elements, not only in creating a profitable business but in leading a successful life" (p. xxvii).

In a review of academic evidence which explores 'mixed' EI's relationship with individual performance, Boyatzis and Sala (2004) argue that studies of the ECI have shown to predict salary increases, job/life success, performance in client services and administrative roles, leadership in multinational firms, job performance in first line supervisors, performance in public school principals and fire fighters, worldwide management performance and potential (p. 176). Following this, recently published studies demonstrate a relationship between EI measures and work performance in police leaders, engineering project leaders, school governors, school principals and entrepreneurs (Hawkins and Dulewicz, 2007; Hopkins, O'Neil and Williams, 2007; Rhee and White, 2007; Sunindijo, Hadikusumo and Ogunlana, 2007; Williams, 2008). In addition, Emotional Intelligence is reported to be the 'essential but often

neglected ingredient' in nursing, law, medicine and engineering (Matthews, Zeidner and Roberts, 2002: 4). Slaski and Cartwright (2002) studied 224 managers in a retail organisation and found a relationship between high EI (using the EQ-i), health and performance. Customer service employees have also been researched. For example, studying 289 call centre agents from three different organisations, Higgs (2004) reports a strong relationship between EI (using the EIQ) and individual performance. More broadly, Dulewicz and Higgs (1998) examined the contribution of cognitive abilities and EI competencies to career advancement and found that EI accounts for 36% of the variance compared to 27% of the variance being accounted for by IQ.

Emotional intelligence has been strongly linked to outstanding leadership (Bar-On, 2004; Boyatzis and Sala, 2004; Goleman, 1998; 1995; Rosete and Ciarrochi, 2005). For example, Bar-On argues that his model can accurately identify approximately eight out of ten potentially effective leaders (Bar-On, 2004: 135). Relationships between mixed EI and transformational leadership have also been reported (Barling, Slater and Kelloway, 1998; Mandell and Pherwani, 2003; Sivanathan and Fekken, 2002). Characterised with a certain degree of charisma, transformational leaders raise employee achievements and create the right organisational values based on honesty, loyalty, fairness, justice, equality and human rights (e.g. Bass and Steidlmeier, 1999). This is a leadership style which emphasises emotional self-awareness alongside sensitivity and empathy towards others' emotional needs and feelings.

Some studies have identified links between mixed models of EI and positive organisational behaviours such as organisational commitment, morale, reduced turnover and organisational citizenship where EI actions benefit working relationships and a positive working climate (e.g. Carson and Carson, 1998; Cherniss, 2001). In addition, there are a number of studies which attest to the personal benefits of EI in relation to stress, coping with daily demands, psychological health, and general well-being (e.g. Bar-On, 2004; Brackett and Mayer, 2003; Ciarrochi, Dean and Anderson, 2002; Jordan, Ashkanasy and Hartel, 2002; Slaski and Cartwright, 2002).

However, despite this evidence, the academic community has largely rejected ‘mixed’ Emotional Intelligence as a measure of EI. The remainder of this chapter explores why this is so.

A CRITIQUE OF ‘MIXED’ MODELS OF EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

The second part of this chapter aims to present a critique of ‘mixed’ Emotional Intelligence as presented by the psychological community. A presentation of the extant (critical) literature is essential if we are to gain a full understanding of where psychological research on ‘mixed’ EI stands at the present time. As this section illustrates there is much contention over mixed EI’s robustness as a valid and reliable model of Emotional Intelligence. Presenting the arguments in this chapter helps to explain why the stream of EI research based on the prescriptive management model has been rejected by the majority of psychological and related academic communities. This review is also essential if we are to begin to gain a wider critical perspective on the relationship between EI and satisfying social relationships and individual performance and how this established psychological view of EI conceptualises human beings as a whole. What such a review tells us is the inability of the psychological approach to clearly recognise that people are embedded in economic, social and organisational structures and have broader properties and powers than EI accounts currently convey. This is not a criticism as we cannot ask the psychological models to do any more. It simply highlights what they are incapable of doing and identifies the need for a sociological perspective. The topics covered in the critique include: theoretical and conceptual concerns - how is EI formed? What is EI? EI and positive psychology; EI in the workplace – the EI-performance link; the EI training-performance link.

Theoretical and Conceptual Concerns

How is Emotional Intelligence formed?

There is some agreement that mixed Emotional Intelligence develops over one’s lifespan - Goleman (1998), Cooper and Sawaf (1997) and Dulzwicz and Higgs

(2004) concur on this. For example, Goleman stresses ‘our competence in it can keep growing’ (Goleman, 1996: 7) and he explicitly states that EI increases with age. However, different emphasis is placed on the theoretical underpinnings in its development (e.g. genetics, biology, experiences, upbringing, formative relationships). For example, most of the writings on the mixed models argue that one’s upbringing can affect socialisation up until early adulthood, the effects of which can be irreversible but with effort to change and the right learning, an individual can re-shape or improve one’s socio-emotional capacities (Bar-On, 1997; Goleman, 1996; 1998; 2006; Caruso and Salovey, 2004). Biological factors also seem to be emphasised as a key influence. For example, Goleman (1998) explains that the ancient brain centres for emotion also hold human skills for social adeptness and these skills are rooted in an evolutionary heritage for survival and adaptation. A key theme in mixed Emotional Intelligence writings is how the ancient brain system holds alarm circuitry centres around the brain stem, known as the limbic system. Referring to the ‘amygdala hijack’ Goleman explains how the amygdala is the brain’s emotional memory bank which uses emotional memories to compare present situations with the past to identify and appropriately respond to threats or opportunities. The amygdala hijack produces an instantaneous, crisis response (e.g. fight or flight) which he argues still follows that ancient strategy. This heightened awareness stimulates a knee-jerk, automatic emotional reaction which he claims, can have dramatic drawbacks in contemporary life.

However, most EI test developers seem confused over the sum balance of influences of EI. This is an important point because the scholarly community argue that solid, verifiable theoretical underpinnings is key to developing robust models and is a requisite foundation for scientific empirical studies. Highlighting this confusion, Bar-On (2004) asserts that further research on the mix of bio-psycho-social predictors and facilitators of EI is required to determine ‘the exact nature of this issue’ (p. 139). Brackett and Salovey (2004: 190) also note uncertainties as to whether EI is genetically based, learned or both. Other critical commentators point out that designers and developers of the ‘mixed’ models have not necessarily waited to work out the underlying theories and empirical studies before emphasising their attempts

to answer real problems (Murphy and Sideman, 2006a: 43), no doubt with sales figures in mind.

More broadly, the lack of clarity over the social underpinnings of EI raises serious concerns over peoples' access to EI. Key proponents of 'mixed' EI argue that one of its attractive features is that it offers hope for a more classless society because it moves away from emphasis on IQ and its association with success in life. Drawing from Herrnstein and Murray's (1994) *The Bell Curve*, Goleman (1996) highlights how having an economically and educationally advantaged family background determines chances for educational and work success in relation to IQ but that EI offers some counterbalance against this. More critically though, it could be argued that individuals from elitist or exclusive backgrounds are likely to be afforded with a head start in life in EI attributes such as self confidence, assertiveness and achievement orientation, for example. However, these types of social structures which may create unequal access to EI have been largely unexplored in reviews of EI. This issue will be re-visited in Chapter Three.

What is Emotional Intelligence?

'Mixed' EI models have been further challenged by researchers in psychology and related disciplines based on their conceptual limitations. Although on first perusal 'mixed' EI seems like a valid grouping of competencies and aptitudes which fulfil work requirements, on closer scrutiny it is hard to conjure up a skill or attribute which is not found in these models. What initially appears an attractive competency framework, appears to be little more than a business-centric, catch-all list of commercially desirable skills, behaviours and concepts. On this point, many have noted that confusion arises because the models appear to include personality and character traits in their descriptions as well as social skills, attitudes, temperament, mood, self-awareness and motivations (Higgs and Dulewicz, 2002; Matthews, Zeidner and Roberts, 2002; Mayer, Salovey and Caruso, 2000a, 2000b; Murphy, 2006: 346). Matthews, Zeidner and Roberts (2002) comprehensively criticise 'mixed' models for their inclusion of a broad range of competencies relating to one construct, to the extent that this renders mixed EI ambiguous and ineffective. As

they note, the definition and conceptualisation of EI has far to go: “If not, emotional intelligence will come to be seen as a chimera, a fantastical creature made up by stitching together the parts of several real entities” (Matthews, Zeidner and Roberts, 2002:527). In his review of Goleman’s *Working with Emotional Intelligence*, Sternberg (1999) comments that Goleman’s definition of EI: “seems close to a conception of almost anything that matters beyond IQ” (p. 782). Locke (2005: 430) states that most definitions of mixed EI are so all-encompassing that it makes the concept unintelligible. In sum, EI seems to cover almost every aspect of social behaviour at work making it genuinely difficult to understand as one clearly defined construct of emotional or social conduct. In light of these points, it is not surprising that mixed EI attracts the critique that it does not seem appropriately guided by academic research on intelligence or emotions.

In conceptual terms, one of the key problems most widely discussed within the academic psychology community is that mixed models tend to correlate with personality. For example, in a thorough review of both the ECI and EQ-i, Conte and Dean (2006: 63) conclude that both inventories’ content appear to overlap with personality measures. Higgs and Dulewicz (2002: 32/33) go to great pains to map out the link between well established dimensions of personality in the psychology literature such as some facets of the Five Factor Model (FFM) (emotional stability, extraversion, agreeableness and conscientiousness) and aspects of EI. Other analyses have found correlations between mixed EI models and personality dimensions (Barchard and Hakstian, 2004; Newsome, Day and Catano, 2000; Schulze, Wilhelm and Kyllonen, 2007). Overall, many scholars argue that mixed models of EI are simply new renditions of traditional personality inventories which add very little to a field already replete with personality measures (e.g. Matthews, Zeidner and Roberts, 2002; Davie, Stankov and Roberts, 1998; Van Rooy et al, 2006). This position contrasts sharply with Bar-On (2004) who strongly contends that EQ-i competences increase with age and can be improved over a short period of time with training intervention. He argues that this distinguishes (his) EI model from personality. This issue has contributed substantially towards a stalemate in the debates over conceptual properties of ‘mixed’ EI.

Emotional Intelligence and Positive Psychology

The issue regarding ‘mixed’ EI’s overlap with personality raises other important concerns which have yet to be debated in current accounts. From the psychological arguments put forward, mixed models appear to drive forward an agenda which favours certain personality traits. Learning to be emotionally intelligent – conscientious, emotionally stable, agreeable and to be trustworthy and have integrity are described as personality and character traits celebrated and encouraged in mixed EI models (Higgs and Dulewicz, 2002; Matthew, Zeidner and Roberts, 2002). However this approach poses problems because the models request these particular characteristics to the neglect of others. To behave accordingly, the employee must separate themselves into more and less desirable parts; the less worthy attributes are hidden or concealed whilst others are brought to the fore (Cremlin, 2003). This approach seems to squeeze out any sense of what it means to be human – to respect and esteem character in its own right. Such an approach is likely to create some degree of response from those being asked to manifest Emotionally Intelligent characteristics. Insights into potential consequences are clearly illustrated in Callaghan and Thompson’s (2002) study of call centre agents where management’s attempts to mould personalities (into ‘robots’) created strong reactions, not least which contributed to thoughts about quitting. Equally, Watson (2001) describes how managerial work is understood in relation to the way managers sustain a genuine sense of the ‘sort of person’ they are (Watson, 2001: 67). Ultimately, being a ‘non-conformist’ to EI’s personality agenda should not be considered unreasonable or worthy of some form of penalty but it does. In worst case scenarios the search for personality capital propels the ‘socially diverse’ and ‘dysfunctionally eccentric’ to the fringes of society (Cremlin, 2003: 126). However, in the psychological accounts of EI there is no sense of how individuals may respond to EI’s personality ‘agenda’.

The problems do not end with EI’s conceptual overlap with personality. There are further concerns over EI’s conceptualisation of ‘positive’ emotions in the mixed models. This section now turns to a discussion of mixed EI and its relationship with

‘positive’ psychological principles. It argues that the underpinning conceptual precepts of EI based on positive psychology could feasibly take people away from, rather than draw them closer to more satisfying, flourishing social relationships and individual and organisational performance and productivity. In addition, this approach presents a very one-dimensional image of human beings as a whole.

Accounts of ‘mixed’ EI claim that people who are emotionally intelligent are adept at catching negative emotions and converting them into positive ones. The idea behind EI is not to dumbly transmute all negative feelings into positive ones. Instead, the idea is to recognise and label negative emotions, understand where they are coming from (e.g. habits from childhood or in-built, instinctive ‘fight or flight’ responses) and manage situations more appropriately. This involves changing, overcoming or banishing the negative feelings and moods or changing the situation (e.g. McBride and Maitland, 2002)

As a consequence, emotionally intelligent people are not over-sensitive, they do not exaggerate emotional episodes and they can move on from emotional events without ruminating for long periods. They interpret stressful events as challenges rather than obstacles (Matthew, Zeidner and Roberts, 2002). Principles behind ‘mixed’ EI models do allow negative emotional displays but they should be expressed in a highly controlled manner. For example, one may be angry but it must be ‘appropriately expressed anger’ (Cooper and Sawaf, 1997: 114). One must be composed and face difficulties calmly without ‘getting carried away by strong emotions’ (Bar-On, 1997: 20) or becoming ‘swamped’ by them (Higgs and Dulewicz, 2002: 15). When negative emotions cannot be avoided, the focus is on making situations productive, a sentiment expressed by Chapman (2001) who reminds managers to: ‘practice getting a positive value from a negative emotion’ (ibid, p. 88). But most of the time negative emotions are viewed as disruptive and are discouraged altogether for fear they will ‘poison the [organisational] well’ (Goleman, 1996:167).

Emotional intelligence's *positiveness* draws on the scholarship of positive psychology and relatedly an organisational psychology offshoot known as positive organisational scholarship. Positive scholarship aims to explore and celebrate positive subjective experiences and emotions, positive personal characteristics and the facilitating role of organisations to enable individualised positive experiences and character in the pursuit of organisational good worth (Cameron, Dutton and Quinn, 2003; Dutton, Glynn and Spreitzer, 2006; Fineman, 2006a; Seligman, 2005). Scholars in this field are interested in understanding, for example, the 'best' of the human condition, positive emotional states and their contribution to virtuous or moral behaviour and self-esteem, human flourishing, positive individual experiences and their outcomes (Fineman, 2006a). As a move away from psychology's long tradition of looking at 'the victim, the underdog, and the remedial' (Seligman, 2005:7), positive psychology aims to develop a science and practice to build thriving people and societies.

Scholars herald the merits of *positiveness* because of the links between positive emotions and increased performance (e.g. Cameron, Dutton and Quinn, 2003). There is also an attraction rooted in disenchantment with today's corporate capitalist workplaces which seem to promote materialism and a lack of compassion and sensitivity (Fineman, 2006a). However, Emotional Intelligence's adherence to positiveness is problematic because of its negligence of three aspects of emotion: emotion as evaluative commentaries, processes of emotional change and 'valuation' of emotion.

First, emotions operate as evaluative commentaries on human concerns such as matters affecting one's well-being (Sayer, 2005). Because EI appears to encourage the conversion of negative affect into positive, people are robbed of these critical and evaluative commentaries on life which could be potentially advantageous to their well-being. For example, putting a positive spin on a negative situation could be foolish, illusionary and damaging to one's well-being particularly if it suppresses a political or institutional re-description of the situation and places the onus on the individual to change. Furthermore, the pressure put on employees to be explicitly

optimistic, stress-free, happy, and emotionally positive could in itself lead to unhappiness and (di)stress. It is not surprising then that acts, states and social arrangements which contribute towards genuine human flourishing and personal fulfilment are argued to extend to an ability to express both positive and negative emotions (Nussbaum, 2000).

Second, EI's relationship with positive psychology trivialises the process of changing negative emotions into positive affect. For example, converting the negative to positive seems to ignore that some emotional states require deep reflection before change can occur. In addition, change (if desired) may require time and effort particularly as people are more likely to experience negative than positive emotions, weigh the negative more heavily or focus more on what is wrong or missing in life than what is right and present (Dutton, Glynn and Spreitzer, 2006; Young-Eisendrath, 2003). This contrasts sharply with EI's prescription to expediently and swiftly eliminate one's negative emotions.

Third, EI places valuations on emotions which are simplistic and dismissive of subjective experiences. For example, EI's celebration of positive affect neglects any personal elaboration of what is positive to the individual because the underlying philosophy makes prohibitive a genuine exploration of the subjective meanings of emotions. As Fineman notes, this approach is dangerous because 'it can close off the links between experiential and value positions that are meaningful and relevant, or 'positive' to organizational participants in their own contexts and terms' (Fineman, 2006b: 307; see also Fineman, 2000; 2004). This approach separates 'the knower apart from the knowledge gleaned', appearing elitist and unreflexive (Fineman, 2006a: 284). Similarly, EI devalues the potential benefits of 'negative' or mixed emotions. Sitting in a 'bad' mood may help bring clarity to a problem. Or feelings of anger can motivate one to rectify an injustice or inequality (Matthews, Zeidner and Roberts, 2002). Emotions which form part of the fabric and social order of work life are not always 'positive' but still help people endure, find pleasure and be productive in daily roles and responsibilities (e.g. Bolton, 2007; 2008a). Removing 'negative' emotions from work, as mixed EI writers advocate, eliminates ironic behaviour,

letting-off-steam moments, tongue-in-cheek dramatisations and the somewhat paradoxical, almost simultaneous expression of both positive and negative emotions which all serve to support the effective functioning of social life at work.

From this critical account, we are left with the image of a profusely positive worker; someone who makes it their work goal to cultivate their own, as well as team and corporate spirit of positivity. Effusively optimistic, upbeat and happy, they appear in the EI writings as a new modelled worker. What we are left with are human beings robbed of evaluative commentaries on their emotions and the suppression of a full range of genuine feelings and characteristics at work. This approach appears detrimental to one's well-being and undermines opportunities to develop satisfying and productive social relationships which sustain a genuine rapport. More broadly, people have powers to reflect upon, adapt, improvise or reject EI's neat package of positivity, as research on organisational emotion more generally suggest (e.g. Bolton, 2008b; Fineman, 2003; Turnball, 2002; Vince, 2006). However, extant accounts of EI present a one-dimensional portrayal of people because they cannot conceptualise people's broader reflective responses to EI prescription and how individuals may enact EI's positiveness at work.

Emotional Intelligence in the workplace: Individual and Organisational Benefits

The motivation to add Emotional Intelligence to any organisation's Human Resource toolkit is based on the argument that EI contributes to organizational performance and productivity. As previously described, the research claims on performative benefits for the mixed models are immense and are central to mixed EI's popularity with organizations and employees. It is not surprising then that 'mixed' EI has drawn much scrutiny from the academic community of psychologists. This section reviews the evidence focusing on the EI-performance and EI training-performance link and provides further critical commentary on how human beings as a whole are conceptualised.

The EI-Performance Link

Numerous academic researchers contend that much of the proof linking ‘mixed’ models of EI to occupational success is scant and where it does exist it tends to be anecdotal, guesswork, impressionistic, unfounded and based on ‘in-house’ research, often relying on unpublished commissioned surveys (Day, 2004; Day and Kelloway, 2004; Dulewicz and Higgs, 2000; Matthews, Zeidner and Roberts, 2002). In a thorough review of both the ECI and EQ-i, Conte and Dean (2006: 63) conclude that both measures lack any ability to predict work performance. In their comprehensive review of Goleman’s 1996 and 1998 books *Emotional Intelligence: Why it matter more than IQ* and *Working With Emotional Intelligence*, Matthews, Zeidner and Roberts (2002) conclude: ‘Goleman is unable to cite published empirical data supporting any causal link between EI and any of its supposed positive effects’ (p. 478). They argue that support for the EI-performance link can sometimes be little more than conjecture and these unsubstantiated claims are then reused in numerous popular EI books and articles. Schmit (2006: 213) concurs with this, explaining: “most authors cite someone else, who in turn has relied on someone else’s citation, none of which contains much more than anecdotal accounts of the use of EI in organizations”. Where correlations do exist for the models they are no higher than the predictors of standard personality or ability measures (Hunter and Hunter, 1984; Matthews, Zeidner and Roberts, 2002) and certainly do not predict up to the 80% of occupational success that Goleman (1996) (and others) proclaim.

Performance gains from EI have been reviewed by Day and Kelloway (2004), Daus and Ashkanasy (2005), Druskat, Sala and Mount (2006), Jordan, Ashton-James and Ashkanasy (2006), Van Rooy and Viswesvaran (2004) and Zeidner, Matthews and Roberts (2004). In a meta-analysis, Van Rooy and Viswesvaran (2004) found a weak and modest relationship between EI and overt job performance. Day and Kelloway (2004) found little evidence supporting a relationship between explicit EI measures and performance. Jordan, Ashton-James and Ashkanasy (2006) explored

the links between EI and job performance, career progression and leadership and found mixed support.

Despite Goleman's claim that EI may be the single most important factor predicting job success within a certain job category or profession, there is little evidence to support this (Matthew, Zeidner and Roberts, 2002). Equally, Jordan, Ashton-James and Ashkanasy (2006) found no evidence that people with high EI have better career paths which indicates EI is unlikely to have the kind of benefits Goleman (1998) claims. Goleman lists conflict management as a competence in his model and claims people with high EI have better conflict management skills but Jordan, Ashkanasy and Ascough (2007) contend the evidence that support this type of claim is less than voluminous. Moreover, there is a stark emphasis in these studies on the instrumental gains of social relationships and individual performance. This seems surprising when Bar-On's (1997) model of EI places emphasis on meaningful work, life happiness and developing mutually satisfying social relationships at work. Yet, no scholarly studies of EI explore these potential social gains and their further impact on organisational performance.

In addition, studies which examine EI and stress, well-being and psychological health in the workplace are scant (Day and Kelloway, 2004). There is some evidence to suggest that Bar-On's EQ-i is related to specific well-being, decreased stress and negative behaviours (Day, 2004: 257; Slaski and Cartwright, 2003) but similar findings are not evident for Goleman's ECI measure. In their comprehensive analysis, Matthews, Zeidner and Roberts (2002) found very little empirical evidence to support the claim that EI reduces stress or increases coping and adaptation for the individual.

The EI-performance link is further obscured because findings are difficult to compare due to multiple performance measurements across studies (profits, productivity, quality of service, sales, employee behaviour, commitment, well being, absenteeism, supervisory ratings). Others note that outcome variables in EI studies are often difficult to measure and operationalise (Van Rooy et al, 2006).

In addition, many empirical studies tend to argue for a relationship between high EI and high levels of job performance but only gather information on a narrow range of variables (e.g. emotional and social skills, demographic data and in some cases IQ), neglecting other abilities, experience or contextual information which may contribute to EI success (e.g. Aydin et al, 2005; Rego et al, 2007; Sunindijo, Hadikusumo and Ogunlana, 2007). Thus, a full causal model of the potential competing explanations on performance which would ask what EI adds when other variables are already in the equation (IQ, personality, tacit or procedural knowledge, experience, interests, education, broader socio-political context) is rarely conducted. In particular, an analysis of aspects such as macro economic factors such as contemporary capitalism as highlighted in Chapter One or organisational structures such as the politics of working life are absent in these studies.

Further problems arise because little consideration is given to differences between occupational groups. Roberts, Zeidner and Matthews (2007) ask whether EI has similar effects on workers and leaders and does it predict outcomes when work activities are strongly infused with emotions. On this point, numerous studies fail to provide much reflective commentary on how such claims can be justified when there is obvious variation in the demand for EI skills across activities, professions/roles, organizations and industry sectors. Caruso, Bienn and Kornacki caution (2006: 200) 'EI is not equally critical across all types of tasks, jobs or roles', but it is dependent on the nature and intensity of interpersonal contact required. For example, variations can be seen across production type work as compared to more intensive customer service work, or across different occupational groups such as technicians compared to managers.

Overall, there seems to be little evidence that mixed EI contributes to individual and organisational performance, satisfying and effective social relationships. In addition, people appear decontextualised from the environments in which they work which may enable or constrain their actions. Next we consider whether EI can be trained and whether EI training has any impact on work-based behaviour and performance.

The EI Training-Performance Link

This section focuses specifically on whether there is any evidence mixed EI can be learnt and whether developing one's EI has any effect in the workplace in relation to improved individual and organisational performance, satisfying and effective social relationships

Despite the confusions over EI's theoretical origins, proponents of mixed EI strongly argue that it can be learnt in adulthood (Goleman, 1998; 2004 Bar-On, 2006). The number of Emotional Intelligence training programmes available has proliferated since EI has been linked to organisational performance (Clarke, 2006). As highlighted in the introduction of Chapter One, calls for EI training can be found in sectors and occupational groups such as medicine, nursing, pharmacy, the legal profession, leaders, managers, executives and students, to name but a few (Clarke, 2006, Bharwaney, 2007; Matthews, Zeidner and Roberts, 2007; Reilly, 2005).

Training in emotional skills, according to Goleman, requires 'deep' changes to strongly ingrained habits which requires highly motivated individuals to maintain the repetition of practice of new skills over a long period. This is largely because Goleman and Bar-On claim that one's emotional and social competence is largely formed up to early adulthood, in family and social contexts. The argument follows that if one has low EI by adulthood then old habits or negative emotional responses need to first be 'undone' or overcome. Thus, the general practice of learning EI requires understanding, unlearning, re-modelling and practice, allowing for thoughts, emotions and behaviours to be restructured so that 'neural pathways' in the brain can be altered or rebuilt (Goleman, 1998: 243) and new habits and thinking to be adopted. These are the general principles of training for both the ECI, EQ-i and other 'mixed' or 'trait' based models.

However, on closer examination the research evidence that mixed EI can be learnt appears sparse and inconclusive. For example, when compared to part-time cohorts, Boyatzis, Stubb and Taylor (2002) found that full time MBA student managers had a

greater improvement in EI because they had a clear break from old habits but also because ‘the work settings of the part-time students extinguish both new behaviour, and their attempts to use new things learned in the program’ (Boyatzis, Stubb and Taylor, 2002:158). Other studies have found that EI training programmes are far more effective when attendance is for a period of time each week over several weeks (several hours or one day a week) or for five days in a row (Bharwaney, 2007; Grant, 2007; Slaski and Cartwright, 2003) These findings hardly seem encouraging for those in full time work wishing to attend the most common route of a one or two day EI workshop or seminar (likely to be favoured as a more practical and cost-effective route). Nor does it do much to illuminate the organisational settings alluded to by Boyatzis et al (2002) which appear to constrain any adoption of new EI behaviours. More recently, Boyatzis and Saatcioglu (2008) conclude that emotional and social intelligence competencies can be improved and sustained for as long as seven years but they note any improvements can be undone by a tumultuous organisational climate. Again, this hardly seems encouraging for the many who would consider themselves to work in unstable work environments.

In Cherniss and Goleman’s (2001) edited book *The Emotionally Intelligent Workplace*, they argue there is a growing body of work which *suggests* EI can be learnt (p.210). Boyatzis (2001), in the same volume, appears rather timid in his pronouncements over whether EI can be learnt. He admits that few researchers have rigorously evaluated change efforts of EI (p. 234) and goes on to state that EI can be learnt over 2-5 years, (p. 236), again hardly offering people attending a one day training course much hope that they will develop their skills for immediate gains. Nor is much insight given to why this process should take so long.

There is also limited evidence that EI training produces performance related outcomes (Clarke, 2006). On this point, criticism has been directed towards EI because there are a limited number of longitudinal studies which explore EI and job performance (Van Rooy et al, 2006: 255), which inevitably reflects poorly on the ‘evidence’ that EI skills can be learned and retained in the mid to long term. In Cherniss and Goleman’s (2001) book, *The Emotionally Intelligent Workplace*, a third

of the text is dedicated to the topic of learning social and emotional skills but the authors note that whilst effective intervention strategies offer guidelines for practice, more applied research on training and its effect must be conducted (p. 233).

One key problem in understanding whether EI training programmes impact on performance is that the types of training (tools and materials), underlying principles, concepts and theory are rarely documented in academic studies. For example, it seems that the goals and intentions behind Bar-On's EQ-i are different to those of Goleman's model but these are rarely documented. In addition few studies then later explore changes to employee performance as a consequence of the training (an exception being Slaski and Cartwright, 2003). Not surprisingly, details of training materials and principles is comprehensive in practitioner books (e.g. Cherniss and Goleman, 2001). Hughes et al's (2005) book entitled '*Emotional Intelligence in Action*' offers specific self-help materials for users of the EQ-i and other 'mixed' models and includes many practical exercises and materials. There is clearly a growing trend towards these types of practitioner books now that EI has become more popular in the workplace (c.f. Bharwaney, 2006; McBride and Maitland, 2002). But this kind of detail is rarely used in published peer-reviewed academic studies.

There are additional problems if the position is adopted that EI contains personality and therefore these aspects cannot be changed or developed. Higgs and Dulewicz (2002) recommend two training routes for addressing the skills and 'trait' aspects in their EI model. They first suggest orthodox personal development methods to improve behavioural aspects of EI such as sensitivity, influence and self-awareness. In follow-up studies they argue these aspects can be developed (Dulewicz and Higgs, 2004). The second approach addresses more engrained aspects of personality that are harder to change including emotional resilience and conscientiousness. For these aspects they suggest the learner develops 'coping strategies' that reduce the impact of these personality 'limitations'.

Overall, there seems to be little substantial evidence that links 'mixed' EI to individual performance, leadership, positive organisational behaviours and well-

being. Because the majority of this research is empirically quantitative, peoples' rich and potentially varied experiences of using EI, contextualised experiences in contemporary capitalism and organisational structures such as the politics of working life have yet to be fully explored. In a review of the EI training literature it appears that organisational structural factors such as unstable work environments and time based restrictions may impede peoples' development of EI. Overall, it is not clear whether EI can be learnt and whether any learning benefits individual and organisational performance, satisfying and effective social relationships.

CONCLUSION

In sum, EI research related to theoretical, conceptual and applied issues is considered to be in a preliminary stage (e.g. Schmit, 2006; Cherniss, 2001: 9). Schulze, Wilhelm and Kyllonen (2007) argue that the field (referring collectively to EI) is clearly still in its infancy because it is mainly concerned with: stockpiling more (largely self report) measures with theoretical foundations which are unsubstantiated by empirical research; exploring the structure of EI measures and its relationship with a large number of criteria; and working on discarding its bad reputation for disseminating scientifically unfounded claims about the value of the construct for real-world applications (p. 199).

Following this, the general tone of academic articles on EI is that much more work needs to be done on theoretical propositions and empirical investigations (with more sophisticated methodologies) and that there is more of a real future for the ability models. Abandoning the construct has been argued to be premature and unscientific (Landy, 2005: 412), but adopting a questioning rather than dismissive approach is required (Matthews, Roberts and Zeidner, 2004: 193-4).

However, the future is more precarious for the mixed models with some commentators claiming 'mixed' or 'trait' EI is no more than a management fad (Murphy and Sideman, 2006b). Many of the issues arise from concerns over the construct's overlap with personality and limited evidence of the performative impact EI might have in the workplace. For example, Roberts, Zeidner and Matthews (2007)

go as far as saying that the overlap between many self-report measures of EI and personality leaves little room for theoretical, empirical and practical advances (Roberts et al, 2007: 438). They even suggest ‘mixed’ EI models should be placed within taxonomic models of personality.

Based on the theoretical, conceptual and applied concerns highlighted by psychologists and researchers in related fields, the strain between the ‘ability’ and ‘mixed’ EI camps has led to stagnant debates and a widening gap between the two general approaches. However, this begs the question why do ‘mixed’ models of EI continue to be *so* popular with individuals and organizations even fifteen years on after Goleman’s first publication, when a large proportion of academic literature is so critical of them?

The critique of the psychological view of EI which was woven into this chapter also raises several issues of concern in relation to EI’s impact on performance, satisfying and effective social relationships and its conceptualisation of human beings as a whole. It was argued that a psychological approach restricts an understanding of peoples’ broader ways of developing and sustaining constructive social relationships at work because of its adherence to the principles of ‘positive’ psychology. Existing accounts of EI promote a worker who is in partial shade because EI relies on one-dimensional image of human beings as a whole which prescribes a narrow range of positive emotions and behaviours in social relationships at work. This, it was argued, may be more restrictive than enabling as a frame of reference for peoples’ actions and interactions at work. Such accounts fail to theorise people’s properties and powers such as their abilities to reflect upon, evaluate and enact EI prescription. More broadly, throughout this chapter, it was argued that the way workers are decontextualised and depoliticised in extant accounts presents an incomplete picture of human beings as a whole. For example, because scholarly EI research has not sought to include contextual analyses, it was suggested that there is little understanding of how class, the macro economic forces of contemporary capitalism or the politics of working life enable or constrain people’s development and use of EI at work.

In Chapter One proponents writing about ‘mixed’ Emotional Intelligence argue that global capitalism places certain demands on employees’ interpersonal skills and EI helps to meet these demands. In effect, the message is that those who seek to develop their Emotional Intelligence can better survive and thrive in enterprising cultures of late modern capitalism. Yet, from this review of psychological literature it is apparent that studies have focused on conceptual and theoretical issues and the EI-performance link rather than exploring why people would voluntarily choose to develop their EI skills for work. Following this, mixed EI’s ongoing popularity in business organisations may be rooted in this very point. If employees are attracted to EI to help them perform in contemporary capitalism, this may tell us something very useful about contemporary workplaces and Emotional Intelligence’s role.

The next chapter sets out to argue that adopting a new, socio-economic approach which views human beings differently in a critical enquiry of ‘mixed’ Emotional Intelligence is essential if new perspectives and insights are to be gained. As Chapter Three reveals, few scholars have critically reviewed mixed versions of Emotional Intelligence from this perspective. The following chapter argues that it is not yet time to discard mixed EI because further debates are still necessary outwith the field of psychology.

CHAPTER THREE: A SOCIO-ECONOMIC CRITIQUE OF EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Two concluded that ‘mixed’ models of Emotional Intelligence have been, by and large, rejected by psychological and related academic research communities because of serious concerns over theoretical, conceptual and application issues, the latter referring to a lack of convincing empirical evidence that EI contributes towards individual and organisational performance. The tension between the ‘ability’ and ‘mixed’ EI camps has led to stagnant debates and a widening gap between the two general approaches. From the critique of the psychological view woven into Chapter Two it was also indicated that a one-dimensional portrayal of human beings is presented and that individuals are decontextualised and depoliticised from the macro economic forces of contemporary capitalism and the politics of working life. Overall, it appears that the evidence that EI contributes to individual performance, satisfying and effective social relationships at work is scant.

Despite its rejection by the scholarly research community, this chapter contends that it is still important to examine ‘mixed’ models of Emotional Intelligence for several reasons. First, the ‘mixed’ view is popular in industry and still used in organisations to a greater extent than ability models (Bar-On, 2004; Cartwright and Pappas, 2008; Day and Kelloway, 2004; Goleman, 1998). Second, ability models of Emotional Intelligence still have theoretical and conceptual limitations and thus do not offer a perfect ‘scientific’ alternative (Roberts et al, 2007; Schulze et al, 2007). Third, even though advocates of ‘ability’ Emotional Intelligence argue ‘mixed’ models do not measure their definition of *Emotional Intelligence*, the mixed EI version has yet to be thoroughly debated in academic circles outwith fields of psychology. Thus new research perspectives have the potential to make a valuable contribution to understanding whether they add anything useful to organisational life.

Three broad interconnected themes establish the focus of this chapter and refer directly to whether EI contributes to satisfying and productive social relationships, organisational performance and how EI conceptualises human beings as a whole. These themes build on the preliminary critique of the psychological approach in Chapter Two. This chapter argues that work life is more complex than current accounts portray and it seeks to highlight that it is comprised of a complex web of social relations including interconnected themes of: class and gender; power, politics and positions; and the power of human connection. These all influence people's uses of EI. This chapter makes a central and important contribution to this study because through the exploration of these themes new light is shed on individuals and whether EI contributes to performance and social relationships at work. It produces a clear argument for empirically revisiting 'mixed' Emotional Intelligence by adopting a different research perspective or lens which illuminates and celebrates people's depth and complexity.

Before the main discussion in this chapter can commence it is useful to briefly highlight some key, relevant characteristics of psychological scholarly writings because the basis of much of the critique in this chapter stems from problems with these fundamental research assumptions. First, in the majority of individual psychological studies reviewed in Chapter Two hypotheses or research problems are defined and conceptualised prior to the research process, based on earlier theories or propositions. Factual knowledge is collected from an objective external world, independent of social actors by empirical means to test these propositions or theories (Donaldson, 2005). Typically, quantitative scales and laboratory experiments are used to collect data and statistical analyses are conducted to logically ascertain whether pre-existing theoretical models or propositions correspond or reasonably represent the empirical data.

A second key characteristic of this general perspective is that research is primarily concerned with investigating how organisational performance can be enhanced through normal behaviour and action. Inherent in these accounts is the assumption there is no conflict, 'discord' or 'dissensus' in organisational life (Deetz, 1996).

Instead it is assumed that employees' needs and goals are in perfect alignment with those of the organisation.

A third characteristic of this approach is that aspects such as social structures of class and gender, macro economic factors such as the new economy as highlighted in Chapter One and organisational structures which help to explain the politics of working life are not of interest to researchers and thus remain unexplored in psychological studies.

Through the adoption of a range of social theories this chapter will explore: how social structures of class and gender promote unequal access to EI; how power relations, politics, rules and positions at work impact on peoples' use of EI; and how the place of people within an economy does not survive on instrumental and functional concerns alone. First this chapter starts by appraising the complex web of social relations of class and gender. This is not the focus of this contribution but it is important to include in a socio-economic critique of EI because of the rich insights it provides to understanding the complexity of social relations and people at work. Exploring class and gender appears a sensible place to start in a critical review of 'mixed' models of EI as it addresses the theoretical 'origins' of EI and it is an issue upon which proponents' from both ability and mixed model approaches are very undecided.

EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE, CLASS AND GENDER

The first part of this chapter starts from the position that a full discussion of class and gender has yet to be conducted in academic accounts of 'mixed' EI. Thus whilst psychologists and other researchers are engaged in an on-going discussion of how EI is developed, little thorough address has been given to EI's relationship with social structures and the work-based implications. Following this, the first part of this chapter sets out to explore the structural embeddedness of the emotionally intelligent worker through an analysis of class and gender, illustrating how social divisions when combined with capitalism create unequal access to, and use of Emotional Intelligence. This section focuses on class and gender specifically because of the

considerable impact these social structures may have on one's cultivation and use of Emotional Intelligence at work.

Emotional Intelligence: A Class Act?

This section's critique is based on challenging Goleman's (1996) assertion that EI promotes an egalitarian and classless society, as highlighted in Chapter Two. This assertion was appealing to a US readership at the time of publication in the mid nineteen-ninety's as there was a renewed interest in the origin of IQ as genetic versus class-structure dependent (Cartwright and Pappas, 2008). The publication of *The Bell Curve* (Hernstein and Murray, 1994 cited in Cartwright and Pappas, 2008) had offended the liberal principles of many Americans at that time and Emotional Intelligence offered an attractive counter-position (Cartwright and Pappas, 2008).

However, before Goleman's arguments are challenged, it is necessary to retrace some steps. The theme that Emotional Intelligence skills are formed prior to employment is a clear feature in the writings on the mixed models of EI. In his first text which explores EI in work, families and education, Goleman argues: 'the impact of parenting on emotional competence starts in the cradle' (Goleman, 1996: p. 192). He highlights how children who start school with key emotional competencies already formed – confidence, curiosity, self-control, relatedness, capacity to communicate and cooperativeness, will have a head start for learning (Goleman, 1996:194). Again in *Social Intelligence* (Goleman, 2006), Goleman makes a strong case for the influence of family life on formative development, describing 'bad homes' as having a negative effect on a child's social skills and traits (p.153) and a socially intelligent family producing a child with a 'positive affective core' (p. 175).

Most of the writings on the mixed models argue that one's upbringing can affect socialisation up until early adulthood, the effects of which can be irreversible but with effort to change and the right learning, an individual can re-shape or improve his or her socio-emotional capacities (Goleman, 1996; 1998; 2006; Caruso and Salovey, 2004; Bar-On, 1997).

A social view on Emotional Intelligence is an important counterbalance to the prescriptive management's presentation and critique of EI which fails to view people as embedded in social structures such as class relations. Class is a way of knowing the world which is not chosen but through inhabiting it, one learns how to behave in a certain way to be successful within its boundaries (Charlesworth, 2000: 64). Formative exposure to parental feeling rules form 'feeling rules inside us' (Hochschild, 1990: 139) which tend to be dependent on socio-economic positions and occupational class (Bolton, 2004; Cutting and Dunn, 1999; Hochschild, 1983). People's pre-occupations with class extend to what are desirable types of character and whether they are accessible or not (Sayer, 2005). This widens the critique of 'mixed' Emotional Intelligence, emotion and class relations to its composition of personality traits, dispositions, aptitudes and motivations. Pre-adult and young adult experiences can endow individuals with differing levels of self confidence, assertiveness, self regard, achievement orientation, optimism, happiness and self actualisation (all skills celebrated in 'mixed' EI models) which may be dependent on socio-economic class. For example, confidence, skill and personal authority are embodied dispositions of class (Savage, 2000).

However, how one presents oneself is influenced by more than just parent-child relationships (Bolton, 2004) or educational experiences. People are influenced by broader social influences in life. Bourdieu's framework helps describe and account for social capital through his development of the concepts *field* and *habitus*. He argues that social skills are shaped by social influences and connections within one's social life. These networks of influences create social relationships that are directly usable as 'social capital' which can procure some economic gain (Bourdieu, 1986).

In Bourdieu's analysis, field refers to the boundaries of experiential context, 'hailing' the individual to respond to themselves and their surroundings in specific ways to the point of habituation' (Adams, 2006: 514). As a consequence of moving through fields, people develop a collection of 'durable, transposable dispositions', known as habitus (Bourdieu, 1990: 53). Most of the dispositions are relational in that they refer to how we orientate ourselves in relation to other people and objects

(Sayer, 2005). The exposure one has to relational and interpersonal experiences in one's social fields varies according to groupings like class and gender, where learning and socialising impress upon and condition the habitus from an early age.

Bourdieu (1990: 56) indicates that the habitus is 'a spontaneity without consciousness or will', and he refers to 'le sens pratique' (or 'feel for the game') to illustrate the naturalness and ease with which we live in our environment (Bourdieu, 1990: 52). People traverse across different fields but the fields tend to be common for different social groupings. As Adams (2006) notes: 'Thus, the field instantiates us as subjects and reproduces social distinctions via the enactment of habitus' (p. 514).

Bourdieu's framework can be helpful in explaining the exclusionary possibilities of Emotional Intelligence in relation to dispositions and class, for he notes: "There is every reason to suppose that socializing, or more generally, relational dispositions are very unequally distributed among the social classes" (Bourdieu, 1986: *footnotes* p.257). In effect, class prohibits or provides access to the relationships and experiences that enhance our Emotional Intelligence.

By encapsulating those skills and dispositions present in certain socio-economic groups as sought-after social capital in the workplace, unequal access to work success is promoted. In relation to the emotional component of EI, for example, within the rubric of the mixed models one finds associations between EI and use of language. The quality of the 'talk' which goes on within an interpersonal relationship at work to achieve successful levels of Emotional Intelligence requires a certain adoption of language and expressivity of emotions. This language and expression is class dependent (Charlesworth, 2000). 'Restrictive expressivity' occurs due to a person's lack of transparent relationship to language where communication, speech and talking are socially mediated. This impacts on the sense and importance of language, relegating ranges of 'competence, expressivity and perception' to domains found in more advantaged socio-economic groups in society (Charlesworth, 2000: 283). This impacts on how emotions are articulated and even how language may help to identify an emotion not previously aware of

(Charlesworth, 2000). Such distinctions become problematic because a core skill in all 'mixed' EI models is an ability to recognise and accurately label one's own emotions or sense and describe others' feelings (Bar-On, 1997; 2000; 2004; Boyatzis and Sala, 2004; Cooper and Sawaf, 1997). Such a connection promotes possibilities for discriminatory tactics through the models' favouritism of a more refined emotional discernment and discourse.

Whilst Bourdieu's theory is useful to our understanding of EI and class implications, it has some limitations. He makes the assumption that the relational dispositions created in the field are represented as natural or moral ways of being. This, however, is at odds with those dispositions which are a consequence of socio-economic positions (Bolton, 2005; Charlesworth, 2000) where class can be viewed as a chance occurrence, a birth 'right' or 'wrong' but ultimately has little or no relation to human worth (Sayer, 2002). In addition, and more generally, whilst Bourdieu takes into account that a fit between the requirements of the field and one's dispositions is not always feasible, he refers generally to such times as crisis points (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). But this does not sufficiently explain the *ongoing crisis* many people experience in response to demands for new skills in enterprising cultures. This is largely because Bourdieu's field is one of relative stability notable by its absence of unpredictable circumstances, diverse demands or changing contexts. This contrasts sharply with today's work environments which make regular demands for updated skills and dispositions, such as relational ones, in response to organisational change, disbanding and reforming work groups, globalising working relationships, increased work loads and so on. Thus, whilst Bourdieu's conceptualisation of social capital is helpful in a sociological analysis of EI, it is limited in these ways.

Overall, promoting interpersonal relationships through the rubric of EI may stifle broader ways of conceptualising social relationships and appears inadequate to depict relational forms which are mutually accessible, productive and conducive to personal flourishing and satisfying social relationships and organisational performance. As Bolton (2005) points out, class highlights how some organisational members can't 'play' according to the company's rules of social interaction in the service economy.

The concerns outlined here extend this focus to a broader range of social relations, both within the organisation as well as in customer interactions. To date, there is no critical commentary or empirical research on EI and class relations and its limiting access to satisfying and productive social relationships and individual success. This is troubling, because EI's potentially discriminatory effects remain unchallenged.

Gendering Emotional Intelligence

Because a psychological research perspective has dominated scholarly research pursuits, social structures of gender, like class have also been unexplored in analyses of EI. This section addresses how gender affects access to, and use of mixed Emotional Intelligence at work.

Both Goleman and Bar-On report that there are gender differences in studies of peoples' self reports of EI. Goleman reports that women rate themselves higher than men on empathy and social skills whereas men tend to be stronger on emotional self control (Goleman, 1998: 240). Bar-On (2004; 2006) states that significant gender differences exist on some of the subscales of the EQ-i. Women report higher levels of emotional awareness, interpersonal skills and social responsibility than men and men report higher levels of self-regard, independence, stress tolerance, flexibility, problem solving and optimism compared to women (Bar-On, 2004: 120). Bar-On claims that the gender differences in his EQ-i are 'small in magnitude' (Bar-On, 1997: 92) and Goleman asserts that his brand of EI is not strongly related to gender (Goleman, 1998:7). However, it is argued in this section that gender differences in certain EI 'sub-skills' discriminate against women in more subtle but powerful ways.

The discussion in this section centres around the key observation that 'mixed' Emotional Intelligence models appear replete with both, what are typically viewed as, 'men's skills' and 'women's skills' as described above. For example, women's self reported strengths in certain aspects of Emotional Intelligence seem to mirror the characteristics socially ascribed to women. These are helpfulness, kindness, sympathy, interpersonal sensitivity, nurturing and gentleness – aspects which refer to caring for others (Eagly and Karau, 2002). This section argues that three general

readings of EI can be taken which potentially inform a response to Emotional Intelligence but it is argued that each choice leads to negative outcomes for the self and/or organisation. Adapting Lorber's (2001) framework of general feminist theories, it is contended that women may choose to adopt EI behaviours that either represent covert gender reform, overt gender reform or gender resistance. This is not an exhaustive list of responses and certainly the intention is not to stereotype women and men in particular ways or produce 'either/or' scenarios. Instead, it aims to highlight some potential responses and possible discriminatory consequences. The three responses are next described.

Gender reform refers to a perspective that accepts that sex-role socialisation creates individual differences in men and women's characteristics which result in women being less skilled than men to compete at work (Lorber, 2001). The argument follows that if women wish to compete more effectively with men then the appropriate competencies and traits are to be developed. Gender resistance refers to a feminist approach which also focuses on gender differences but argues that distinctions should not be altered or removed but embraced and celebrated. How does this apply to Emotional Intelligence? Gender reform refers to an adoption of 'male' EI strengths. However, gender reform can refer to a covert and overt approach. Covert gender reforms refers to a 'male' *swing* or 'rewriting' of 'female' skills or traits of EI (tempered empathy; tough love etc) whereas an overt gender reform response refers to a full adoption of 'male' EI strengths. Gender resistance refers to adopting a feminine interpretation of EI skills (adopting those aspects socially ascribed to women such as interpersonal sensitivity, empathy and so on).

The first approach described is covert gender reform. On scrutinisation of practitioner texts, training manuals and guidelines, it appears that women's key strengths in interpersonal skills in EI are not to be portrayed as those caring and nurturing skills typically associated with women's skills and as depicted in high scores of empathy and social skills in EI questionnaires. What is requested is a more calculative portfolio of social skills, prescribed in measured tones so as not to offset the fine equilibrium of organisational productivity. To be emotionally intelligent one

can be empathic and caring, but not too much. Empathy underpins many of the social competencies in the mixed models such as effective negotiation, conflict management, managing diversity, meeting customer needs and networking. These mirror the purposefully, instrumental enterprising attributes of employees discussed in Chapter One. Equally, the promotion of care is highlighted to ‘boost productivity, rapport, teamwork and effectiveness’ or as an agenda for ‘tough love’ (Cooper and Sawaf, 1997: 42 and 49; Higgs and Dulewicz, 2002: 23). Elsewhere, key proponents clearly state the minimum emotional support amongst work colleagues is strongly favoured (Bar-On, 1997). Goleman even cautions that too much empathy is bad for business: “There may be some wisdom in tempering empathy, particularly when it comes to allocating tight resources in an organization” (ibid: 143). Similarly, Cooper and Sawaf (1997: 192) advise employees put on an ‘emotional raincoat’ to protect from colleagues’ ‘energy-depleting “rain” of words’ (p. 192). Overall, the result is a ‘“controlled” production of the heart’ (Hatcher, 2008: 161) with emphasis on performance, quantification and outputs (Lewis and Simpson, 2007: 7). These points illustrate that EI’s interpersonal agenda clearly has the bottom line in mind with a strong emphasis on a calculative, rather masculine interpretation of the more typically feminine skills in EI.

In the same vein, the models offer a prescriptive and ‘scientific’ formula to nurturing the social fabric of work life. This is largely achieved by elevating discourses which promise to ‘crack the code’ of emotions and highlight EI’s quantifiable nature. For example, referring to their model, Caruso and Salovey (2004) make the point that emotional intelligence does not threaten reason or logic, strengthening the case for its rationalisation:

“At first, learning to identify and use the data in feelings might be somewhat awkward and mechanical. It might seem like following a difficult schematic diagram or a set of instructions for assembling a complex machine....The good news we offer all managers is that we have developed a schematic diagram for emotions – a set of detailed, how-to instructions” (ibid: 24).

With these types of messages, the complex, qualitative and instinctive realm of feminine feelings, care, connection and relationship management appear translated into a 'how to' set of procedural instructions, perhaps with men in mind.

The second potential approach to translating a mixed EI model into a workable set of behaviours is through overt gender reform. This may be an attractive approach because men are perceived to be advantaged over women because their self-reported strengths in self control, stress management, self regard and optimism are often seen as crucial to senior management or leadership roles. Following this, for those women who attempt to embody the 'male' Emotional Intelligence profile in more corporate spheres, there are certain structural inequalities at play. When women try to adopt the more masculine characteristics of EI, they are still disadvantaged. Numerous accounts note that assertiveness (found in the EQ-i) tends to be judged positively in men and negatively in women (Grugulis, 2007a) and the display of initiative (found in the ECI) has been perceived as valuable in male job applicants but viewed as forceful and unwanted in female applicants (Collinson et al, 1990 as cited in Edwards and Wajcman, 2005). As Grugulis (2007b: 85) notes: "Women who seek to develop and adopt the corporate persona may be marked down because such behaviour is 'inappropriate' for women". Additional masculine values include ambitiousness, self-sufficiency and self-confidence (Eagly, 2005) which are heavily portrayed in Goleman's ECI model. Again, men and women may display these behaviours but they are typically seen as masculine. Overall, women may be trapped as the paradox plays itself out: they are told that to be successful they should adopt EI skills (in this case read masculinised skills). Then they are told they need to tone down distinctive male behaviours otherwise they may be overlooked for recruitment or promotion (Eagly, 2005). However, enhancing their feminine qualities such as relational skills may also be problematic as the next section illustrates.

A third response to EI is gender resistance which entails the celebration of 'women's' skills found in 'mixed' EI models as understood as those natural, feminine qualities which are attributed to women without a masculinised 'rewrite'. This approach is problematic though because women's key strengths in self

awareness, empathy and social skills tend not to be associated with positions of authority and power. That is not to say that there is some evidence that the currently popular ‘transformational’ leadership style, frequently described as an approach which celebrates women’s skills (emphasising emotional self-awareness, sensitivity towards others’ feelings and empathy) enables women to more successfully make visible their female attributes when compared to men (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt and van Engen, 2003). Perhaps this offers some hope for women overcoming these described inequities. Ross-Smith et al’s (2007) study of women executives found that women typically tend to adopt transformational leadership styles and in their study these leaders were admired and appreciated by male colleagues. However, through ‘maintenance’ emotion management work such as mothering, care giving and peacemaking, the female executives suffered personal effects of self effacement and self denial. As ‘emotional specialists’ there was an additional harmful cost of burn-out, a consequence of the heavy emotion work entailed. Somewhat ironically, these leadership styles may be transformational for staff but not so transformational for the women themselves. Furthermore, somewhat paradoxically self-denial and effacement may restrict access to other EI skills which are more focused on nurturing the self. Whilst transformational leadership was appreciated and valued in Ross-Smith et al’s (2007) study, other accounts note that enhancing feminine qualities typically does not give women the kind of credit or remuneration men’s key strengths offer. Studies report that these skills are often seen as natural, feminine qualities which are often unacknowledged, seen as a ‘gift’, ignored and unrewarded (Bolton, 2005; Fletcher, 1999; Taylor and Tyler, 2000).

Nothing in the psychological writings of EI explores the boundaries of prescription and proscription of gendered behaviours within the EI models in relation to notions of ‘appropriate’ work or ‘fair’ treatment. Overall, theoretical and empirical work on EI continues to pay little attention to societal context, failing to incorporate the view that humans are embedded in gendered social structures. In sum, most academic and practitioner writings on ‘mixed’ models of EI disaggregate agency from social structures of class and gender which means the potentially unequal, harmful and discriminatory effects of EI remain ignored. Through a social analysis, it appears that

EI's exclusionary tendencies means that not everyone at work can acquire the benefits of work success, satisfying relationships and personal flourishing which EI promises.

The next section moves onto a discussion of how a complex web of power, politics and positions at work affect people's use of EI with implications for effective and satisfying social relationships at work and individual and organisational performance.

POWER, POLITICS AND POSITIONS IN THE WORKPLACE

A second under-explored theme in applied EI research is that people are situated within organisational structures of powers, positions, practices and rules which manage, control, shape and direct people's behaviour. Material, organisational structures, like social structures of class, gender and status hierarchy, or macro economic structures such as the new economy exist independently of our knowledge or experience of them but influence human action and in turn are influenced by action. By contrast, individual and organisational psychology studies focus on individual behaviours and related outcomes, with little or no focus on structural aspects. Yet, consideration of these issues is essential if we are to better understand the enablers and constraints to using emotional and relational skills at work as these structures may affect individual and organisational outcomes.

In a discussion of EI and organisational structures of power and positions, we first turn to a key theme in mixed EI writings, particularly in Bar-On's (1997) model. This is that to be emotionally intelligent one should strive towards goals of self-actualisation. This is characterised in work-based contexts as pursuing one's ideal job and work goals, doing meaningful work which brings genuine, intrinsic fulfilment, taxes oneself in valuable ways and enables rich development opportunities. However, EI accounts fail to highlight that most employees do not have the luxury of answering some of the key questions 'mixed' EI poses and there are plenty of examples which illustrate how far removed EI is from working life. The writings seem to make assumptions that people have the choice and opportunity in

their work lives ‘to gravitate to what gives them meaning, to what engages to the fullest their commitment, talent, energy, and skill’ (Goleman, 1998: 58). In this vein, Orme and Bar-On note: “We are now looking for a job that is a meaningful extension of our lives rather than just a source of livelihood” (Orme and Bar-On, 2002: 24). Whilst we would aspire for such opportunities at work, the scope for intrinsically meaningful occupations is out of bounds for most workers; and not a key priority for others. In many cases, there simply are not enough good quality jobs to ‘go round’. And in the pursuit of greater emotional self-insights and understanding which EI promises, even if the new emotionally intelligent worker tries to respond to these idealisations, he or she may soon come up against organisational barriers which may restrain any personal ‘journey’ of self discovery. But in the writings of EI there is no acknowledgement of these constraints.

A second concern refers to a more complex effect of how EI may obscure structural causes of work based inequalities and unfair practices. In general terms, Emotional Intelligence tools and devices may serve as silencing techniques rather than allowing employees to challenge inequities where the causative roots are found in organisational structures. This is because the philosophy of EI resides within a positive organisational scholarship which encourages the near eradication of negative emotions. In effect, ‘poor’, ‘unfair’ or ‘oppressive’ work practices elicit the very feelings EI encourages employees to suppress which may quash any desires to challenge the systemic causative roots. In such cases, EI could stifle individual well-being and flourishing if it operates as a masking device in this way.

The third issue relates to situations when EI behaviour becomes a mandatory part of performance management practices and is monitored through employee assessment and appraisals. For those employees who are aware that their EI score may go on their personal records and impact on job success, there is little incentive to report that one is stressed or unhappy at work (sub-scales in the EQ-i), particularly when this is likely to be associated with their inability to handle work pressures. In addition, in cases where 360 degree appraisals are conducted, ratings will depend on how safe respondents feel to provide an honest rating on someone’s personal attributes and

emotional skills, given that they may be assessing their boss who will be largely influential in their career development or rating a colleague who may be sensitive to personal criticism. Further tensions are encountered when workers are faced with the dilemma of following social norms at work as opposed to making value judgements on those social norms. For example, it is unclear whether an employee who is a whistleblower would be considered emotionally intelligent or unintelligent.

Fourth, the emphasis EI places on working on employees' emotions, self-worth, self-esteem and self-regard permits the models to step dangerously into the territory of counselling and psychotherapy which some models make very explicit (e.g. Higgs and Dulewicz, 2002). This is most problematic when assessment and training is mandatory (e.g. 'in-house') or culturally normalised rather than a voluntary endeavour. Whilst it is acknowledged that some employees will be receptive to understanding themselves more, others may find this intrusive, threatening and inappropriate, wishing to keep such private aspects of their emotional lives separate from organisational surveillance (c.f. Martin et al, 1998). As a consequence employees may attempt to sabotage, evade or disrupt efforts to engage in training programmes on this level (c.f. Mirvis, 1994).

It is useful to expand on this point in relation to the most popular version of 'mixed' EI. Bar-On's (1997) EQ-i was developed for clinical purposes and its focus is on variables thought to be related to normal, optimal and pathological behaviour. The questionnaire has several items which ask respondents to grade themselves against statements which, he states, measure depressive and psychotic tendencies and emotional control issues. Examples include: 'I get depressed', 'I have a feeling that something is wrong with my mind', 'I tend to fade out and lose contact with what happens around me', and 'it is a problem controlling my anger' (p.52). Yet, when this measure is used in a work context there is no accountability for its invasive nature in this regard. Nor do the writings concede how this information could be used as a discriminatory assessment device if respondents do answer honestly. Whilst administrators are, no doubt, trained to deal with candidates who come out low on mental health in a highly sensitive and non-discriminatory manner, the tool makes

respondents vulnerable to those who may not choose to follow such guidelines. Just as important, the extent to which any dysfunctionality, break-down or other ‘pathology’ identified in an EI assessment may be caused by the organisation in the first place is assumedly glossed over and remains challenged. If EI is used inappropriately and people are ‘labelled’ in these ways, it could be seen more as a device which impedes personal development, has negative effects on well-being, career advancement and self esteem and undermines constructive social relationships at work.

This is not to assume that EI cannot be used as a positive development tool but the recent trend of practitioner oriented literature which attributes management incompetence not just to skill and attitude deficiencies but also mental stability and ‘personality disorders’ provokes well-founded fears and concerns over the power that consultants and managers have over diagnosis and prognosis of individuals’ EI ‘deficiencies’. Where trends for workplace incompetence are increasingly described in terms of psychiatric disorders such as narcissism, paranoid, passive-aggressive and sociopathic behaviour (Babiak and Hare, 2007; Cavaiola and Lavender, 2000) and the journey to emotional intelligence is, for some, paralleled with the practice of psychoanalysis (Kets de Vries, 2006), cognitive behavioural therapy or counselling (McBride and Maitland, 2002; Stein and Book, 2006) personal apprehension over what happens with an EI classification and the power and responsibility of those making such assessments becomes a key concern.

To date, there has been no analysis of EI and organisational structures of powers, politics and positions to explore how these may enable or constrain people’s use of EI at work in these ways.

THE POWER OF HUMAN CONNECTION

This third section appraises individual psychology’s neglect of people’s complex relationships with others at work and their broader needs and concerns for using EI beyond economic ones. This is based upon a psychological research position which

seeks to report normal behaviour and action in work life in accordance with the organisation's economic goals, with little interest in divergence, 'discord' or conflict (Deetz, 1996). This section discusses that by failing to explore people's social needs and uses of EI at work, a full understanding of EI's worth and value for individuals and organisations is not possible and a very restricted depiction of human beings as a whole is presented. This section explores how adopting a broader social view of EI may deepen our understanding of how EI contributes to effective, satisfying social relationships at work, individual and organisational performance. This line of enquiry has been strongly influenced by recent critical accounts in organisation studies and HRM which are briefly reviewed in this section.

In his book *The Corrosion of Character*, Sennett (1997) argues that deregulated markets, privatisation, rationalisation and increased global business operations are undermining character and social relationships at work. Several key social commentators point the finger at organisations because they have failed to achieve real quality and satisfaction in workplace life, instead continuing to convert human qualities and elementary human relationships into work (see for example, Bunting, 2004; Gorz, 1999; Sennet, 1998). As Sayer explains:

“The pressures to instrumentalise all activities within an economic organisation for its own ends lead to attempts to reduce employees' actions and concerns at work to just those which are functional for meeting those ends” (Sayer, 2007: 29).

Under the umbrella of HRM, Emotional Intelligence is no exception in this endeavour because EI models appropriate social relations on the basis of a business case which means that social capital arguments instrumentalise labour. As a reminder of the themes in Chapter One, key writers such as Goleman set out a clear demand for EI skills in response to the vicissitudes in the 'new economy'. A strong theme of instrumentalism and individualisation was introduced early on to illustrate why people might choose to develop their EI. Employees' narrow responses to EI are requisite in the way they must control their own emotions and social behaviour, thus

‘inhibiting personal needs, desires and emotions in service of organisational needs’ (Matthews, Zeidner and Roberts, 2002: 472). As critical commentators note of EI, it is very clear that social relationships are to be nurtured and sustained: “within a model of control, rationality, autonomy, and instrumentalism” (Hatcher, 2008: 159; Fineman, 2000; 2004).

Problems which arise from controlling social life in this way refer to missed opportunities and losses incurred by framing social relationships in this instrumental manner. Of course, employees have self interests which may include performing well, getting promoted and striving for security in one’s job. Emotional Intelligence may contribute towards the achievement of these goals. However, people have broader interests, aspirations and goals than just instrumental ones at work. These needs and interests extend to their obligations and commitments towards others. One only has to consider the negative consequences of using EI as an instrumental tool at work every day with peers, managers and subordinates to imagine how the cracks would appear. The deflection of people’s natural sociability to an instrumental end may serve to strain social relationships at work, not least because it jeopardises trust between people and squeezes out natural reserves of benevolence, good will and respect. This runs the risk of making relationships appear false and distorted. As Höpfl (2002) notes: ‘good management can’t be achieved by dramaturgical simplicities’ as it alienates employee and manager through the simple act of excluding human values resulting in, what Höpfl (2002) terms ‘invasive intimacy without care’ (p 266). Overall, emotional pretence in workplace interactions is less expected and tolerated than faked emotions in service interactions (Mann, 2002), because these relationships have (some level of) shared history and continued, meaningful and intimate interaction.

For example, a hint of concern over EI’s use can be seen in Huy’s study of emotionally intelligent behaviours in managers during a radical organisational change programme. When *authentic* care is requested from management in the form of Emotional Intelligence, the condition that authentic emotions are facilitated that can be ‘legitimately displayed (and felt)’ in a ‘socially appropriate way’ (Huy, 2003:

11,13) signals a somewhat lean emotional performance. Advocating that a sequence of subordinates' emotions is required during change (the arousal of different emotions at different stages of change) through 'a repertoire of emotion management actions' (p. 24) as well as providing advice to attend to employees' private lives as it enhances their receptiveness to change, it is not surprising that Huy cautions over the careful balance between real and fabricated care in the use of Emotional Intelligence. He notes: 'Mishandling of emotional responses risks backfiring on change agents if recipients suspect them of being manipulative rather than caring and authentic' (Huy, 2002: 60).

Following this, in situations where Emotional Intelligence is prescribed as a new orthodoxy for social relationships and increased productivity, 'critical' management writers may be more concerned with its tendencies towards instrumentalisation and control of the widely regarded personal realm of human emotions and relational behaviour as well as any subjective acts of compliance, acquiescence or resistance.

Following this, case study evidence indicates that employees' responses to requests for emotionally intelligent type behaviour provoke emotional and behavioural *reactions*. For example, setting out to engender a cultural change to reduce machismo in an UK based male dominated engineering firm, Turnball (2002) found corporate initiatives failed to instil passion and new 'intimate styles' of working because of the difficulty managers had in moving from the traditional styles of aggressive expression to more sensitive emotional approaches. Managers resorted to the new and unnatural behaviours to please senior management but many felt they were attempting to 'be someone else'. Not surprisingly, negative emotions occurred when employees spotted 'fake' behaviours in others such as unjustified (overly positive or negative) treatment, insincerity, untrustworthiness and inconsistency (Turnball, 2002: 29). Fearing being mocked if they didn't comply and embarrassment if they did resulted in uncompromising tautologies, which for the most part resulted in resigned compliance. Managers in this company were found to be 'carefully considering their own reflections to the programme' (Turnball, 2002: 32), perhaps pondering over how much of their personal integrity had been

compromised. This example highlights how changes to culturally embedded emotion management norms are activated for productivity gains and how power inequalities (feeling obliged to 'be' someone else) can stimulate reflections and emotions on emotional/social roles. Operating as 'evaluative commentaries', emotions are responses to the social environment and reveal important things about one's well-being and what matters, prompting critical reflection or resistance (Sayer, 2005). The key point here is that strong emotions triggered by the requests for Emotional Intelligence can stimulate internal evaluations which undermine the simplicity of management decision making, and highlight and expose the contradictions intrinsic to the very efforts to manage (Vince, 2006). And the Emotional Intelligence literature fails to thematise this. This, at least, provides some starting point for understanding a more contextualised response to any requests for 'improved' social behaviour, one which starts to place human beings at the centre of analysis and demonstrates people's reflective and evaluative capacities.

There are a growing number of commentators who have already highlighted the point that 'human relations are socially embedded, multi-dimensional and deeply reciprocal' (Bolton and Houlihan, 2007: 2). Bolton and Houlihan (2007) raise issues over the extent to which there has been a marrying of 'soft' and 'hard' HRM models towards a rationalised model which has resulted in 'thin' economic relationships all round. They argue that 'soft' HRM which claims to treat the employee as a whole is potentially another more sophisticated means to motivate and control individuals. Bolton and Houlihan (2007) contend that current writings on HRM are monopolised by the economisation of the employment relationship with little address of people's many relational and personal needs, interests and values. This serves to stifle human flourishing; overlooking the point that workplaces can be 'humanising and humanised' as well as sites of economic production. The key point is that management prescription, when used in this way pushes human beings' complex desires out the front door, replacing peoples' social and personal needs with economic ones. This ignores that, as Sayer (2007) notes: 'much behaviour at work is not instrumental but done for its own sake, though this need not coincide with the employer's interest' (Sayer, 2007: 28). Much of this behaviour refers to attending to

others' well-being and can be described as morally driven pre-occupations and concerns towards social commitments and associations for their own sake (Sayer, 2006; 2007).

Following this, in contrast to individual and organisational psychology literature, organisational life has its own social or moral order which when placed within an economic model and removed from its social embeddedness becomes warped (Bolton and Houlihan, 2007: 2/3). In relation to research on Emotional Intelligence, by denying, for example, that people may use EI to develop real attachments, as a capacity to enhance friendship or to form mutually dependent and supporting forms of human interaction for their own sake, social and economic losses are incurred. For these are the ingredients of personal flourishing, individual development and productivity as theoretical and empirical studies suggest (e.g. Bolton and Houlihan, 2007; Nussbaum, 2000; Sayer, 2007). For example, numerous accounts reveal how non-prescribed social relations have positive social and organisational benefits when people engage in acts of reciprocal or 'gift-giving' emotion management, social support, emotional bonding, sympathy, humour or gestures of validation and compassion (e.g. Bolton and Boyd, 2003; Frost et al, 2000; Lively, 2000; Korczynski, 2003; Sutton, 1991; Sanders, 2004; Waldron, 2000).

Expanding on this, people's commitments towards a social or moral order in day to day work life has been documented in ethnographic accounts of work in all sorts of settings. Toyne (2003) notes of low paid workers in Britain, that it is often the friendship and understanding between staff that forms the bedrock of organisational life; the harshness of work conditions bind humans together in their daily challenge to keep going and not quit, even when the work is 'impossible, unbearable, grossly undertimed and underpaid' (p. 109).

Other examples can be found in more unusual settings where group based association and commitment are expressed in unorthodox ways. In an ethnographic account of the work life of slaughterhouse men, Ackroyd and Crowdy (1990) document how an occupational community thrives in an environment of peer harassments, degradations

and ‘wars’. These activities, paradoxically served to generate connections and belonging amongst the slaughtermen and sustain disciplined, dedicated and efficient work practices, partly because the acts reconcile the mens’ struggles with their role identities in jobs which are morally ambiguous. Equally, Roy’s (1973) account of a small work group of factory machine operatives is another example of fellow-feelings amongst co-workers. In this study social interactions such as spontaneous slandering, scolding, castigation and depreciations were enjoyable self entertainments for their own sake and provided a sense of belonging and job satisfaction for the workers. As Roy notes, at the very least they helped the group endure the job in a context of extremely routinised and monotonous manual labour.

These examples serve to describe a multitude of ways people express their affiliations towards others and their desire to maintain a social order. In essence, a social order is an essential aspect of work life because ‘it is the human connection that oils both the social and economic wheels of organisational life’ (Bolton and Houlihan, 2007: 7). This potentially rich and valuable use of Emotional Intelligence is wholly unexplored in academic accounts. This seems even more surprising because some EI models contain socially oriented principles and messages such as Bar-On’s (1997) EQ-i. It was highlighted in Chapter Two that Bar-On’s model appears to strive to promote mutually satisfying and flourishing social relationships at work. Yet, despite this less instrumental focus his model is consistently adopted in academic studies to explore economic and performative outcomes (see Chapter Two).

In sum, current approaches and goals in EI research assume employees are obliging workers whose needs for and uses of EI are in perfect alignment with the profit seeking goals of the organisation. This approach eradicates any scope for an active agency by eclipsing the plurality and complexity of peoples’ relational and personal needs and concerns at work as part of a social order. Part of the problem is that psychologists have no interest in exploring social structures such as a social or moral order which may serve to oil the social and economic wheels of organisational life. In addition, people’s properties and powers are not conceptualised in any helpful

way. On this point, this section has attempted to highlight people's reflective and evaluative powers (Sayer, 2005; Turnball, 2002; Vince, 2006); to start to raise the point that people are thinking and choosing subjects of action who have social and performative needs and concerns (Archer, 2000). It is argued that broadening the research agenda in this direction would make a helpful and important research contribution to studies of EI.

CONCLUSION

By conducting a socio-economic critique of Emotional Intelligence, a number of key concerns and questions have arisen in relation to whether EI does or does not contribute to individual and organisational performance, effective and satisfying interpersonal relationships and how it conceptualises human beings as a whole. Drawing the strands of this critique together, it is concluded that there are key gaps in our understanding of EI at work.

The first part of this chapter critiqued EI theory through a structural analysis of class and gender to illustrate how a socialised view of EI indicates EI holds discriminatory and exclusionary properties which limit equal access to and use of EI. Importantly, whilst this line of critical enquiry shall not be the focus of the remainder of this thesis, it was considered essential to include in a sociological review because few accounts have debated this important topic. Including a critique of EI, class and gender was important because of the rich insights it provides to understanding the complexity of social relations and people at work.

Second, because extant scholarly EI research has not sought to include organisational analyses of power relations, politics, positions and so on, it was contended that there is little understanding of how these structures enable and constrain people's use of EI at work. Structures exist independently of peoples' knowledge and experience of them but enable and constrain individuals' use of EI. Power structures discussed in this chapter referred to restricted access to EI based on status and position, the power and politics of manager-subordinate relationships and EI's ability to be dismissive of, or mask structural causes. It was also argued that EI has the potential to exploit

people's private emotional worlds and use this knowledge as a discriminatory and controlling device. No studies to date have sought to explore these themes in EI research.

In the third part of this chapter, it was argued that academic studies present an obedient, instrumentally rational human being, whose social relationships are seen as market exchanges, to be negotiated for organisational profit and little more. This was underpinned by a research approach which explores the norm and normal human behaviour in work life where employees' interests are in perfect alignment with those of the organisation (Deetz, 1996). It was contended that potential losses and missed opportunities are incurred in EI research by viewing people and their social relationships in these terms. As was highlighted in this section, EI studies neglect that people have reflective and evaluative properties and broader needs at work including social ones (Archer, 2000). These help to sustain a social or moral order in organisational life and refer to social commitments and associations for their own sake (Sayer, 2006).

Linking this chapter to Chapter One, it will be recalled that proponents working with the mixed models of EI lay out a strong case for EI's popularity in industry because it provides key emotional and social skills to be successful in enterprising cultures of contemporary capitalism. However, from a review of academic literature in Chapter Two it is clear that psychological studies have placed empirical emphasis on exploring the EI-performance link rather than what drives people towards seeking out EI skills. From a socio-economic perspective this leaves an important realm open for empirical research because this chapter has presented a social 'case' for EI which may offer complementary insights to the economic case presented in Chapters One and Two. If employees (and their employers) are attracted to EI to help them survive and thrive in the new economy, this tells us something very useful about contemporary workplaces and the value and benefits of EI. Equally if people use EI to meet personal and relational needs, interests and values, this also offers important scholarly insights into how EI contributes to satisfying, effective social relationships and performance at work.

Overall, it seems clear that in a search for a means of analysing EI that involves a fuller picture of human beings as a whole, the existing psychological accounts of EI have been found wanting. Crucially, the critique in this chapter has argued that a gap has emerged in EI research which is underpinned by a need to conceptualise a subject of action who has the powers to reflect upon and evaluate Emotional Intelligence at work. Such a conceptualisation would enable a way of theorising peoples' potential social, economic and personal needs and uses of EI in organisational life. It would also enable a theorisation of how people are embedded in broader macro economic structures such as contemporary capitalism and organisational structures. All these aspects of human beings need conceptualising or 'reviving' if we are to move this critique towards to an empirical agenda.

It is now time to move this critical review forward. The next part of this thesis sets out to conduct a broader analysis of what organisational analysis might be able to offer in relation to this research aim. Clearly there is a need to conceptualise agency with properties and powers, embedded in a social or moral order. A further requisite is a way of linking these together to theorise an interaction between agency and structures so that one story can be told. This is essential if both aspects are to be incorporated into this study of Emotional Intelligence.

CHAPTER FOUR: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES: STUDIES OF EMOTION AND EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Three concluded that in order to better understand Emotional Intelligence at work, a framework is required which resuscitates human beings and situates agency within material social, economic and organisational structures. In other words, rather than the one-dimensional view of people put forward by current approaches to EI an approach is required which conceptualises a human being who has broad needs and concerns including social ones and who has distinct properties and powers. A further requirement for the new conceptual framework is a research approach which can conceptualise an interaction between agency and structure to *tell one story*.

As it was highlighted in the introductory chapter, an early reading of Archer's (2000) *Being Human* was highly influential from the outset of this project. Her writing greatly influenced a deep dissatisfaction with the way current literature portrays people in accounts of Emotional Intelligence. However, a decision was made not to immediately rely on Archer's work as some weaknesses were identified in her approach. Instead, it was considered a useful exercise to undertake a broader review of what organisational analysis might be able to offer. This chapter presents this review. In effect, it appraises various research perspectives on studies of Emotional Intelligence, emotion and social skills and draws upon Archer to support the review. However, before this is done the chapter first provides a brief description of potentially different frames of reference or perspectives that exist in organisational analysis. This summary orientates the remainder of the chapter.

Social science research has one commonality in that it attempts to understand and explain social behaviour but it is divided by researchers' views of how we understand what is real and, relatedly, how reality is measured. Ontology is the study of being or existence or what reality is. Epistemology is the study of how reality can

be revealed through research, how knowledge is obtained of that reality. Ontological assumptions differ according to underpinning, philosophical assumptions of whether reality is viewed as *objective*, material and external to the researcher or whether it is *subjective*, socially constructed and constrained by human consciousness (c.f. Burrell and Morgan, 1979). Epistemological assumptions vary in relation to what a researcher considers is valid knowledge about social reality.

Various models have set out to offer descriptions of four broad areas representing organisational analysis such as Burrell and Morgan's (1979) influential framework and Deetz's (1996) model. These four broad approaches are typically termed functionalist, post-structuralist, interpretivist and critical studies (including labour process analysis) and will be used to organise this chapter. Importantly, in a discussion of research paradigms or perspectives it is important to stress that no one approach can be described and ring-fenced according to a particular set of criteria. Within each perspective researchers adopt varying positions along a continuum and there are often shades of grey and overlap within and across each approach.

Research on Emotional Intelligence, emotion studies and social skills from each of these general research perspectives will now be reviewed to determine what they have to offer and what their strengths and limitations are. In addition, a realist framework or ontology will also be explored as a 'meta-theory' for organisational analysis. Despite the paucity of empirical post-structuralist research on Emotional Intelligence, this approach has played an important role in highlighting a critical commentary on the subject. So post-structuralism would appear to be a sensible place to start the review.

THE POST-STRUCTURALISTS' ANALYSIS OF EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE AND SOCIAL SKILLS

Poststructuralists frame concepts as emergent by choosing research approaches which aim to develop understandings of how phenomenon are talked about, experienced and responded to. They place an emphasis on the role of language and

other means of representation in constructing experience. The objective is to look for characteristics of, and relationships between phenomenon that do not exist prior to their exploration (and thus are emergent). A poststructuralist line of inquiry also views organisations as sites of domination, inequality and suppressed conflicts, characterised as ‘dissensus’ (Deetz, 1996; Sieben, 2007).

A poststructuralist perspective has another key characteristic of relevance: the relationship between power and knowledge (Fletcher, 1999). Poststructuralists take the position that the production of knowledge is an exercise of power which takes place through discourses. There is no universal truth, rather there are sets of rules which are created through ‘language games’. These rules become established and unquestioned as a dominant ideology and when they are used, are an exercise of power which can shape and control people’s identities at work and in society. Thus social reality and its patterns of domination, inequality and suppressed conflicts are created through the process of representing experience through the discourse. This is carefully explained by Fletcher:

“In discursive practice, subjects and subject positions are created through a process of signification in which they are “named”, such as consumer, preschooler, employee, etc. This naming invokes a relationship to societal practices and structures, which subjects then enact. For example, poststructuralists note that signifiers such as “woman,” “man,” “mother,” or “father” are subject positions that derive meaning not from something intrinsic but from the way ideology constructs them through language, material practices and structural relationships. Thus, language not only reflects a certain reality, it also actively creates that reality and sustains the power relationships that depend on it” (Fletcher, 1999: 22-23).

A poststructuralist’s aim is to disrupt the relationship between power and knowledge and to uncover the subversive or submerged diverse voices through language (Fletcher, 1999). Established within a branch of labour process analysis, poststructuralism claims to offer a line of inquiry which enables power to be

theorised with agency. Its early inception within organisational studies was based on this very claimed deficiency of orthodox labour process theory – that the subject was ‘missing’ (Knights and Wilmott, 1989).

In the case of emotions, social skills and interpersonal relations, these are viewed as discursive products, (re)produced by discursive practices so that the labelling and different ways of looking at the object create the object of description and observation itself (e.g. Cremlin, 2003; Hughes, 2005; Meštrović, 1997; Sieben, 2005).

A key theme in poststructuralist writings is the control or power over subjectivity or human agency through culture and self-disciplining techniques. Human Resource Management (HRM) has moved towards more informal forms of control in the late contemporary work environment by focusing on ‘soft’ human resource management techniques. These approaches have been argued to shape values, win souls, seduce the employee (Bolton, 2005) and influence the moral character (Grugulis et al, 2000). The management of staff through organisational and professional cultures, the ‘insides’ of workers and social space have been a focus of interest within the poststructuralist writings. In these accounts, the worker seeks an identity through work which gives rise to managerial opportunities to control their hopes, fears and aspirations through cultural management initiatives (Bolton, 2005: 32; Deetz, 1995 cited in Alvesson and Willmott, 2004: 448). For the post-structuralists such management and societal tactics are viewed as incursive, all pervading but unavoidable. Using the techniques of self management and self development, employees mould themselves to meet organisational goals (Foucault, 1991) and the organisational aim is for all aspects of subjectivity to become transformed into resources.

In these writings, workers’ emotions and character are not immune to a process of colonisation (e.g. Hochschild, 1983; Fineman, 1993; Gruguli, Dundon and Wilkinson, 2000). In the post-structuralist writings on Emotional Intelligence, it is argued that EI shapes appropriate identities through employees’ absorption of a self-

disciplining corporate ‘script’ where the internalisation of Emotional Intelligence rules and values is facilitated through the Foucauldian self-technologies of EI profiles (Landen, 2002). Landen notes that EI attempts to align the individual with a set of categories determined by the organisation and this is achieved by self examination and correction (self-disciplining techniques). Hatcher (2008) highlights how EI helps to produce the idealised corporate character through the measurement of emotion to allow ‘fine-grained disciplining, dividing, ranking, and tracking of improvements’, constituting a type of control of the self. Equally, in a discussion of the personality industry, Cremlin (2003) argues that the individual ‘obliterates her personality and individuality...by conforming to a standardised product’ based on the false assumption he or she is making individual choices ‘within a deductive project of self-realisation’ (Cremlin, 2003: 118 and 119). Permanently occupied in a ‘reflective project of self-improvement, styled to the latest thinking in corporate human relations theory and the personality industry’ produces ‘reflexive exploitation’ where the individual is wholly engaged with the internalised struggle to adapt to the organisational norm (Cremlin, 2003: 126 and 119). Similarly Rose highlights how the social skills agenda in organisational studies has culminated in the individual’s ongoing project of ‘learning to be a *self*’ (Rose, 1999: 242). Rose (1999:11) expands on this: ‘Through self-inspection, self-problematization, self-monitoring, and confession, we evaluate ourselves according to the criteria provided by others’.

Another line of pursuit describes how people have become ‘re-enchanted’ with social life via a consumptive route which provides a means of increasing one’s source of fulfilment and meaning through complete absorption of the ‘enterprising culture’, to fill voids arising from dissatisfactions in today’s workplaces (Gabriel, 2005; Ritzer, 1999; Rose, 1999; Hughes, 2005). Hughes (2005) notes ‘under the guise of EI, character itself becomes ‘enchanted’ as a human resource which can be stylistically produced and consumed (p. 606). But frustratingly, there is little empirical evidence in the post-structuralist writings on EI to support any of these claims of whole-hearted, ubiquitous colonisation of the workers’ interior world as part of any ‘project of the self’.

Despite the post-structuralists' valuable contribution to organisation studies, there is little room within this frame of reference for a portrayal of a subject of action who possesses any power. Landen's (2002) commentary on EI illustrates this point. He views the organisational adoption of EI as an invasion of one's subjectivity to the point where: "Offering an individual a template for the measurement and development of emotional intelligence appears to leave little room for the defence of the self and personal autonomy" (Landen, 2002: 515). No-where in these writings do we find agents who are active and resisting beings beyond an agential response constructed through language. But as Archer (2000: 13) notes: 'Society enters into us, but we can reflect upon it, just as we reflect upon nature and upon practice'. For example, Bolton and Houlihan (2007) point out, people have the capacity to manoeuvre, alter or endure life situations; they can 'continually comply, evade, re-interpret or merely survive management practice' (p.7). Simply put, people are not discursively produced, but are discursively influenced (Sayer, 2005) and any post-structuralist portrayal of human beings as a whole must be juxtaposed against a view which describes an agency which goes beyond the *langue*.

The post-structuralists may counter-argue that the self engages in resistance by adopting a more reflexive, self-aware approach or through efforts to keep the narrative going (e.g. Giddens, 1991), but this is still a discursive response at most, and one which prevents individual choices. Sadly in these accounts, opposition or resistance only serves to highlight where the next effort of disciplining techniques must be focused, enabling it to be administered more forcibly than before (Burrell, 1988, cited in Thompson and McHugh, 2002: 127). Overall, it seems that resistance is futile, and the transformation of the self is inevitably an all-consuming, ongoing project. Consequently, the poststructuralists frame of reference has limitations because it provides us with a dissolution of human beings as a whole (Archer, 2000). Gergen (1991) highlights this point:

'With the spread of postmodernist consciousness we see the demise of personal definition, reason, authority, commitment, trust, the sense of

authenticity, sincerity, belief in leadership, depth of feeling and faith in progress' (Gergen, 1991, cited in Archer, 2000: 19).

Archer argues that where the appropriation of social expectations occurs, it is first necessary to have a 'sense of self' to be able to recognise what is expected of oneself (Archer, 2000: 256). Thus, in the poststructuralist writings, there must be something 'internal' that comes before any socially constructed discourse of subjectivity and control: a self which first and foremost acknowledges and responds obligingly to the self-disciplined 'project of the self'. In other words, there must be something in humans which allows them to be susceptible or resistant to the notion of the post-structuralists' disciplinary power (Sayer, 2007). For example, humans are needy beings with the potential to suffer and flourish and it is in pursuit of needs which promise well-being and flourishing which allow people to be socially shaped, thus illustrating human powers (Sayer, 2007). However, there is no understanding of the effects any colonisation process may have on one's well-being (Sayer, 2007). For example, adopting Emotional Intelligence's *positiveness* may require suppressing or banishing negative emotions but a post-structuralist approach cannot conceptualise how this could be damaging to one's well-being.

Moreover, because constructs are represented through discourse in the poststructuralist writings, there are no pre-existing structures 'out there' because there are no official rules which structure and direct action (Bolton, 2005). The research practices adopted use concepts and problems which are formulated in an interactive and ongoing process, where power constructs are understood, experienced and conceptualised through the discourse (Deetz, 1996). This seems inadequate if we are to gain a better understanding of phenomena such as extant social, political and economic structures which influence social life as well as the rules of work, power relations and practices which shape organisational behaviour as described in Chapters One and Three. For example, this approach seems inadequate to conceptualise a pre-existing capitalist economy which puts pressure on people to develop their Emotional Intelligence skills.

Furthermore, poststructuralism seems poorly equipped to develop theories of organisational life which help form broader knowledge and theory. What the post-structuralists offer is a *langue* of multiple, divergent voices with multiple interpretations of reality which struggle to be assimilated into cogent theories. Therefore, we are left with so many subjective interpretations of reality that it is difficult to understand how theories and models can be developed.

To conclude this section, the agent formed by society in the post-structuralist writings is filled with ‘social foam’ with no inner life, properties or powers (Archer, 2000: 317). This portrayal is inadequate to conceptualise a fuller picture of human beings to understand people’s uses of EI in interpersonal relationships at work. The post-structuralists present inadequate frames of reference to conceptualise an agent who is in possession of any real powers which can potentially *make a difference* – who can ‘remake the world’ through practical engagement; or has evaluative, reflective and choosing capacities in their use of Emotional Intelligence. Depressingly, we are left with an agency ‘evacuated of all its powers’ (Archer, 2000: 315), a human being which avoids any human concerns for personal satisfaction from interactions.

Next we turn to interpretivism as the next part of the review of different research perspectives on studies of emotion.

AN INTERPRETIVIST APPROACH TO EMOTIONS RESEARCH

An interpretivist research orientation seeks to explore how individuals interpret, understand, express and communicate meaning of experiences or behaviours as an outcome of their interpretation. Interpretivism is based on the view that the researcher aims to understand the subjective meaning of social action or the life-world of the actor, and respects that people interpret experiences differently and ‘make’ diverse meanings. Therefore, there is no one truth out there, but multiple realities and multiple interpretations.

Researchers assuming this approach see states and behaviours as part of a social reality which are constructed by individuals and groups. Using this frame of reference, meaning making is derived from situational contexts at the micro-level and extended out to sense-making more widely (Hatch and Yanow, 2005). An interpretivist approach seeks to discover and draw out aspects of organisational life which serve to sustain a social order. 'In situ', rich accounts are sought, embedded in everyday life and situations. In emotion studies "of [greater] concern is that the researcher offers faithful testimony on how people report, reconstruct, or negotiate their emotionalities, as well as on the social contexts that regulate such events" (Fineman, 2005: 8).

A number of schools of thought loosely fall under the term 'interpretive' and their philosophical presuppositions unite them: phenomenology, hermeneutics, symbolic interaction and ethnomethodology. These approaches study *acts* (e.g. body movements, gestures), *words, talk, written documents* and other *artifacts* as mediums through which actors create and convey meaning and social relationships (Hatch and Yanow, 2005). For example, hermeneutics uses cultural artifacts and the values instilled in them. Blumer's (1969) symbolic interactionism assumes that individuals make meaning through their interactions in the world.

Whilst there is a huge variety of approaches within interpretivism, symbolic interactionism, hermeneutics and so on, the common belief amongst researchers is that social reality and social facts can be non-material and serve as underlying structures of social organisation; not directly visible but they influence the actions of individuals (Hughes and Sharrock, 1997). There are 'emergent properties' arising from people interacting with each other and these properties are not present in the individual alone (Hughes and Sharrock, 1997: 56). What interpretivists seek to document is that people belong to a wider social entity which expresses moral associations of society. Interpretivists argue that social reality cannot be discovered independently of that society's 'vocabulary of action'. Instead people's behaviour is consistent with rules and motives which are resources through which people give the

social world its sense and meaning. Following this, interpretivism offers access to people's 'selves' in terms of their motivations to bring social order to the world.

As a social researcher, an interpretivist may adopt a number of qualitative research methodologies to examine 'micro' social life, including ethnomethodology and participant observation. The investigator accepts that there are multiple levels of interpretation in the research process: the subject's sense-making of the social world, the researcher's grasp of that interpretation and then further interpretation of the researcher's interpretation in building concepts and theory (Bryman and Bell, 2000: 18). Interpretivists also believe that understanding behaviour - the primary focus of interpretivism - is an on-going process, with sense-making feeding into future sense-making which makes interpretations incomplete at all times.

Like the post-structuralists, the interpretivists are known as social constructionists because they assume that the social world is construed and sustained between people in their everyday actions and interactions (Berger and Luckman, 1966). For social constructionists, the process of meaning making through language, acts and interactions occurs against the backdrop of a taken-for-granted world which people experience as real because their habitual interactions and artifacts make it appear real. The key assumption of social constructionism is that social realities (that is social structures) are generated and maintained in interactions, and are culturally, historically and linguistically influenced. One clear distinction between the post-structuralists and interpretivists is that the former accepts that power exists in organisations whereas the latter tends to explore and document the relational component of social life in which people strive for harmony or a social order. In effect, post-structuralist accounts document domination, inequality and suppressed conflicts and by contrast, interactionist accounts tend to portray social actors as free. Importantly though, there is a continuum of social constructionism and within this some interpretivist accounts, for example, some interactionist writings, do refer to 'structure' which is not just emergent from human interaction.

One of the key schools of thought within interpretivism is symbolic interactionism, first named by Herbert Blumer (1969). Symbolic interactionism became very popular in the 1960s and 1970s predominantly because it was seen to address many of the limitations of a positivist ontology. Building on the work of Mead, Blumer (1969) established three key premises of this school of thought: people ascribe meanings to things and act towards them on the basis of those meanings; meanings come from social interactions in society; and meaning-making and any consecutive modifications of interpretations arise through an individual's interpretive process. The basic idea is that people interpret and define others' actions rather than blindly responding to them (as the positivists infer).

There are many researchers who have examined emotions and their management as social constructions from a broad interpretivist approach and some of the more extreme versions will be briefly reviewed to provide a flavour of different approaches. A key writer is Harré (1986) who adopts an extreme position on the social constructionism continuum: "Turning our attention away from physiological states of individuals to the unfolding of social practices opens up the possibility that many emotions can exist only in the reciprocal exchanges of a social encounter" (Harré, 1986: 5).

Adopting a less extreme position, Denzin takes a phenomenological approach where "an individual's 'lived experience' or the self-understandings and judgements built up from an individual's membership of, and experiences in a particular social milieu, is the key to the emotional experience" (Lupton, 1998: 41). Phenomenologists claim that it is the person's own interpretation of bodily sensations that is the emotion (Lupton, 1998). Following this, Denzin (1984, as cited in Lupton, 1998) argues that whilst emotions are experienced as feelings within oneself, they are created through social interaction, such that in order to experience an emotion other people must be there in an inferred or imagined sense. An emotion evoked in a social context will be felt in the body but interpreted according to the context and based on situated knowledge in order to produce an account which explains why the person feels a certain way. Other writers include Craib (1995) and Lutz (1988) who have also

written on the topic of emotions and adopt different positions along the interpretivism continuum.

Adopting a less extreme position than Harré's is Goffman. How emotion is 'performed' as a dramaturgical skill, as emotion work, and as strategies for impressing others have been key themes in Goffman's work (Fine, 1993). For example, Goffman 'emphasises that emotions are strategic, and that social actors are socialised in their use' (Fine, 1993: 75). Drawing on dramaturgical skills, people perform roles or give impressions in life where roles can be prepared for, as on a stage. And the audience can be influential in determining the course of the performance. In contrast to extreme interpretivist positions, Goffman does not portray people as blindly accepting constructed meanings of the self but instead through their interaction with the audience, they can be viewed as being involved in their own 'self-production' (Goffman, 1959, as cited in Bolton, 2005: 73).

From the brief review provided, it appears that interpretivism offers a way of documenting peoples' 'selves' – their motivations and drivers; how their 'internal states' contribute towards bringing social order to the world. Within this perspective people's motivations are viewed as being shaped by society to varying degrees. Consequently this approach offers a contrasting focus on the social side of life when compared to prescriptive management and individual psychology accounts which focus largely on the biological and psychological origins of emotion. A difference is also apparent when compared to post-structuralist accounts which appear to render the 'self' completely colonised by the organisation.

Overall, interpretivism seems to appreciate the inner motivations of people and emphasises how people have social and relational needs and strive for social order. An acknowledgement that the self is bound with others and that people strive to maintain social order was seen to be lacking in individual psychological writings of mixed EI, rendering accounts heavy in themes of instrumentality and individualism. However, what interpretivism has to offer on its own is problematic for several reasons.

Interpretivism does not conceptualise power, ‘discord’, conflict in organisational life. In addition, the bulk of interpretivist writing makes little or no reference to external, material forces or social structures which shape and direct human action. Instead, structural meanings are derived from socially constructed social interactions in society. Therefore, within these writings it is hard to gain an understanding of broader extant material political, social and economic structures which feed into an organisational analysis which influence day to day interpersonal relationships at work. For example, organisational forces such as formal rules and practices, powers and ‘outside’ economic structural forces seem to have little influence on peoples’ behaviour. Because a full consideration of these forces which influence peoples’ behaviour is not possible, the meaning of behaviour cannot be fully understood (Bolton, 2005). At the very least, this seems problematic if we are to conceptualise an actor who feels compelled to request Emotional Intelligence skills in order to deal with working in a capitalist economy. However, more contemporary uses of interpretivist approaches in organisational accounts of emotionality do consider more closely how emotion may be transformed as part of a capitalist economy.

Hochschild’s (1983) empirical research on air stewards, in her publication, *The Managed Heart*, is a key reference for those interested in emotion management. She argues that she offers a social theory of emotions, drawing from the interactional tradition (Goffman, Dewey, Gerth and Mills) (Hochschild, 1983: 232). However, Hochschild also draws from Marxism (and therefore includes a structural analysis) in her analysis which means she does not neatly fit into an interpretivist category. In her book, she explains that emotion management skills can be considered another part of an employee’s work or service provision, adding some ‘value’ to the customer-employee transaction. She introduces the term *emotional labour*, defined as the management of one’s emotions to produce desired emotional states in oneself and others for a salary. This is in response to situations where corporate rules are implemented to make emotion management a form of paid work (Hochschild, 1983), that is, appropriated for economic or commercial gains (James, 1992): “When deep gestures of exchange enter the market sector and are bought and sold as an aspect of labor power, feelings are commoditized” (Hochschild, 1979: 569). The implication

here is that effort and hard work may be required to produce the desired emotion, as requested by the organisation.

Hochschild's emotional labour refers to specific objectives of the employee to assure the external customers and clients of a particular emotion one is feeling and these intentions are carried out through the display of certain behaviours (Wharton and Erickson, 1993). In other words, through the regulation of one's own emotions, the objective is to make customers feel good (in the case of airline passengers, retail customers) or bad (in the case of bill collectors). This takes either the form of 'surfacing acting' where an employee will present a certain emotion such as smiling, in order to move away from a negative feeling, or 'deep acting' where the employee tries to change the causes of that feeling, the way he or she appraised the situation that produced the emotion.

Identifying that Hochschild's (1983) emotional labour offers too narrow a process or remit to distinguish between social rules, the labour process and professional values, Bolton (2000; 2005) argues that the terms 'emotion work' and 'emotional labour' have not always been distinctly applied to forms of emotionality in organisational studies. This has resulted in the 'original meaning being lost' (Bolton, 2000: p.164). Bolton and Boyd contend: "If the emotional organisation is to be de-constructed there is a need to highlight the different characteristics of various types of organisational emotionality and to assign different forms of workplace emotion to distinct, clearly labelled categories" (Bolton and Boyd, 2003: p.160). Drawing on Goffman and labour process theory, Bolton (2000; 2005) has created a typology of emotion management to illustrate the complex nature of organisational life. Her model includes four types of emotion management: 'pecuniary' (for organisational gain), 'prescriptive' (according to organisational or professional rules but not necessarily as a response to drivers towards profit making), 'presentational' (consistent with general social rules) and 'philanthropic' (emotional management which may give something a little extra, a 'gift').

What is of interest here is the evidence that employees may manage their emotions, not always to achieve company goals. By "weaving in and out of many different emotional zones" (Bolton and Boyd, 2003, p. 162), sometimes combining different

types simultaneously we are introduced to an organisational terrain which extends emotional labour beyond the ‘lining of an organisation’s pockets’. This model permits consideration for why we manage feelings for genuine empathy, for socio-emotional reasons or because they are consistent with different social, occupational, professional or organisational norms. She presents an argument for understanding skilled emotion management according to contextual factors of time and place which are previously lacking in Hochschild’s conceptualisation of emotional labour. Performing different types of emotion management does not imply employees have altered their feelings, it means that their skills to mix and change their emotional display according to social, occupational and organisational rules are well adapted. Within this typology, Bolton (2005) provides a new interpretation of Goffman – as a realist. For example, through the incorporation of Goffman’s (1961) role analysis, an active agent is depicted who can embrace or distance him/herself from an established role but all the time, an element of the self is present.

Incorporating Goffman and labour process analysis into her theory of work-based emotion, Bolton portrays the organisational actor as a highly skilled emotion manager, in control of his or her emotions and able to follow and modify the ‘rules’ of each social situation. Presenting the right ‘face’ according to the situation ensures efficacious and smooth interactions (or polished performances). Her typology presents people as social actors, all consciously engaging in the ritual ‘game’. Thus, we are offered a rich picture which takes into account social structures, markets and the power and politics of organisational life whilst providing an understanding of an interactive, purposeful, skilled agency. The use of Labour Process Theory adds another dimension to interpretivist accounts.

A ‘RADICAL’ PERSPECTIVE: LABOUR PROCESS THEORY AND ITS ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL CAPITAL

For labour process analysts, their conceptualisation of social order is ‘disorder’, a position which views society where some groups’ interests are dominated and conflict and interests are suppressed (e.g. gender and social class). This approach

aims to highlight and dispute existing orders by exposing hidden struggles and strategies of managerial control, conflicts and tensions within the labour process.

The overarching themes of interest in labour process research are: changing trends in labour utilisation and production techniques; how organisations seek to control the productivity of workers through different ways in order to extract surplus value and secure profits. Core labour process theory argues that labour, as a commodity, has the characteristic of *indeterminacy*. This means that actual work effort does not always equate with potential work effort and it is this gap which employers seek to minimise through managerial strategies.

Commentators from this perspective argue it is not enough for organisations to rely on market forces to direct and maximise employee performance for profitability gains; instead work performance must be regulated and controlled through varying organisational techniques (Thompson and Newsome, 2004; Reed, 1992). This is where the focus of labour process research lies – at the workplace level, ‘while seeking to extend up to the causal powers manifest in mechanisms of capitalist social and market relations’ (Thompson and Newsome, 2004: 136). As there are different positions in the social relations of production, discord and tension will always arise and can never be ‘equationed out’ of the labour process. Also, control mechanisms are for the purpose of disciplining labour as well as stimulating greater levels of commitment, cooperation, initiative and creativity (Thompson, 1989; Reed, 1992) and this creates a range of responses from resistance to accommodation, compliance and consent (Thompson and Harley, 2007).

Using qualitative techniques such as ethnography and participant observation, researchers have attempted to expose managerial control techniques and the power struggles (or the ‘contested terrain’, Edwards (1979)) which ensue in their efforts to extract optimum productivity and compliance from workers. However, labour process theorists view the macro, meso and micro levels of analysis as creating a complex web of interactions. Whilst there are broad patterns of worker resistance and conflict (as well as accommodation, compliance and consent) in response to general

control imperatives in capitalist economies, conflict will tend to diversify across settings based on interactions between macro level constraints and dynamics and local negotiation (Reed, 1992). For example, settings can vary according to national contexts, industry sectors and companies and macro factors may include institutional, social and structural components (Thompson and Newsome, 2004). Equally, the type of control mechanism adopted by organisations is influenced by an organisation's cultural, political and historical circumstances (Reed, 1992).

As capitalism has advanced and work has changed in response to political and economic factors within society, accounts of managerial control processes have also changed. Early narratives characterised control as explicit and direct such as those forms of technological control described in Braverman's (1974) *Labor and Monopoly Capital*. Since then, the labour process journey has crossed several decades, with key formative and early works produced by Friedman (1977), Buroway (1979; 1985) and Edwards (1986). These studies examined managerial control and worker resistance, normative forms of control, manufacturing consent and the mobilisation of labour power at the point of production. By contrast, more contemporary approaches emphasise normative and cultural forms of control. In the pursuit of wealth accumulation, commoditising previously untapped corners and alcoves of the worker's intellectual, social and emotional capital and values through management techniques are seen as new ways of securing worker commitment and labour power. According to HRM theory, in response to increasing competition, harnessing the 'people factor' provides unique skills and flexibility (Thompson and Harley, 2007). However, it is here that the labour process theorists part ways with the poststructuralists.

Within a labour process frame of reference, emotions and social skills are viewed as being shaped by social institutions, social systems and power relations (e.g. Lupton, 1998). Just as the strategic HRM agenda has been criticised for its weak evidence on performance and individual gains, labour process researchers have sought to critique or expose the problems in the nature of 'soft skills' work. In the recent literature, labour process researchers have theorised and reported on control/ resistance/

consent/ sabotage agendas in a variety of workplaces by examining human capital such as emotions, personal traits, soft skills, attitudes and aesthetics across different settings (e.g. Bolton, 2005; Bolton and Boyd, 2003; Callahan and Thompson, 2002; Fineman, 2004; Flecker and Hofbauer, 1998; Nickson et al, 2001; Sturdy and Fineman, 2001; Taylor, 1998; Warhurst and Nickson, 2007; Warhurst and Thompson, 1998). For example, some studies explore how unequal structures in society equip some but not others with necessary interpersonal or 'soft' skills to succeed in the workplace based on class and gender. Other studies are not exclusive to the notion of individuals' emotions being both influenced by social structures and at the same time transforming social structures (e.g. Fineman and Sturdy, 1999). What is key to these studies is that emotions, skills or attitudes are produced as things which are saleable, that are sold for a wage, as in the physical labour process.

A labour process approach to research on emotional labour, where emotion management is required to serve customers, clearly highlights that people are not 'passive victims' or 'emotional dupes' (Grugulis, 2007b: 109). They resist, misbehave or seek to use emotional labour for personal or altruistic gains (e.g. Bolton, 2005; Bolton and Boyd, 2003; Callaghan and Thompson, 2002; Grugulis, 2007b; Hochschild, 1983; Taylor, 1998). For example, they may resist management through redefining the role, adopting humour or showing disapproval. Fineman (2000) documents how female, unionised shopworkers in a Californian supermarket resisted company demands for eye-contact and smiling at customers because it increased their risk of sexual harassment from customers. Equally, workers may use emotions to gain control over, and procure financial reward from the customer. Mars and Nicod (1984) report how a waitress knocks over a child's drink and pretends it was the child's fault but because the waitress strategically maintained good humour it made her appear competent at her job and consequently she received a generous tip. What these, and other studies articulate is the emotional effort bargain and the indeterminacy of emotional labour. Emotion work is hard work and people are aware of this and calibrate their responses to emotional labour demands (Bolton, 2008b). In other words, what these studies bring to the foreground is the work involved in

emotion work and workers' varied and creative responses to the emotional labour process.

In sum, a labour process analysis provides a realist framework for understanding work in a capitalist society and market relations in which economic, political and social forces are at play and in which the agent is embedded and forced to sell their labour. It focuses on the type of work people do and how their skills might be exploited as part of the labour process. This approach explores social relations of production and work processes. This offers an analytical framework to help understand how interpersonal behaviour and character is demanded as part of the labour process and is demanded as a form of labour power to enhance an organisation's profits. It illustrates how agency is enabled or constrained – how social activity is restricted because of socially structured class and gender attributes and organisational structures of power and control. But equally, it illustrates that people have 'creative capacities' and that 'organisational emotion is not a space empty of humanity' (Bolton, 2008b).

Labour process analysis supports an understanding of the use of Emotional Intelligence at work because it explains people's motivations for attending an EI course in response to economic pressures where EI promises to produce a skill set which can be drawn upon in order to produce the necessary labour power demanded by the labour market. Under the auspices of modern capitalism, the employee is constantly under pressure to be an enterprising asset to his or her organisation. As highlighted in Chapter One, proponents of 'mixed' EI claim the demand is growing for Emotional Intelligence skills in an economy which values new socio-emotional skills to cope with organisational change and restructuring, growing demands for quality customer service, entrepreneurial and 'stress-fit' workers. Labour process analysis ensures the political and economic forces are placed firmly within the theoretical framework. In addition, labour process theory theorises a more rounded sense of agency: people who evade, comply, resist or consent to the managerial prerogative.

However, it has several limitations. Labour process theory analyses the extent of workers' capacity to do things, to transform work with hands, hearts and minds into labour power and the struggle over the extraction of that labour power. Thus its central concern is within the employment relationship. Typically, those studies which have explored social and emotional skills within the employment relationship have investigated interactive service work and workers' responses to management attempts to control emotional encounters with clients and customers. Though some studies have attempted to utilise the concept of emotional labour to describe the work of managers and leaders or even team members it is important to recognise that interactions with colleagues and, what might be termed, the management labour process is different (Bolton, 2005). Managers, leaders and employees do perform emotion work and indeed, are required to draw on an Emotional Intelligence in order to be charismatic or transformational leaders but this is not emotional labour. Labour process theory focuses on what contributes to, the context of and what happens within the emotional labour process but does not always successfully include what happens outside of it. It would be asking too much of one theory to achieve a full understanding of the intricacies of emotion management skills in and out of the labour process.

Relatedly, within the employment relationship labour process theory's notion of agency is more rounded than previous approaches but lacks something extra in a conceptualisation of human beings as a whole. By applying a structural analysis to understand how the political economy shapes and controls the employee, little room is provided for agential action beyond one which ranges from resistance to consent. As Bolton (2005) points out, a labour process analysis 'is strong on structure and weak on action' (p. 87). Importantly though, much is being done to address this issue through more recent explorations of peoples' reactions to, and experiences of work (e.g. Bolton and Houlihan, 2009).

However, at the present time labour process theory is unable to conceptualise people's choices and concerns, inner powers of evaluation and personal reflections or a fuller theory of agency or 'subjectivity' in and out of the emotional labour

process. Labour process theory provides an understanding of how and why Emotional Intelligence may be transformed into labour power but is unable to help us fully understand such a broad concept as EI. For example, it is unable to explain people's actions and behaviours: their personal needs for and motivations to use EI, their experiences and uses of EI in the workplace; or how these are played out in the workplace. Opening up the possibility for spaces of human beings as a whole outside of the labour process enables actors to be portrayed in broader terms than labour process analysis permits.

In addition, whilst labour process theory adopts an approach which explores conflict or 'disorder' at work, it is bereft of mechanisms to explain a response which leads an employee to act based on any concerns for personal satisfaction from interactions. Instead, people's behaviours are always in direct response to a political capitalist economy. Thus, labour process theory cannot theorise some socially embedded, morally driven processes which represents what that person values and motivates them such as social commitments and associations. It was argued in Chapter Three that people may choose to use Emotional Intelligence for a host of reasons at work which may not be instrumental, but are more socially or morally driven and outside of the labour process. Helpfully, Sayer firmly makes this point: "If we fail to acknowledge that economic activity is at least in part morally-guided, and that even if it is not, it has moral implications, economic action appears to be wholly a matter of power and self-interest" (Sayer, 2000: 99). Thus, using a labour process analysis does not offer a complete approach to understanding economic life because it cannot depict the interdependency between structured norms of moral behaviour - a social or moral order which influences peoples' behaviour. To understand this we need to go beyond the labour process and even the workplace. Importantly, labour process theorists are wholly cognisant of various limitations of this approach and are disposed to mixing labour process analysis with aspects from other conceptual frameworks (Bolton, 2005).

In summary, this chapter set out to review the different research approaches in studies of emotion to see what they had to offer. The objective was to understand

how they theorised agency and structure. It was argued in Chapter Three that a new approach to studying Emotional Intelligence required a theorisation of active agency within real, material social and economic structures in order to fully explain peoples' social and economic uses of EI. By comparing each research approach against the needs established in Chapter Three, it was found that post-structuralism offers a framework which provide insights into people's understandings of their social world ('insider' story) but fails to explain behaviour because it portrays a subject of action who has no *distinct powers*. People are filled with 'social foam' (Archer, 2000) and thus have no powers to prioritise their needs, reflect upon or adapt EI's prescription. Interpretivism appears to offer a better understanding of how human beings as a whole represent our desire as social beings to bring a social order to the world and this could illuminate people's needs and uses for EI. But both post-structuralist and interpretivist perspectives fail to offer a way of theorising extant socio-material structures which exist 'out there' such as contemporary capitalism and organisational structures which pre-exist agency and influence social life.

In contrast, labour process theory introduces us to the need to understand the materiality of work life, complete with politics and economy and it offers a means of analysing emotion and interpersonal skills that are transformed into labour power. Thus, labour process theory is of interest because it helps us to understand how EI contributes to the transformation of peoples' interpersonal 'skills' into labour such as customer service skills. This is a helpful focus and highlights how important these aspects are. Indeed, if this study was only exploring how Emotional Intelligence is transformed into labour power this would be of interest. Clearly though, in this contribution there is less of a need for a theory which emphasises social relations of production as the social relations of work in a more holistic sense. The impact EI has may be potentially bigger than this and so it seems necessary to investigate what a broader framework can offer in order to understand people's needs and desires for EI, their concerns and preoccupations in organisational life which lead them to take up EI skills.

In effect, a means of analysing EI *in* and *out* of the labour process is required and for this it would be useful to extend LPT's realist focus on work and workplaces to a broader social realm and people's place within it. Next we turn to a review of realism to see what this approach can offer.

REALISM

In response to the ontological needs established in Chapter Three and this chapter so far, realism offers an alternative approach (philosophy) to current individual psychology, post-structuralism and interpretivism approaches because it portrays both agency and structure with full and distinct properties and powers. Importantly, labour process theory, which offers a clear theorisation of tangible products, real, material social and organisational structures and capitalism, is embedded in a realist ontology.

For realists, agency is not an asocial entity or 'a frail social dependant, prone to disaggregate into a plurality of discursive 'quasi-selves'' (Archer, 2000: 51). Instead human beings' powers and capacities are neither pre-given, socially appropriated but instead emerge from relations with structure (Archer, 2000: 87). When realists refer to the 'real', they speak of the realm of objects, their structures and powers (Sayer, 2000b). Realists argue that although a reality exists 'out there' people's representations of reality are shaped by pre-existing opinions, values, theories and social norms (Fleetwood, 2005). There is a truth or reality but we do not have unmediated access to it and so someone's perception is one 'window' on to it. Following this, realism rejects an individual and organisational psychology approach which argues that independent facts can be extracted from social reality and taken as the fundamental foundation of scientific knowledge. In realist terms, whilst we do not have privy to a core truth, we can still gain an understanding of people's sense experiences of reality. Similarities of experiences generate patterns which are then developed into theories and models. These provide provisional descriptions which are always fallible and contestable and open to revision and reformulation (Reed, 2005: 1630). As Sayer (2000b: 17) points out: 'no philosophy of science can promise 'a royal road to truth''. He adds that realism is no exception. However, unlike the assumptions adopted in post-structuralism and interpretivism, theories developed

using a realist approach can be systematically assessed and evaluated as competing explanations of social reality (Bhaskar, 1978).

As highlighted in Chapters Two and Three, much individual psychology research on EI is focused on correlations between variables which are then explained as causal, such as when someone demonstrates a high numerical score on EI and work performance, it is explained that high EI *causes* high performance. When multiple confirmatory evidence is obtained, this is then extrapolated as regularities and predictions of future correlations are made. For realists, these types of correlations are not viewed as explanatory of a causal relationship but as descriptive and thus require more explanation (Cruickshank, 2003). (At the very least, realists would be concerned by the lack of competing variables investigated in numerous studies which may also/or account for high performance). Instead, realists are interested in the study and explanation of events by understanding causal powers or mechanisms that exist and act independently of the patterns of events they create (Reed, 2005: 1625). In this way, realism is different to psychological research because it seeks to explain the generative mechanisms that produce empirical events.

Causal powers and mechanisms can be agentic and structural and here lies some of the core ontological assumptions of the agency-structure relationship of a realist approach. There are several points to be made. First, structures have socio-material, independent properties and are created by the actions of individuals in the past and now have causal properties in their own right (Cruickshank, 2003). Second, realism assumes that structures constrain and enable agency and in turn, agency has the properties and powers to reproduce, alter or transform structures (Reed, 2005). This designates humans as creative and constrained beings as they go about their human affairs and so offers scope for a broader set of agentic properties and powers than previous research approaches. Third, the properties and powers of agency and social structures are distinct but emergent from relations with the other; social structure is obviously dependent on human activity and human powers are shaped by and emergent from relations with social structures (Archer, 2000). The notion of emergent properties (i.e. denoted by their 'relational to something' characteristic)

which links structure and agency is important to guiding empirical research. In this way, realists set out to create an approach which doesn't overemphasise agency or structure or overemphasise both in one piece of research (Cruickshank, 2003). Fourth, causal mechanisms do not have to be rooted in a political economy, they can describe structures which belong to a broader social realm.

Following the point that structures enable and constrain agency, realist research enables an empirical exploration of how existing social, political and economic relations can create inequality and exploitation. From this position, the researcher can develop a critique and present challenges against those structures (Cruickshank, 2003). Therefore, realist research has the potential to theorise organisational discord or conflict. But equally realism can theorise social harmony or a social order as described in interpretivist research. Equally, realists are not forced to choose between or privilege 'outsider' story of explanation or 'insider' story of understanding so that one becomes absent or underplayed in the analysis. This requires further explanation.

Realism tends to be criticised because agency and structure cannot be melded to tell one story because the *people* have subjectivity and the *parts* do not. Some argue that this, at the very best, enables cross-referenced accounts to be 'fitted together' but which ultimately produce incompatible 'insider' (subjective) and 'outsider' (objective) stories (Hollis and Smith, 1994 as cited in Archer, 2000). However, in realist terms agency and structure hold *distinctive powers* which are real rather than them being *distinct objects*. It is the causal powers which enables both to be placed on the same 'ontological footing' and therefore 'lodged in the same world' (Archer, 2000: 310, 311). In other words, agency and structure are internally related through their causal powers: 'one is what it is, and can exist, only in virtue of the other' (Fleetwood, 2005: 216).

Realists argue causal powers are not always activated to generate empirical events or regularities; instead, they have temporal and spatial properties and as such, institutional context or 'circumstances' are important in realist research. This helps to explain how the same causal mechanism can produce different outcomes in different

contexts (Sayer, 2000b). In addition, there may be complex interplays of causal powers at any one time which generate the empirical events described. For example, generative mechanisms may be dependent on a host of structural, historical and operational contingencies that interact in complex ways (Reed, 2005: 1637). Equally, causal structures and mechanisms may be in conflict with each other or operate at different levels of social reality (e.g. political economy, work organisations, management structures). Within such open, complex systems, it is clear that consequences may sometimes be intended and other times unintended. Ultimately, causal mechanisms, be them agentic or structural, have *inherent* powers and properties which may or may not be activated and may or may not be observed in outcomes (Outhwaite, 1983; Sayer, 2000b). As part of the research process, a realist approach requires understanding the ‘pre-structured nature of social life’ through an abstraction from events or processes and then a return to an analysis of the events of processes in the light of this knowledge (Fairclough, 2005: 923).

Clearly, realism poses some ontological and methodological challenges. Following the point that causal mechanisms may or may not be activated or observed in outcomes, Gergen (1994) highlights the difficulty a researcher may be presented in identifying underlying generative causal powers or mechanisms which are unseen, and then linking them to observable patterns and using them as explanations against other possible explanations (Gergen, 1994, as cited in Reed, 2005). Whilst there are clearly difficulties in acquiring knowledge and information about structures, this does not necessarily mean they do not exist (Porter, 1993). The problem with disregarding potential structures’ constraining powers on the basis of their ‘invisibility’ means that their oppressive effects may be accepted simply through silence (Porter, 1993).

One of the ways that realism can address this problem is by allowing individuals to explain causes. This offers research opportunities to draw on people’s reflective and insightful powers, despite their inevitable fallibility. However, people’s reflective capabilities cannot be so independent or fallible of the way the world is because the world’s powers in relation to agentic powers prevent this (Archer, 2000). Pursuing a

path which accepts reasons as causes enables access to generative mechanisms which may not otherwise be apparent to the researcher. Obviously, realism cannot resolve the dispute over explaining actions in terms of reasons and causes. But what it does is change the terms of the problem by providing a more adequate analysis of causal explanations – that analysis of people, together with their reasons for acting in the way they do are certain kinds of causal agents (Archer, 2000; Outhwaite, 1983; Fleetwood, 2005). Following this, understanding human activity becomes a matter of comprehending the causal efficacy of people; their actions which are practical, not just symbolic (such as through sayings and meanings) (Archer, 2000: 310). And importantly, focusing on peoples’ reasons for acting in the way they do endows individuals with *choices* (e.g. Blaikie, 2008). In this way, the notion that individual choices are constrained and enabled by forces of the social context enables agency and structure to figure in the explanation (Blaikie, 2008).

This links to the next limitation of realist research which is centred around concerns of fallibility and claims about reality. As highlighted earlier, realist researchers argue that the approach accepts that there is a truth ‘out there’ generated by causal mechanisms which permits a universal knowledge to be assured but which is simultaneously fallible and contested. Relatedly, retrodution, the choice of methodology for realists (see Appendix A for a description of this approach in this study) claims to produce plausible explanations of that reality but not certainties. This has begged the question: how can we ever acquire ‘truths’ about reality if only fallible knowledge of it can be acquired? Contu and Willmott (2005: 1649) point out, it is difficult to reconcile these claims of necessity and fallibility. However, the weakness of their argument lies in their confusion between epistemological fallibility and ontological necessity. In addition, they seem to equate fallibility – the possibility of being wrong, with being wrong i.e. fallibility.

Another criticism that has been posited at realism is that the related methodological approach, retrodution (see Appendix A for a description of this approach) is not specific to realism and therefore claims that this approach offers superior explanatory power compared to other perspectives are over-exerted (Contu and Willmott, 2005).

However, most realists would offer a more tempered claim that realism simply offers a different or alternative philosophy of social reality to complement existing accounts, rather than a superior one.

Finally, realists have also been accused of under-theorising agency by privileging structural accounts (Contu and Willmott, 2005). However, realism as a meta-theory is still relatively new and thus it seems premature to criticise the meta-theory in this respect.

In sum, realism offers a way of conceptualising a rounded agency embedded in structures to tell one story and has the scope to conceptualise a broader social realm and people's place in it than a political economy, such as in labour process analysis.

CONCLUSION

To summarise, realism offers a theoretical framework which does several things. First, it endows agency with distinctive powers such as their ability to make choices, be reflective and fulfil different needs. Second, it enables a conceptualisation of a broader social realm such as a social or moral order which could portray people's social commitments and associations. Third, it tells one story by describing the emergent and relational properties of agency and structure. Fourth, it *explains* events through agentic and structural properties which are described as causal mechanisms. This helps to theorise how causal mechanisms have inherent powers which may or may not be activated depending on the conditions. Following this, assuming a realist, material approach enables us to think about people's experiences of using Emotional Intelligence in a different way to psychological, post-structuralist and interpretivist accounts.

As Cruickshank (2003: 3) highlights, realism provides a 'meta-theory' that offers guiding precepts about structure and agency but it is the role of the researcher to develop specific theories in the course of empirical research. Thus researchers are informed of the emergent and interactive properties of structure and agency but are responsible for constructing tailored theories appropriate to the nature of their

research. Therefore, realism itself does not offer a specific way of explaining peoples' experiences and outcomes of developing and using EI at work. Instead, a tailored theoretical framework is required.

Realism lies at the heart of labour process theory and this offers the structural components of markets and organisations and a sense of a dynamic, active agent as related to workers, work processes and workplaces. But what a broader approach such as realism provides is a way of conceptualising peoples' experiences inside and outside of the labour process. It offers scope for exploring social relations of work holistically rather than the social relations of production. This is essential if we are to understand people's full experiences – their reasons for taking up EI skills and their experiences in the workplace. The next chapter lays out the full conceptual framework for this contribution by offering a realist ontology which captures the politics of working life, an active agency and most importantly, how all of this is embedded in a moral and economic context.

It is helpful to discuss one further point in this concluding section. Throughout Chapters Two, Three and Four various perspectives on, and models of Emotional Intelligence have been discussed including the business and academic psychological models. From the comprehensive critique of Emotional Intelligence, many deficiencies in the business models have been highlighted. Chapter Two concluded that the theoretical underpinnings of 'mixed' models were unclear in relation to how Emotional Intelligence is formed. Equally, many psychologists lament over the conceptual fuzziness and imprecision of what Emotional Intelligence is – skills, attitudes, personality, traits, mood, motivations and temperament. Studies examining the relationship between Emotional Intelligence and individual and organisational benefits appear inconclusive. Similarly, there is much contention over whether EI can be learnt and whether any training has an impact on work-based performance and effectiveness in the short to long-term. Despite these scholarly criticisms, the overriding claim in the business commentaries is that 'mixed' Emotional Intelligence can be manufactured or generated in anyone, as a product. Thus, the power of the

marketability of ‘mixed’ versions lies in an Emotionally Intelligent instrumentalised person who has been created, which in itself has independent causal powers.

However, the very creation of this instrumentalised EI ‘person’ highlights by contrast, an absence (or perhaps erasure) in the literature of a different sort of emotional intelligence (ei) which exists as an enduring set of personal attributes in people. This refers to a set of potentially real dispositions which may be expressed through everyday sensitivity towards, and consideration for others. These inherent attributes which people may not be aware of possessing, or may or may not use are to be differentiated from the business model of Emotional Intelligence. In essence, the distinction is this: the economy demands Emotional Intelligence but before it becomes instrumentalised, it is best described as emotional intelligence – a potential set of attributes which resides in everyone. To explore this further, we need to return to the various literatures reviewed in Chapters Two, Three and Four – to see how further light can be shed on this other type.

The ‘ability’ or psychological critique of ‘mixed’ EI clearly argues that the ‘mixed’ version may be more than just skills but also personality and other more enduring attributes. If this claim is true this helps us to start crystallising a distinction between the two forms.

Other literatures reviewed provide further empirical and theoretical support for the existence of emotional intelligence as a set of everyday enduring personal attributes. For example, the positive psychology literature, discussed in Chapter Two, aims to explore and celebrate positive personal characteristics and dispositions in people strengthening the notion that people naturally have certain attributes which they express through acts of civility and *positiveness* towards others. The critique of EI and gender in Chapter Three raised the point that EI may contain a more enduring set of attributes typically found in women as natural ways of being. More broadly, in Chapter Three, empirical and theoretical accounts were cited which demonstrate that employees naturally attend to others’ well-being, offer emotional gifts, social support, sympathy and compassion without having undertaken any Emotional Intelligence training (e.g. Bolton and Boyd, 2003; Frost et al, 2000; Lively, 2000;

Korczynski, 2003; Sutton, 1991; Sanders, 2004; Toynbee, 2003; Waldron, 2000). Writings such as these further corroborate the presence of emotional intelligence as a set of potentially real attributes. This distinction between EI and ei is clearly necessary if we are to better understand the use of the concept. This is because whilst the business-inflected discourse reigns successful in the commercial world, to ignore emotional intelligence is to assume only an instrumentalised version exists.

CHAPTER FIVE: EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE IN THE WORKPLACE: INTRODUCING A NEW ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND TYPOLOGY

A NEW ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK TO STUDY EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE IN THE WORKPLACE

Chapter One highlighted that Emotional Intelligence appears to offer every possible solution to an employer and employee's needs in the new economy. Through a critique in Chapter Three, however, it was argued that research studies of mixed EI miss an essential ingredient in organisational life; a core aspect which goes beyond control, instrumentality, rationality and individualisation - that of peoples' different needs for EI including social commitments and associations. Drawing from various accounts of organisational life, Chapter Three highlighted this is important because empirical and theoretical accounts tell us something about people's behaviour in that people are driven by more than performative or economic concerns. In addition, Chapter Three established that a need to conceptualise a more rounded human being as a whole with reflective, choosing and evaluative powers was also necessary in order to better understand people's uses of EI at work.

From the critical review in Chapter Four the benefits of a realist framework were highlighted, but it was explained that realism provides a 'meta-theory' or research philosophy and a tailored theoretical framework is required to develop a conceptual framework for this study. In this chapter a theoretical framework is introduced that draws on a realist ontology so that all these needs highlighted above can be met. In addition, this chapter presents the empirical typology of EI in the workplace. Based on the literature review and a preliminary data analysis, the model was constructed and then further tested on the remainder of the data. Please see Appendix A for a full

description of the data analysis approach. The model aims to capture the relationship between EI prescription, people and place in organisational life.

From a range of realist theorists Andrew Sayer (2000a; 2006; 2007) and Margaret Archer (2000; 2003; 2007) have been selected. Sayer offers a concern with the place of people within the economy but an economy that cannot function on economics alone but requires selected qualities, attitudes and virtues that people may exhibit, particularly benevolence and concern for others, to oil its wheels. Archer offers a full account of the richness of human character. Together they offer agency as individual and collective. In other words, this framework is able to capture a range of human motivations, needs and concerns and uses of EI and conceptualises a social actor who has powers to reflect upon, evaluate and prioritise these needs and desires. An understanding of all this is necessary if we are to understand the power of EI in contemporary capitalism – as its power lies within and outwith the labour process. In addition, the framework offers a way of analysing organisational structures which may enable or constrain people's use of EI.

Sayer (2006) argues that people's everyday judgements and decisions in life concern things that matter: what is of value, how to live and what is worth pursuing in life. In our social relationships: 'As social beings, we can scarcely engage in any social interaction or relation without making moral decisions' (Sayer, 2006: 79/80). Sayer's argument is that all economies are influenced by moral sentiments about what is 'good' and 'proper', and structured by norms about rights and duties. In effect, all economies are moral economies (Sayer, 2007: 22). Sayer's (2007: 21/22) defines a moral economy as:

“An approach to economic life which examines and evaluates the way in which it is structured by norms regarding people's rights and responsibilities and how it both relies upon and influences their motivations, character and moral or ethical dispositions”

Moral dispositions and norms are distinguishable by their impact on people's well-being. They reflect acts of 'social good' and promote the flourishing of others (Sayer, 2007). Explaining what contributes towards a moral order in social life, Sayer (2007) highlights the following behaviours and commitments: recognition from others and non-humiliation; a sense of justice which may encourage people to put the needs of others' before themselves; to be involved in relations and practices where respect, self respect and friendship is gained; support; the development and recognition of virtues and character which is conducive to well-being; engagement in satisfying and worthwhile work; recognition on a par with others; and dignity where people are treated as ends in themselves and are not taken advantage of (Sayer, 2007). This list is by no means exhaustive, but what is core is people's capacities to avoid harming others and to promote their well-being and flourishing.

This contrasts markedly with the end goal of individual and organisational psychology research which seeks to find ways to capitalise on economic productivity via 'hard' and 'soft' HRM strategies. Any invested interest in psychological health, job satisfaction and stress reduction in the functionalist accounts tend to converge on one wisdom: they are of interest because enhancing them enhances worker productivity. Offering an important counterbalance, Sayer's concerns with human well-being and flourishing are designated as potential ends in themselves, as part of the social fabric of work life.

Importantly though, rather than seeing a moral economy and a capitalist economy as independent of each other, the economic and moral are best viewed as 'dimensions of (possibly the same) practices' (Sayer, 2006: 84). As such, norms, values and behaviours regarding actions that affect others are not external to economic institutions (or externally enabled or constrained) but are a precondition and thus are internal to economic practices themselves (Sayer, 2006). In this way, a moral economy approach meets the deficiencies of individual and organisational psychology's instrumental position and labour process theory's inability to conceptualise a human being who responds to a moral dimension of economic life.

Sayer fuses the two together, viewing people as embedded in mutually interdependent spheres of economic and moral structures.

In addition, he offers an alternative to explaining morality as habitual behaviour. Moral norms are different to habituation or convention because people are not empathic towards, and responsive to others' needs, experiences and emotions because it simply reproduces a social order but because people have psychological needs and concerns with their own and others' well-being (Sayer, 2006). In other words, people are *needy beings* with divergent needs and interests (Sayer, 2007: 23). Sayer (2006) explains this:

“We do not treat others in a certain way simply because there are norms dictating that we should and because we fear sanctions if we do not. We also usually behave in a certain way regardless of whether there are any penalties for not doing so, because we feel that it is right or conducive to well-being, and because to do otherwise would cause some sort of harm to people” (Sayer, 2006: 80).

These needs are different to habitual behaviour or good manners because of the importance of their implications on people's well-being (Sayer, 2007: 25). If people's reasons or justifications for action are linked to their values which refer to and can be explained as desires for, and practical concerns about human welfare, these can be viewed as objective rather than subjective. This is understood by giving people the properties of reasoning and situating them in social settings to provide insights into how they think and act (c.f. Sayer, 2003). This contrasts with a prescriptive management approach which alienates reasons from values, rendering the latter as subjective (Sayer, 2003). Overall, a moral economy approach overcomes accounts which refer to morality as habitual (conventions), individualised, as discourses or as absent in a political economy because it represents what people care or are concerned about and why.

Following this, a moral order recognises the role of socialisation in shaping people and their ethical and moral dispositions (Sayer, 2007). A long interaction chain of consequences from people's reciprocity and mutual obligations creates and sustains a moral order which is 'present', 'pervasive' and 'real', and which in turn exerts its power on peoples' motivations, character and moral or ethical dispositions. Thus, a moral order is always activity-dependent, has structural causative and explanatory powers. And it is a generative power despite the fact it requires agential activities to *keep it going*.

Therefore, a moral economy approach gives us a way of explaining the pressures and drivers on human activity and behaviour and how this, in turn produces and reproduces a moral economy of organisations. But within this conceptualisation, we still need an active and discerning agent; a human being who goes beyond psychology's anorexic actor and post-structuralism's disembodied social construction and provides a way of theorising human beings as *reasoning* beings, as Sayer refers to. What does this organisational actor look like? It is here that we turn to Margaret Archer's writings, *Being Human*, (2000) and her other works to add the next piece to the jigsaw.

Archer's (2000) social realist theory conceptualises a personhood which is more than a grammatical fiction but a selfhood which conveys a private inner being. This is 'a private' which is not disposed of through a dependence on 'the public'. For Archer, people possess powers of judgement and reflection and have concerns, cares and commitments which they rank through their prioritising abilities. A person's unique personhood is made up of what he or she values and actions taken and is formed from reflections upon objective reality, mediated by internal reasoning (Archer, 2000). People rank what they care about most in the world and in doing so, form and define their own unique personhood (Archer, 2000).

The concerns people have are about what is valued and what matters; they are relevant to individuals' purposes, desires and aspirations. Archer explains that concerns reside in three orders: the natural (physical well being), the practical

(performative competence) and the social (self worth). People have concerns about bodily safety which is described as the natural order and concerns over practical competence - 'the sense of failure and sense of achievement' which reside in the performative order (Archer, 2000: 213). The social order denotes people's self worth which describes social concerns over what is socially appropriate, expressed through shame, dignity, remorse, pride, jealousy, guilt, moral obligations, justice and 'judgements of approbation/disapproval' (Archer, 2000: 215). As she explains: "Humans necessarily have to sustain organic relationships, work relationships and social relationships if they are to survive and thrive" (Archer, 2002: 15). Prioritising concerns requires a day-to-day juggling act to accommodate them accordingly and to manage them when they do not always dovetail or when they end up in conflict:

"everyone is constrained to strive a balance between our trinity of inescapable human concerns. This means prioritising our concerns but without neglecting those pertaining to other orders; these can be relegated but they must be accommodated" (Archer, 2000: 10)

As such, this makes people *evaluative* beings. Part of defining and determining the right path is facilitated through the inner conversation which represents our rich inner life and enjoys its own relative autonomy and causal efficacy (Archer, 2000: 193). The inner life is accompanied by internal reasoning, termed the inner dialogue or conversation. It might also be described as 'self-talk' (Archer, 2003). This inner dialogue describes people's insights, ruminations and evaluative commentaries which precede, accompany and reflect upon (in)actions and concerns (Archer, 2003; 2007). In effect, Archer conceptualises people as equipped with the powers to monitor their own life. Examples of the inner conversation include mulling over a problem, situation or relationship, or reliving an event, episode or relationship (Archer, 2003; 2007). Equally, the inner conversation might convey processes of planning, imagining, rehearsing, deciding and of course, prioritising (Archer, 2003; 2007). Realistically, these conversations tend not exist in isolation, but instead the fabric of the inner conversation is woven from personal reflections and engagement in the social world. In addition, people's reflective and evaluative world is keenly

constituted by emotions which form ‘commentaries on our concerns’ (p. 196) and provide ‘shoving power’; they gird us into practical action.

A person’s inner world is a critical part of human character as it depicts people’s mental capacities of reflection and judgement. By conceptualising human beings in this way, Archer gives access to people’s reasons as causes; enabling people to have distinctive powers and properties which, following a realist ontology, operate as causal mechanisms. Thus, understanding peoples’ reasons for acting in the way they do by having access to their inner conversations gives access to the explanatory powers of human agency.

Equipping people with cares, concerns and commitments which they see as part of themselves takes agency away from the positivist’s bleak depiction of agency and puts flesh onto its bare bones. As a meta-theory or philosophy, realism does not conceptualise human beings in the way functionalism does – as a minimalistic wo/man, because to ignore people’s cares and concerns condemns human beings as a whole to a lifetime of inactivity, as Archer points out: ‘if we do not care enough about making things happen, then we become passive beings to whom things happen’ (Archer, 2000: 2/3).

Through the prioritisation of cares and concerns, consideration is given to whether to invest in or occupy a role. As Archer points out a large investment of oneself results in someone who lives for their work and a small investment indicates someone who is only interested in monetary gains. There is nothing to ensure that a social concern should have top priority or that people put their hearts into it (Archer, 2000: 294). But if a social concern is prioritised it enables an authentic commitment to others. As Archer notes, deciding how to act is not following a set of rules: ‘it is a much more ethical, creative and personalised reflection about how far should we go, and what do we judge to be the best way to do it’ (p. 299). When people invest in their roles by aligning themselves with their genuine concerns, a novel, unscripted performance is likely. This personhood, when expressed through the pursuit of one’s

ultimate cares and concerns is articulated as authenticity. When the role is only occupied, it becomes a performance.

In Archer's terms, the self is real, practical and relational: 'Realism construes our benevolence and concern for others as the crucial emergent property of our species, which develops through practical action in the world' (Archer, 2000: 50). Archer makes the firm assertion that people are active subjects who engage in practical endeavours in the social world. The notion of emergent properties denotes the relational developments occurring between agency and structure: 'We humans form society through our activities, but we ourselves are also shaped by it' (p. 307). In this way there is no difficulty in putting agential and structural causal powers on the same 'ontological footing'; they are both real and there is a relationship between them (Archer, 2000: 310). Our reflections on the world are fallible and interpretative; realism accepts this. But this does not mean that we cannot construct theories about human activity in social science research through the gathering of commonalities of people's experiences.

In a presentation of Archer's theory it is essential to highlight some of its weaknesses. Firstly, for Archer, the social order is explained as society's normativity and conventions which influence and in turn are influenced by our concerns over moral obligations, shame, dignity, pride and other aspects of self worth which denote a social standing (Archer, 2000). Through her explication of the social order, Archer clearly advances a strata of social structures which herald social norms which go beyond an economic imperative. However, whilst she offers an understanding of the social order, it is hinged on the selfish motives and commitments to maintain one's self worth through social standing rather than mutual reciprocity of good-will and fellow-feeling. As Archer explains:

“Generically, the most important of our social concerns is our *self-worth* which is vested in certain projects (career, family, community, club or church) whose success or failure we take as vindicating our worth or damaging it....Our behaviour is regulated by hopes and fears, that is

anticipations of social approbation/disapprobation” (Archer, 2002: 16; original emphasis).

But this is unsatisfactory if we are to explain a social order of reciprocal good-will and mutuality which is not based on self interest or self-preoccupation. Laying Sayer’s moral economy approach over Archer’s social order enables us to better depict this moral dimension of organisational life.

Secondly, despite Archers’ rich theorisation of human beings as a whole she places too little emphasis on the constraining nature of structural forces. People juggle priorities in ‘open systems’ which are unpredictable, contingent and limiting. Archer accepts structures influence action: ‘Because of the pre-existence of those structures which shape the situations in which we find ourselves, they impinge upon us without our compliance, consent or complicity’.(Archer, 2000: 262). But she appears to undermine their influence by claiming they cannot dictate but rather induce us ‘this way and that’ (p. 318/9).

By placing human beings within a moral and economic context, we are able to more firmly depict the often unavoidable and determinate constraining influences of social, political and economic structures which impinge on our everyday prioritisation and design of courses of action. A moral and economic context enables a means of theorising the strong and pervading influence of capitalist economic and political influences which push us to choose concerns which may not be in alignment with our social selves and which limit our creative and reflective responses. This may be taking decisions at work which impact negatively on others or behaving in the mirror image of the corporate ‘persona’ to keep our job, renew a contract or get a promotion. As we clearly experience on a daily basis, work life cannot be idealised to the point where we never make compromises because it would undermine our very selves, as Archer (2000:34) argues. More realistically, work life does require us to make concessions which may, at times, compromise our very selves. However, that does not mean we wish to eliminate a social or moral order which may enable us to execute other types of cares and concerns of a social nature.

In addition, Archer is too dismissive of a social constructionist approach and its ability to document the human ingredient: people's inner motivations and drivers. For example, of Goffman's (1967) work, she claims he is unable to explain *why* the roles and dramaturgical behaviour of social interaction occur. This, she argues, is largely because no access is given to 'the self whose inner deliberations generated these performances' . She notes 'His origins, properties and powers remained immured behind a brick wall' (Archer, 2000: 317). However, Goffman's work and other accounts described in Chapter Four labelled under 'interpretivism' do offer access to agentic properties and powers; these are people's desires and needs to generate and sustain a social (or moral) order to the world. In effect, Archer's expression of agency would be viewed by interpretivists as people's desires as social beings to bring order into the world.

Overall, we can say that people have different priorities and needs pertaining to a social reality which refers to economic life such as keeping one's job, developing one's career and performing well in the economic realm of a moral and economic context (Sayer, 2006) or in Archer's terms, the practical order (Archer, 2000). But also people have concerns relating to the moral or civil dimensions in organisational life which refers to doing the 'right thing' such as fulfilling needs of social relatedness, friendships, care, respect and support for others which go beyond the social demands of the instrumental sphere of work life (Sayer, 2007). The relationship between economic and ethical spheres of life is dialectic. Economic actions are influenced by moral sentiments and norms and likewise, moral actions are influenced by economic factors. Similar to Archer, Sayer conveys people as jugglers – prioritising which matters are of importance where decisions are influenced by considerations of cost and risk (Sayer, 2000). But unlike Archer, Sayer argues that at any time moral dispositions and norms may be 'compromised, overridden or reinforced by economic pressures' particularly in capitalism (Sayer, 2006: 78). Sayer (2006: 80) expands on this:

‘In any society, it is always possible that economic and ethical valuations may come into tensions: what is regarded as good (fair, just, honourable, etc) may be compromised or overridden (though sometimes reinforced) by pressures to economise or simply to provision’ (ibid.).

In Sayer’s terms whilst people behave with a certain degree of freedom, economic forces to conform to corporate demands are omnipresent. But he does not disregard that there will be times when moral priorities take precedence over economic ones and clashes or conflict may arise as a consequence. This introduces a more realistic understanding of economic life.

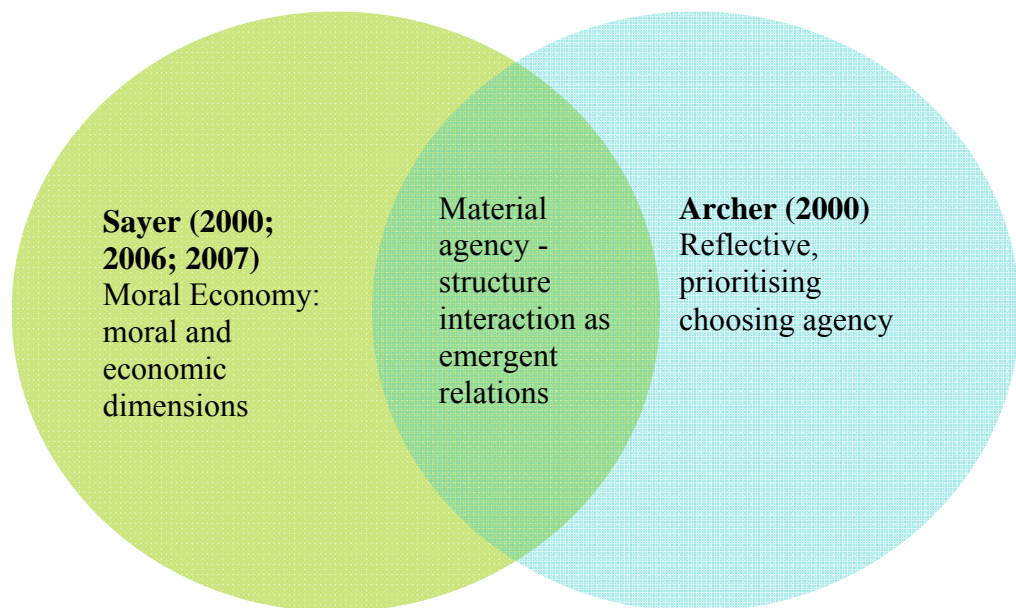
In sum, situating Archer’s agency within Sayer’s moral and economic context provides an ideal base for understanding people’s uses and development of Emotional Intelligence at work and the outcomes. Sayer’s moral and economic context enables real, material social and economic structures to be theorised which influence people’s decisions of what they need EI for and how they use it at work; as social concerns or to meet the economic demands of contemporary capitalism. In addition, according to Archer (2000) people are equipped with cares, concerns, reflective, evaluative and prioritising abilities. This helps to theorise how people determine their choices for using Emotional Intelligence in accordance with economic or moral needs. Their prioritisation of needs and concerns, facilitated by their ‘inner conversation’ which gives people their distinctive powers is emergent and relational with economic and moral structures of organisational life. This opens up scope to gain insight into a rich human being and people’s diverse journeys which they engage with through the EI experience.

In sum, Sayer offers a moral economy approach which portrays a way of understanding how norms regarding people’s rights and responsibilities both rely upon and influence their motivations, character and moral dispositions. This approach enables an understanding of an economy which requires selected qualities, attitudes and virtues that people may exhibit, particularly benevolence and concern for others, to oil its wheels, expressed through economic and moral dimensions.

Archer conceptualises people’s complex character and capabilities as reflective, evaluative humans. Together, they offer a material, emergent agency-structure interaction which celebrates human beings as individual and collective. Figure 1 portrays the contribution from these two theoretical perspectives.

In the next section of this chapter the typology of EI is introduced which characterises people’s everyday uses of Emotional Intelligence in the workplace – their actions. It captures the relationship between EI prescription, people and place in organisational life. The second part of the chapter explains how the typology links to the theory, how it compares to previous research on EI, what it offers and why it is useful.

Figure 1: A Model of the Theoretical Framework



A TYPOLOGY OF EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE IN THE WORKPLACE

Chapter One explored how contemporary capitalism is shaping organisational forms which in turn is creating demands for Emotional Intelligence skills in the workplace. It explained how a niche has emerged that has ensured Emotional Intelligence's broad appeal in the workplace, to both employer and employee. Deregulated markets, increasing global business operations, and trends towards rationalisation and e-commerce means that organisations are on the search for new configurations to cope with these changes (Webb, 2004). In contemporary contexts, Emotional Intelligence appears to have found a foothold by offering itself as a management tool to help people survive and thrive in these increasingly competitive business environments.

In Chapter Three it was argued that the mass of quantitative studies on Emotional Intelligence at best offer patchy evidence of the EI-performance link and new theoretical methods are needed for a broader understanding of EI. It was contended that such methods should embrace a more contextualised analysis. It was also argued that individual and organisational psychology research leaves many questions unanswered in our understanding of why, how, what for and with what outcome EI is used at work. For example, it raised questions over what gains and losses have been overlooked due to a research agenda which focuses solely on instrumental use and organisational profit. It was concluded that people and the EI - performance link are more complex and variable than psychological research can portray.

Consequently, a broader analysis is necessary. The introduction of four categories which describe the use of Emotional Intelligence at work acknowledges people's diverse and contradictory needs and concerns in late capitalist organisations. However, a new conceptual model of EI needs to be positioned on firm theoretical ground. By using Archer's (2000; 2003) conceptualisation of agency and Sayer's (2000a; 2006 ; 2007) moral and economic context, we can explain people's varied uses of EI: their motivations, experiences and outcomes of developing and using it at work and beyond – in and out of the labour process. This part of the chapter

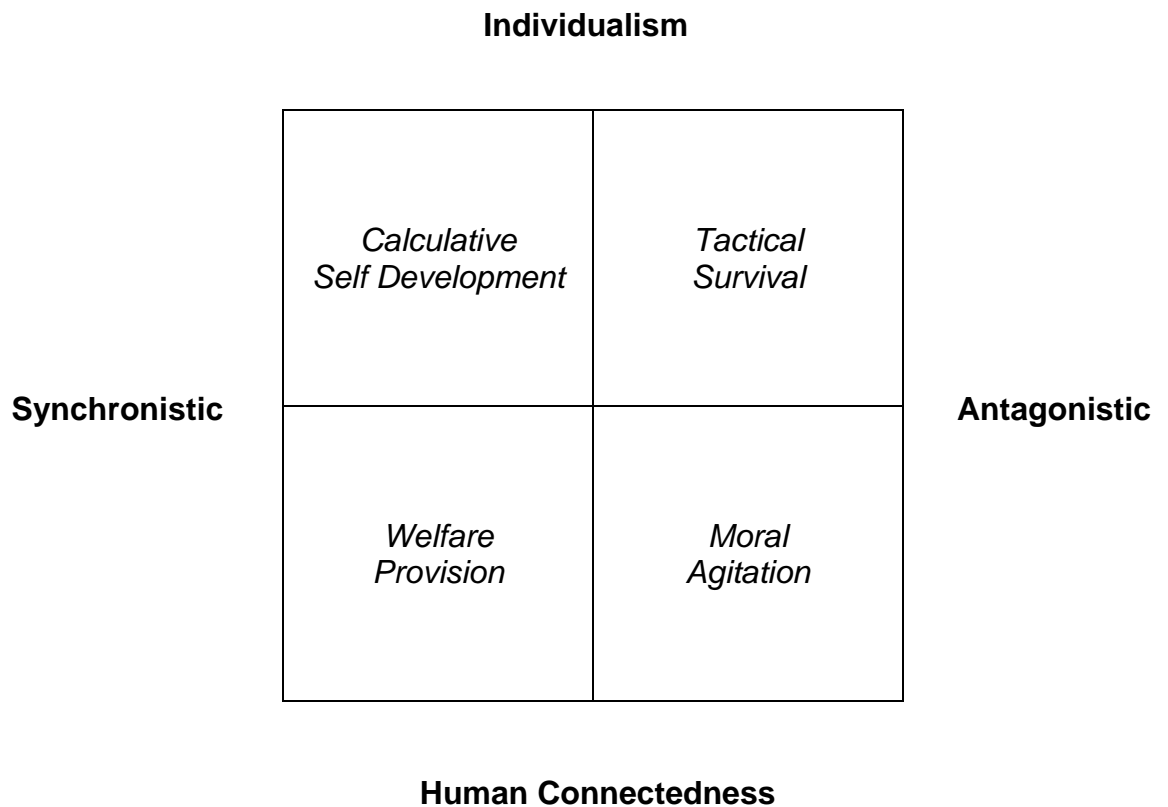
introduces the empirical typology and provides an explanation of how it links to the theory, how it compares to previous research on EI, what it offers and why its useful. Overall, the key aim is to explain how this model provides a more humanised, contextualised understanding of the use of EI in the workplace.

Chapter One argued that there are increasing demands placed on managers and leaders in enterprising cultures to voluntarily develop social and emotional skills. In Chapter one, it was argued that recent academic accounts note a transfer of responsibility to employees for investment of their human capital (Thompson, 2007). Emotional Intelligence training courses offer attractive skill development opportunities which individuals attend voluntarily as they believe EI will help them survive and thrive in the new economy.

The model presented highlights four kinds of use of Emotional Intelligence in contemporary workplaces according to the dimensions or ‘poles’ of individualism/human connectedness and synchronistic/antagonistic. Traversing these dimensions generates a four quadrant grid which produces the following actions: *Calculative Self Development*, *Welfare Provision*, *Moral Agitation* and *Tactical Survival* (see Figure 2). The individualism/human connectedness dimensions represent uses of EI for economic or non-economic gains and the synchronistic/antagonistic terms refer to emotionally intelligent activities which support or are in conflict or discordant with organisational goals and strategies. Changing contexts in daily work life offer opportunities for people to develop a moveable and lasting set of skills which meet different needs pertaining to economic/instrumental goals such as performing well, keeping one’s job and advancing one’s career (individualism) (Archer, 2000) and non-instrumental, social goals expressed through schemes of co-operation, respect, support for others, recognition, friendships and care which go beyond the social demands of the instrumental sphere of work life (human connectedness) (Sayer, 2006; 2007). These activities may be in accordance with (synchronistic) or discordant with (antagonistic) organisational prerogative. This typology produces the four combinations: Calculative Self Development (individualism/synchronistic), Welfare Provision

(human connectedness/ synchronistic), Moral Agitation (human connectedness/antagonistic) and Tactical Survival (individualism/ antagonistic). By introducing an integrated treatment of these categories, the model supports an understanding of how types can be combined or used temporally and spatially and often contradictorily. Importantly, people’s agency, in the form of needs and concerns accessed through the inner conversation, is deemed to be a crucial factor in how they respond to EI and the outcomes they achieve, albeit within structural constraints. Each type is now described.

Figure 2: A Typology of Emotional Intelligence in the Workplace



Acts of *Calculative Self Development* might involve prioritising work success over moral and social consideration for others and as such represents people’s priorities in the practical order in relation to performative achievement (Archer, 2000). Acts of *Calculative Self Development* involve using EI to enhance performative competence

in modern capitalist workplaces. Calculative Self Development entails using EI to thrive rather than survive in the new economy. At these times, individuals are confident and clear about the commodified use and purpose of EI and have no qualms about deploying it in this way. However, some acts of Calculative Self Development are fuelled by feelings of social ineptness, vulnerability or used when individuals are struggling with difficult social relationships at work. In some cases their 'deficiencies' have been pointed out in performance reviews and they are concerned to develop EI skills to minimise their sense of inadequacy as well as enhance job security and promotional prospects; in other words for their own individualistic gains. As Sayer (2006) points out, at times moral priorities become compromised and sacrificed for economic pressures and for these individuals, economic prioritisation is not always a choice but a necessity. Overall, Calculative Self Development is characterised by a person's individualism and synchrony with the defined aims of the organisation. What unites the acts of Calculative Self Development is people's use of EI in the practical sense; they use EI to benefit themselves and the organisation and no-one else.

Turning to the next type, *Welfare Provision* describes uses of EI which align individuals' social behaviour with organisational demands in conjunction with their own ethical needs and concerns of a social nature. As a result acts of Welfare Provision involve the use of EI to meet performative achievement in collaboration with satisfying norms to promote the well-being and flourishing of others (Archer, 2000; Sayer, 2006). Following Sayer's (2006; 2007) moral and economic context we can conceptualise these needs and concerns in moral and economic terms because acts of good citizenship, empathy and managing with integrity, all achieved through EI, don't undermine organisation performance but enhance it. In acts of Welfare Provision, having cares and concerns for the feelings, predicaments and wellbeing of others are authentic concerns which are acted upon through EI.

In an increasingly differentiated fragmented capitalist society and its variable demands, acts of Welfare Provision are underscored by a belief that a moral order is becoming more important at work as it unites people through the stable if contested

schemes of cooperation, respect and care. People purposefully attempt to embody these norms in their modern institutional life and the various tools and concepts of Emotional Intelligence legitimise and provide ways of doing this. By using EI to fulfil acts of human connectedness, Welfare Provision doesn't alienate the person from the defined goals of the enterprise. Instead, the emotionally intelligent behaviour serves primary economic and social needs and concerns without having to compromise one over the other.

In the case of *Moral Agitation*, Emotional Intelligence is used in conflict with, to resist or be disruptive of organisational initiatives and management practices in keeping with needs and concerns of a moral order – needs which prioritise protecting the well-being of others and ensuring their flourishing (Sayer, 2007) but are discordant with organisational goals. This means acts of Moral Agitation are in conflict with organisational prerogative in pursuit of human connectedness. People's use of EI in this way is often framed as a response to capitalism and its incumbent organisational pressures. Individuals deftly uses EI as acts of Moral Agitation to reduce or to circumvent unnecessary suffering on themselves and others; to protect and ensure others' flourishing and in doing so, demonstrates authentic commitment to others.

The last use is *Tactical Survival*. When EI is used for this purpose, the person is just about surviving in the new economy; *digging in* and *holding on tight* to the corporate enterprise. At these times they have less energy to promote human connectedness and instead are largely focused on the self. In these moments, the person is constantly looking for strategies to make work life more bearable and EI provides tools and techniques to help them in this endeavour. Tactical Survival does not entail using EI to enhance performative achievement or in response to moral or ethical needs and commitments towards others. Instead, Tactical Survival involves adopting EI to lighten the stressful or disappointing burdens of work and to improve one's well-being. However, these acts are never in the organisation's economic interests. Individualistic and antagonistic characterise the needs and uses of EI because whilst there are gains for the self, the organisation never benefits from their use of EI.

In day to day organisational life, the following images come to light. Acts of Calculative Self Development involve the use of EI to empathise with and influence internal stakeholders at a board meeting in order to achieve individual work-based goals; Welfare Provision entails the person dedicating that extra bit of time and effort to genuinely support a mentee who has who has had a ‘damning’ appraisal and feels worthless; Moral Agitation may refer to the use of negotiating skills and an increased social awareness of one’s boss’s agenda to challenge him/her on a new, unwanted corporate initiative which jeopardises collegiality and social aspects of work life; and acts of Tactical Survival may rely on a heightened assessment of one’s own emotional needs and stress to reduce the workload by refusing to go the extra mile anymore for the organisation.

People’s approach to developing their EI capacities, their interpretations of EI, their selection and discarding of various EI sub-skills, the kinds of situations they use EI in and the outcomes are strongly driven by their needs and concerns (albeit within structural constraints). However, sometimes these may change along the EI journey as people attend EI training for one reason and re-prioritise their needs and concerns as a consequence of the course. In such cases, the actual uses of EI may be quite different to initial expectations. Nevertheless, the ‘inner conversation’ which facilitates this process, as Archer describes is an ongoing commentary:

‘The internal conversation is never suspended, it rarely sleeps and what it is doing throughout the endless contingent circumstances it encounters is continuously monitoring its concerns. Inwardly, the subject is living a rich unseen life which is evaluative (rather than calculative) and which is meditative (rather than appropriative)’ (Archer, 2000: 297).

This portrays people in rich terms, advancing us from individual psychology’s narrow depiction of people to reflective, evaluative, choosing and creative human being. For example, acts of Calculative Self Development may mean the person views EI as a vehicle to promote positive emotions and to eradicate negative

feelings. For those who thrive in contemporary capitalism, the skills prioritised emanate the 'entrepreneurial employee' – influencing, negotiating, using political acumen and empathy to wield the best work outcomes for him/herself and the organisation typically in contexts of group decision making and selling/marketing. Calculative Self Development may involve the prioritisation of one's values and the person, in this moment, has ample self insight to understand the consequences of appearing 'false' when using EI in this way. By contrast, acts of Welfare Provision may involve prioritising skills of empathy, social responsibility, teamwork, inspirational leadership and social relationships through a reflective process which has enabled that individual to make these choices in work life. But importantly, the managers and leaders in this study adopt different uses of EI at different times and places at work. These aspects will be elaborated on in the following chapters.

In addition, people are capable of insights and evaluations into potential enabling and constraining forces on their use of EI skills such as organisational rules, powers, politics, practices and so on. These structural properties will also be discussed in the following chapters.

Overall, people's inimitable choices make up their unique personhoods which enables a single story to be put forward: their personhood is created by their private reflections upon objective realities and their consequent action based on the prioritising of these concerns. In this way, the causal powers of the external world (economic and moral) and peoples' own causal powers (executed in their choices and actions to achieve economic and social needs) come together on the same ontological footing and are lodged in the same world.

From this empirical typology it is clear that people have different needs and make choices which indicates they have discretionary use of EI in their work life. This requires some further explanation. Employers value intra- and inter-personal skills as a component of work and expect their managers and leaders to smoothly and artfully manage their everyday interactions as part of their productive work. However, employers do not seek to capture and control EI's full worth in social relationships

through direct assessment, surveillance and reward. Even if they did, individuals' emotionally intelligent acts and gestures are often embedded and indistinguishable in complex and on-going relations with peers, staff and customers; in effect EI makes up a part of social skills (such as communications, social skills, influencing and so on) and contributes towards, but does not constitute a sum emotional or social capital. Therefore, there are difficulties in ascribing a quantifiable value to EI skills. Consequently, the use of Emotional Intelligence is largely viewed as discretionary in people's daily work lives. Because of this and the evidence that people have different (and changing) priorities and commitments at work, there is scope to use EI in accordance with both one's personal and professional needs and concerns. Because of this discretion, shades of engagement vary temporally and spatially; feelings and relational behaviours can readily become currency which are wholly or partially offered; given as prescription or transformed beyond espoused EI prescription.

These differences in shades of engagement are witnessed in a manager's Tactical Survival as a partial effort to use EI to improve social relationships whilst focusing most of one's efforts into marketing EI skills to find a job elsewhere. This is contrasted with acts of Welfare Provision which may entail a whole hearted effort to make one's staff feel more important and engaged in their work through increased attentiveness and thoughtful work allocation. And Calculative Self Development may involve an appropriated use of EI which contrasts with Moral Agitation which attempts to transform work life for one's colleagues using EI in ways beyond prescription. But also, the integrated model illustrates the multifarious use of EI: acts of Tactical Survival may involve using EI to work less and live more because the person refuses to work long hours any more. At the same time the manager is engaged in Moral Agitation, using her enhanced skills of empathy and social responsibility to demand from her board of directors an increased bonus for her staff to reflect their recent hard work.

This typology demonstrates that by adopting a broader conceptualisation of work 'success', a better understanding of EI's full worth in social and economic terms is gained; and a more humanised typology is presented. In the following empirical

chapters managers and leaders' experiences and outcomes of using EI will illustrate this. Overall, assuming Emotional Intelligence is used solely for organisational gains misrepresents people's needs and concerns, their commitments and preoccupations and fails to explain how organisations profit from genuine acts of human connectedness which are ends in themselves. Thus the typology of EI use – for Calculative Self Development, Welfare Provision, Moral Agitation and Tactical Survival acknowledges the complex and diverse outcomes (gains and losses) of Emotional Intelligence in the workplace: increased job security and promotion, more harmonious and efficient social relations, feelings of less stress, happier and more content staff as well as the loss of valued employees, impeded introduction of corporate initiatives, and less productivity. These have yet to be captured in psychological research but shed light on EI's broad appeal and worth in organisational and individual terms. The chapters which follow will describe these in more detail.

Clearly the typology of EI use enables an in-depth exploration of people's workplace experiences. It illuminates people as organisational actors who interpret, shape and use EI as a tool or guiding principles in their day to day work lives according to economic and social priorities. Using a realist framework we can understand the *causal powers* of agency. Through people's reflections and insights (their inner conversations) access is gained to these generative mechanisms in the form of reasons as causes (Archer, 2000: Outhwaite, 1983: 326; Fleetwood, 2005). In effect, the inner commentary is part of the action (Archer, 2000: 194). It also highlights how emotions operate as 'evaluative commentaries' and gird people into action because 'the importance of the emotions is central to the things we care about and to the act of caring itself' (Archer, 2000: 194). As Archer (2000) rightly points out emotions are the stuff of life; when we feel something it is about the nature of our circumstances and our relationship to them (p. 218). This brings us awareness of satisfactions, discontents and judgements of worth. Whilst less confident acts of Calculative Self Development mean the person has been girded into attending an EI training course due to feelings of discomfort, or anxiety, acts of Welfare Provision may convey excitement about new opportunities to put something more meaningful

back into social relations at work. These emotions provide the shoving power for people to take action.

CONCLUSION

This chapter introduces a new, original conceptual framework which adopts a realist approach to capture the politics of working life and an active agency embedded in a moral and economic context. In other words, it explains people's diverse uses and experiences of Emotional Intelligence in the workplace. It offers explanatory powers through generative agentic mechanisms which give people inner recesses and resources, a public and private life and emotions that gird them into action. Therefore, people's most crucial human properties and powers: "self-consciousness, reflexivity and a goodly knowledge of the world, which is indispensable to thriving in it" (Archer, 2000: 189) are celebrated and illuminated in this typology. In Archer's terms we have a robust subject with the wherewithal to reflect upon the outside world as object (Archer, 2000: 298). The relationship between agency and structure is theorised through reciprocity of the *causal powers* of each with the two ultimately being mediated through the 'internal conversation' (Archer, 2000). Equipping people with 'self interpreting' properties (Archer, 2003) enables human beings to be sufficiently proficient at explaining what it is in their environment and object relationships which results in their behaviour. In this framework, accessing the inner commentary is part of the action.

Situating people within a moral and economic context, provides an important means of explaining the uses of Emotional Intelligence which express the pervasive economic and moral dimensions of organisational life (Sayer, 2006; 2007). Representing people's needs and concerns in this way offers a complementary insight into EI which significantly forwards the debate on the construct.

There is one final point to be made. In Archer's (2000) terms a social order depicts people who are concerned with judgements of approbation and disapproval which they take to heart and affect their self worth through the evocation of shame, guilt, remorse, dignity, jealousy and so on. These concerns reflect their social standing.

However, in this contribution the vicissitudes of the new economy make such concerns a luxury for most people. Instead, people's aspirations, purposes and commitments are in relation to economic survival and thriving for which they use EI because it proves 'useful, economical, convenient or imperative' (Sayer, 2006: 81) or as acts of 'fellow-feeling'. Sayer (2006: 80) describes this as the ethical aspects of 'thick' economic relations. And these needs appear to subsume any concerns for social standing as depicted in Archer's (2000) social order.

Overall, this theoretical framework offers a new, original conceptualisation of EI in the workplace through the explication of the four uses: Calculative Self Development, Welfare Provision, Moral Agitation and Tactical Survival. In the following chapters we consider these uses for a more thorough discussion supported by rich data – the voices of those who have engaged with EI at work. Chapter Six presents the three training courses researched in this study: the 'Goleman', 'Bar-On' and 'Hybrid'. It aims to address some of the research deficiencies highlighted in Chapter Two by detailing each training programme's content, genesis, key influences and approach. Chapter Six also presents a brief summary of the training experiences from the participants in this study. Chapters Seven and Eight move on to a description of the typology of Emotional Intelligence. Chapter Seven presents the actions of Calculative Self Development and Tactical Survival. Calculative Self Development involves using EI as a form of currency to benefit the self and organisation and Tactical Survival entails using EI to benefit the self but this is discordant or in conflict with the organisation. Chapter Eight explores Welfare Provision and Moral Agitation. What binds these two uses of EI are managers and leaders' needs to promote a human connectedness, thus EI is used as a form of currency to promote care, empathy, support – a fellow-feeling within organisational life. In acts of Welfare Provision, this is in alignment with organisational goals; in actions of Moral Agitation this is contra-organisational aims and objectives. First, in the next chapter, the training courses will be considered.

CHAPTER SIX: THE EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE TRAINING PROGRAMMES

The typology of EI in the workplace aims to capture the relationship between EI prescription, people and place in organisational life. In order to do this, it is first necessary to understand what is taught on the EI training programmes and how this EI prescription is translated into managers and leaders' use at work. This study investigated three types of 'mixed' EI training courses which best represented those courses used by training consultants and business organisations. For ease of reference, the courses are called the 'Goleman', 'Bar-On' and 'Hybrid'.

This chapter aims to address some of the deficiencies of previous studies which examined the EI training-performance link. In Chapter Two it was argued that research studies which explore the EI training-performance link have failed to give rich descriptions of EI training courses (tools, materials), thus making it hard to understand any changes EI may bring to work-based performance as a consequence. It was also argued that narrow descriptions of courses has impeded comparable analyses across research studies because the conceptual and theoretical aspects of the training are not always made clear. This chapter aims to respond to these criticisms by giving full accounts of each course's influence/genesis, key themes, objectives and where possible, insights into theoretical origins of EI. This will enable a better understanding of potential uses of EI and changes it may generate at work as a consequence of attending the training programme.

The data presented in this chapter is drawn from observations recorded during the training programmes, course materials and follow-up interviews with the trainers and participants. At the end of the descriptions of the training courses, Table 4 presents and compares the key features of the three courses. Appendix A provides further details of the courses and participants.

THE GOLEMAN COURSE

The Goleman course was run by one trainer, Wilma, who had worked in management training and development for many years and joined her current consultancy three years prior to the interview. The EI course cost £370 plus VAT and was attended by two participants and myself. One participant dropped out at the last minute but another interviewee was secured from a prior course. The training day took place in one of the branches of the management consultancy which was in an attractive old building, located on a business park.

Influence/genesis of course

Wilma had decided to base her EI course on Daniel Goleman's model due to the following reasons: "I'd read Goleman quite a long time ago and I'd been exposed to it through others around me...his model seemed an easy one to explain to people and bring anecdotal evidence to light". The programme adhered strongly to Goleman's (1998) approach with very minor modifications. This framework was based on the five capacities of self-awareness, self-regulation, motivation, empathy and social skills, upon which the later ECI (described in Chapter Two) was based.

Focus and learning objectives

At the beginning of the day participants were given a copy of slides and a pack of exercises which were referred to during the day. The learning objectives of the programme were to: understand what Emotional Intelligence is; understand the Goleman model; establish ways of enhancing personal effectiveness with EI; and identify EI uses within the business. Here the trainer explained the general approach:

“Because we have written objectives in our course brochure so if we're doing it as an open programme we have to cover the course objectives that we've

advertised. Within that I will also, as course tutor, ask people what they want to get out of the day” (Wilma, Trainer, Goleman course).

Key themes

The day was structured around an interactive slide presentation by the trainer which addressed the learning objectives, punctuated with an EI self assessment and a series of individual and group exercises. These exercises were designed to develop emotional self awareness (getting in touch with one’s feelings and physical reactions e.g. what does an emotion tell me? What can I learn? reading facial expressions), increase emotional self regulation (understand and change negative emotions, reveal emotions at work, practice how physical posture and visual imagery can influence one’s emotions), motivation (focusing on goals one is motivated towards, goal setting techniques), enhancing empathy (using reflective responses, empathy tips) and social skills (achieving rapport with others through key principles of Neuro Linguistic Programming, identifying EI skills of inspirational leaders). Identifying uses of EI within the business involved a brief evidence based presentation of studies which demonstrated the EI-performance/organisational success and EI/stress link. This took place at the end of the training day followed by a review and wrap-up.

A key aspect of the course was raising participants’ awareness of what Emotional Intelligence was and empowering individuals to make their own changes through the provision of some basic tools and ideas, as Wilma commented during the interview: “We can raise awareness of the what, we can raise awareness of the how but we can’t change it for them. They have to change the how for themselves because it is behavioural.” Raising awareness was key in this programme because:

“once you’ve got that information or that knowledge you can’t not have it, so you start to recognise things in yourself or other people, whether or not you want to its going to happen, once its there its not going to go away” (Wilma, Trainer, Goleman course).

Overall, the approach taken was quite broad-brush, allowing participants to identify which aspects of EI were more important to them but Wilma emphasised during the course that “we need to develop all the competencies to be emotionally intelligent”. A lot of anecdotal stories and evidence were given during the day, largely drawn from Wilma’s personal experiences. For example, when reinforcing the value of EI at work she recounted stories of people with excellent technical skills who when promoted had no managerial competence: “Someone I know is a brilliant engineer, has won so many awards but can’t run a team, he has no EI”.

Throughout this course, Wilma clearly situated EI within a work-based context and often inferred an instrumental, performative purpose to EI. Several comments reinforced this. For example, the discussion on empathy was linked to influencing situations where ‘putting yourself in their shoes’ was necessary to help you determine: “What do we need to get from these people or give to them to achieve what we need?” When discussing the development of social skills Wilma recommended the use of Neuro Linguistic Programming (mirroring other peoples body language, breathing, tone and pitch of voice, words being used) and commented: “I know it’s a bit manipulative but it seems to work”.

Positive psychology

The core message conveyed by the trainer with regards to positive and negative emotions appeared to be: “do what is appropriate and what relates to your personal values and the circumstance”. During the slide presentation she said “It is appropriate to show anger, if we suppress it can make us ill [...] it is advisable to let people know when you’re not happy, for example to show anger if someone has done something wrong but take them aside”. This point was reinforced by anecdotal stories which reinforced that negative emotions were acceptable at work. But equally, when discussing emotional self control Wilma explained that one must challenge negative conversations with oneself, when ‘you may be having a manic conversation in your head’. Here she commented: “when something is bad, let it go”.

What critics have termed as personality components of EI, Wilma seemed to embrace as individual differences which could not be altered. For example, during the interview she commented on conscientiousness: “how do you teach that?”. During the training day there was a general acceptance that one EI size does not fit all, that people are full of complexities and individual differences. For example she commented: “Yes, but you can be pessimistic and motivated” and of integrity, she commented: “there’s a distinct difference between what and how, so what you need is some kind of integrity, how you choose to develop it is up to you”.

Developing one’s EI

During the interview Wilma explained that becoming emotionally intelligent was not a superficial process: “it’s something that becomes a part of you...If someone has a highly developed Emotional Intelligence how do they switch it off, because there isn’t a switch for it is there? It becomes something that is quite intrinsic”. This seemed to denote the development process as one of authenticity and genuineness, based on core values. She also sought to explain during the training day that everyone would start their EI development from different points: “We accept that people are different in terms of how for example comfortable they are with ambiguity”. During the interview she also emphasised, drawing on her experience, that some people would be willing to develop their EI and others will be less interested, highlighting peoples’ discretionary choices:

“The training is going to be the start....some people may go on that course, get off at the next station and never do anything again and there may be people who say actually this is something I really want to think about and once their awareness is raised of it they want to learn more about it and they want to make positive choices” (Wilma, Trainer, Goleman course).

In Chapter Three, one of the concerns regarding EI was the invasive nature of the process and how willing employees are to go on this journey in the context of personal development for work. It was contended that practitioners, managers, coaches or consultants have considerable power in the way they handle ‘emotional’

or vulnerable employees and what they do with this information. All three trainers had numerous experiences of delegates going through emotional *fall-outs* which they were happy to share during the interviews. Wilma retold numerous stories during the interview of delegates bursting into tears, having emotional *melt-downs* or feeling very vulnerable and uncomfortable when exploring aspects of EI in ‘open’ and ‘in-house’ training contexts. Here she recounted one incident:

“And another one where I was using some EI themes if you like on a first line manager course where a man asked to talk to me at break-time and he said ‘I really can’t talk about this stuff, I cannot open myself up at work, I have to keep myself a closed book otherwise I’d go over the edge completely. So I don’t want to talk about anything in the next session, please don’t ask me any questions cause I’m only just holding it together” (Wilma, Trainer, Goleman course).

Overall, the Hybrid course was largely tailored towards developing EI for performative work-based use with little focus on people’s potentially divergent needs or concerns. However, the message was that being emotionally intelligent was an intrinsic, permanent ‘way of being’ in the world, based on one’s personal value system and requiring genuine development.

THE BAR-ON COURSE

The three day Bar-On Leadership EI course was run by Martin, an experienced management consultant who had worked in the management consultancy field for over twenty years. He had a lot of experience in outplacement counselling and leadership development. This EI programme was the first to run at the University Business School. The cost of this course was approximately £1200 and was attended by eight delegates. The course took place within an old manor house on a University campus within several large conference rooms.

Influence/genesis of the course

In general, Martin kept very close to the definitions and meaning of Bar-On's EQ-i throughout the course. For example, in describing the competency social relationships he referred to it as the ability to establish and maintain mutually satisfying relationships, in keeping with Bar-On's definition (Orme and Bar-On, 2002: 24). This was consistent with all the competencies introduced during the programme. He explained during the interview, he used Bar-On's model as a framework for the course:

“I use it as a vehicle as you saw, I could have gone skill and drill on each of the competencies but I just wanted people to have a flavour of them and to work on them and for the workbook to support that” (Martin, Trainer, Bar-On course).

He explained how learnt optimism and Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT), in his view, were core to the Bar-On model highlighting how he had integrated these aspects into the programme:

“..if I take the Bar-On model, outside of it, the Seligman learnt helplessness and learnt optimism pieces are a bigger part of the Bar-On model than even MHS [test distributor] would care to admit as is Cognitive Behavioural Therapy which underpins the workbook and MHS's own writings, underpins a lot of the change that takes place when you use the Bar-On competencies because you use the CBT as the A-B-C-D-E model substantially throughout the workbook to leverage different ways of appraising what's going on and in a way therefore if you want to align it with anything it's a more meditative model perhaps than the others” (Martin, Trainer, Bar-On course).

Elsewhere in the interview he emphasised that self awareness is a core aspect of EI and linked this to the meditative theme previously referred to:

“paying more attention to the affective, cognitive processes of the human being in front of you means paying attention to your own to gain some insight as to what makes you tick, what makes you fearful, what makes you motivated. So that is something I would agree with Goleman on, self awareness sits at the core. That’s a Zen thing, that’s a Buddhist thing if you want a spiritual connection to it” (Martin, Bar-On Trainer).

Focus and learning objectives

There were no specific learning objectives provided to delegates on this course but it was obvious that the material covered during days one and two as described below was the backbone of the programme. In general, the trainer was happy to try to meet the needs of all the delegates who were attending. Here Martin explained this:

“in the programme as you saw, especially since we allowed other trainers in there, you’ve got I mean, I know, I’ve got to be more eclectic and willing to be do what’s needed to make sure at least everybody in there feels that they’ve been heard with their own particularly divergent agenda” (Martin, Bar-On Trainer).

It was clear from this programme that the focus was on work and life happiness and success and participants were free to take from it whatever they wished, both personally and professionally. There was a fair amount of flexibility in the programme which enabled delegates to have time to share their reflections and experiences within the group. This flexibility also allowed the trainer to branch off into discussions which he clearly had not intended to do. For example, on the third day he spent an hour discussing the leadership lessons gained from Shakespeare’s plays.

Key themes

At the beginning of the programme participants were given a folder of notes or ‘workbook’ including comprehensive descriptions of each EQ-i competency, a copy

of the presentation slides, a CD containing 15 exercises and articles, printed handouts of other exercises and a relaxation CD. The workbook promised to give practical steps and guidance to: ‘managing your emotions, overcoming fear and anxiety to reach your desired goals, motivating and disciplining yourself, and dealing calmly and effectively with others and their emotions’.

The first day was largely an interactive lecture which covered the history of EI, its underpinnings of positive organisational scholarship and Cognitive Behavioural Therapy, the pressures and realities of today’s business environment, the difference between EI and IQ and how the human brain deals with memory, emotions and the amygdala hijack. During this part of the course the trainer discussed the importance of being sensitive to emotional cues in others and some time was spent discussing and viewing slide examples of a software programme designed to develop emotional recognition of facial expressions. Then delegates were introduced to the Goleman EI model, the MSCEIT and the Bar-On EQ-i. Delegates’ EQ-i profiles were handed out (these had been completed online a week before the course by each delegate) but not discussed in any way. Martin was keen for participants not to become too pre-occupied by their EI score, making comments like: “There’s no metric score that you can increase” and later “I don’t want people to have report-itus”. The remainder of day one and day two involved comprehensive coverage of key EQ-i competencies (one by one) to include: self-regard, emotional self awareness, assertiveness, independence, self-actualisation, empathy, social responsibility, interpersonal relationships, stress tolerance, impulse control, reality testing, flexibility, problem-solving, optimism and happiness. Supporting exercises provided opportunities to enhance certain aspects such as optimism, assertiveness and self actualisation. Core to the message was that EI was ‘a high energy sport’. The afternoon of day two involved a long group exercise where participants acted out four different leadership styles. The learning point was that workplaces need to nurture peoples’ different primary styles and have a balance of types in the workplace to optimise creativity and results. This exercise was followed by a relaxation exercise. Delegates completed exercises on optimism and an EQ development plan at home between day one and two.

Day three was a 'follow up' day and commenced with a long discussion by the trainer on: the developmental journey to becoming EI, authenticity, presence and being the best self one can be. Illustrations were given from stories from literature, the arts and poetry to highlight key learning points. Then delegates were asked to reflect on the last month and discuss in small groups 'what worked, what did not work and what did you avoid?'. The group convened for a general discussion on these questions and then the trainer talked about sharing, honesty, leadership and the Johari Window (a management model for self reflection). He asked participants to look at their embedded emotional and behavioural responses, their personal life history (including childhood and adult experiences that shaped them) and to start changing behaviours through practice and mini-rehearsals. Some of the afternoon involved a slide presentation of the evidence based proof that EI increases performance and success. The day concluded with two exercises which each participant did on their own. The first was designed to encourage delegates to lead using character rather than persona and to understand their negative behavioural 'shadows'. The exercise stressed that leading with character required authenticity, openness, compassion, balance, inclusion and peaceful presence. In the second exercise each participant was given a stack of cards with value statements and asked to prioritise these in relation to their most important life values. Each person's top ten was shared with the group. A review and feedback session concluded this course.

During the three day programme and follow-up interview, the importance of self actualisation within the EI framework was highlighted by Martin numerous times. For example, the course notes indicated that a meaningful life is 'use in the service of something larger than you' and slides on self actualisation covered aspects such as wisdom and knowledge, courage, benevolence and concern for others, justice, temperance and transcendence. In the interview Martin expanded on this by commenting: "I do think we need to be looking at how organisations as a whole and how our economic frameworks as a whole support more meaningful and wellbeing oriented life experiences for people". He later he returned to the topic, referring to leaders:

“also we need to be asking ourselves do we really have interesting jobs, do we really have jobs that people can have a smile about doing, in any part of their working day and unless you’ve got jobs that don’t have that in them we really need to consider what we’re asking people to do in those jobs” (Martin, Bar-On Trainer).

During the training, he frequently referred to seeking a ‘rich, meaningful life’ and some of the exercises in the workbook were focused on life-goal setting, encouraging participants to look at a whole spectrum of their lives. During day one of the course he suggested: “What five things do you want to achieve before you die? Do a life spreadsheet...” Reinforcing the theme, he announced on day three of the course “my programme is about who are you really and what you will become”.

Key social themes were emphasised during the course which pointed to care and respect towards others as ends in themselves. For example, when discussing self regard, Martin explained that this meant unconditional due regard. Equally, social responsibility was described as a person’s ‘moral compass’. In relation to social relationships, he boldly stated: “It is impossible to have mutually satisfying relationships with everyone; you can’t like everyone. The idea is not to do harm to others or damage others”.

The theme of authentic presence as a leader was also well covered – having a consistent core self but adopting different approaches according to the situation. Other leadership themes included creating a sense of belonging and honesty and creating intimacy with staff; getting to know one’s employees, and to ‘value every interaction’. In sum, all of these sub-topics fed into an underlying goal of feeling happy and being successful in life, with special emphasis on self regard, self actualisation, optimism and happiness as key mood enhancers or the ‘four highways of life’, as Martin explained. In addition, much was made throughout the three days of the point that Bar-On’s model of EI was empirically based and a robust scientific model, with many suggestions that Goleman’s model was less scientifically valid.

Whilst this summary touches on the key themes, it is useful to highlight that a huge amount of material was covered during the three day course.

Positive psychology

A key underpinning of this course was its adherence to positive psychology and Martin made this very explicit on many occasions by referring directly to the terms appreciative enquiry and positive psychology. Numerous times he argued that leaders need to be more positive and optimistic. This was frequently framed against his comments that ‘organisations are damaging’ and that in today’s business environments leaders have to work even harder to keep positive and upbeat. His emphasis on happiness and positive mood were key to this message. For example, during the course he explained: “If you’re feeling bad, do a few more things to lift your mood” and he often explained how important it is for managers to be the mood managers of their staff through whatever means possible.

Strong messages were conveyed that Emotional Intelligence was not personality but that ‘Emotional intelligence comes out through your personality’. Martin elaborated on the theme of character during the interview, explaining that personality can be changed through therapy because it focuses on “changing that person’s strategic orientation to other people, events and things in the world”. This, he argued, could be viewed as a form of personality change and because EI requires some therapeutic change it could be viewed in the same way (see below). When challenged further on the point that psychologists believe personality cannot be changed Martin replied very passionately:

“It can be altered, anybody who says your personality can’t be altered has not seen the results of torture. To say your personality cannot be altered is bollocks! [...]. If personality is fixed by the time you’re 20 we should just dump all management, leadership development, all training in organisations and all counselling, we should dump it all because there’s no hope for us. We should just let everybody be the raw savages that they are” (Martin, Trainer, Bar-On course).

Overall, there seemed to be some discrepancy in Martin's messages about personality. Clearly the course had encouraged leadership through character (and not persona) as highlighted from the course content but at the same time, he seemed to be suggesting that the idea was to change personality towards a more positive orientation.

Developing EI

Martin viewed developing EI as a long term therapeutic process lasting three to six months where old habits must be broken and new ones formed. Here he commented on the process:

“Well I think I laid it out in that if you're working on your behavioural pieces over a long enough period of time and you're working on a CBT model then you're undertaking some form of therapeutic change” (Martin, Trainer, Bar-On course).

To set the scene of change he commented in the first half hour of the course that “things may happen you do or don't like but you can't control this; it happens”. On the last day he reinforced this point in a discussion of people's history, genetics, childhood influences and embedded responses: “If you're using this stuff, they'll be big life stuff coming through...the stuff that can come out is not to be played with”. As part of the change process he advised delegates to set up mini rehearsal scenarios to repeatedly practice new responses to situations. During the interview he expanded on the different ways one might continue developing aspects of EI:

“So the Reuven Bar-On is simply a vehicle or some sort of Trojan horse that, if you look beyond it as I do in terms of my eclectic background with individuals I would be prompting some people for instance to go and get some theatre training, actor training, not amateur dramatics or opera but to actually go down and get a voice coach or a body coach.” (Martin, Trainer, Bar-On course).

Returning to the theme of EI's invasive characteristics, during the interview, Martin relived experiences in which giving one-to-one feedback to a client on the EQ-i profile elicited intimate and personal conversations instigated by low self regard scores:

“Kathryn, somebody’s actually said to me ‘I’ve got one breast smaller than the other and I’ve hated it all my life and blah de blah de blah’ So I said well go and do something about it, you can do it safely these days. What’s stopping you? Well, people would think such and such. You’re actually in a conversation where you have to go right through their thinking. You get guys who have got problems with their complexion or something like this, psoriasis or something like that. You’ve got to be willing to go there and that’s not Reuven Bar-On’s model for God’s sake” (Martin, Trainer, Bar-On course).

Martin clearly pointed out that this may be taking Emotional Intelligence beyond the realm of what Bar-On clearly had in mind. Martin justified this by asserting he had counselling qualifications and years of redundancy outplacement experience but other trainers may not have the training to take these aspects this far. Martin expanded on certain guidelines which do need to be followed by trainers when engaging with EI:

“You need people [trainers] who’ve got solid, a solid, what’s the word I’m looking for here, a solid awareness of where their competency finishes and where they’re going to refer people to or at least ask people pertinent questions at that boundary, and not lead them off and not wave bye bye to them on the other side of the fence, ‘sorry I can’t climb over this fence, bye bye, see you’. You’ve got to say ‘can you talk to your GP about this? who are you talking to?’” (Martin, Trainer, Bar-On course).

Overall, this course adopted a more holistic approach to Emotional Intelligence compared to the Goleman course, offering delegates the scope to apply the programme to personal and professional issues of concern. The principles of positive psychology and key definition of EI appeared to be in keeping Bar-On's original model. In addition, what was an important finding in this course was a clear focus on developing a meaningful and fulfilling work and personal life, themes which are rarely expressed in psychological academic accounts of Bar-On's model but which expressed considerable overlap with the characteristics of a moral economy approach (Sayer, 2007).

THE HYBRID COURSE

The Results Focused Emotional Intelligence course was run by two trainers, a husband and wife team, Angie and Andy, who provided twice yearly 'open' EI training courses to this particular training provider. They had been involved in EI training for approximately six years and Angie had been a corporate coach for eight years. The course cost £699 plus VAT and was attended by thirty two delegates. This programme was marketed as a 'seminar' focusing on skills, practical tools and techniques to develop Emotional Intelligence. It was held in a large, comfortable conference room of a hotel.

Influences/genesis

Core to this EI seminar were several models. The first was a personality model called the Enneagram which the training manual described:

“The Enneagram is a geometric figure that maps out the nine fundamental personality types of human nature and their complex interrelationships. The descriptions of these nine types provides often astonishingly comprehensive understandings about the inner motivations, thought patterns, basic belief systems, emotional coping mechanisms in each one” (Training manual).

During the interview, Andy explained the Enneagram's origins:

“It has quite a deep history. Some Jesuits use it in business development, the catholic church use it in terms of spiritual development and many American companies in terms of their team building, some say it's several thousand years old and there are some Sufi aspects to its development” (Andy, Trainer, Hybrid course).

The other two models on the course were Present Moment Awareness which was developed by Shannon Davis (2003) and has roots in Buddhism and the Sedona Method which was developed by Dvoskin (2005). When the trainers were asked during the interview why they chose not to adopt the more popular models such as Goleman, Angie explained:

“We've asked a lot of people about previous work they've done on Emotional Intelligence and a lot of people make reference to Goleman, in particular reading his book and it takes quite a scientific approach in some ways, its quite, in terms of a lot of the information in the book, which they found wasn't that easy to apply and we did listen to that. And we thought well ok, what else can we use” (Angie, Trainer, Hybrid course).

Andy expanded on this:

“That's not to say that this is the definitive way to look at Emotional Intelligence or you ought to apply or to use it [...] The courses I've been on I was attracted to because the practitioners themselves seemed very free, they seemed very grounded, they seemed very responsible” (Andy, Trainer, Hybrid course).

Focus and learning objectives

The course was entitled Results Focused Emotional Intelligence. Delegates were asked at the beginning to think of work and personal issues which they wanted the

course to help with. Whilst the focus was on ‘delivering measurable performance improvements’, the message conveyed was that delegates could apply the learning to any aspect of life, but there was a tangible emphasis on work contexts. The emphasis was also on the delegate rather than managing other people as Angie explained: ‘this is about you and nobody else’.

Key Themes

At the beginning of the course all delegates were given a folder of the day’s course materials and a book written by one of the trainers. The day was centred around five ‘tenets’ of Emotional Intelligence: knowing your world, knowing your self, freeing yourself, being yourself and creating yourself. First, the trainers posed two questions ‘what issues are you currently facing at work that you think this course might help you address?’ and ‘what would you like to learn by the end of the day that would make being here worthwhile?’. Participants then worked in groups and answered these questions on a flip chart sheet.

This was followed by an introduction to the concept ‘present moment awareness’ (Shannon, 2003) (letting go of the past and future and focusing on the present) followed by exercises to enhance this skill. This related to the first theme ‘*knowing your world*’. The learning objective of ‘knowing your world’ was to minimise time and energy spent worrying about things outwith one’s control in the past and future in order to enhance positive, productive emotions and behaviours by being in the ‘present’. The trainers emphasised that the past is gone and nothing can be done about it, the future cannot be controlled only influenced, therefore the only moment we should be concerned about is the present and what we can do in the ‘now’ to achieve our future goals. By concentrating full attention and efforts in the present, the trainers suggested people become calmer and more effective: ‘in moments of full blissful absorption we only have a present’ commented Andy. Supporting this, the training manual explained that being in the present makes you feel internally open, non-judgemental, accepting, joyful, happy, attentive, self aware and productive.

'Knowing your self' entailed an introduction to the personality model, The Enneagram. This model comprised of nine personality types which described and explained *why* people behave the way they do. A large part of the day was engaged with explaining and illustrating the nine types of this model through a presentation of each type's strengths and weaknesses, underlying drivers of each personality type (which included personal, intimate explanations) and behaviour and how to understand, manage and influence other people according to their personality type. The trainers explained that people all come to rely on one type as a way of coping and understanding the world and the Enneagram, Andy emphasised: 'points to the scripts we run in our heads everyday' and 'indicates the core tendencies people run on a daily basis'. When people are relaxed, their healthy side comes out and when stressed the unhealthy side appears which means it is harder to see clearly and make effective decisions in life.

The next theme, *'freeing yourself'* involved a discussion of how delegates could let go of negative emotions, thoughts and beliefs through a simple exercise called the Sedona Method (could you let this feeling go? Would you? When?). This method claims to offer a simple technique to quickly eliminate painful emotions and limiting thoughts that impede success, happiness and well-being (Dwoskin, 2005). After a discussion of this concept delegates were asked to stand up and hold a pen tightly and let it go. This represented letting go of the disruptive emotion or belief. Another exercise followed which involved small groups of delegates ranking a list of positive and negative emotions in terms of how much or little energy was expended when one felt them. The message was to understand how negative emotions drain energy and are unproductive. The themes in 'freeing yourself' were linked to an emotional triangle, presented to delegates on a flip chart. Participants were encouraged to think about whether their emotions were at the peak (heightened) or in a calm state (baseline) and that engaging in work activities when emotions are heightened is unwise suggesting that it is best to get down to the 'baseline'. The final exercise involved all delegates standing around a round table. Each person had to solve a puzzle on the table and when they had done this they could sit down. The first learning point was that those who were struggling to solve the puzzle were blocked

by negative emotions or beliefs and if they let them go (using the Sedona technique) they would find the solution much quicker. The second learning point was that different people ‘tune into’ different types of information more readily such as visual, aural, touch and so on.

The final theme ‘*Be yourself and create*’ involved a quick discussion of acting with congruency and self belief and taking full responsibility for one’s acts and related consequences. This part also included a discussion of goal setting techniques. The day concluded with a wrap-up and feedback. The trainers offered all delegates the chance to fill out an Enneagram questionnaire online after the course and to receive a profile. They also explained they would be available for follow-up support via email after the course.

Overall, the course was designed so that delegates could identify their own personality type using the Enneagram and use the present moment awareness, letting go of emotions/beliefs and emotional baseline or ‘heartbeat’ model to bring them towards their healthy personality state. From this position, it was suggested they could see, think and act more clearly and effectively. The trainers emphasised how important it was to be aware of one’s ‘personal space’ before engaging with people and tasks and to feel a sense of responsibility for one’s life; that there was no-one else to blame for one’s experiences. Here during the interview Andy and Angie explained some of the overall learning principles:

“..... first of all when someone makes a decision, what space are they in when they’re making their decision, is it from fear, is it from wanting some control or approval, is it really from a space where they feel they can be the best they can be and to get to that space they use some of the material that we teach them..” (Andy, Trainer, Hybrid course).

“Our primary objective is to raise consciousness so if you improve someone’s Emotional Intelligence what you’re actually doing is increasing someone’s present moment awareness because if they’re able to handle difficult

situations without any negative emotion running in the background their ability to be able to handle those situations naturally improves” (Angie, Trainer, Hybrid course).

Positive Psychology

Overall, this programme sought to encourage participants to accept the good and bad feelings they had and then, using the techniques on the course, to move towards their best (personality) state. By doing this, trainers suggested the positive emotions would naturally arise. Here Andy explains how trying to be positive or happy in a bad place does not work according to their EI approach:

“when they’re trying to feel good are they trying to feel good from the average unhealthy aspect of their personality or from the healthy aspect because trying to feel happy when obviously things aren’t going well around you is not really being authentic to yourself.” (Andy, Trainer, Hybrid course).

Because this course adopted the Enneagram personality model, the key message was that each personality type has a set of healthy, average and unhealthy characteristics and that only the traits that were part of a person’s ‘type’ could be made more positive. Therefore, one could not become conscientious or optimistic, for example, if it was not a descriptor of your ‘type’ Thus, the approach did not adhere completely to the positive psychology principles underpinning the ‘mixed’ models as described in Chapter Two. However, the overall momentum and drive of Emotional Intelligence, conveyed in this seminar was towards *positiveness*.

Developing EI

At the beginning of the course both trainers advised: “Practice sixty seconds every day...some techniques are easy and require sixty seconds, others require more application”. During the interview both Andy and Angie explained the learning strategy and emphasised the experiential aspect of their approach:

“In answer to your question Kathryn how people learn the techniques, they have to weather the storm whilst practicing the techniques over the two or three weeks that it takes, that it allows to become more of a regular part of their daily experience” (Andy, Trainer, Hybrid course).

“Some people will take it and run with it very quickly, other people won’t and I think the important thing to remember with Emotional Intelligence is its all based on experience” (Angie, Trainer, Hybrid course).

Again, on the theme of EI’s invasive or therapeutic nature, Angie and Andy had also experience of delegates becoming emotional or upset, as Angie commented: “We’ve had people, some of the more therapeutic kind of processes, getting angry” and she went on to say:

“We’ve had to handle some very, very, very difficult situations, very difficult situations. In fact I think there’s nothing I don’t think we haven’t handled now” (Angie, Trainer, Hybrid course).

Overall, the Hybrid seminar adopted a holistic approach because it referred to work and life satisfaction and increased performance. The models used were dissimilar to the Goleman and Bar-On frameworks in many ways but there was considerable overlap: ‘present moment awareness’ and happiness were covered in both the Bar-On and Hybrid courses. Influencing others was covered on the Goleman course (in social relationships) and the Hybrid course (in the personality model). All three courses addressed emotional self awareness, emotional control, awareness of others’ emotions, motivation principles and tools as well as concepts of self regard, empathy and authenticity. In terms of the learning experience, trainers across all three courses advocated that change was possible with learning, practice and if individuals had the motivation. Table 4 highlights the key features of the three courses.

Table 4: Key Features of the Three Training Courses

	Goleman	Bar-On	Hybrid
Key themes	Raising self awareness Emotional self regulation Motivation Empathy Social skills Accepting individual differences	Having a meaningful life/self actualisation Emotional self awareness Awareness of others’ emotions Optimism Happiness Self regard Empathy Assertiveness Goal setting Authenticity Leadership behaviours Present moment awareness	Accepting your natural state (displaying good or bad ‘sides’ of your personality); being your best self naturally and making decisions from that position. Use present moment awareness and letting go of negative emotions to achieve this best state. Motivation and goal setting.
Influences/ genesis	Taken directly from Goleman’s (1998) work	Use Bar-On’s model as a ‘trojan horse’; various aspects reinforced through comprehensive workbook	The ENNEAGRAM is based on Sufism and Jesuit philosophy; Present moment awareness based on Buddhist principles (e.g. Duncan, 2003). Sedona Method by Dwoskin (2005). Saran Model – trainers own.
Positive Psychology	No. Positive and negative emotions are acceptable; Acceptance of individual personality differences.	Yes. Strong influence of positive psychology; positive emotions and aptitudes/character	Yes, as an outcome. Positive emotions arise when the best natural (personality) state is achieved.
Focus and Learning objectives	Work based application Set programme objectives	Work and life application Every participant’s agendas needs to be heard on the course Broad course objectives	Work based application but scope for life application General course objectives
Developing one’s EI	Once you become self aware no-one can take that away from you. On-going change	Therapeutic model of change; long-term (3-6 months); cognitive behaviour approaches (challenging existing beliefs/behaviours/ emotions/fears, generating new ways of being and practicing behavioural change); personality can be changed; Deep change possible.	Some changes take 60 seconds of practice a day with practice over several weeks. Long term - experiential, deep awareness raising, acceptance and changes of state in the self.
Overall emphasis	Economic model; Functional/ work –based for performance enhancing	Eclectic model; work and life happiness and success for Leaders	Eclectic model; work and life satisfaction and increased performance

What this chapter has sought to do so far is to provide a detailed account of each training course researched in this study to address some of the deficiencies identified in previous academic studies and to lay the foundations for understanding how people come to use EI at work. The next section turns to a brief description of people's training experiences during the EI programme as a means of further setting the scene and contextualising the typology presented in Chapters Seven and Eight.

MANAGERS AND LEADERS' TRAINING EXPERIENCES

This section briefly provides an account of the range of learning experiences delegates had whilst on the training courses. This sets the scene for the next two chapters which describes the four type typology of EI use in the workplace.

First, some brief details are necessary in relation to participants' choices of EI programmes. In general terms, the selection of course was made based on a host of factors including geographical proximity and timing, prior familiarity with the training provider, recommendations from the HR department or colleagues who had already attended the course and direct mail shots. Each participant's employer paid for them to attend the course. In the main, most participants knew some brief facts about Emotional Intelligence prior to attending the course. Some had read Daniel Goleman's (1996; 1998) books, some had been exposed to the principles from colleagues and friends or had read articles about Emotional Intelligence in trade journals or the press. A small minority had been gently introduced to some of the principles via management development programmes within their organisation.

The majority of participants had clear motivations for attending the training programme - to develop skills to help them survive and thrive in contemporary capitalism. However, the training experience varied widely for participants both across and within each course. For some, the course was just another soft-skills management development programme but for others, a very different journey or path was ignited where the training experience became more emotional and personal,

producing unexpected revelations, new ‘guiding principles’ and insights. Nadia, a Marketing Communications Manager described her personal experience:

“I remember at the beginning we had to write out about what our emotional goal was of the day. ... and I’d written ‘I would like to learn techniques to help me make decisions at work and at home more effectively’ and then what I wanted to get out of the course was ‘learning stress management techniques, learning how to make difficult decisions and managing my team more effectively and less emotionally’. But then when we wrote about the personal goals it was, my main goal was ‘to lead a balanced and happy life’. And for me suddenly, when I saw that on the piece of paper it was so strong that it changed my focus of the day and it became very very personal” (Nadia, Marketing Communications Manager, 35, Hybrid course).

Here she went on to describe how she felt at the end of the training day:

“And I remember at the end of the day when I left the course I was absolutely drained, I was so exhausted. I felt like I’d gone through the wringer because the whole day we’d been thinking about our emotions, learning to control, using the techniques. It was like a massive eight hour counselling session. And that’s what I felt when I came out of it but it was brilliant when I came out of it” (Nadia, Marketing Communications Manager, 35, Hybrid course).

Similarly, on the third morning of the Bar-On EI course, Esther commented: ‘I feel a totally different person’. Ron also agreed and during the interview he reflected further:

“I found it was probably one of the most interesting things I’ve ever done. I just think in terms of my expectation was, not low but my expectation was quite confused about how something in that format would change your thinking but it certainly has” (Ron, Managing Director, 36, Bar-On course).

Martin, a Management Consultant who also attended the Bar-On course commented on the third day: “I went on this course for work, to see if there were ideas here for using with clients and I realised then that this course was more about me, for me” (Malcolm, Management Consultant, 50s, Bar-On). But equally some participants failed to be ‘moved’ in such a way, finding the EI training relatively valueless or disappointing in its content, as June and Jim both concluded:

“I would say it was a one day course and I don’t think it was particularly engrossing and I don’t think it made a big impression on me. I think that’s fair to say [...] The most interesting thing on that day really was that Maxine, my friend who I went with, her sister was being proposed to and we were waiting to see if she would agree...that’s terrible isn’t it?” (June, Trustees Account Manager, 50s, Hybrid).

“I think to be honest I was a bit disappointed really in that there was a lot of theory there but not a lot of practice, not a chance to really apply it. I would have liked to have done some role plays really or to have brainstormed some situations or scenarios or even some videos to show you this is how to do it, this is how not to do it to bring it to life...I was disappointed that that didn’t really happen” (Jim, Head of Benefits Realisation, 36, Goleman course).

However, many participants had enjoyable experiences. Many admitted they had recommended the course to colleagues and their HR department. Several participants on the Hybrid course had considered taking a follow-up course or inviting the trainers into their organisation for an ‘in-house’ programme.

CONCLUSION

Through the analysis of participant observation, written training documents and interviews, this chapter has sought to describe in full the training courses attended by the participants in this study. This chapter also sought to briefly capture some of the managers and leaders’ training experiences of the training day itself. Through an

address of each training course's content, this chapter aimed to provide a preliminary understanding of how EI prescription is translated into the training programmes. For example, this provided some insights into how EI's *positiveness* was translated into training programmes. In the Goleman course, negative displays of emotion were encouraged if the circumstances warranted it which is contra to Goleman's (1998) clear message to keep everything positive. In the Bar-On course a strong adherence to positive psychology was explicitly emphasised in relation to optimism, positive moods and happiness. In the Hybrid course, positive emotions were an outcome of centring oneself in a natural (personality) state. With regards to personality, the Goleman and Hybrid courses embraced peoples' individuality but the Bar-On course suggested more emphasis on changing deeper ingrained aspects of the self towards the ideal EI profile. Clearly, these differences suggest that participants may interpret and use EI in different ways as a consequence. These issues are explored in more depth in Chapter Seven.

It was clear that the three courses differed in content and objectives. The Goleman course was designed towards more performative goals whereas the Bar-On and to a lesser degree the Hybrid courses were more tailored towards social and work aspects. In particular the Bar-On course contained numerous principles and messages which were consistent with Sayer's (2007) approach to the moral economy of organisations where an organisation's running may be facilitated by concern for others. In effect, both the Bar-On and to a lesser degree the Hybrid course served to highlight that individuals are rooted in a moral and economic context which requires selected qualities, attitudes and virtues that people may exhibit, particularly benevolence and concern for others, to oil its wheels and that EI operates as a tool or guiding principle to facilitate or encourage this. This clearly opens up spaces for use of EI which is not wholly focused on organisational or functional gains but remains unexplored in extant academic research. This chapter, therefore, has attempted to elicit these important details which clearly will impact on how people use EI at work and the outcomes of that.

What this chapter also illustrates is how EI models start to change as soon as they are taken off the written page of practitioner books and academic descriptions and this starts in the training arena. Going beyond how each trainer interpreted EI's *positiveness*, there were many more adaptations. For example, the Hybrid course included themes of 'mixed' models such as emotional self awareness, emotional self control and motivation but had integrated an unorthodox personality model, the Enneagram into the programme. Based on a plethora of spiritual and/or religious roots, this model was integrated, based on the trainers' criticisms of Goleman and their own personal experiences and life journeys, as Andy clearly pointed out. This finding clearly signals the power trainers have to potentially influence how training delegates, whose knowledge of EI is limited, come to understand and use EI in the workplace. This interpretive process has yet to be documented in academic studies and yet seems crucial if a deeper understanding of EI's application in the workplace is to be gained.

In addition, all the trainers had experienced some degree of participant discomfort, resistance or distress caused by the invasive or therapeutic components of their EI courses. However, it was only Martin who clearly delineated the boundaries of how these should be managed, largely because of his experience as an outplacement counsellor. This concern was raised in Chapter Three in a discussion of power relations and EI in organisations. It was argued that EI models step into counselling and therapy terrains (e.g. Higgs and Dulewicz, 2002; Kets de Vries, 2006; McBride and Maitland, 2002; Stein and Book, 2006) and EI assessments may classify employees in ways which could be detrimental to their employment and personal wellbeing if such information is not handled sensitively and with confidentiality. Mirvis (1994) describes how employees may try to sabotage, avoid or interrupt training courses when they seek to engage on this level. There was evidence from Wilma, Andy and Angie in this study that participants chose to disengage or pull back from EI training and all three had experienced delegates becoming highly distressed or angry. Clearly this training was conducted outwith organisational premises as an 'open' course and thus any reports or assessments were unlikely to be requested by participants' employer. However, it still raises serious concerns

regarding what participants do with any emotional ‘fall-out’ as a consequence of the training and the lack of reflection from some of the trainers regarding stepping over the boundary of their professional roles and experience. As Nadia highlighted from the Hybrid course, for her it was like an eight hour counselling session, and whilst she was fine afterwards, there may be others who had less positive experiences.

Following the material covered in this chapter, Chapters Seven and Eight seek to explore managers and leaders’ experiences of using EI at work through the presentation of the typology of EI use: Calculative Self Development, Tactical Survival, Welfare Provisiom, and Moral Agitation. Throughout the presentation of the four uses, what is emphasised is how EI is interpreted and used in varying and contradictory ways within organisational life. Drawing on rich data, the structural constraints and outcomes of using EI reported by participants are also highlighted.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CALCULATIVE SELF DEVELOPMENT AND TACTICAL SURVIVAL

This and the next chapter present the four uses of Emotional Intelligence introduced in Chapter Five as a typology of EI use in the workplace: Calculative Self Development, Welfare Provision, Moral Agitation and Tactical Survival. It is useful to point out again that this is not a tidy typology which seeks to box people into one particular category. Instead it recognises the multi-faceted relations, work activities and contexts of organisational life and that people use EI in varied and contradictory ways. This typology brings to light managers and leaders' uses of EI skills in interactions with colleagues, subordinates, customers and senior managers in varied contexts throughout their typical working day in contemporary capitalist workplaces. The theoretical contribution of Andrew Sayer (2006; 2007) enables a depiction of the place of human beings within the economy but one which requires selected qualities, attitudes and virtues that people may exhibit, particularly benevolence and concern for others, to oil its wheels. Whilst Margaret Archer (2000) provides a rich account of human character: peoples' reflective, evaluating and choosing capacities and the role of the inner conversation. Together they offer human beings as individual and collective and provide a human face to Emotional Intelligence. What underlines this approach is its illustration that changing situations in daily work life offer opportunities for people to develop a transferable and durable set of skills which meet different needs according to 'individualistic' and 'human connectedness' goals. Sometimes fulfilling needs through EI is straightforward and uncomplicated, other times it requires a careful balancing act, involving assessment and compromise. Just as important, on occasion instrumental actions, facilitated through the EI tool can produce unsought social gains or benefits. But also, using Emotional Intelligence at work can sometimes fail to produce the benefits desired due to organisational structural constraints. This confirms the need for a multi-dimensional approach to understanding the popularity of EI and how people apply it in their day-to-day working lives.

Key to understanding the typology is the interpretive capacity of people when they engage with EI models and concepts. As Chapter Six started to consider, as soon as ‘mixed’ EI models enter an applied context such as a training environment, they start to evolve or adapt in ways beyond their description in the literature. For example, trainers’ own experiences, interpretations and insights will shape the messages and ideas that hold an EI model or framework together. As this chapter seeks to illustrate, further interpretations occur when people take the models back into the workplace to use. Following this, an interpretive process occurs along EI’s trajectory of production and consumption thus pinpointing how EI is used pragmatically, (critically) and reflectively in both training contexts (by the trainer) and by the consumer or manager/leader in application. As part of this interpretation, ‘mixed’ Emotional Intelligence contains a wide range of interpersonal skills and personal attributes and this typology illustrates how different aspects or ‘sub-skills’ are prioritised and isolated for use in different work contexts, and how others are discarded or ignored because they are deemed not useful or relevant.

As will be recalled, participants were asked to describe their reasons for attending the EI course and how they had come to use the learning back in the workplace and the outcomes. Relatedly, they were asked how their actions compared to those before attending the course and to describe the constraints and limitations to using EI at work. Please see Appendix A for a full description of data collection methods.

First, in this chapter, Calculative Self Development and Tactical Survival will be considered. To help explain each use, sub-headings are adopted to capture which specific ‘skills’ are used and for what purpose.

CALCULATIVE SELF DEVELOPMENT

In acts of Calculative Self Development managers and leaders prioritise work success over moral and social considerations for others. Key to Calculative Self Development is the prioritising of economic considerations. Acts of Calculative Self Development involve using EI to enhance performative competence and actions are

characterised by individualism and synchrony with the defined aims of the organisation.

The majority of Calculative Self Development actions in this study involved participants being confident and self assured in their use of Emotional Intelligence. Purposeful and clear about EI's instrumental and commodified use, they had no issue with using EI to enhance their own productivity, often vocalised in explicit terms, and clearly denoting their instrumental needs in contemporary capitalism. Acts of Calculative Self Development often required managing other people better in order to achieve their own and organisational goals. Most of the managers and leaders highlighted the needs for EI to better manage organisational restructuring and change, to help build long term business relationships, or to manage networked, global or virtual work patterns in work environments which emphasised efficiency gains, incentivised 'deliverables', heavy workloads and fast-paced change. At these times environments necessitated perfunctory social relations due to the 'squeezes' on time and energies and EI was used as a quick-fix or 'no-frills' strategy to keep social relations operable, intact and functional. Calculative Self Development included the use of the following aspects of Emotional Intelligence to meet end goals of thriving at work: emotional self awareness and self control, calculative empathy, using the Enneagram model, assertiveness, independence and reality testing. Overall, a common factor for all acts of Calculative Self Development was participants' powers as self-reflective, evaluative, strategising agents (Archer, 2000) in their pursuit of ambition and need to thrive in a vigorous capitalism.

For a minority of participants who used EI in acts of calculative self development, attendance on the EI course was a matter of fulfilling the needs of their employer to improve interpersonal skills, needs which were identified formally or informally at work. This handful of interviewees were struggling, or had struggled in the past, with social relationships at work and these had been highlighted by their organisation in some formal capacity either through an appraisal or a formal complaint procedure, such as a grievance. For these participants who used EI as a type of calculative self development, their 'development needs' or 'weaknesses' generated a certain level of

discomfort or vulnerability, often described as a social ‘ineptness’, as Gemma conveyed more lightly:

“Admittedly, I did one of those you know online quizzes. You do IQ ones, I did an EQ one, it was years ago now and oh I scored so badly....and I thought oh no, I’m one of those bright mad types that can’t hold a conversation! The slightly eccentric person sitting in the corner that just knows how to do weird things but can’t hold a conversation!” (Gemma, Planning Development Programme Manager, 30, Hybrid course).

To this end, the uses of EI for Calculative Self Development were in ways to increase participants’ own performance at work but *also* to reduce the effects their performative ‘deficiencies’ were having on their health, self confidence and esteem; in other words to maintain a certain level of self-preservation. In some cases, the need to enhance one’s sense of well-being became crystallised after attendance on the course and became a primary means of using EI whereas others were acutely aware they needed to address these personal concerns prior to the course. All acts of Calculative Self Development involved individuals being reflective about the objects and origins of their skills and upon their contribution to good performance (Archer, 2000) as Grant highlighted:

“Possibly one answer is that my strive for success is at the detriment to others and that I’m more of an individual rather than a team player where as long as I hit my goals and objectives I’m fine” (Grant, Highway Services Manager, 35, Hybrid course).

All examples of Calculative Self Development meant participants used EI at these times and places for individualistic gains in alignment with organisational goals.

The new model emotion worker in contemporary capitalism

One of the aspects of EI which was exemplified through Calculative Self Development was the use of various tools to improve emotional self awareness and

self control. This section describes how participants across all three courses used various emotion self-management techniques to transform themselves into more effective and efficient workers. This was largely to better cope or thrive in contemporary work environments of change, downsizing, cost-savings and globalisation. Many of these techniques were considered quick and easy to learn. Grant, Sara, Ivan and Helen had all used the letting go of emotions technique from the Hybrid course to help them deal more effectively and calmly with social relationships at work which were becoming increasingly challenging.

Grant, a Highway Services Manager who worked for an energy company, attended the EI course because he was perceived as distant, cold and not especially empathic towards colleagues. Various regulatory bodies were bringing in more policies to increase competition in his industry which required further budget cutting in his organisation. The workforce was shrinking and he and his peers were more dependent on each other and he needed to be more collaborative and helpful at work.

Grant's development need had been identified through a 360 performance appraisal. What underpinned his use of EI was his need to address his performance deficiencies to make himself and his team work better and to boost his career progression: "I knew about my weakness before it was formalised but that was really the main reason to support career progression". He, like many others, was clear about what he wanted from EI and this choice had arisen from a reflexive process where he had pondered upon the world of work and about what his place should be within it (Archer, 2000: 315). This was very much about personal success. He now used emotion self-control methods a lot in meetings to prevent himself from making terse remarks and also in sensitive, personnel type situations. For example, Grant had used emotional self control techniques during meetings where everyone typically 'seems to jostle for resources and position' and 'we seem to have a very strong I would say blame culture where we're all victims. Its never our fault, its because he didn't do this...'. Meetings would often transcend into slanging matches where Grant would use the techniques from the course:

“...and when things get pointed my way or things get said and I know I’m right I let it pass, I don’t instantly fire back I let it pass. I then make a constructive comment rather than trying to fuel an argument. [...] Before I would go in and possibly make some terse remark or end up having a bit of a heated debate with one of my colleagues” (Grant, Highway Services Manager, 35, Hybrid course).

Grant felt that being able to control his emotions had helped him to cope with work situations and become more motivated and focused on his career goals because less of his energies were being drained by feeling constantly frustrated or angry. In many ways, his use of emotional control reflects some of Goleman’s workforce shrinkage narrative where employees are more accountable for their behaviour because of their increased visibility. As Goleman argues, the opportunities to hide angry outbursts have declined in the stripped-down, downsized structures of contemporary organisational life (Goleman, 1998).

The technique of letting go of emotions taught on the Hybrid course was highly popular amongst participants who were managing challenging work environments. Elaine, an Office Manager and Administrator for a large marketing consultancy, had attended the EI course to better deal with her Managing Director who had ‘communication problems’ and was striving to make the organisation more ‘corporate’. She found the letting go of emotions technique useful on days when tensions were too fraught or the pace of change in her organisation was too much for her; letting go of her negative feelings helped her feel less stressed and in a performative sense, allowed her to get back to work rather than dwelling on her frustrations.

Sally, a Manufacturing Pharmaceuticals Director, had attended the EI course to enable her to support herself and her employees during the next three years leading up to the closure of her manufacturing site. She explained that she needed EI skills to help her understand her employees’ behaviour and to keep herself strong:

“We’ve just been through, over the last couple of years, a strategic review of the manufacturing operations worldwide of which I was part of the team involved in that. One of the conclusions and decisions taken out of that was that the manufacturing plant here will close in 2010. [...] The emotional state of everyone was changing dramatically because futures were being changed and I was very interested to see how peoples’ behaviour would change as a result. And I also recognised that I needed to be personally very strong for me, to look after me” (Sally, Manufacturing Pharmaceuticals Director, 44, Hybrid course).

In keeping with previous accounts, Sally needed new emotional skills to manage employee concerns during change, to lay off workers, counsel staff and manage her own feelings during the process (Carr, 2001; Molinsky and Margolis, 2006; Huy, 2002; Turnball, 2002; Goleman, 1998). As the next chapter describes, Sally used Emotional Intelligence techniques as acts of welfare provision but equally her use of letting go of her emotions enabled her to perform better at work in a pragmatic sense to prevent a depletion of energy; to get the job done on a daily basis, as she clarified:

“... if something comes along I can now consciously almost drain the emotion out because there are times when the emotions are taking control but now I can control those a lot more and understand them and accept them and say ‘ok well I’m having a shitty day today but that’s ok’ and I’ll come back in the next day and I’ll be fine [.....]. So from that point of view because I understand them a lot better, I’m a lot stronger, they don’t stay there as long and therefore they don’t drain the energy as much as they used to” (Sally, Manufacturing Pharmaceuticals Director, 44, Hybrid course).

Stan, a Sales and IT Manager for a building materials assembly firm, attended the EI course to deal with ‘bad managers’ in a work environment which he described as fast-paced and pressurised. He recounted several situations where he had taken control of his emotions by getting them to the ‘bottom line’ before he would go and discuss an issue with a colleague. This contrasted with his typical ‘flying off the

handle' response when things went wrong at work or when there were interpersonal clashes. However, controlling one's emotions is not always easy and Adam and Stan were quick to point out that when the 'emotional hijack' (Goleman, 1998) is activated it is very hard to stop the reaction in its path. As Stan commented: "There are occasions when I can't get my temper down to the bottom line. I will have to go away and come back". Equally Adam commented that "It doesn't always work because the hijacking sometimes happens too quickly, sometimes the brakes aren't quick enough".

Vera had originally signed up to the EI course because she was finding it increasingly hard, as she got older, to work with younger, 'aggressive' staff at work, to support her own team who were also exposed to this aggression and to manage relationships which were becoming more fraught and tense in an environment of change. Whilst she used EI to address these issues as an act of moral agitation (promoting human connectedness but antagonistically with the organisation's goals and interests), as described in the next chapter, she also used the present moment awareness technique largely to accept things she had *lost* or was *losing* as a consequence of organisational restructuring and her maturing years. Offering some insights into her rich interior life (Archer, 2000), she explained how she used the technique so that she could let go of her emotions, gain acceptance, 'move on', be more motivated and focused. It helped her to accept that she had lost some job responsibilities over the last period which had given her immense pleasure and enjoyment at work. These included travelling and going to conferences and managing IT new systems, the latter she had relinquished because 'younger' employees were more competent and knowledgeable at these tasks than herself. As a consequence of using the present moment awareness method, Vera reflected that she felt calmer and less afraid of the future because by not thinking about the changes that had already taken place and affected her role, she felt less anxious anticipating they would happen again as her organisation continued to rapidly 'modernise'. Like others in this study, Vera seemed to be using this aspect of EI to improve her adaptability, emotional fitness and resilience (e.g. Bar-On, 1997; Goleman, 1998;

Cooper and Sawaf, 1997); to be more robust and optimistic and to help her ‘weather these storms’ during organisational change (Goleman 1998).

Helen, a Human Resources Manager in local government, explained how the current climate in which she now worked had changed because experienced employees had left, the workforce was shrinking and new people had come in with different backgrounds, perspectives and agendas:

“it’s a tough time in local government now. Pressures are on very much. There’s a big drive obviously towards being more efficient. There’s less staff, the pressures are probably different to what they were 25, 26 years ago and that was one of the reasons why I went on the course really [...] and very, very new people have come in with often not that kind of background, not perhaps that kind of knowledge and perhaps not quite that understanding of why the organisation works in the way it works” (Helen, Human Resources Manager, 50, Hybrid course).

Helen attended the EI course to help her better cope with high levels of conflict within her new management team over the implementation of a new wave of *right-sizing* strategies, as she sarcastically described them. People’s reflective and evaluative world is keenly constituted by emotions which form ‘commentaries on our concerns’ (p. 196) and provide ‘shoving power’; they gird us into practical action (Archer, 2000). For Helen, the conflict at work made her feel utterly overwhelmed: “It left me feeling like I’d done a bad job. ...That was impacting on me.” . Her feelings had prompted her into taking a number of actions including signing up to an Emotional Intelligence training course. She confided that if she had not acted: “... and I’m not being melodramatic here, I think long-term it would have probably killed me”. Whilst the next chapter describes her attempts to use aspects of EI in acts of moral agitation, she had also started to practice controlling her emotions as a form of self preservation and to help her cope with the cumulative effects of her work-based ‘theatre’ and emotional ‘game-playing’ that went on in negotiation settings. She explained what typically happened at work:

“If you have the ability to play and understand a situation in a certain way, then you could achieve a given result [.....]. There are times when actually for you to get, and I wouldn't ever say necessarily say angry, you try to avoid ever getting angry, but there are times when actually if you get irritable that achieves the result you wanted. You do that in a very practised way knowing what the situation is and knowing the impact that would have on somebody...but I'm in no doubt the other person knows totally the impact their same behaviour has on me, no doubt about that” (Helen, Human Resources Manager, 50, Hybrid course).

Her unavoidable complicity in the 'nature of the game' as she described it and her realisation that for her own performance, well-being and sense of self preservation she needed to better manage the emotional impact of these emotional dramas, created the impetus to act. Here she described how she was starting to do this:

“Just sometimes when I'm driving home in the car and I'm like 'what are you doing this for?' At the end of the day its been, its gone, its happened, nothing you're ever going to do is ever going to change. So stop. I just stop thinking about it I think” (Helen, Human Resources Manager, 50, Hybrid course).

Overall, numerous acts of Calculative Self Development comprised of participants using EI as a way of controlling their emotions for performative gains, particularly on the Hybrid course where this was especially emphasised and practiced during the programme. They used EI to capitalise on the economic dimensions of organisational life expressed through improved performance, social competence and as ways of enhancing career development or promotional opportunities (Sayer, 2006). All of these participants illustrated their ability to have a 'window on the world' and to judge their current situations as unproductive and in some cases, unhealthy (Archer, 2000). In some cases, participants used emotional control to improve their own well-being and to keep their own sense of what it means to be a human intact at work.

However, as Chapter Three noted, EI can mask people's opportunities to challenge structural causes. In the examples highlighted in this section, the onus was largely on the individual to let go of their negative feelings about 'bad' situations often when the situation was the cause of the failure and not themselves. Yet, this approach is detrimental to the individual because it is hostile to any social or economic re-description of one's situation. As Grant noted: "The key messages for me were really it's down to me to change". However, controlling his emotions in meetings did little to address a destructive 'blame culture' rife amongst managers in his organisation. For Vera, not challenging the new work role distribution limited her chances to alter her responsibilities, potentially to her advantage. In Stan's case, controlling his emotions allowed 'bad' managers to continue their incompetent and sometimes bullying behaviour. As Ehrenreich (2006: 220) notes, feeling 'positive' generates a prohibition on anger which 'certainly silences any conversation about systemic problems'. This 'look inward, not outward' approach was reiterated by the trainers on the Hybrid course who highlighted during their programme that "there is no-one else to blame for your experiences".

In order to capture the relationship between EI prescription, people and place in organisational life, a key issue of concern in this study was understanding how EI's 'positive' prescription was adopted by participants at work. Clearly, this section has described how participants used emotional self control methods to banish 'negative', unwanted emotions such as anger, frustration or fear. However, not everyone on the three courses viewed EI as being all about turning emotions into 'positive' ones as the next section explains.

Keeping it positive? EI prescription and positive psychology

As will be recalled the Goleman course did not emphasise positive emotions, but the Bar-On and Hybrid courses did. However, many participants across all three training courses did not interpret EI as some sort of *happyology* at work. Instead they understood EI in more nuanced terms, largely because they felt that in contemporary workplaces with its incumbent pressures and stresses, it was unfeasible to maintain a

happy, positive outlook all the time. Managers and leaders referred to EI as being about positive emotions and seeing or framing situations more positively but in a realistic sense, rather than a ‘happy clappy’ sense, as Mark commented. Here Grant gave his interpretation of Emotional Intelligence’s positive agenda highlighting a more tempered approach due to his own experiences of working in a precarious capitalism:

“I wouldn’t say the whole message was be positive, be upbeat although there was a lot of weighting on that [...]. Yes, be upbeat but be cautious with your enthusiasm. Don’t be full on, let’s change the world because you’ll encounter problems later in the process” (Grant, Highway Services Manager, 35, Hybrid course).

Many participants who used emotional control methods did so to diffuse negative emotions or to get to a *neutral* state but not always to explicitly turn negative affect into positive. This marks a subtle but significant difference in interpretation of EI against scholarly readings of positive psychology (e.g. Dutton et al, 2006). One criticism of EI’s positive agenda was that keeping everything positive curtails any opportunity to use (negative) emotions as evaluative commentaries on our well-being (Sayer, 2005). However, numerous managers and leaders did use EI in this more constructive way as a barometer of broader concerns. Interestingly, those who did not use the emotional control techniques at all viewed EI as being even further away from the principles of positive psychology. Ron, a Managing Director of a recruitment firm, felt: “It was about keeping the emotions as what they are”. Julie, a Trustees Account Manager for a global insurance company, reflected that in contemporary workplaces: “I don’t know you can get people to control it [emotions] but certainly to be aware of it”. Others commented on the context-dependent nature of emotions. For example, Nicci, a Learning and Development Manager who worked for a healthcare company, explained her understanding of EI, whilst reflecting on the restructuring programme her organisation was currently undergoing: “I think its about knowing how to help yourself to be positive but also people around you

accepting that you might be having a bad day and as long as you can rationalise why that is, then I think it should be accepted that's how you are".

Nadia, a Marketing Communications Manager who worked in a further education college, attended the EI course for several reasons: to manage her own emotions better and stop them affecting her personal life and spilling over into work as well as to manage her 'emotional' team and older subordinates. During the course she re-prioritised her needs and concerns, focusing on 'leading a happy and balanced life'. Nadia did not see Emotional Intelligence as a means of transforming negative emotions into positive ones. She explained that if necessary, it gave her licence to 'sit in' her emotions for as long as she needed to:

"For me I realised I had these emotions in front of me or inside me. The course made me realise its not bad that if I wanted to let go of it I can [...] and then the second tier of that was that if I wasn't ready to let it go or if I didn't want to let it go then I recognise that as well and say 'right ok I'm not ready to let it go now, I might be in a year's time or I might be in six months time'" (Nadia, Marketing Communications Manager, 35, Hybrid course).

The next chapter describes how Nadia built on this and started to use others aspects of EI to tackle some managerial concerns. Interestingly, those who did view EI in line with an orthodox positive psychology approach seemed to struggle with the effort and strain of this, as Angus, a Loans Manager for a bank, suggested:

"I must admit it's sometimes my weakness. If there's something that's demotivated me sometimes I'm susceptible to just taking a step back and being quiet whereas I realise that to succeed sometimes you shouldn't." (Angus, Loans Manager, 27, Goleman course).

In Chapter Two, EI's link with positive psychology and 'positive' personality attributes was criticised. As will be recalled in Chapter Six, the Goleman course accepted character for its own sake but the Bar-On and Hybrid courses promoted

'best personalities' or 'traits' in the spirit of positive psychology. However, almost everyone within this study, across all three training courses interpreted Emotional Intelligence as a means of 'being yourself'. In other words, all participants viewed Emotional Intelligence not as an approach which attempted to alter one's personality into more positive traits but instead an approach which encouraged an acceptance of people for who they are. For example, Esther commented: "EI allows me to be myself because that's who I am. I don't see myself as the persona to just act the role". Malcolm, a management consultant, understood EI in a similar light: "The qualitative thing is more and more the permission to be myself, so as a coach, just be your authentic, genuine self". Ron, a Managing Director of a recruitment consultancy found the course very helpful because it gave him permission to simply be himself rather than try to be what he thought a leader should be: "its about being closer to yourself rather than closer to a leader who is emotionally intelligent so therefore I am a leader". He reflected on this:

"what I've learnt is doing the managing director's role the first six months I was trying to be what I thought a managing director was rather than be myself. And that was one of the big things I took from the course that when you're trying to be something you're not its incredibly obvious to everybody else once you don't maintain that or when you make a sudden change" (Ron, Managing Director, 36, Bar-On course).

Chapter Two criticised 'mixed' Emotional Intelligence models for restricting emotions as evaluative commentaries on one's well-being, for assuming emotions can be rapidly changed without reflection and insight, for undermining the organisational benefits of 'negative' emotions and for undermining character for its own sake. Nearly all participants in this study thoughtfully interpreted EI in ways which ameliorated these issues, whether *positiveness* was emphasised or not. Their re-interpretations were based on reflexivity, self consciousness and a solid knowledge of the world (Archer, 2000: 189).

Using the Enneagram to manage staff more effectively and achieve one's goals

Numerous managers and leaders on the Hybrid course had adopted the Enneagram personality model to manage staff more efficiently, to overcome interpersonal conflict which was detrimental to productivity and to manage virtual or global teams more effectively. Managing others was seen as a means of enhancing one's own performance and achieving organisational goals. The Enneagram comprised nine personality types labelled as 'The Achiever', 'The Carer', 'The Genius', 'The Leader', 'The Perfectionist', 'The Artist' and so on. Each person had a primary type and the Enneagram described each type's world view, basic fears, virtues and ideal coaching style. To help individuals identify someone's type the model gave descriptions of each type's healthy, average and unhealthy behaviours.

Carol, a College Director for young adults with special learning needs, had attended the Hybrid EI course so that she could develop her staff. During meetings Carol would now structure tasks for her managers more clearly because she believed this was their preferred working style according to their Enneagram 'type'. As a consequence she believed her team had become more efficient. Stan had 'typed' nearly all of his colleagues to help him interact with them in a more effective way. For example, he better understood that his Sales manager did not like confrontation so instead he would 'work him up' to tackle a situation which required confrontation rather than leave the task with him so that, typically, it would never get done. Equally, he now understood that his Technical Director preferred to think of new ideas as his own so Stan would be more facilitative by asking for advice and treading more gently by saying things like 'what do you think?'. Stan saw the Enneagram as an instrumental tool for getting the work done but sometimes the techniques failed to work. For example, there was one particular factory manager who was less receptive to Stan's 'techniques':

“Generally I can use the techniques. With the Factor Manager it sometimes doesn't work but that's just because you can't completely control somebody

that..I can't think what word to use, he's very Jekyll and Hyde so some days it will work, some days it won't and I think that's more to do with what mood he's in rather than what techniques or ways I'm talking to him" (Stan, Sales and IT Manager, 35, Hybrid course).

Stan highlighted some of the limitations of the Enneagram and he was not the only participant to do this. Many interviewees who had used this personality model to respond and adapt to others' preferred styles were equally critical of aspects of it. Many participants expressed a deep concern with 'putting people into boxes'. Here June reflected on what many others also voiced:

"I think probably you could use it if you were clever and studied it and you needed it for sales or like Paul McKenna, a trick act, you could use it. Probably its got quite a lot of substance to it but it should be treated carefully and I don't think you should take it so seriously and put people in boxes" (June, Trustees Account Manager, 50s, Hybrid course).

Because of her concerns over typing people, Sally adopted the general idea from the Enneagram about 'stepping into someone else's shoes' and was able to think more carefully about timing meetings and allocating tasks to staff according to their general preferences from what she knew about them as employees or colleagues. Here she explained:

"There are things that I approach differently now particularly in understanding timing, when is the right time to address things and when not. I would tend to take a, I'd be wanting to push ahead and get everything done. I will now actually hold back a little bit to wait until the other person is more prepared, I'm more prepared and then you come out with a better solution" (Sally, Manufacturing Pharmaceuticals Director, 44, Hybrid course).

Sally had modified the Enneagram, to suit her needs rather than adopt it wholeheartedly, largely because she did not want to 'box' employees. She wanted to

be her own 'script writer' (Archer, 2000: 303); to be the author of a more personalised use of the model. Vera had also adopted tenets of the model but had chosen not to use the specific types.

These participants preferred to stand back from the EI tools and demonstrate some cynical distance from them rather than embrace them unquestioningly. Ehrenreich (2006) encountered the Enneagram during her journalistic study of executive job hunting and coaching in the US. Whilst acknowledging its derivation from Sufism, Buddhism, Jesuit philosophy and Celtic lore she expands on the model's ill-founded roots:

“the actual development of the Enneagram theory is usually credited to two men – Oscar Ichazo, a Bolivian-born mystic, and Claudio Naranjo, a psychiatrist who made his mark in the nineteen sixties by employing hallucinogenic drugs in psychotherapy. Whatever “ancient learning” the Enneagram test purports to represent, it is nothing more than a pastiche of wispy New Age yearnings for some mystic unity underlying the disorder of human experience” (Ehrenreich, 2006: 33).

For the participants in this study, their main concerns were over-simplifying people's complex, context dependent behaviour and making judgements which may be non-indicative of others' values, behaviours and feelings (because it was hard to get to know work colleagues in that capacity).

Ivan, an Engineering Manager who worked for an multinational company which extracted minerals for the building industry, was also using the Enneagram to increase his team's performance and therefore his own. He originally went on the EI course to help him better cope with global project work. Here he explained his current work environment:

“We're managing multi-million pound projects all over the world and to get those things done you've got to be able to deal with all different nations and

different characters and god knows what else. You've got to be pretty good at that sort of thing [...]. We travel a lot, we use email a lot and we use telephone meetings a lot, all those things. There is a requirement to build relationships which maybe we didn't have before" (Ivan, Process Engineering Manager, 46, Hybrid course).

Ivan viewed EI as a way of appropriating or commodifying relationships at work to help him achieve his own goals and those of his employer:

"I think the idea of EI at work is to try to recognise a certain person's personality for want of a better word and then try to, I don't like using the word manipulate, but use the knowledge to make them work better" (Ivan, Process Engineering Manager, 46, Hybrid course).

But equally during the interview Ivan confessed some attractive benefits, commenting: "It's made me softer towards other people". Adam made it clear that he prioritised social relationships at work as instrumental endeavours, indicating his future use of the Enneagram was to facilitate this process to achieve work goals, now that he felt he was better managing his own emotions:

"Relationships in the organisation and external to the organisation are to some degree there for a purpose. That sounds terribly callous but in business you rarely have a relationship with someone just for the sake of having the relationship." (Adam, Head of Customer Connections, 41, Hybrid course).

However, Adam explained that he managed most of his team remotely on his mobile phone because he spent the majority of his time in the field and was rarely in the office. Due to a forthcoming policy change which would prevent employees using their mobile phones in their cars, even with hands-free sets, Adam felt that sustaining these relationships would be very difficult. Grant also viewed Emotional Intelligence as a functional, economic tool, explaining it was not about group hugs or manipulating people but:

“I think the use of it has, if you fully adopt the principles you can build strong teams and bring people along. That’s not to say there are going to be times when you do need to say ‘no this is how it’s going to be done’. But it’s then managing those people after you’ve made that statement to try to bring them along and align with the goal and vision” (Grant, Highway Services Manager, 35, Hybrid course).

Overall, fuelled by ambition and drive to develop their careers, Ivan, Adam, Stan and Grant’s self-conscious instrumental use of EI highlight their properties as reflective, strategising agents (Archer, 2000) whilst also denoting their economic concerns in a moral and economic context (Sayer, 2006).

Calculative empathy: a controlled production of the heart

As a consequence of attending the EI course, several managers and leaders used calculative empathy in strategic scenarios which required influencing skills to reach individualistic goals. As highlighted in Chapter Six, empathy was a key part of all three EI training programmes but was conveyed as a more instrumental tool on the Goleman and Hybrid courses but less so on the Bar-On. This EI skill entailed being more attuned to colleagues or managers’ needs, feelings, thoughts and concerns and using this knowledge to influence them or improve their productivity. When acts of Calculative Self Development took place, the participants were not interested in enhancing employee well-being or being empathic as a an end in itself. Instead, they used calculative empathy to get the job done. Angus, a Loans Manager, who had attended the Goleman EI course to help him be more adaptable during organisational change and to improve his ‘upward’ influencing skills with senior executives to ‘get their buy-in’, recounted how he now used it:

“I sit down with people who work with me and say well who’s going to be at this meeting, who do I need to influence and how do I influence them, what’s important to them, how would I pull on their heart strings, what would allow

them to get on board and its almost like a tactical tool” (Angus, Loans Manager, 27, Goleman course).

Goleman (1996:161) describes how important it is that people build personal and professional relationships across internal and external networks using power and authority legitimised from effective interpersonal skills and self confidence. Being able to negotiate, empathise, influence, collaborate are key attributes of the enterprising worker. Not surprisingly, numerous participants used aspects of EI in this way. As part of Angus’s approach he had become more attuned to a wider range of signals to better understand other people’s behaviour and thoughts, particularly when in negotiating situations and managing staff:

“I think it comes back to that awareness and listening to people and thinking what’s their body language telling me, what’s their facial expression telling me, what’s the way they worded that telling me, is there an inflection in their voice which makes me say, well pull back a little bit” (Angus, Loans Manager, 27, Goleman course).

For Angus, there was no sense of using empathy for anything other than instrumental, work-based purposes as he highlighted when discussing a recent incident with a team member:

“if I think of a recent time I’ve had staff who’ve felt a little bit upset, in fact to the point where you actually feel the frustration and its not until you step back and you think actually if I put myself in your shoes I would feel frustrated and if I put myself in your shoes these are the kind of things I would like to hear to make me feel a little bit better” (Angus, Loans Manager, 27, Goleman course).

He went on to explain the work-based gains of being more empathic:

“I think productivity increases [...] if you listen and I guess you link to a person they want to work for you. You don’t have to tell them to work for you they actually actively feel responsible to work for you and they make a choice” (Angus, Loans Manager, 27, Goleman course).

More broadly, he described how he encapsulated the use of EI in his work: “It’s taking people with you and getting them motivated and bought in”. However, his growing ability to step into other peoples’ shoes had generated some unexpected, outcomes. Aside from learning about the way other people think, he also commented: “I think you’re more wise and less hurtful. Things bounce off you a lot more, you have broader shoulders, maybe that’s a better way of saying it.”. He later returned to other social benefits he now appreciated:

“I think some of Emotional Intelligence is realising that you have to tell people things sometimes [...] you have to be a real person and on some levels you become friendly with people you wouldn’t normally, because sometimes you have to let your guard down and have a chat” (Angus, Loans Manager, 27, Goleman course).

Alan, the General Manager of a taxi business, explained that his growing organisation was making more demands on his networking skills and ability to manage a range of relationships related to setting up a new business, expansion and contract negotiations with suppliers. He was also trying to manage complex dynamics at board meetings as the number of stakeholders grew. In order to better manage these responsibilities, he had also attuned himself to others’ feelings and viewpoints by watching body language more carefully for example. This helped him to be more perceptive and politically ‘savvy’, as he reflected:

“I would say I am trying to consistently apply certain things, in other words, for example, not judging initial comments too quickly, trying to get to what the real message is, for example, listening skills this is one area where I’m trying really hard; looking at peoples’ faces more closely, listening to their

tone of voice, just watching their body language” (Alan, General Manager, 50s, Bar-On course).

Even though Alan attended the Bar-On EI course where empathy and being aware of others’ emotions was described in less instrumental terms, he adopted it in a strategic, perfunctory manner. For example, he was very aware of the thin line between EI being viewed by staff as something false or manipulative and genuine. His reflections on how EI should be learnt inferred his instrumental use:

“Practice on the small things before you go onto the bigger things. You’ve got to be competent and confident in what you’re doing before you try to pull off some major coup [...] practice small, regular and often.....” (Alan, General Manager, 50s Bar-On course).

To this end, he elaborated on the paradox: “It’s a bit like a magician showing the audience his tricks; you’re not a magician you’re just a trickster. The illusion goes up in a puff of smoke if you reveal everything at the time and try to explain why you did this and that”. This description has some similarity with Huy’s (2002) cautionary note over the careful balance between real and fabricated care in the use of Emotional Intelligence and its potential for ‘backfiring’ if it is perceived as disingenuous.

Stan was also tending to apply mindful empathy to work based situations but could not hide his frustration during the interview when recounting how he had tried to be more empathic with a team of administrative staff in his organisation before asking them to do a task. This seemed to convey a certain level of strategising which underpinned his empathy:

“And with that sort of person you’ve got to listen to them, understand them, its quite annoying at times especially one of them, because they will go on and on and on and on and on and on and on and it’s a case of sitting down

and saying well, actually I want to cut you short but I've got to do it in a nice way" (Stan, Sales and IT Manager, 35, Hybrid course).

Reality testing to aid problem solving

Alan, who had attended the Bar-On course, had attempted to apply the EQ-i skill 'reality testing' more readily at work which he explained as 'what is actually happening on the ground and what you think is happening'. In slightly abstract terms, he explained how he has used this approach:

"You may think the company is going great but the junior staff at the customer face may be thinking 'what a hell-hole' and it's getting to that. No wonder they might for example not deliver good customer service because their mental attitude might be it's a hell hole" (Alan, General Manager, 50s, Bar-On course).

He had capitalised on this approach to get his team re-energised and refocused on tasks as he commented: "I actually get their bums into gear, break the problem down and ask what do they see is the problem so I've got a much better grip of where everybody is coming from". Ultimately, his use of reality testing was to improve employee performance and thus achieve his individual goals of enhancing organisational performance. Angus had also benefitted from being more mindful that his colleagues had different perspectives or 'realities' on work problems and issues and this was helpful in situations where he needed to influence others to achieve his goals.

Using EI knowledge and skills to boost one's marketability to clients

Mark, a training consultant, attended the EI course to improve his skills as a management trainer. His use of Emotional Intelligence had helped him increase his market value as a consultant because it enabled him to *embody* the ideal or 'excellent' practitioner: "Its biggest application is enhancing the training I deliver to others; enhancing me". For example, Mark had integrated aspects of EI such as learnt

optimism and happiness, two aspects of the Bar-On model, into recent training courses to a large group of lawyers. Mark's use of Emotional Intelligence assisted him in Calculative Self Development because he had taken the knowledge from the EI training course to make himself more inspirational and impressive to clients. This ultimately served to boost his own marketability and career success:

“I think it is important for me to head in the direction I want to continue heading and to become a trainer, a speaker who can command much higher fees, albeit I can demand pretty high fees at the moment, but that requires me to work like hell to improve how I am perceived by others” (Mark, Training Director, 40, Bar-On course).

Overall, despite the different emphases placed by the four trainers across the three EI training courses, acts of Calculative Self Development from each course entailed participants seeking to use EI to help them thrive in the new economy in very pragmatic ways in order to enhance their performance in line with organisational goals and to improve promotion and career development opportunities, as expressions of economic concerns (Sayer, 2006). In addition to the uses described above, some participants had also worked on their assertiveness at work. For example, Nadia was no longer shy of addressing performance issues with subordinates who were older than herself and she explained that the course had not equipped her with assertiveness skills per se. Instead it had taught her that by not tackling these issues head on with staff the emotions (frustration and anger) built up within her and this was not productive or healthy. Sometimes the performance issues were quite minor, as Nadia explained - asking a secretary to take proper notes in a meeting. However, by tackling the problems as they arose, she felt her team improved their behaviours and her negative emotions cleared and she felt better. In addition, Mark from on the Bar-On course was attempting to improve his ability to work more independently. This had been a development need in his EQ-i profile which he was trying to address.

There was a distinctive feature of acts of Calculative Self Development which requires some further discussion. These managers and leaders did not use the EI ‘template’ or ‘script’ to learn to become a self, as some post-structuralists suggest (e.g. Cremlin, 2003; Landen, 2002; Rose, 1999). There was always a mental commentary running in parallel with their actions which was meditative and contemplative (Archer, 2000). This commentary prompted personal interpretations and improvisations of the models, self-awareness of their instrumental use of EI, *responses* to organisational demands for interpersonal skills and *responses* to the models themselves. Similar to Turnball’s (2002) findings, this study indicates organisational demands on one’s emotional and social behaviour creates independent reflections and emotions to these requests. This commentary also meant that when times and places required EI as calculative self development, participants appeared to simply occupy their roles rather than fully invest their whole self in them (Archer, 2000). Cool detachment characterised their uses of EI rather than a warm investment of the heart. As the remainder of the empirical chapters highlights, at other times the *same* participants would use EI in quite opposite or contradictory ways, in acts of Welfare Provision or Moral Agitation, for example. This highlights people’s versatile and somewhat paradoxical use of EI in the workplace. However, even during actions of Calculative Self Development, this chapter illustrates that little expressions of care and concern constantly crept out into participants’ narratives.

In addition, participants demonstrated discretionary use and calibrated their effort in their use of EI. As Chapter Five highlighted, this was because these skills were not being demanded and assessed by their employer and they had control over if and how they wanted to cultivate them. Being emotionally intelligent for participants like Stan and Alan sometimes required effort and secrecy. Similarly, Sara, a Receptionist and Administrator who worked for an animal protection registration council, commented that her ‘effort’ to be emotionally intelligent depended on “how interested I am and what’s going on”. Not surprisingly, numerous participants who used EI in acts of Calculative Self Development displayed some cynical distance from Emotional Intelligence as a whole ‘product’. Adam was keen to point out that no management model was a panacea, including EI:

“it’s a tool in your toolbox, a weapon in your armoury, whatever you want to call it. It’s a way of looking at things that helps you, helps me comprehend the world around me, the world of relationships and things of that sort but it doesn’t give you all the answers” (Adam, Head of Customer Connections, 41, Hybrid course).

Adam also expressed his concern with what he described ‘becoming an automaton’ if emotions were controlled all the time. He went on to reflect how he felt some discretionary effort was required ‘to pick and choose’ when using EI, again demonstrating how little bits of benevolence and concern for others spill over even when EI is viewed in instrumental terms:

“I think you could potentially use Emotional Intelligence to squeeze a lot of emotion out of your life, both positive and negative. If you’re constantly examining your emotions and constantly examining other people’s emotions you could turn the whole process of life, relationships, talking to people etc into a total scientific, self examination and psychoanalysis type process which is not really what life is about” (Adam, Head of Customer Connections, 41, Hybrid course).

Despite participants’ clear needs to use EI for individual and organisational gains in acts of Calculative Self Development, this is not to disregard that compromises have to be made for some and that: “In any society, ethical valuation and economic valuation may sometimes be in tension, but they are particularly likely to be so in capitalism” (Sayer, 2007: 93). For numerous managers and leaders, there was a sense that given the choice, they would prefer to use EI more humanely but work did not offer these opportunities, as Angus explained: “I would put EI more towards the respect and dignity side but to be honest, practicality wise, in a business I would probably move it towards the other end of the spectrum”. This example clearly illustrates that, contrary to what Archer (2000) argues, compromise is often

necessary in life because we simply cannot achieve a full integration or alignment of all our desires and wants.

TACTICAL SURVIVAL

As Chapter Five highlighted, acts of Tactical Survival requires the use of EI strategies to make work life more tolerable. At times when EI is used to this end, the Tactical Survival involves the adoption of EI guidelines or tools to manage the stressful or disappointing burdens of work life but these tend not to be in the organisation's economic interest. The key characteristics of using EI in this way are individualistic and antagonistic: there are gains for the self but the organisation rarely directly benefits. Tactical Survival refers to the use of EI to work less and feel better, as a way of reclaiming some dignity or recognition from one's employer and to exit the organisation. As a consequence of these actions the organisation appears to incur losses in the form of reduced labour, loss of skills or employees resisting organisational initiatives which impact negatively on the self.

Using EI principles to work less and live more

As Sayer (2000a) highlights, markets tend to work against a moral order when economic pressures force employers to increase working hours, to the neglect of personal life and relationships. This can be to the point that market pressures intrude on other realms of life and incur harm. For a number of participants in this study, messages were taken from the EI course and used to reassess their work-life balance in order to re-prioritise (or affirm) non-work needs and concerns. Again, this was largely contextualised within a description of sometimes frustrating and fast-paced work life and its incumbent demands. Esther, a Managing Director of an organisation which ran specialised examinations and boards for the medical profession, had attended the EI course so that she could manage her staff to the best of her ability particularly during change. Whilst she adopted EI principles and skills in a number

of ways, some of which are discussed in the next chapter through her welfare provision, one of her uses of EI was as Tactical Survival.

Over a sustained period, Esther had been working very long hours, often over several weekends in a row but her perspective had changed since attending the Bar-On EI course, largely influenced by the trainer's emphasis on self actualisation, life values and 'having a meaningful life'. During the interview she relived numerous recent events where she had made work sacrifices such as cancelling meetings to spend more time with her family, and cut down on her long working hours. These were practices she was keen to point out which were rather out of character for her:

“I had a day of meetings and things going on about two or three or weeks ago and my brother was to go back to the hospital to see the surgeon and I thought ‘no, I’m taking the day off’ which I would never have done before the course. And I thought I’m having that day, my brother is more important than my job” (Esther, Managing Director, 50s, Bar-On course).

Here she continued to describe in what other ways she was working less and how the course had influenced her:

“ I’ve realised too at nights, frequently in the past I’ve worked till ten or eleven at night and I’ve lately I’ve stayed here till six or seven and I’ve gone home, had a glass of wine and switched off from work [...] that was something I did feel, there was going to be more me-time.. it wasn’t as though I thought the course told me to do it but I’ve gone off and done it and that’s unusual for me [long pause] it was looking at what was important to you on the course, what do you want to achieve and do and value....” (Esther, Managing Director, 50s, Bar-On course).

In addition, she had started bringing a yoga mat into work and would try to set aside time during work to practice although she admitted in reality it was almost impossible to do this regularly. Like Nadia, Esther had re-evaluated her priorities as

a consequence of attending the Bar-On EI course and had decided to dedicate herself to new purposes, desires and aspirations in life (Archer, 2000). Pippa, a Hardware Services Manager for a bank, had originally decided to go on the Bar-On course to help her better influence her new management team and be recognised for the work she was doing. She felt that ‘my face doesn’t fit in the current organisation’. In a similar vein, Pippa had gone through a re-evaluation of her priorities as a consequence of attending the EI course and this had confirmed for her that she wanted to achieve a better work-life balance and enjoy family life rather than fight her way back to recognition or go ‘the whole hog’ at work. This evaluation became the platform for further uses of EI in acts of Welfare Provision, described in the next chapter. However, here she reflected on how her work could demand huge amounts of time but the course had confirmed that she was not prepared to *go that far*:

“I’ve consciously made a decision that although I can’t sit back and not do anything, you know I do want to be recognised as someone who is successful but at the end of the day I’m not prepared to make it my first priority [...] My work is hands on, you could be here 24 hours a day, you could get called in anytime, your weekends could all be taken up with working...I suppose a part of it is the happiness index. I’ve made that decision that I’m not prepared to go the whole hog.” (Pippa, Hardware Services Manager, 51, Bar-On course).

She then went on to reflect on how some of the themes on the EI course had influenced her:

“The way Martin [trainer] was talking, I found that quite interesting in that this is your life, you’ve only got one life and because that’s what I was saying I think now I’m in a position where I’m more content with where I am, and perhaps that’s a result of the course” (Pippa, Hardware Services Manager, 51, Bar-On course).

Pippa had clearly internally interrogated herself about whether she was doing her needs and concerns justice and had taken action accordingly (Archer, 2000: 298).

Over the last period Sally had been doing preparatory work for closing down her manufacturing plant. Between attending the EI course and our interview her father had died. Attending the EI course had made her more mindful of how her emotions were affecting her actions in both personal and professional spheres and that sometimes she needed to reduce the amount of tasks she was tackling as a form of self preservation. This reflection was very much framed in the context of the pressures being placed on her at work during the current plant closure:

“I made far more conscious decisions about energy here now and because that’s important and then energy home now because that’s important. And because having done the course and starting to think about how emotion affects your ability to do these things there were times when I was thinking there is just so much going on and I’m being pulled in so many different directions I can’t do anything properly therefore it is better to do less and do those properly” (Sally, Manufacturing Pharmaceuticals Director, 44, Hybrid course).

Alan also explained how the EI course had made him reflect on how much emotional energy he should put into his work and when to ‘cut my losses’. He had been very run down between the EI course and our interview and he recounted how the themes from the EI training had made him approach tasks at work differently. Ultimately, he had decided that putting too much emotional effort into certain work activities was counter-productive to his health as he explained:

“I was stressed out about a month ago [March]; desperately stressed out physically. I was really at a low ebb but coming back, I don’t know what it was – whether it was a long winter, particularly busy or whether I was physically bowled over. But I couldn’t even watch daytime television, put it that way” (Alan, General Manager, 50s, Bar-On course).

He continued to explain how this had impacted on his choices he made at work:

“I remember a situation when one of my employees came to me in September ‘I’m hating the job, I really want out’. I said ‘Aha, you’ve only been here about a month and a half, why not give it some more time and see how we go?’. They came back in March ‘Right that’s it; I want to get out of here’ and I thought ‘You know, I don’t have the energy to argue here and I made a conscious decision. I said ‘are you sure?’ that’s what I said ‘are you sure?’ ‘yeah, my mind’s made up’. Then well I’m going to accept that rather than go into all the big long lengthy debate about it [...] I’m going to cut my losses here and I’m not going to put any more time and for me that was the emotionally smart thing to do” (Alan, General Manager, 50s, Bar-On course).

Alan went on to say that normally he would have put his salesman skills into effect and persuade this person to stay as he was satisfied with his work and letting him go would have been a loss to the organisation. So the decision was one which saved him precious emotional energy, but was not in the organisation’s best interest. One other participant on the Bar-On course also explained on the final training day that they had been asked to take on a more senior role in their organisation but had decided that it was not what they wanted. Instead, they wanted a more meaningful life experience and the course had reinforced that. These examples sharply contrast with key proponents of ‘mixed’ EI models who argue that people with high EI take on extra work responsibilities (Cooper and Sawaf, 1997). Somewhat oppositely, all of these examples clearly highlight that people can be active choosers in their lives (Archer, 2000), using EI to reduce workloads. Not surprisingly, these acts of Tactical Survival were all undertaken by senior managers and leaders who clearly had more choices and authority to refuse to commit themselves to certain work requirements – clearly privileges that less senior employees do not have.

Demanding recognition and respect through increased self confidence and assertiveness

Since attending the EI course, work life for Sara, an Administrator, had been just as fraught as before because numerous difficult and upsetting interpersonal situations

had arisen which were having a cumulative effect on her motivation and loyalty to her organisation. The first was an incident where she had been unfairly overlooked for a promotion and instead her sister who worked as a temp in her company was offered the post, despite her lack of qualifications. Sayer points out the effects of unfair recognition for one's talents and virtues:

“It's common in organisations for employees to feel upset if a colleague within their own rank is promoted above them if they think s/he does not deserve it. The resentment and sense of injustice is generally less about the difference in pay – which is in any case often minor – but the difference in valuation of their worth and competence which the decision signals ” (Sayer, 2007: 31-32).

For Sara, her 'devaluation' was compounded when she returned from the EI course and had a negative appraisal with her manager. Her manager commented that she was unapproachable and unhelpful without providing any grounds for this criticism, insisting that the EI course seemed to have had no effect on her. Sara attempted to explain how various incidents including the one with her sister's promotion had demoralised her but the EI course helped her to let go of things that upset her at work. Later, when Sara requested a reference from her manager to apply for another internal post, she refused. Feeling aggrieved by the situation and the ongoing lack of evidence to substantiate her manager's comments she went to see a senior member of staff to complain. She explained that the EI course had given her the confidence and assertiveness to speak out: “It's definitely the fact that I have a voice and I should be heard and I should be able to have an opinion as well. And also I did feel totally demoralised by the whole thing”. When asked what would have happened if she hadn't gone on the EI course she replied: “I would have walked out. I wouldn't have coped with it I don't think.” Following this, for Sara, in an oblique sense, the course reinforced that she deserved respect, had the right to be heard, and should be valued for her competence (Sayer, 2007). This incident was an act of tactical survival because she was demanding an internal promotion (individualistic) that her manager did not support.

Using EI to exit the organisation

Some participants in this study had used aspects of EI to work towards exiting their organisation. As Sayer notes: “those fortunate enough to do work that is skilled, demanding and interesting can enjoy the ‘internal goods’ or satisfactions and achievements of that work itself” (Sayer, 2007: 32-33). For one interviewee, who wished not to be named in this example, attending the Bar-On course had made them reflect more fundamentally on what they wanted to get out of life and work. At the time of the interview they had just applied for a new job in a completely different field which better met their broader life goals and interests. Highlighting that life is not beset with rules, this person illustrated that it involves an ethical, creative and personalised reflection on how far to pursue one’s needs and in what way (Archer, 2000). Martin, the Bar-On trainer reinforced this as a key theme in his EI programmes:

“A tremendous number of individuals that go through the programmes that I would be involved in are looking to ask some fundamental questions about ‘am I in the right job? Am I in the right place? Who am I really?’ to get some other way or some other tools or whatever you want to call them, some other ways of assessing their talents and capabilities because a lot of people suspect that they’re perhaps not having as fulfilling a challenge in their life or perhaps not making as big a contribution to something that identifies who they are” (Martin, Trainer, Bar-On course).

In Chapter Three EI was criticised for its unrealistic message that everyone can ‘gravitate to what gives them meaning’ (Goleman, 1998: 58; Orme and Bar-On, 2002), particularly as there are limited opportunities lower down the hierarchy for employees to pursue intrinsically rewarding work. Indeed, Claire, a Personal Assistant who worked in an environmental government agency, was quick to point out her gratitude for having a manager who was mindful and responsive to this, intimating not all managers are like this.

Karl, a Programme Manager Assistant in local government, had attended the Bar-On course because he wanted to enhance his career prospects outwith his current organisation. He explained that gaining a certificate for attending the course was of primary importance to him to increase his employability: “It could be used as a leverage tool. The various things on the CV is that again this is, now it’s the latest thing I’ve done its now above the MBA in terms of time”. He went on to explain that he had decided there were no promotional opportunities for him with his current employer. Karl was spurred into action by the politics at work: “It’s a very hierarchical organisation and it plays different wee games with people regarding promotion...”. Hence he was using the EI course (funded by his current employer) to find another job elsewhere. His account is not a dissimilar to Goleman’s (1998) narrative of employees becoming their ‘own little shop’ of saleable skills. Here Karl went on to explain:

“I’m trying to get to the place now of interviews with other companies. [...] When I first came in I was lucky enough to get in, and I thought over a period of time I’ll get up to a certain level but I don’t think that’s going to happen. That’s my gut feeling. So therefore you go down a different route of substantiating your academic abilities and backing it up” (Karl, Programme Manager Assistant, 39, Bar-On course).

Wilma, the trainer on the Goleman course recounted how during one of her previous EI programmes it became clear that one participant was being bullied by their manager. As a consequence of attending the EI course, she later left her employer. The ‘emotion’ theme of the programme had been a catalyst for her opening up, confronting her situation and realising she had a choice to leave. Here Wilma explained:

“...it became apparent throughout the day from things that she shared with us and her anecdotal evidence if you like that actually it was the other way round, she was quite emotionally intelligent and clearly her boss was bullying her. And so there were times through the course where she got very

emotional and cried about things that were happening and the group were very supportive of her and these are people she'd never met before and they were really supportive of her and talked to her about how she should exit the organisation fairly quickly actually [...] I heard from her after the course and she told me she had since left the company" (Wilma, Trainer, Goleman course).

This example again raises some concerns highlighted in Chapters Three and Six regarding the invasive nature of EI as a therapeutic tool and the extent to which it is the responsibility of training providers to enter psychological and personal realms which they are clearly not trained to deal with. Nevertheless, it is another example of using EI as a form of tactical survival.

Throughout all of the descriptions of acts of tactical survival, participants' had a continual running commentary of demoting and promoting priorities to achieve their goals and aspirations (Archer, 2000). Responding to external situations and modifying some of these circumstances is a keen expression of people's capabilities and powers (Archer, 2000). As part of this, emotions link thoughts (regarding the nature of one's circumstances) to actions, alerting one to make priorities (feeling frustrated over limited time to spend with family, anger over one's devaluation at work, disappointment and yearnings for a more meaningful existence) (Archer, 2000). However, it seems that many participants in this study, who used EI in acts of tactical survival were senior managers. Overall, their own powers and positions gave them a certain latitude for variation of change which less senior employees do not have. In this way, aspects of EI may discriminate against employees lower down the corporate hierarchy, indicating that EI is not mutually accessible to all. As Claire intimated, this may be a structural constraint to using certain aspects of Emotional Intelligence at work for those in less senior positions. Another explanation may be that many (but not all) of the participants who used EI in acts of Tactical Survival attended the Bar-On course where they felt a meaningful, balanced life was particularly emphasised and which they interpreted as a key aspect of Emotional Intelligence (e.g. Bar-On, 2001; Orme and Bar-On, 2002).

CONCLUSION

Overall, acts of Calculative Self Development included the use of different ‘sub-skills’ of Emotional Intelligence including emotional self awareness and self control, understanding others’ personality, calculative empathy, reality testing, assertiveness, independence and using EI to boost one’s marketability. Participants used these aspects of EI in acts which enabled them to acquire numerous work-based gains. These self-reported gains included increased focus on work tasks, improved prioritising/decision making skills, generating more constructive ideas being contributed to work tasks, increased motivation and focus on one’s career development as well as increasing staff motivation, commitment and self confidence, increased productivity and effectiveness in oneself and others, less interpersonal conflict and tensions, better conflict resolution and improved work-based solutions. These uses and gains were all contextualised within a work environment best described as fast-paced, changing and stressful.

Acts of Tactical Survival entailed the use of EI as a means of working less and living more, demanding recognition and respect and exiting the organisation. From the examples in this study, the self-reported outcomes of using EI in this way included a better work-life balance, improved well-being, feeling happier, improved energy and potentially new employment opportunities elsewhere. The self-reported organisational losses included decreased productivity, and actual/potential loss of employees and talent. These organisational losses tend to be undocumented in academic studies because of the focus on EI’s performative gains and the lack of accounting for the content of EI models and training courses such as a meaningful life, self actualisation and work-life balance.

Evidently, uses of EI as calculative self development were heavily weighted in this chapter compared with those of tactical survival. This was largely because the pressures of work for most participants were intense and using EI in other ways was seen as more of a luxury. But equally, numerous participants’ intentions were to raise

their strategic interpersonal skills at work in fairly ruthless ways at these times and in these places.

Self-reported structural constraints to using EI highlighted in this chapter included organisational rules and policies which restricted the use of EI to build interpersonal relationships and a certain latitude for variation of change privileged by senior positions and potentially discriminate against less senior employees. Interviewees also highlighted the time impediments to using EI as well as some agentic constraints such as not being able to control others' erratic behaviour. Other constraints were linked to the deficiencies of the Enneagram model and emotional self control techniques.

This chapter also highlighted participants' interpretation of Emotional Intelligence's *positiveness*. As chapter Two argued, EI's positive agenda may be detrimental because it undermines the value of negative emotions, restricts the role of emotions as evaluative commentaries on matters of well-being, disregards the complexity of emotional changes, and devalues character. In this study, many managers and leaders interpreted EI as an approach which accepts negative emotions in organisational life either as ways of expressing dissatisfaction with work issues, being genuine or as evaluative commentaries on individual concerns. All participants interpreted EI as an acceptance of one's character rather than seeing it as a means of moulding the self into a more marketised or commercialised persona. This was the case on every course, whether positiveness was emphasised (Bar-On and Hybrid courses) or not (Goleman course).

Clearly, people are needy beings; they have a range of divergent needs and have the capacity for flourishing and suffering in relation to whether they can meet these needs (Sayer, 2007). Sayer's (2006; 2007) concept of a moral economy approach enables a theorisation of the place of human beings within the economy but one which requires selected qualities, attitudes and virtues that people may exhibit, particularly benevolence and concern for others, to oil its wheels. However, when Emotional Intelligence is used in acts of calculative self development or tactical

survival individualistic needs are prioritised. For acts of confident self development, self-interested thriving in a performative sense was a key priority and managers and leaders used EI because it was expedient, convenient and functional. In effect, it met their needs to improve performance in contemporary capitalism. Equally, some acts of Calculative Self Development were as a consequence of participants being under greater pressure to perform interpersonally and this had affected their well-being, self-confidence and self esteem. When they adopted EI practices they reported that their well-being was improved. In the various acts of Tactical Survival EI was used to make work more tolerable.

Organisations attempt to appropriate employee behaviour for its own instrumental ends and this approach tends to condense employees' actions and concerns into functional ones which meet the organisation's goals (Sayer, 2007). Whilst many participants in this chapter inevitably felt the need to use EI in a practical or performative sense (Archer, 2000; Sayer, 2006), that is not to say that they did not have discretionary effort in how they used EI or some cynical distance from the tools and techniques and the powers to interpret EI according to their specific needs. In addition, many had a 'reaction' to the various organisational demands on their interpersonal skills; a response which indicated how the current pressures were affecting their well-being and how tough organisational life was at times. These discretionary acts combined with evidence of peoples' reflective 'inner conversations', insights into their emotional and physical well-being and the choices and compromises they made highlight the powers of human agency. Together, the causal powers of the economic dimension of the moral and economic context and peoples' own causal powers as prioritising, choosing agents combine to explain the two uses of Emotional Intelligence highlighted in this chapter: Calculative Self Development and the Tactical Survival.

The next chapter turns to Welfare Provision and Moral Agitation to examine how participants used EI to develop and sustain a sense of 'fellow-feeling' at work, expressed as a form of human connectedness.

CHAPTER EIGHT: WELFARE PROVISION AND MORAL AGITATION

This chapter continues a description of the four uses of Emotional Intelligence, focusing on Welfare Provision and Moral Agitation. The common theme that binds these two actions is participants' use of Emotional Intelligence to help enhance the social aspect or 'human connectedness' at work. Inherent in their approach is an acceptance of the *overflowing* interests, needs and values of people. This approach attempts to appreciate that at these given times people's needs cannot be neatly compartmentalised because organisational life is an open social system. Sayer (2006: 84) illustrates this point:

“Thus workers may socialise, seek fulfilment, respect, esteem, get distracted or inspired, they may become ill, get pregnant, and generally allow life to intrude on work. Hence, the multi-dimensional nature of practice tends repeatedly to spill over attempts to confine them to particular purposes”.

Framing the 'overspill' and diversity of personal needs and concerns within the workspace is not to defy simple categorisations of these complex economic and social elements even though they may enhance or impinge on the organisation's success (Sayer, 2007). Numerous participants in this study demonstrated an acute awareness of the 'human implications of employment', denoting some level of resistance to 'purifying' it (Sayer, 2007: 29), as Sally pointed out:

“Its not a case of you come in, because its like when you come into work you don't leave everything behind, you don't leave what's happened in the outside world, you don't leave, you know if you've had an argument with your partner or the kids are playing up or you're got a relative who's ill you bring that with you. Equally, when you go home you take what's happened in the workplace back home and so you have to take the good with the bad but you have to accept that people are whole people, they're not just automatons” (Sally, Manufacturing Pharmaceuticals Director, female, 44).

Following this, we can frame organisational life in a way which puts people with all their needs and vulnerabilities at the heart of the analysis. Whilst typically employers try to confine employees to particular purposes (Sayer, 2007), several participants believed a more *emotionally intelligent* approach to managing staff accepts and works with this ‘overspill’ rather than crowding it out. In doing so, social and economic needs can both be met. For example, Nadia felt a strong aversion to managing staff by disaggregating their social and economic needs at work:

“And because I’ve come from a couple of jobs where my managers were like that - I was just a robot to do the job and to do it well and to do it quickly and nothing else that was going on in my life - it was almost seen that my life was seen as an intrusion into my work, and I hated that. When I came into this job it was my first time that I’d line managed other people and I knew that for sure I didn’t want to be that kind of a person” (Nadia, Marketing Communications Manager, 35, Hybrid course).

As a consequence, in acts of Welfare Provision and Moral Agitation managers and leaders tend to view organisations as ‘moral arenas’ (Sayer, 2007: 22). In these moments, Emotional Intelligence is used as a means of generating an ‘ethical surplus’; as a facilitative tool or vehicle, often expressed as genuine caring, supportive, empathic and humane acts and gestures towards others which were either in accord with organisational objectives and goals (welfare provision) or discordant with them (moral agitation). However, this is not to deny the multi-dimensional and contradictory use of Emotional Intelligence as some managers and leaders use EI in acts of calculative self development and welfare provision, for example. Sometimes these opposing uses seem irreconcilable but simply denote this further complex dimension of human beings as a whole. First we turn to Welfare Provision.

WELFARE PROVISION

As Chapter Five highlighted, managers and leaders use EI in acts of Welfare Provision in response to organisational needs in conjunction with their own concerns of a social nature. As a result Welfare Provision comprises the use of EI to meet

performative needs in collaboration with satisfying norms to promote the well-being and flourishing of others (Archer, 2000; Sayer, 2006). Acts of listening, supporting and caring, acceptance of others' needs, support for development, and respect towards others are all achieved or enhanced through EI. These acts do not jeopardise the functional side of organisations but instead contribute towards it. In effect, Welfare Provision requires the use of EI to help promote and sustain a moral order in organisational life whilst also maintaining organisational function.

Being empathic, supporting and caring to enhance others' well-being and flourishing

Several of the participants in this study sought to voluntarily help others let go of painful emotions by teaching them an emotional control technique because they believed it would benefit them: to reduce their levels of stress and anxiety at work. Vera had used it with colleagues who were worried and frightened by the ongoing changes within their organisation. Elaine had voluntarily taught methods to several colleagues who were struggling with pressures and interpersonal clashes at work, largely caused by the new Managing Director who was attempting to make their marketing consultancy more 'corporate'. She felt the techniques had made them feel slightly less upset and was happy to help them out:

“I do the pencil one a lot because when our guys in finance come round - because they actually work with the guy who's causing me the problems and they're very stressed. When they come round I show them the pencil and I say 'see that, you've got to let it go' . I suppose if people are stressed and they come to me I try to, I do try to tell them a bit about living in the now and letting go of the emotion of how you're feeling and take a little step back from it. I would just say 'you're upset by this, you're all tense and you stop being tense and take a little step and see it differently' ”(Elaine, Personal Assistant/Office Manager, 40s, Hybrid course).

However, reiterating some of the concerns in Chapter Seven, using EI in this way appears to encourage a focus on the feeling rather than provide a political or

institutional re-description of the circumstance, inhibiting any challenge of those structures. Nicci, a Learning and Development Manager for a healthcare company, had attended the Hybrid course because she wanted to learn new coaching skills. Since attending the course she had used the present moment awareness technique with many of her mentees who ‘come in with the weight of the world’. This was contextualised within an organisation which had gone through ‘an awful lot of change in the last five years’ including a current re-structuring programme. She continued: “that’s a technique I use with people because so often the coaching sessions I have with people they are trying to change the past and not focus on what they can do in the future”.

Recently she had been very concerned about one of her mentees who had hit rock bottom after a damning 360 degree performance review where her line manager, in Nicci’s words ‘assassinated her’ and ‘absolutely destroyed her’. Nicci felt keen to help her because “I think it had a detrimental effect on her life outside of work to the point that I think she believed that if she left she would have no chance of getting another job because she was worthless”. However, when asked if the technique had really had an impact, Nicci conceded that the only reason why her mentee now felt better was because the manager had left. She explained the manager had been politically manoeuvring her to get her out of the organisation. She reflected that in such cases, this technique had little impact. However, Nicci had worked solidly and consistently with this mentee to help her recover from the damaging effects of her manager’s review, signalling her discretionary effort which went beyond the call of duty and which was a self-authored, ethical and personalised response (Archer, 2000) rather than one which simply fulfilled her work duties.

As will be recalled from Chapter Seven, Pippa, a Hardware Services Manager for a bank, attended the Bar-On course to learn how to be able to influence her new management team, commenting that her face no longer fitted the organisation. She explained:

“We’ve had a change in management at work. At the time before Christmas I felt my face didn’t fit in the current organisation. The year before that I felt we had a management structure where I felt I was being recognised, I was being listened to and I probably felt I was influencing and all of a sudden because of the management change I felt that wasn’t the case. [...] the influencing skills and how you approach things, some of that was on my mind and how I could get back to the position where I was being listened to really” (Pippa, Hardware Services Manager, 51, Bar-On course).

After the course, when she was asked if EI had helped her in this endeavour, she expressed a clear re-prioritisation of her needs and concerns as a consequence of the course. She had interrogated herself about the roles of her male colleagues and in which way she wanted the managerial role to be different for herself (Archer, 2002). Here she reflected:

“My industry is a very, very male dominated industry and there is a lot of testosterone going around all the time; people trying to prove themselves and I’m sure there are ways I can apply what Martin was saying in that sort of environment to get better recognised for what I do [...] but do you know I don’t think I want to do it. I think I came away from the course thinking I’m more interested in the happiness index and enjoying what I’m doing and helping other people. Whether it’s the stage I’m at, I’m in my early fifties and I’m not as young and dynamic as some of the guys on the course were. But I think I came away thinking I want to manage people, I want to manage people well and if that results in me getting promoted then fine but if not, as long as I’m happy and my staff are happy that’s probably the most important thing” (Pippa, Hardware Services Manager, female, 51).

During this discussion, she commented that she felt EI would enable her to overcome gender-based structural constraints by asserting herself at work, but clearly she was no longer interested in this. In line with the critical review in Chapter Three, she indicated EI’s scope for overt gender reform by adopting the male ‘strengths’ of EI

(Lorber, 2001), in particular assertiveness and influencing. However, Pippa went on to explain how, instead, she was using Emotional Intelligence to care for, and support her staff more, adopting more ‘feminine’ skills within the EI framework:

“By making them feel important and getting them involved. That was one of the things Martin [trainer] was saying - people have to feel engaged in what’s happening. I think that’s something I’ve tried to do and within the team I’ve got particularly in Edinburgh [...]. I’m giving people time, listening to their concerns, the way you deal with peoples’ concerns with more empathy” (Pippa, Hardware Services Manager, female, 51).

However, doing this with her virtual team was proving more problematic:

“What I do find is it’s very, very difficult with a remote team. Its easy to get the dynamics of the team with people who are sitting together, to get that improved...you can have one to ones and listen to what people have to say. But it’s much more difficult when you’ve got people working remotely [...]. It’s much more formal. I think its something which I need to spend more time thinking about how to address” (Pippa, Hardware Services Manager, female, 51).

This suggests there are limitations to Emotional Intelligence’s ability to provide a ‘rulebook’ for behaviours to help ‘fast-track’ or develop ‘genuine’ relationships, dependent on technologically based work configurations, despite what advocates claim (c.f. Caruso and Salovey, 2004). That aside, since attending the EI course coming to work everyday was more about a desire for social relationships and to have a human connection as she reflected:

“[The course] did make me reflect on what is important and what you want to get out of working. And certainly for me it’s the social side of things. I couldn’t be a home worker; although it’s useful to work at home on the odd day it’s not something I could do on a permanent basis because I like the

social interaction... it gives me a sense of belonging” (Pippa, Hardware Services Manager, female, 51).

Her need for human connection clearly illustrates that people *need* social relations as social beings who are psychologically, socially and economically dependent on others (Sayer, 2007: 25). In addition, her critical, evaluative commentary on EI’s limitations for managing virtual teams (Archer, 2000) was making her think how she could adapt or improvise the learning from the course. Ron, a Managing Director for a recruitment firm, attended the EI course to enhance his credibility as a leader. He expressed that moral economic concerns go beyond issues of exchange, pay and conditions to the ‘qualitative nature of the relations of the workplace’ (Sayer, 2006: 90):

“I think it’s an over-used phrase these days, but I think I genuinely have an interest in people. I don’t see this as ‘well you’re in business to make money - how much money did you make today?’ This is not necessarily what it’s about for me. I think it’s genuinely because I have a duty of care for everybody in the business and I see that as a social side first and foremost. And I believe that if you look after everybody, create a good environment and give them clear objectives then the money side of things is not important because that will look after itself” (Ron, Managing Director, 36, Bar-On course).

One of the aspects that Ron took from the Bar-On course was engendering a deeper level of social connection with his staff, as he explained:

“I found that was one of the things I took from the course, which I think the way Martin talked about was sometimes it’s just right to put your arm round somebody and say come on let’s have a chat about this because you’re really not happy or we need to do this or this is my opinion, rather than being very formal about it because that just lifts that whole conversation up to a another level” (Ron, Managing Director, 36, Bar-On course).

Similarly, Nadia explained that attending the EI course had made her less judgemental and ‘more caring’ and empathic towards the students in her college:

“..on a bigger scale, I think being in a college, we’re not just in a corporate environment, so being in a college so we have to be very aware of people’s needs and it’s [EI] helped me to be less dismissive and more caring and not thinking ‘oh God, that’s just an excuse’ ” (Nadia, Marketing Communications Manager, 35, Hybrid course).

As a consequence of attending the Bar-On course, Esther had also become more aware of the importance of listening and seeing things from others’ perspectives, for herself and her management team. Since attending the course she had introduced a new appraisal format into her company. Drawing on the EI teachings, she decided to make the process more reciprocal and trained her managers to use the review as a non-judgemental listening and opinion seeking mechanism. Whilst it was too early to see any tangible gains, she felt all the staff had adapted well to this approach.

Samantha, a Leadership Advisor within the police force, had attended the Goleman course because she had been selected internally for leadership potential and was on a special development programme. She was interested in further exploring the link between EI and transformational leadership to help her as a future leader (c.f. Goleman, 1998; Goleman, Boyatzis and McKee, 2002). On returning from the EI course she had reflected on its application to herself as a potential leader and described what the course had emphasised for her:

“It’s your ability to have a link and connect with other people and being able to empathise and to find commonalities with people as well so they do feel valued as a colleague or member of staff, or whatever really. I just see it as that genuineness really” (Samantha, Leadership Advisor, 35, Goleman course).

Despite the Goleman course's emphasis on functional social relations, Samantha interpreted the empathy aspect of EI in quite a different way to Angus, who chose a more instrumental path. As a consequence of attending the course, Samantha integrated a stronger theme of empathy into the mentoring scheme she managed for new recruits. She had emphasised these aspects during presentations and reinforced how important it was for the mentors to remain compassionate. As a consequence of the course, she was keen to stress that if mentoring partnerships were not working out due to a lack of rapport, mentees were very free to change them without any repercussions. This, she argued, was because the relationships were crucial for making new staff feel seen, comfortable, happy and oriented within the organisation: "it's making people feel its ok to feel out of your depth, it's ok to feel a bit scared and a bit unsure of things and that's perfectly normal". She emphasised that the process enabled staff to openly express any self-doubt and awkwardness and that the mentor would help with this to ensure new recruits settled in as quickly as possible and thus be effective in their new roles. Clearly, she was keen to promote a support system which would ensure that new recruits could flourish and were treated with respect and positive regard (Sayer, 2007). She expanded on the social importance of the mentoring roles, highlighting the sense of 'belongingness' she was keen to instil:

"People can feel isolated very much so as I've certainly seen that's why I believe very much in what I do and the fact we can make that transition a lot easier for people and make people feel much more, it's a sense of belonging" (Samantha, Leadership Advisor, 35, Goleman course).

Numerous participants on both the Hybrid and Bar-On courses had decided to make a stronger and more direct social and emotional connection with their staff as a consequence of attending the respective courses. Sally, Elaine and Alan explain the different ways they were doing this. Here Sally described her approach:

"What I said was ok, this is my job, my job now is to make sure all my people are looked after. And therefore that's not about writing emails, doing charts, doing KPRs or reporting back to Germany. It's about walking the area

and knowing if so and so went away for Christmas, and how did they get on, or how's their daughter doing at university or some of them, there's one young lad had twins over Christmas and it's those sort of things I'm doing. Because I needed to find a way that I can then continue that emotional, personal link and now when I see Darren I can say 'how are the twins doing?' [...]. I wouldn't have done this if I hadn't gone on the course" (Sally, Manufacturing Pharmaceuticals Director, 44, Hybrid course).

Sally had implemented a re-training programme so that all staff would be retrained in a profession of their choice, 'doing something that they enjoy and get more satisfaction from than what they currently do' by the time the plant closed in three years time. She continued:

“And that means that you treat everyone as an individual and you find ways of supporting them. And you also get rid of a whole load, the corporate banners and you know, you just take it down to a personal level because this site closure is personal for everyone” (Sally, Manufacturing Pharmaceuticals Director, 44, Hybrid course).

Sally argued that this initiative tied in with the overarching philosophy of care and support she wished to maintain in the factory and was aligned with the German company values. This had given her a lot of internal strength during the process. She had clearly made a choice in her approach which went beyond the German head-office brief. She explained that a sister site within the UK was also being shut down “and I have been comparing notes with their site director and there are similarities but there are very big differences”. This denotes her discretionary effort and choice in operationalising the plant closure (Archer, 2000). Evidently, her motives had been challenged as she explained: “People say to me you're only doing this to cover your backside, actually no, for me personally I'm not, I'm doing it because it's the right thing to do”. It appeared that Sally was integrating EI into her approach to achieve a level of care, support and human connectedness which was absent in the affiliate site. She further reinforced that the announcement made everyone equal in the factory

because they were all out of a job. Whilst all of this was conveyed in a very heartfelt manner, she highlighted how she had successfully maintained productivity levels since the announcement. More critically, an interrogation of her account would highlight that as a Managing Director she was not equal to her shopfloor workers. One tentative interpretation is that EI gave her the scope to use the language and practice of EI to establish the social legitimacy of the plant closure; to keep performance levels up but situating this in a discourse and practice of better opportunities, care, honesty and respect. This highlights the potential use of EI to mask or ‘window-dress’ harsh economic realities, to ease the (un/conscious) guilt experienced by key decision makers whilst maintaining necessary economic outputs.

As another act of ‘human connectedness’, Elaine expressed how her new hands-on approach with her staff was having some tangible benefits:

“One thing now is I make tea for people [...] and I spend a couple of minutes every day talking just about ‘hi, how are you da da da’ whereas before I’d just be thinking ‘I’ve got to get this done, I’ve got to get that done da da da’. [...] so we’re getting there less stressed and there’s a lighter atmosphere now than we had before I went on the course, too” (Elaine, Personal Assistant/Office Manager, 40s, Hybrid course).

Alan had also attempted to make a stronger social connection with his staff, as he explained: “I’m introducing myself to new staff, putting names to faces, asking how people are doing socially, what’s going on outside the office”. This seemed somewhat contradictory to his rather ruthless and strategic approach to using EI as a ‘box of tricks’ highlighted in the previous chapter, but highlights the incongruous ways EI is picked up and used in different ways and contexts.

Whilst all these examples illustrate how participants used techniques, principles or guidelines from the respective EI training programmes to enhance the care, empathy, connection and support towards staff, several interviewees noted that work crises often constrained any emphasis on the ‘people side’. Pippa, Adam, Nicci and Sally

had all noted that work ‘incidents’, intense periods of restructuring or increased workload impeded welfare provision practices. These two extracts illustrate how market forces or economic necessities tend to work in opposition to social behaviours which are conducive to people’s well being and promote a human connectedness:

“There’s a big emphasis on the people side of things when everything’s going smoothly or we have staff opinion surveys and when the results are not good, people worry about the staff. But the priority is the service we provide. So if, we deal within a support environment supporting the main bank’s computer systems, so if there’s any incident, if there’s anything we need to get involved with, the people side goes out of the window [...] And although people would like to think it’s a priority, the reality of the environment that we work in its very difficult for that to be a case” (Pippa, Hardware Services Manager, 51, Bar-On course).

“Some days are just so pressurised, you’ve got a million and three significant things that have got to be done today otherwise they’ll be problems and you’ve got to get on with it, head down and blast your way through it and if you upset a few people along the way well ok, life’s a bitch. But then a week later, the pressure’s off a little bit and you can start nurturing relationships and thinking about it and all that sort of stuff much more” (Adam, Head of Customer Connections, 41, Hybrid course).

Returning to the commentaries on training and using EI at work, these reflections may offer further insights into what Boyatzis, Stubb and Taylor (2002) were referring to when they contended that work settings can extinguish new (EI) behaviour. In contrast, Jim was keen to point out a more permanent constraint to introducing better social relations at work. He highlighted that despite his company’s performance appraisals on social skills, the overarching short-term instrumental concerns of his employer tended to crowd out more social behaviour with colleagues and internal customers which may benefit the organisation:

“I think there’s a culture of delivery I mean this comes back to my role in benefits I find it very hard to get people to alter the way they interact because if they are rewarded on short term deliverables then they’re not going to think about the longer term picture and I think that’s endemic across the whole organisation” (Jim, Head of Benefits Realisation, 36, Goleman course).

These examples strongly suggest that the vicissitudes of global capitalism described by Goleman (1998) and others leave little space for any human connection at times when there is a very strong economic focus.

Development and recognition of others’ needs conducive to well-being through increased social awareness

Both Gemma and Nadia had adopted new attitudes and approaches to managing and developing their staff as a consequence of attending the Hybrid EI course. Both these participants viewed themselves as dedicated, high performing professionals who had, admittedly imposed their own needs, in the past, on their staff. They were now more keen to develop behaviours which were more conducive towards promoting their direct reports’ well-being (c.f. Sayer, 2007). Nadia had adopted a more facilitative approach to appraisals and here she relived what happened with one staff member as a consequence:

“In June I had to appraise my team, and that was quite an eye opener, and I had to appraise them last year as well and last year my focus was ‘right do you want to do this?’ trying to get them to go on courses, trying to promote them, trying to push them into accepting more responsibility only because that’s me. Whereas this time it was very different because I said to my colleagues ‘what do you want to do? What is it that you want to do?’ and it was incredible and she turns to me and says ‘I don’t want to be like you!’. And that for me was quite an eye opener, I thought ‘Really?!’. She said ‘I don’t want to be a manager, I don’t want to have the responsibility, I don’t want to be at the frontline when something goes wrong, or have to pick up the

phone or go and see the Principal’ ” (Nadia, Marketing Communications Manager, 35, Hybrid course).

She explained that the impact on the team had been very positive and it appeared that one of her concerns for attending the course – to manage the ‘passion’ and ‘emotion’ in her department - had indirectly benefited from this new approach:

“I’m more relaxed about it and therefore the team is more relaxed about it. There have been less emotionally charged conversations since because I now recognise, or I try to recognise more what their needs are and try and be more aware that there are differences” (Nadia, Marketing Communications Manager, 35, Hybrid course).

In return, she had become more self aware of the effect of her behaviour on her team: “it’s made me more aware of how I react and the effect that my reaction has on other people and how they think of me”. Creatively redesigning the social environment at work had encompassed exploring alternative ways of managing her staff (Archer, 2000: 308), to positive effect. Similarly, Gemma explained a similar way that the EI course helped her manage her staff:

“What it did help with also was understanding when I’m managing. Because I’m very very, very, demanding of myself I’m automatically hugely demanding of other people and that’s not always fair. And its just that understanding that I am almost too demanding sometimes” (Gemma, Planning Development Programme Manager, 30, Hybrid course).

Both Nadia and Gemma expressed a strong sense of self (Archer, 2000) in these narratives but had become more mindful of imposing their own expectations and demands on their staff which, in particular for Nadia, seemed to enable her staff to be more relaxed and reduce the conflict in the office.

Using EI to support deep growth and development

Carol, the Director of a college for adults with learning disabilities, and Malcolm, a management consultant, had both used the EI course to help them better support staff or clients through a process of growth and development. For Carol this was in a more explicit way than Malcolm but both aimed to use this approach to enhance the social and economic spheres of organisational life, as Carol explained:

“As far as I’m concerned, my job is to facilitate the growth and development of everybody, my students and my staff because it’s one and the same thing in a way because if you’ve got excellent staff then they’ll help the students in turn” (Carol, College Director, 44, Hybrid course).

Referring to her students, she explained that: “when you work with people who are challenging they make you delve down inside the middle of you, the core of you as a person, pull it all out and look at it”. What she was trying to achieve with EI was to promote a culture in which it was acceptable to go through this process and that there would be support for it and ‘the expectations is you’ll come out the other end’. The way she used Emotional Intelligence was by being non-judgemental when supporting staff, describing her approach as somewhat facilitative. To some extent it was a ‘soft’ therapeutic approach which involved exploring employees’ behaviours, causes of behaviour and their impact on others as a process of change. She likened it a bit to ‘a process of enlightenment’ where she was trying to move staff along ‘an Emotional Intelligence continuum’. Carol had previously attended other EI courses and knew a lot about the subject. She viewed the Hybrid course as knowledge building and it enabled her to get another angle on EI. Overall, she described her approach in her college as an ‘emotionally intelligent strategy’ and explained the outcomes so far: “it’s so exciting because I’m seeing these people blossom before my eyes and it’s really lovely”. She continued to describe the benefits for her college (greater productivity) and society as a whole, describing the two as conjoined:

“We’ve just employed some new staff who have all said at different times to me ‘its so nice here because I feel completely overworked – I have a massive workload but I don’t mind because everybody is so nice and helpful and I really feel I can ask people anything and it’s so nice. So I think that it [EI] does help people to just be more helpful to each other; I think it makes it a better world if you like. I think we all should do that because then if we all try to do that its got to make some difference to the whole world really, you know bit by bit” (Carol, College Director, 44, Hybrid course).

One interpretation is Carol was forcing employees to go on a journey of ‘self-discovery’ that suited the organisational goals. By couching it in self development, self-benefiting terms she generated scope for employee exploitation (in this case heavy workloads). By increasing workers’ coping strategies the nature of the work itself remains unchanged. During the interview, Carol was probed further about the degree to which employees might not wish to go on this journey and that in some ways it served the company well as an economic strategy. She replied that her organisation tended to attract only those type of people who wanted to go on the ‘journey’ in the first place. Overall, by adopting an ‘emotional intelligence strategy’ Carol believed something humane could be put back into organisations and society which she felt was missing:

“I think that my personal philosophy is very much, for example with the credit crunch my personal philosophy is I think this is happening because in the world we’ve kind of gone down the wrong road and we have been thinking that we can keep on amassing wealth at the expense of other people and of the planet and goodness knows what in a sort of very greedy way really as a human race. [...]. I just think philosophically things are not right [...]. We don’t treat each other with respect and politeness a lot of the time regardless of all the other things, diversity issues and everything so I think broadly speaking I come from probably a slightly different perspective than your average business man or woman and I think that part of that is driven

through me here because I've actively facilitated and encouraged that sort of culture here" (Carol, College Director, 44, Hybrid course).

She continued to explain that other colleges for people with learning disabilities had a very different atmosphere:

"I walk into some places for people with learning disabilities and you just want to cringe and die on the spot, it smells for a start, you hear people snapping at the students and I just think 'oh my God' and that is common and what we've got here is uncommon in my experience" (Carol, College Director, 44, Hybrid course).

However, implicit in her rationale was this contradiction of using EI as a transformational strategy for employee and student well-being, growth or 'enlightenment' and its scope for making employees feel grateful for the work environment and thus tolerate very heavy workloads. By contrast, Malcolm, a management development consultant was using the Bar-On course to refine and develop his philosophy and approach to coaching in a broader sense. Integral to this approach was developing leaders with integrity and his interpretation of Emotional Intelligence fitted in well with his framework:

"I'm kind of on a personal vocation of trying to figure out and make sense of things but then use that me making sense of things to help leaders and leaders of integrity, principles centred leaders to be successful and effective [...] And in doing that I can achieve what they want, help their organisations and help society and make a point of difference in life you know. I'm coming at things with a bit of a mission or a vocation and I see Emotional Intelligence as a dimension of, as the mortar and the bricks" (Malcolm, Management Consultant, 50s, Bar-On course).

He went on to explain that he almost saw the practice of Emotional Intelligence in moral terms:

“understanding Emotional Intelligence and how you can pay attention to that for yourself and potentially to help other people, I think it’s hugely powerful, its almost heart of the matter stuff [....]. I almost see it in almost moral and ethical terms” (Malcolm, Management Consultant, 50s, Bar-On course).

Malcolm saw Emotional Intelligence as a means of meeting economic and social needs in organisational life as he explained: “we should be civilised human beings and I believe in it because actually I believe you can get superior results in the long run by paying attention to these things in the short term”. He had adopted the principles of EI and used them to reinstate his aims to only work with ‘the good guys’. This meant taking a certain ethical stance and rejecting coaching work with leaders whom he felt were not aiming for the same goals. He offered up further reflections on his moral stance:

“I will not choose to work for people who are self serving and pushing themselves forward and carry on abusing other people on their way to fulfilling their own selfish ambitions. [....]. I just have so much time for certain types of people with integrity and people trying to do the right things and people full of human compassion and understanding and you know, the interdependence of us all compared to people that society seem to put on a pedestal because they’re mega-rich and pushing themselves further, and earning more and more money at the expense of other people. So basically I’m in this business for working for the right stuff” (Malcolm, Management Consultant, 50s, Bar-On course).

Malcolm also made it clear that he had made choices at various forks in his life to pursue an approach of ‘integrity’. For example, disillusioned with the culture of capitalism he voluntarily left his senior management job and set up his business to coach leaders with integrity. In contrast to Carol, Malcolm’s rationale and use of EI to support the growth and development of leaders appeared less exploitative in its scope for application.

Respect and non-humiliation towards others

The final use of Emotional Intelligence in a welfare provision capacity was by Ron who had extended his new approach of *being himself* to being more open and honest with others. In this example he explained how his new style compared to his previous approach and the social benefits gained:

“We’ve just parted company with one of our senior guys and my approach with that was very different from how it would have been six or nine months ago in that it was a much more open dialogue than ‘come and see me at five o’clock and you don’t mind if a lawyer sits in’. It was something that was just open and honest and that has allowed that relationship on a personal basis to exist after they’ve left” (Ron, Managing Director, 36, Bar-On course).

Overall, not surprisingly there were more constraints to introducing acts of welfare provision into work compared to using EI as Calculative Self Development practice. In juxtaposition to concerns over human connectedness, the economic needs of the organisation frequently ‘pushed’ employee behaviour in the opposite direction; in a direction which was contra- nurturing and sustaining satisfying and flourishing relations as expressed in a moral and economic context (Sayer, 2006). This was illustrated by Sally, Jim, Nicci Pippa and Alan. In addition, there were contradictory threads of motivations and exploitative uses running through some of the participants’ narratives in their acts of Welfare Provision, as illustrated in particular by Carol. However, there was a strong theme of human connectedness in managers and leaders’ uses of EI, expressed as wanting to care for and promote others’ well-being.

MORAL AGITATION

Often people do things at work because it is the correct thing to do, they don’t want to let others down or their commitments lie with their colleagues and peers even if it

will not reap personal gains of praise or recompense (Sayer, 2007). Fineman (2000; 2003) notes that employees can practice resistance against management through collusion with emotion management rules by drawing attention to harassment, bullying, stress and other types of emotional exploitation in the workplace. Equally, if EI equips employees with entrepreneurial abilities to influence, negotiate and persuade others, these skills may also be deployed to reap social gains for the group or peers which may not be in alignment with the organisation's goals.

When used for Moral Agitation, Emotional Intelligence is used in conflict with, to resist or be disruptive of organisational initiatives and practices, in keeping with needs and concerns of a moral order – needs which prioritise protecting the well-being of others and ensuring their flourishing (Sayer, 2000). This means Moral Agitation practice is in conflict with organisational prerogative in pursuit of human connectedness. Participants' use of EI is often framed as a response to contemporary organisational demands and incumbent pressures. Moral agitation entails the deft use of EI to reduce or to circumvent unnecessary suffering on others; to protect and ensure others' flourishing and in doing so, demonstrates authentic commitment to others. The use of EI for Moral Agitation means aspects of Emotional Intelligence were used to assert a degree of respect for others' character for its own sake, as a means of exacting acts of fairness or recognition, protecting staff or making an oppositional stance for a work environment which was conducive to others' well-being. In these moments in organisational life, Moral Agitation entails managers and leaders reacting back powerfully and particularistically on the organisation, because the world cannot dictate to him or her what to care about most (Archer, 2000: 318).

Respect for character for its own sake

For Jim, over the last period his employer, a bank, had increased its emphasis on assessment of interpersonal skills in performance appraisals. He explained:

“We've gone much more for quarterly appraisals that are based much more on both behaviours and deliverables so obviously the focus on behaviours makes it more important to ensure that things like Emotional Intelligence,

you know the way you interact with people is more important [...] ‘are you a pioneering type person?’ ‘do you deliver on what you promised’, relationship building is in there and we’d often have pen pictures which would say A would be seen doing this and B would be seen doing that so you do, are you honest, you know integrity, when you promise to deliver something do you overpromise? So it’s looking at the person” (Jim, Head of Benefits Realisation, 36, Goleman course).

Although few managers and leaders in this study were formally assessed on interpersonal skills, Jim’s account is in keeping with those advocates who claim that developing soft skills is key to career development and promotional opportunities (Gini, 2000; Goleman, 1998; Fox and Spector, 2000). In many ways, becoming the ‘pen picture’ mirrors the post-structuralist ‘new model worker’. Through measurement, monitoring and discursive means self-disciplining techniques are used to fulfil the idealised type. But as Chapter Four argued, this appears to leave little room for people’s evaluative capacities to choose how to respond. Such a conceptualisation of agency also fails to ask whether this approach is conducive to employees’ well-being (Sayer, 2007). On reflection, Jim clearly rejected his company’s ‘pen pictures’, indicating losses were incurred because it undermined individual character. He explained how he saw EI as a way of bringing human beings as a whole back into the organisation, as a way of respecting individual differences as an ends in itself:

“But I think you could argue in some way that individualistic characteristics are becoming rarer. People are being driven to be this excellent all rounder if you see what I mean. I think there are certain times when you need characters and actually if um if you ever get to the point where everybody is the same you actually lose something. I think EI helps us to or has the potential to help us better appreciate that we are all individuals and whilst the organisation would appear to be wanting people to all behave in a very similar manner EI, I see, is being the way to bridge the gap [laughs] and accept the fact that

you're not going to get everybody exactly the same" (Jim, Head of Benefits Realisation, 36, Goleman course).

Like other participants' accounts described in the previous chapter, Jim rejected Emotional Intelligence as a way of pushing forward a 'positive' character. Jim also illustrated the point that: 'we are not blank slates on which anything social can be written' (Sayer, 2007: 27). Evidently he had a strong aversion to his corporate drive to homogenise employee behaviours and attitudes. However this is not to say that people are immune to socialisation processes within work. Jim had been encouraged to go on an EI course so that he could be more attuned to others' feelings, a skill he lacked, as he explained:

"I remember a few years ago a team leader saying to me, you know I can always guarantee that you'll deliver but I have to count the number of dead bodies that are on the way!" (Jim, Head of Benefits Realisation, 36, Goleman course).

So whilst he was averse to this *cloning* of employee characteristics he was still being strongly encouraged to fit the 'pen picture'. Clearly work demands a certain degree of socialisation but people can still be self-conscious of this process (Archer, 2000), and have an opinion on it in relation to well-being, as Pippa also highlighted: "You can develop personal traits which perhaps you don't like in yourself some of which I think I've probably picked up from having worked here."

Justice, fairness and recognition enacted through EI

Recognition of (good) character, actions and performance provides a source of satisfaction and self esteem (Sayer, 2007). However, whilst highly developed managers may recognise that employees do not work solely for financial remuneration, creating opportunities for conditional recognition and esteem may be only partially possible due to the instrumental and hierarchical nature of the organisation (Sayer, 2007). In Esther's case, she wished to remunerate and recognise her staff's recent hard work with a bonus but was being prevented by the affiliated

medical college. Recognition and valuing staff had been reinforced as a factor in good leadership on the EI course and here Esther described an act of moral agitation against the medical board, in response to these restrictions:

“I think it’s important that people do feel valued and feel rewarded and I feel quite sick at the moment because I have the money to be able to reward the staff and to give a bonus payment or whatever but my hands are tied, I’m not allowed to do it [...]. I therefore I feel how can’t you let me reward my staff as I want to do and I’ve made a lot of noise about it and I still am making noise about it” (Esther, Managing Director, 50s, Bar-On course).

Clearly Esther was not a passive by-stander to this policy. She cared enough about her staff to make a stance and she viewed this as being in alignment with her self-image as an empathic leader (Archer, 2000). Helen, an HR Manager, had attended the EI course to help her better influence new management and a variety of stakeholders as the organisation pushed through cost cutting initiatives. She explained that she used EI when she came to review and negotiate new HR policies with management, other HR professionals, trade unions and local council committees. As Chapter Two described, ‘mixed’ Emotional Intelligence markets itself as an effective model for maintaining harmonious business relationships at work. Goleman (1998) lists ‘conflict management’ and ‘collaboration and cooperation’ as competences in his model and claims people with high EI have better conflict management skills. Bar-On’s (1997) model refers to ‘problem solving’, denoting an ability to effectively solve problems of a personal and interpersonal nature. Thus it is not surprising that Helen and other participants in this study saw EI as a way of helping them manage interpersonal or task conflict. Helen gave one example of how a new sickness policy may be introduced and she would be involved in negotiations over whether it takes twelve months from start to finish or six months. She indicated that many of these decisions were moral juggling acts within the confines of economic constraints (Sayer, 2006). She projected herself as an aspirational Moral Agitator but throughout the interview she conveyed a sense of

difficulty in achieving these aims. Here she explained how decisions are sometimes about ethics of care and doing the correct thing:

“Sometimes things are about principles, and some things are about the organisation doing the right thing. There is a lot of stuff in HR which is about best practice which is about, you know, it is that sometimes your employees, what your employees want is they sometimes want to feel listened to and they sometimes want to see the organisation behaving in a way which they think is right, not just doing something and paying lip service to it” (Helen, Human Resources Manager, 50, Hybrid course).

She had attempted to use what she had learnt on the EI course to influence other stakeholders more effectively by trying to see things from their perspective. She was frequently in conflict with one colleague who would often stop the debate or discussion in its tracks when they were in meetings by ‘holding their hand up, a bit like STOP’ and saying ‘I’m not arguing with you, you’ve heard my decision, I’m not arguing with you’ when Helen felt she was not arguing but putting her point forward passionately. Adopting what she had learnt from the Emotional Intelligence course she had tried out a more empathic negotiation style by expressing an understanding of her colleagues’ needs and attempting to search for common ground in her attempted act to do what was right for employees. However, the outcomes had been disappointing because she felt the other person didn’t have the ability to ‘stand in my shoes and look out my window’. Overall she felt the effects of her new approach were mixed and if nothing else she was more resigned to accepting the status-quo:

“For me, I mean there’s moments when it’s not better but for me overall it’s better because I try to accept it more, I accept I can’t change the world. There are moments of frustration I’d be lying if I said I didn’t have moments of frustration [...] but I think that I get less hurt by it” (Helen, Human Resources Manager, 50, Hybrid course).

A key theme in this contribution is that people have choices and priorities (Archer, 2000) and that daily life poses constant moral dilemmas particularly where there are competing demands (Sayer, 2007). Wilma, the Goleman course trainer, also expressed a similar scenario. Within her organisation she was also the HR Manager and at the time of interview she needed to make a difficult decision on a back-dated claim for company healthcare from one of the administrative staff who, according to current policy, was now not covered. Here she explained the dilemma of moral prioritising social and economic needs and concerns that she and managers have to face everyday:

“So I’m having to like balance my integrity if you like on both sides, looking at her as an individual and at the organisation as a whole. So, I will come to a decision based on what I think is right for everybody involved and that may be hard on the company or it may be hard on the individual and if you think about it a lot of managers are going to be in the same situation every day” (Wilma, Trainer, Goleman course).

Protecting staff/fighting for a work environment conducive to well-being

‘Good citizenship’ is significant for organisational productivity and morale (Sayer, 2007). It can involve a range of behaviours including the support of social life at work, helping out colleagues and voluntary acts which support the public good (Sayer, 2007). In this study, several participants used their EI skills in acts of good citizenship towards colleagues which were however, antagonistic towards senior management or organisational goals. Vera had sought out EI skills to help her better support her staff whose good nature was being taken advantage of by ‘aggressive’ managers. These managers themselves were under growing work pressures due to the considerable changes the organisation was going through to ‘modernise’. Since going on the course she now addressed the issue with management in a more pointed way by highlighting how their behaviour was impacting on her team. Her expressed intention was ‘to stop people using others for their own ends’. A key problem in question was related to her administrative staff having more flexible hours to fulfil childcare duties and how managers were being dismissive of this:

“... sometimes they [managers] can come down and because the two girls who work for me, they are secretaries but they actually cover the reception as well and sometimes if people run out of time and they need to leave for children to pick up they can come down and be quite aggressive about passing the job on to somebody else but they’re not always very polite about it” (Vera, PA/Office Manager, 55, Hybrid course).

Vera explained that she now spent more time analysing why the managers in question had behaved in the way they had. She then made it (politely) known to them that her team could not necessarily do their work instantly and, in effect, they would have to wait their turn because her staff had other duties and obligations beyond the work sphere. She commented that before the course she would let her anger simmer amongst her team which created a certain level of volatility but the course had taught her to tackle this straight away.

In an act of Moral Agitation, Elaine was keen to protect and preserve the social life and practices at work which were conducive to oiling its social wheels. Aspects such as informal dress code, staff entertainment, evening training and social sessions, she felt, were key to what made the organisation ‘tick’ but her boss was threatening to remove them as part of a corporatisation and cost cutting plan. She was attempting to fight back and justify their existence through EI skills of negotiation. Part of this was trying to see things through his eyes and she realised that to influence him she needed to enhance her credibility and gravitas which she was trying to do by reinforcing her long tenure with the organisation to denote her knowledge of how essential these social practices were. However, she was finding there were constraints to getting a desired outcome because the issue was complicated by hierarchical inequalities and she (and many other female staff in her organisation) also felt he had a sexist attitude towards women:

“But then too with him, it’s because he’s on the board and I’m admin he has a bit of an issue with that as well. Like he doesn’t feel he should communicate

with me because I'm much lower down the food chain than him [...]. In this particular situation, the other thing that's come to light is he has a bit of a problem dealing with women anywhere [...] I wouldn't have a clue as to how to sort that one out!" (Elaine, Personal Assistant/Office Manager, 40s, Hybrid course).

Overall, acts of Moral Agitation using EI were not incentivised or commercialised in any way. Instead, participants were pushing up against the instrumentality of organisational life by trying to squeeze benevolence and concern for others in where and when they could, in opposition to the strong economic forces at play. Many of the examples were 'work in progress' where participants were 'chipping away' at the moral and social issues they were attempting to address. Perhaps, not surprisingly, most Moral Agitation acts were by managers at junior or middle levels of the organisation, with only one example at a senior level. Overall, there were fewer examples of moral agitation in this sample, compared to Welfare Provision. One interpretation of this is that it is harder to install acts of 'human connectedness' which are discordant with, or in opposition to organisational objectives because of the omnipresent strength of strong economic forces experienced by nearly all participants in this study (e.g. Castells, 2001; Webb, 2004). In addition, organisational constraints were highlighted by participants using EI in acts of Moral Agitation.

CONCLUSION

Overall, Welfare Provision acts of care and support, people's development and recognition of others' needs which were conducive to well-being, their support for growth and respect and non-humiliation for others clearly highlights a moral order in economic life (Sayer, 2006; 2007). This did not undermine organisation performance but enhanced it whilst simultaneously bringing improved well-being and flourishing to others. Thus there were no compromises between social and economic goals. The self-reported organisational gains included clearer expectations of roles and responsibilities and more openness, increased productivity, effectiveness and motivation and less task-based or personality conflict. Gains to others' well-being

included less stress amongst staff, a more relaxed atmosphere, gains in employee self confidence, self esteem and preserved friendships. This is not to deny the contradictory and potentially exploitative uses of EI for welfare provision which were also themes in this chapter.

In some cases outcomes from acts of welfare provision and moral agitation, through the use of EI, were hard to quantify. This may be because the results were seen as cumulative over a period of time and thus less tangible. This contrasts with many acts of calculative self development which were used in specific situations with immediate gains, such as controlling one's anger in a meeting which prevented a heated disagreement and limited disruption to work.

Moral Agitation required the use of EI as a means of gaining respect for character for its own sake, to seek justice, fairness and recognition and as acts of good citizenship. From the examples in this study, it was hard to quantify the outcomes as many cases were ongoing 'projects' where protecting the social order in the workplace, installing 'ethical' HR practices and making employees feel valued for their hard work were anticipated gains in the future. The organisational losses incurred included employee resistance to organisational 'pen' profiles, increased wait for administrative tasks to be completed, and the potential introduction of new practices which were not in alignment with existing ones or would incur extra financial costs, or the maintenance of existing practices which if removed would have produced efficiency savings.

As highlighted in Chapter Seven, expressions of people's agentic properties have been clearly illustrated through people's reflective, evaluative, judgemental commentaries and choosing capabilities (Archer, 2000). For example, many participants such as Sally, Carol, Pippa and Malcolm were keen to point out the choices they had made in adopting a welfare provision approach to their work. In addition, as a consequence of going on the EI course Pippa, Ron and Nadia had a change of focus in the way they wanted to use EI, moving away from an instrumental approach to one which celebrated 'human connectedness'. People's powers and properties were also evident in their discretionary choices such as identifying the

constraints and limitations to the tools and ideas, and going that extra mile to care and support for others, as Nicci and Esther both demonstrated. Improvisational and interpretative use of EI was also apparent in welfare provision and moral agitation uses of EI. Overall, acts of Welfare Provision and Moral Agitation demonstrated people's reflective capabilities, a 'window on the world' and an acute awareness of protecting a sense of human connectedness in organisational life (Archer, 2000). Together, the causal powers of the moral dimensions of the moral economy approach (Sayer, 2006) and peoples' own causal powers as self-conscious, prioritising, choosing agents combine to explain the two uses of Emotional Intelligence highlighted in this chapter: Welfare Provision and the Moral Agitation.

However, agency was clearly constrained by economic and organisational structural forces. The structural constraints identified by participants in their acts of 'human connectedness' were attributed to power and politics of working life (managerial tactics to manoeuvre a direct report out of the organisation, status inequalities and sexism), difficulties instilling practices of rapport building, listening and caring in virtual teams, periods of intense or disruptive work which sought to undermine practices which promoted a social or moral order, performance management practices which rewarded 'deliverables', a resistance to gender reform in order to succeed at work and a reliance on others' abilities to be empathic to achieve favourable outcomes.

As was discussed in Chapter Two, the research evidence that 'mixed' Emotional Intelligence adds to performance, transformational leadership, working with others, mediating conflict at work and positive organisational behaviours appears very mixed and highly contested. Many scholars working in the field argue that little or no evidence is to be found to link EI to job success or performance, career progression, leadership, conflict management, stress, well-being and psychological health (e.g. Daus and Ashkanasy, 2005; Day and Kelloway, 2004; Druskat et al, 2006; Jordan et al, 2006; Van Rooy and Viswesvaran, 2004; Zeidner et al, 2004). Clearly their conclusions stand in stark contrast to Goleman's (1998) claims that EI is strongly linked to outstanding leadership and those of Cherniss (2001). In addition, it was

argued in Chapter Two that a full quantitative model which includes other variables which may explain increased performance at work such as personality, other knowledge, experience, interests, education and contextual factors is often absent in psychological research on EI.

In this study, participants were asked to explain what benefits they had gained from EI. However, throughout the fieldwork conducted, many participants who used EI as acts of human connectedness and some who used it for individualistic purposes conveyed that whilst work benefits were experienced, it was sometimes difficult to quantify these exactly due to other mediating, contributing or constraining factors. For example, Adam was keen to point out that individual performance is dependent on many divergent factors. He explained it was difficult to measure in his case due to personal circumstances, as he commented: “the last years or so have not exactly been typical therefore it’s not exactly very easy to compare that against how I would have been otherwise”. Alan expressed difficulties when trying to quantify outcomes at an individual and organisational level:

“I think the money was well invested; I think there was a good return from it in terms of the course and what it delivered. It’s hard to say we’re going to be 5% better as a result of this. At this stage I think, since the course I’ve had an annual general meeting and various other significant events to handle; launching of a new business, subsidiary, things like that and settling new directors in post. I think it’s a bit early for me to say there’s a tangible benefit but there are certainly some intangibles for sure...and certainly on a personal level, that’s for sure. It’s very hard to say I was 8.5 human relations and now I’m 8.75 because there is no scale” (Adam, Head of Customer Connections, 41, Hybrid course).

Some participants like Kate, a Personal Assistant for an organisation which builds and operates research networks, who had attended the EI course for personal development, were not even sure if she was using the methods as she gingerly explained: “I’ve probably used some of the tools without realising but I couldn’t give

you a specific example. It's more subtle than that". Esther also indicated that sometimes the learning and application of EI was more tacit and less discernable. Many others commented that the new behaviours become habitual or second nature over time and when this happens their impact becomes harder to evaluate. Carol noted what many others conveyed - it was a process of moving from unconsciously incompetent to unconsciously competent. Whereas Gemma felt that numerous courses and self development programmes she had engaged in over the last period had produced cumulative results, 'it's all meshed together' she reflected, noting that it was difficult to quantify in what way EI had specifically generated tangible outcomes. Carol had also attended several EI courses to get different angles and perspectives. In addition, Jim had not used anything from the Goleman course and was hoping to combine his knowledge of EI with a practical course on Neuro-Linguistic Programming later that summer with the idea of using the two conjointly. Thus, in numerous cases, participants used knowledge from different courses cumulatively or in synchrony and so it was difficult to conclude a direct cause and effect from one training programme alone. Whether participants' assessment of the outcomes would have become more tangible as time passed beyond the three to four month period of this study, it is difficult to tell.

Overall, acts of Moral Agitation clearly illustrate that: "As people, employees have multiple needs and concerns which fit uneasily alongside the narrow and instrumental priorities of the organisation" (Sayer, 2007: 38). Participants' acts of fellow-feeling were celebrated because they go beyond the market; they cannot be incentivised or commercialised. By contrast, Welfare Provision indicates a use of EI which was synchronously influenced by the organisation and a need to maintain a moral order. Both are equally important and denote human beings' fundamental proclivities towards protecting the well-being and flourishing of others (Sayer, 2007). The next and final chapter turns to a discussion of the findings, and considers theoretical and empirical implications of this study, limitations, areas for future research and practical implications.

CHAPTER NINE: THE MORAL ECONOMY OF EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

A moral order

Moral values are embedded in a capitalist market because humans are not just individuals but belong to communities and collectives and they have cares and concerns which refer to others' well-being (Sayer, 2007). Within people's web of social relationships, moral aspects are such an integral part of the interactions because they are pervasive in every encounter, communication and act (Sayer, 2003). This web of social relationships or human interdependency is rooted in a society's deepest understanding of what it is to be human (Bunting, 2004). As social actors this dependency is effectively summarised by Bunting as comprising:

“It is first and foremost about *paying attention* to another's needs and well-being. It is also about responsibility, because it is where we exercise profound moral decisions about our impact on other human beings. It is also about competence” (Bunting, 2004: 322, original emphasis).

People's reciprocal obligations create and maintain a moral order which is present, pervasive and real and which in turn exercises its power on people's motivations, character and ethical dispositions. Thus, a moral order is always activity-dependent, is a generative mechanism and has explanatory powers. And it is a causative power despite the fact it requires agential activities to *keep it going*.

The second aspect of this story are the human beings who fill the pages of this contribution, their thoughts, feelings and evaluative capacities; highlighting their 'hidden lives' (Archer, 2000: 314). This was not a romantic or fickle desire to theorise agency in this way. People's reflective and evaluative accounts – or their

inner commentary - is crucial to understanding human activity because it is part of the action and thus cannot be ignored, as Archer (2000) emphasises:

“Demolish it, impoverish it, evacuate it, ignore it, or fill it up with social hard-core, and we will have as much difficulty in comprehending our social subjects as we would in making one day of our own personal doings intelligible to ourselves, if, *per impossible*, we could switch off the mental commentary which always precedes, accompanies and reflects upon our actions. Open out the ‘internal conversation’ and we discover not only the richest unmined research field but, more importantly, the enchantment of every human being’ (Archer, 2000: 319).

By bringing together Sayer’s (2006; 2007) moral context and Archer’s (2000; 2003; 2007) account of human character, this thesis has developed a new and original conceptual framework which illuminates people’s use of EI within a framework of ‘ethics of care’. In this framework, agency and structure hold *distinctive powers* which are real and it is the causal powers of agency and structure which enable both to be placed on the same ‘ontological footing’ and, therefore ‘lodged in the same world’ (Archer, 2000: 310, 311). The theoretical framework helps to analyse and understand the relationship between Emotional Intelligence prescription, people and place in organisational life. Through the development of the typology of people’s uses of Emotional Intelligence, or their *actions* - Calculative Self Development, Tactical Survival, Welfare Provision and Moral Agitation as an analytical device, this study makes a distinct contribution to the existing literature on Emotional Intelligence by expanding our understanding of its organisational and individual impact set within a market economy. Comparatively, it highlights how extant EI research adopts an economist approach because it reduces human beings’ intra- and inter-personal conduct to market exchanges so that business relations which go beyond rational transactions are completely ignored. By placing Emotional Intelligence in a moral context, this contribution documents how people express their affiliations towards others and their desire to maintain a moral order (e.g. Bolton and Houlihan, 2007; Nussbaum, 2000; Sayer, 2007). Emotional Intelligence

plays a significant role because it provides methods and principles to oil the social wheels within contemporary workplaces. As an analytical device, the typology helps to shed light on broader ‘successes’ in organisational life beyond functional ones.

In addition, the distinction between emotional intelligence as a potential or existing set of personal attributes and Emotional Intelligence as an instrumentalised skill is also expressed in this typology. The distinction between EI and ei was highlighted in Chapter Four. From the empirical accounts in this study, people’s uses of the concept are sometimes an instrumentalised form of Emotional Intelligence, as in acts of calculative self development. However, at other times, behaviours of welfare provision and moral agitation appear less to do with Emotional Intelligence as a commodity and more to do with instinctive, everyday core expressions of care, concern and consideration for others at work.

Indeed, to deny this distinction of EI/ei is to deny the existence of a moral order itself. By definition, a moral order is structured by norms regarding people’s rights and responsibilities which relies upon (and influences) people’s motivations, character and moral or ethical dispositions (Sayer, 2007). In other words, a moral order presupposes a set of core dispositions in human beings which are expressed through care, respect, non-humiliation, support, recognition, the preservation of others’ dignity and so on (Sayer, 2007). Following this, to disregard emotional intelligence (ei) as a set of core attributes in human beings undermines the presence of a moral or social order in organisational life.

The hybrid character of action

Using EI/ei in contemporary workplaces is not a simple matter. The picture revealed in this study is complex. It illuminates individuals as prioritising and choosing organisational actors with varied and contradictory needs and interests. Omnipresent in people’s accounts is an individualistic capitalism which constantly attempts to instrumentalise social behaviour and places pressures on managers and leaders to perform. In moments of calculative self development this is wholly apparent. At such

times EI is used because it proves useful, expedient or imperative for economic thriving. In keeping with the introductory commentary on mixed Emotional Intelligence, managers and leaders use the device to become more enterprising (Gabriel, 2005; Kunda and van Maanen, 1999; du Gay, 1991, du Gay et al, 1996; Keats, 1991), to better cope with or manage organisational change and restructuring (e.g. Goleman, 1998; Carr, 2001; Molinsky and Margolis, 2006; Huy, 2002), to manage new global work configurations which rely on technology, to sustain long term business relationships (e.g. Sawaf et al, 2001) and to increase performance to boost career opportunities (Gini, 2000; Goleman, 1998; Fox and Spector, 2000). However, these findings do not serve to undermine human character and people's needs to maintain a moral order. Instead this pattern strengthens any attempts at 'fellow-feeling' because despite the pervading economic pressures, acts of human connectedness are always seeping out or spilling over - against the odds - into organisational life. And even at times when the moral order is less tangible, expressions of humanity are often lurking under the surface of instrumentality, ready and waiting to filter out. Eventually these actions find a way of bubbling up through the nooks and crannies at work where they can be expressed and felt; sometimes intentionally and sometimes unexpectedly. Again, these somewhat instinctive expressions appear to comprise of emotional intelligence, derived from personal attributes and proclivities and not always as expressions of the instrumentalised form. Whilst managers and leaders' use of EI for calculative self development is a dominant use, at the same time the moral dimension of economic life is essential to people's working lives as individuals and collective; at times managers and leaders appear to want to do good towards others and do good in their job.

The analytical device or typology enables a clearer understanding of the four uses of *EI* and *ei* and how these are played out at work. By breaking up participants' accounts in this way and putting them back together we can see that people do not belong in tidy boxes as either/or but that they are squirming and fidgeting within their 'compartments' whilst also leaping from box to box throughout their working day. Indeed, a first reading of the literature provoked a certain degree of confusion

over a number of tensions apparent within the fabric and nature of Emotional Intelligence's 'essence'. It appeared that individuals were being asked to be empathic and authentic but also efficient; to build strong and honest relationships but quickly and often remotely; to be assertive, robust and dynamic in a market driven workplace but also supportive and sensitive; to be ethical but also to be strategic; to think with one's heart but also with measured rationality. This typology illustrates that people can and are all these things combined and separately, at different times and in different places in working life.

In this discussion, it is important to ask: how do the literatures reviewed in this contribution help us in our understanding and theorising of the non-instrumentalised form of emotional intelligence? In other words, what pertinent points in respect to ei have these literatures given us? The scholarly psychological accounts have helped to unbundle the ingredients of 'mixed' EI, indicating it may be more than just skills and competencies. Equally, the 'ability' version of EI also appears to be a mixture of EI and ei as was discussed in Chapter Four. Broader literatures outwith psychology, reviewed in Chapter Three, consistently point towards an enduring set of human dispositions and attributes which serve to sustain care and consideration towards others in organisational life, as ends in themselves. All of these literatures are helpful and informative but overall, the academic psychological and managerialist accounts lack any consensus in conceptual clarity between 'EI' and 'ei'. Through interrogation of rich empirical data, this study seeks to establish a distinction between Emotional Intelligence and emotional intelligence, and in doing so, aims to make a significant contribution to psychological research on the concept.

Emotional Intelligence as a moral response to capitalism?

There is a further dimension of the moral order which requires some discussion. At times, managers and leaders' desire to do good was enacted by adopting EI as a moral *response* to individualistic capitalist workplaces; to reinstate a stronger social order of 'fellow-feeling'. Taking broader themes and messages from EI, managers and leaders used EI as ways of compensating for, ameliorating or resisting the

erosion of civility, and enhancing fellow-feeling in contemporary workplaces. For them macro forces of contemporary capitalism had eroded or undermined an 'ethical surplus' (Sayer, 2006) and Emotional Intelligence was a tool or vehicle through which to reinstate a moral framework back into organisational life.

Some further qualitative insights are necessary to elaborate on this point. Martin, the Bar-On Trainer, offered his interpretation of contemporary business's fascination with Emotional Intelligence in these terms. He believed that leadership and management now need to become more 'local', 'intimate' and 'connecting' to rectify the violations of values and disillusionment incurred during the organisational downsizing of the 1980s and 1990s. In a similar vein, Ron expressed that if Emotional Intelligence is used as a vehicle for openness and honesty it is a natural progression which is right for contemporary times, as he explained: 'it deals with the times we live in'. He continued to explain how contemporary society and its movement towards greater social isolation had incurred human losses but that Emotional Intelligence puts a social ingredient back into work:

“Ten or twelve years ago when I first started in Edinburgh in recruitment I worked for a company X, their office was in Charlotte Square, everybody lived city centre largely and we all went to the pub on a Friday and kind of gave each other a little bit of therapy in terms of putting the week to rest. Because now you have, I guess house prices, people live in Fife, people live scattered all over the place so five o'clock everybody goes their own way and I don't think a lot of times that week was put to bed. [...] and that is where emotional intelligence helps because it encourages me to have a bit more dialogue with people and say 'what's going on at home, how's things, this is what I'm doing' and it just really opens up the environment” (Ron, Managing Director, 36, Bar-On course).

Both Malcolm and Pippa, who attended the Bar-On course, expressed a clear distaste for an individualistic, self-absorbed society and its influence on economic activity and human behaviour in organisations:

“So we’re conditioned to think that more stuff, more material stuff and more power and more status, that these are the things that are really important and what makes us really happy and fulfilled” (Malcolm, Management Consultant, 50s, Bar-On course).

“The people who, I know it’s not all about getting a promotion or getting recognised but the people that that happens to are the people who are perceived as only caring about themselves, very selfish people who will do anything really to get to the top which isn’t, probably not a very happy place to be” (Pippa, Hardware Services Manager, 51, Bar-On course).

They, and several other managers and leaders in this study saw Emotional Intelligence as a means of injecting a moral antidote into organisational life to counter or temper a dominant capitalism. Perhaps again, in these instances, participants’ grasp on, and use of the concept was as a pre-existing set of real attributes rather than the instrumentalised version.

In economic activity there are normative issues regarding practices, rights and responsibilities which are either *settled* or *unresolved* (Sayer, 2006: 83). This study offers insights into how contested the instrumentalisation of social relations and general economic instrumentality is *within* organisations. In this contribution, people’s approaches to human relationships as more than things which should be converted into work and their reactions to the broader spheres of contemporary capitalism and its individualistic, self-prioritising demands highlights these are not settled issues but contested terrains between economy, employer and employee. To some degree, this may help to shed light on why EI has continued to be popular in industry despite being accused of management fad status (c.f. Murphy and Sideman, 2006b). In effect, for many managers and leaders in this study, emotional intelligence was more than a management tool to help them survive and thrive in contemporary capitalism. It was both a humanising tool and a yardstick or barometer to measure more broadly the climate of civility and ‘fellow-feeling’ within their own

organisation. This general attraction towards EI has some resonance with positive psychology's appeal being rooted in disenchantment with today's corporate workplaces which seem to promote materialism and a lack of compassion and sensitivity (Fineman, 2006a). This is a point we return to in the section on future research.

Interpretive viability of EI as a management model

Another important finding in this study was how trainers, leaders and managers interpret the EI models. The interpretive process occurs along EI's trajectory of production and consumption in both training contexts (by the trainer) and by the consumer in application. It is argued that we must account for the dual inception points of adaptation by trainers and users to help explain EI's use. For example, the Bar-On course respected the message and key themes of Bar-On's writings and the EQ-i model (e.g. Bar-On, 1997; 2001; 2004; Orme and Bar-On, 2002). By contrast, the Hybrid course was a fusion of many diverse (and some dubious) influences whilst simultaneously retaining some common elements of 'mixed' EI, such as emotional self awareness, emotional control, social awareness, motivation principles as well as concepts of self regard, empathy and authenticity. The trainers' interpretations, in turn, went through another process of interpretation by the consumers (or training delegates). In some cases, managers and leaders adopted practices and messages in keeping with the course teachings. For example, nearly all those managers and leaders who attended the Bar-On course which emphasised life/work happiness, self actualisation and success tended to use EI more frequently in acts of welfare provision and tactical survival (e.g. in search of work-life balance and life meaningfulness) compared to those on the Hybrid course where this was less emphasised. Unfortunately the sample size for the Goleman course was too small to make any clear comparisons. Yet, somewhat unexpectedly, some managers and leaders adopted very contrary messages and practices to those imparted on the training courses. For example, whilst the Goleman course emphasised a more instrumental approach to social relations at work, not all delegates interpreted it in that way. In addition, despite the emphasis on positive psychology in the Bar-On

course, most participants on this programme viewed EI as accepting one's negative emotions and accepting character for its own sake. Moreover, whilst the Bar-On course emphasised moral dimensions of the economy, some participants interpreted it as a means of appropriating work relations in a more instrumental way. Clearly, this offers 'mixed' EI models an interpretive edge. It is concluded that Emotional Intelligence can be best understood and debated in academic communities when its 'interpretive viability' is taken into consideration, otherwise only a narrow understanding of the concept is possible.

Assessment and training in EI

This study also sheds some light on the assessment and training of EI. Whilst it is argued in Chapter One that interpersonal competencies are growing in value in work activity (Gorz, 1999; Grugulis, 2007a; Sennett, 1998; Warhurst et al, 2004) and are becoming more attractive because they can measure the *process* of work, the majority of managers and leaders in this study described an implicit expectation that they should be competent in these skills or attributes rather than via any formal assessment and surveillance.

The findings in this contribution also highlight that managers and leaders could develop, enhance or reinforce some aspects or 'sub-skills' of Emotional Intelligence. These included emotional self awareness, emotional self control, (calculative) empathy, assertiveness, independence, learnt optimism, reality testing, caring, listening, increased social awareness and attitudes or values such as accepting individual differences, authenticity and self regard. What this indicates is that some facets of Emotional Intelligence can be learnt over a period of time (Goleman, 1998; 2004; Bar-On, 2006). Equally, as already highlighted, some of the uses of EI in this study appeared to be less to do with what was learnt on the course. Instead they were better described as expressions of emotional intelligence derived from pre-existing personal attributes. For some participants, the training message appeared to re-emphasise how important these core attributes were at work, rather than provide training tools and techniques in an instrumentalised form. At these times, people's enduring ethical and moral acts, dispositions and characteristics are re-asserted by

attending an EI training course and later contribute towards playing an important role in maintaining a moral order at work.

In effect, this study highlights how at the outset managers and leaders embark on EI training with potential emotional intelligence which then becomes converted into its instrumentalised form and/or enhanced as a real personal attribute, the latter often through a process of ‘enlightenment’ or as a reminder of the importance to reinstate and express these natural dispositions in organisational life.

It is also tentatively suggested that for those participants who provided many examples of acts of human connectedness (welfare provision and moral agitation) and tactical survival at work, there was some indication that they were embarking on a more profound and permanent shift or ‘journey’ towards being more considerate towards others, enhancing social relationships, finding meaningfulness in their lives/work and becoming a more ‘rounded’ human being. By comparison, for those participants who tended to use, on the whole, a more instrumentalised version of Emotional Intelligence (calculative self development) as a commodity, any changes appeared more superficial, rooted in a behavioural level for personal gains. It is difficult to anticipate how these experiences and uses of EI/ei may have changed or evolved beyond the time-line of this study.

Gains and losses

As highlighted earlier, the typology of EI used as an analytical device highlights self-reported economic gains but also what are important broader social successes for managers and leaders in the workplace. According to participant accounts, these social priorities produced further organisational gains. The individual, organisational and personal ‘gains’ which participants reported were also varied. Performatively, interviewees reported an increased focus on work tasks, improved decision making and work-based solutions, clearer expectations of roles and responsibilities, more constructive idea generation, improved productivity, less interpersonal and task-

based conflict and tensions, and enhanced focus on one's career development. Self-reported work based attitudinal changes included increased commitment and motivation. Managers and leaders' personal gains which were also perceived to benefit the organisation included less stress amongst staff, a more relaxed atmosphere, openness, gains in employee self confidence, self esteem, preserved friendships, feeling happier and improved energy. Potential gains cited by participants included making employees feel valued for their hard work. Whilst there are obviously difficulties in measuring outcomes of using Emotional Intelligence (many cited by participants in this study), the employee accounts in this study seem to contradict the swathe of academic scholars who are sceptical that 'mixed' EI has much value or worth in the workplace (e.g. Conte and Dean, 2006; Day and Kelloway, 2004; Daus and Ashkanasy, 2005; Druskat et al, 2006; Jordan et al, 2006; Matthews et al, 2002; Schmit, 2006; Van Rooy and Viswesvaran, 2004; Zeidner, Matthews and Roberts, 2004). It is argued that by adopting a three to four month longitudinal research design using qualitative data, these new insights to potential social and economic gains in the workplace make a valuable contribution to extant studies of EI.

However, acts of tactical survival and moral agitation also appeared to produce organisational losses. These included decreased productivity, and actual/potential loss of employees and talent, increased wait for administrative tasks to be completed, potential introduction of new practices which were not in alignment with existing ones or would incur extra financial costs and the maintenance of existing practices which if removed would have produced efficiency savings. Personal gains reported by participants which incurred organisational losses included a better work-life balance, feeling happier and potentially new employment opportunities elsewhere. In sum, Emotional Intelligence/emotional intelligence offers scope for personal and collective gains which are discordant with or disruptive of organisational goals. These findings make a significant contribution to the EI literature which to date, has not explored the individual gains (which incur organisational losses) of EI practice at work.

Clearly at times EI/ei was used as a tool to help participants resist those initiatives which focused on further rationalisation and instrumentalism and served to undermine a moral order. By situating acts of moral agitation within a moral economy, new insights can be gained into non-compliance or counterproductive behaviour which may otherwise be viewed as resistance to the labour process (c.f. Ackroyd and Thompson, 1999). By adopting a theoretical framework which provides an understanding of the causal mechanisms or underlying reasons for these discordant behaviours greater explanatory powers and new ways of conceptualising ‘misbehavior’ are offered.

Powers, politics and positions and EI

This new, original theoretical framework attempts to embrace a contextualised analysis which explores the impact of organisational powers, politics and positions on people’s use of EI. It was argued that a contextualised analysis has been lacking in previous studies of EI. Those constraints identified by participants included new organisational rules and policies such as management practices which rewarded ‘deliverables’ and new health and safety practices. Other constraints include power and politics of working life (managerial tactics, status inequalities and sexism), difficulties instilling practices of rapport building/ caring in virtual teams and periods of intense or disruptive work which sought to undermine practices that promoted a social or moral order. In keeping with the critical review in Chapter Three, adopting EI to pursue a more meaningful life/work, to reduce one’s workload or reclaim a better work-life balance seemed to be opportunities which privileged senior managers and leaders in this study. Various constraints inherent in the management tools were also highlighted as well as agentic constraints.

Yet, is Emotional Intelligence a transformational tool? Archer (2000) contends that humans have transformational capacities in that they can alter or change structures. Several participants felt ‘liberated’ because they had ‘cracked the code’ of interpersonal relationships, felt freed because EI had given them the licence to ‘be

themselves' and that social relations were improved. However, there was limited evidence that EI had the capacity to alter or transform power relations or practices or re-distribute resources for example. Instead, in keeping with the critique in Chapter Three, in some cases the tools seemed to encourage a 'put-up, shut-up' approach to help participants endure 'bad' situations at work by redirecting their attention from structural causes to individualised and devolved responsibility. This accusation has also been directed at prescriptive approaches to stress management at work (e.g. Newton, 1995). In addition, it was argued that managers and leaders can use the language and practice of EI to help establish the social legitimacy of organisational practices which prove economically viable. There was some indication that EI might have been used in this way or at least has the potential to do so. In these cases, EI could not be viewed as transformational. However, people's enduring ethical and moral acts, dispositions and character which featured prominently in this study, played an important role in maintaining a moral order at work. In this respect, emotional intelligence offers scope for sustaining and nurturing a moral order which may have a potentially transformational capacity in work and more broadly in society.

Chapter Three also questioned the invasive nature of Emotional Intelligence and its intrusion into personal and private emotional domains and experiences in the pursuit of increased worker productivity. As Chapter Six highlighted, all of the trainers had experienced 'emotional fall-out' from training delegates and it was only the Bar-On trainer who was mindful of the boundaries and skill requirements to manage this with professionalism and sensitivity. Based on the limited findings in this study, some concerns are raised with regards to the ethics of training and development practices of EI in both 'in-house' and 'open' training programmes.

Summary of theoretical and empirical implications

In summary, this study explores the relationship between EI prescription, people and place in organisations. It presents a new, original theoretical framework and

analytical device to analyse EI/ei at work which illuminates people as rich, three dimensional human beings and elucidates a concern with the place of people within the economy but one which requires a consideration for others to oil its wheels. The typology of EI/ei offers a cross-disciplinary academic tool which makes a substantial contribution to academic debates and critical analyses on EI in sociology, psychology and organisation studies and will be a key reference point for anyone wishing to conduct further research on Emotional Intelligence. The study explains how managers and leaders draw upon EI as a skill set to support the increasing demand for interpersonal skills at work with colleagues and customers. It also indicates a less instrumentalised use of emotional intelligence at work which draws on an enduring set of everyday human attributes to promote care and sensitivity towards others. This, in conjunction with the exposition of qualitative research, makes this study the first ‘critical’ empirical project conducted on Emotional Intelligence to date. In addition, the exposition of the literature in Chapter Four is also an original account which, for the first time, reviews and critiques a range of research perspectives on Emotional Intelligence.

Emotional Intelligence is clearly a useful tool in organisational life and this study helps to shed light on the perceived broader ‘successes’ beyond functional gains. In addition, it may help to explain EI’s ongoing popularity as a management tool because EI/ei can be adopted as a *moral response* to individualistic contemporary workplaces and to reinstate a stronger social order of ‘fellow-feeling’.

Moreover, the analysis highlights that Emotional Intelligence can be best understood and debated in academic communities when its ‘interpretive viability’ is taken into consideration otherwise only a narrow understanding of the concept is possible. This study also seeks to explore the relationship between EI prescription and the ‘place’ by embracing a contextualised analysis. To date, no other studies have sought to highlight how organisational rules, powers, politics and practices may constrain EI practice in contemporary workplaces. The findings also shed some light on whether EI can be learnt and developed as a work-based skill. However, clearly there are some limitations to the claims made to understanding organisational ‘successes’ and

structural enablers and constraints encountered by the participants in this study. These are discussed in the next section.

LIMITATIONS TO THE RESEARCH

This study has attempted to illustrate managers and leaders' workplace experiences by using Archer's (2000) conceptualisation of a thinking, reflective and evaluative agent with an 'inner commentary'. Combined with Sayer's (2007) moral and economic dimensions of organisational life, we gain an understanding of a knowledgeable agent working with real differential elements of emotional intelligence as well as more instrumental components of Emotional Intelligence. This is expressed through the typology which highlights participants' types of actions: calculative self development, welfare provision, moral agitation and tactical survival.

However, a study of this nature which explores and seeks to explain causal mechanisms and structures through agentic accounts is challenging. As Chapter Four argued, understanding the causal efficacy of people where their reasons for acting in the way they do gives them causal agency is one way of addressing this. Investigating people's accounts provides access to the structural and agentic causal mechanisms at play. However, this approach still has limitations. Actors may misattribute causes or do not always know why something worked or if it didn't whether it was to do with their own reasons and actions. As Sayer (2000b: 20) points out "Much of what happens does not depend on or correspond to actors' understandings; there are unintended consequences and unacknowledged conditions and things can happen to people regardless of their understandings". Thus the descriptions of causal mechanisms as well as other enabling and constraining structural forces identified in people's accounts are obviously limited in this way.

Overall, there is no systematic analysis of organisational or macro data (such as the market economy) in this study which serves to temper any claims made on those forces driving managers and leaders to attend an EI course (e.g. 'flexible

capitalism'), the organisational outcomes of using EI and any structural constraints. This is because these are only inferred by participants. For example, the reported organisational enablers and constraints such as powers, politics and positions in this study are derived from reports from knowledgeable agents rather than from any in-depth contextual analysis. This limitation offers an opportunity to develop the theoretical framework adopted in this study to enable a more in-depth study of the context. It is suggested that labour process theory can provide this theoretical connection between employee, organisation and economy; or between workplace labour power strategies and the broader market/political economy context. Importantly, enhancing the analytical powers for investigating the context will enable a more in-depth exploration, distinction and understanding of people's experiences of using both 'EI' and 'ei' at work. For example, if a comparative case study of an 'in-house' EI training programme was conducted, this theoretical combination of Archer, Sayer and labour process theory would provide an excellent framework for exploring agentic and organisational and macro contextual factors of people's uses of EI and ei.

A further limitation of this study is that in Chapter Four, the tension between concerns of fallibility and claims about reality were noted. Realist researchers may accept that there is a truth 'out there' generated by causal mechanisms which permits a universal knowledge to be secured but methods of gaining access to it are fallible. This fallibility is evident in agentic accounts as already highlighted. Relatedly, it is evident in a retroductive research approach commonly used in realist research (see appendix A) because it is not possible to authoritatively assess the validity of a retroductive conclusion (Danermark et al, 2002: 82).

Of course, all observations have an interpretive element and this is unavoidable. However, the consistency and corroboration of agentic accounts highlighted managers and leaders' needs and concerns relating to a moral order. This, combined with the early model building based on a thorough review of the literature and preliminary data analysis, followed by a testing on all the empirical data enabled strong assertions to be made about people's use of EI in relation to a moral order.

These accounts consistently highlight an approach to economic life which is structured by norms regarding rights and responsibilities which rely on, and influence people's motivations, values and dispositions (Sayer, 2006; 2007). Perhaps a better way of viewing realism as a meta-theory or philosophy is that it offers explanations which provide new insights or ways of seeing things and show how something might be (Danermark et al, 2002: 91). Ultimately, the realist account in this study presents a new and original conceptual alternative to existing accounts of Emotional Intelligence. An accurate way of describing this interpretation is by explaining that it adds to the debate 'thereby enriching a creative conversation' (Sayer, 2000b: 46).

Next, Archer (2000) portrays human beings replete with an inner dialogue, constantly prioritising a hierarchy of needs and concerns which they diligently pursue in order to live an authentic life. However, Archer (2000) does not give enough allowance for times when priorities must be compromised due to the pressures of modern capitalism. In this way, her theorisation of human beings is restricted. However, by adopting Sayer's (2006; 2007) moral economy approach this theoretical weakness is ameliorated. By layering a concept of moral economy with Archer's account of human characteristics, people's compromises can be conceptualised due to an aggressive capitalism.

In addition, in any research seeking to understand people's interpretive schemas, it is sometimes difficult to get access to people's mental activities in relation to their prioritising processes. In this study, for some of the research participants acts of moral agitation or welfare provision were instinctively the right thing to do – there was little conscious deliberation of the various options available to them or whether to take or not to take a 'good' or 'bad' moral decision (as moral philosophers might rationalise). Sometimes it was simply an unquestionable practical matter of their commitment or needs to ensure others' welfare and well-being, indicating people's natural moral or ethical attributes. Following this, Archer's (2000) theorisation of human capacities of deliberation, discernment and dedication of one's priorities may be slightly over-stated as a *rational* ongoing 'internal' process.

There were also some methodological limitations to this study which need a mention. Ideally, a preferred approach would have been to interview participants at both three and six month intervals after the training programme to explore their evolving insights and uses of EI. But unfortunately time constraints and access to participants made this prohibitive. In addition, the sample size for the Goleman course was small. This was due to a small attendance on this course and despite many efforts, limited access was gained to participants from a previous course to increase participant numbers. This made it challenging to compare and contrast this course with the Bar-On and Hybrid training programmes. In addition, it is difficult to make comparisons across this sample of managers and leaders as they occupied different levels (junior, middle and senior). In addition, there was only a small sample of non-managers. However, it is believed that the sample was reflective of the typical participants who attend 'open' EI training courses and the typical readers of the prescriptive management literature on EI. Therefore the sample fulfilled the aims of exploring EI in use. Despite the varied hierarchical positions and broad range of organisations and industries represented in this sample, acts of calculative self development, welfare provision, moral agitator and tactical survival were found across all of the sample.

FUTURE RESEARCH

It is envisaged that a certain amount of comparative research conducted would enable the development of the Emotional Intelligence typology into a cross-disciplinary tool for academic use. To carry this out, an extension of the study of 'mixed' Emotional Intelligence to occupational groups which have not yet been researched would be valuable. The focus would be on those professions that use Emotional Intelligence primarily in external customer service relationships. This would provide a contrast to the management and leadership sample in the doctoral research where EI was used primarily in relationships *within* the organisation (with internal customers, staff etc). Therefore, occupations in customer services and professional services (e.g. solicitors, accountants, management/ IT consultants, medical professions, salespeople) would make up the sample. This empirical

extension would enable a testing and development of the model presented in the thesis and is likely to be a valuable new direction of research activity. More specifically, the findings would enhance the model's 'robustness', by expanding its applicability to a broader range of user groups and adding explanatory power to popular concepts such as emotional labour. In addition, comparing a sample of participants who have attended an 'in-house' EI training course would also make a valuable extension of the research in order to compare and contrast 'open' and 'in-house' training programmes and use EI at work, in accordance with the typology. This would provide further opportunities for developing the model as an analytical tool and gain deeper contextual insights from systematic data of an organisational context via ethnographic approaches (e.g. to explore macro economic forces and organisational rules, resources, relations, powers, positions and practices). In addition, studying larger samples of specific occupational groups or specific industry settings would enable an extension and testing of the model to determine whether some uses of EI were more common (or redundant) than others according to profession, role and industry sector and related structural enablers and constraints.

The analytical typology also has theoretical and practical application to a study of other user groups. For example, the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) has recently invested £13.7 million into a four year programme to introduce Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning (SEAL) into secondary schools after the success of its application in UK primary schools. Whilst the programme focuses on developing Emotional Intelligence skills in school children, adapting and applying the theoretical framework and model in this thesis would allow an exploration of the real impact of EI on secondary school teachers' teaching experiences, well-being and individual performance.

It would also be valuable to explore the production and diffusion of emotional and social capital (e.g. Emotional Intelligence, transformational leadership) across work/non-work arenas and to analyse the impact on individual and collective effectiveness and flourishing in a variety of contexts. This is considered an important line of research investigation because it would aim to capture the reciprocal and

mutually reinforcing production and transfer of EI knowledge and skills, as part of life-style matching narratives and trends. Indeed, in this study many participants highlighted how developing their emotional capital at home with families (becoming a better parent, partner, son or daughter) and more broadly in local communities (at church, in social groups) enhanced their EI skills at work. Relatedly, Emotional Intelligence's impact on work-life balance, emotional spill-over to work and well-being would be other areas worthy of investigation. In effect, a study of this nature would provide further insights into social and economic activities related to EI (formation and use) contextualised within an awareness of broader societies and communities.

Equally, no 'critical', sociologically informed research has yet explored the real, material gendered experiences of EI application in the workplace; though, of course, studies of the women's work of emotion management abound. Based on the theoretical framework laid out in the literature review, an investigation which adopts Lorber's (2001) gender resistance and gender reform framework would provide a useful conceptual model through which to explore the gendered use of EI.

In addition, there is a necessity to further examine 'mixed' Emotional Intelligence as a management fad or fashion. It has been argued in this chapter that EI may sustain its popularity in industry because of its scope for reinstating a moral order in contemporary capitalism and because of its 'interpretive viability'. EI's interpretive capacity offers a certain degree of flexibility for users which may serve to extend its life-cycle in an era of fad and fashion savvy and discerning consumers. In addition, EI offers further attraction by its 'scope of content' denoted by its broad set of skills and dispositions which ensures a catch-all level of applicability to users, its subtle and on-going reformulation, shifting supportive argumentation by test developers and the influx of multiple, mildly differentiated measures onto the market at the same time. These themes offer valuable insights and provide an opportunity to evaluate and expand upon Abrahamson's (1996) theory of management fashion. Further research on this topic will provide scope to explore why 'mixed' models of EI continue to be popular in industry despite the damning academic commentaries and

will enable questions to be raised over academic and practitioner responsibilities for influencing management fashions.

Further research on Emotional Intelligence and positive psychology would also be another valuable avenue. There is a growing critical commentary on positive scholarship but to date there is no empirical work which explores the relationship between EI's *positive* prescription and practice. Based on the findings in this study, Emotional Intelligence's emphasis on positive emotions and character is largely viewed as an unviable, impractical and restraining ideology by managers and leaders when used in organisational life. The findings have implications for academic debate on positive scholarship and raise practitioner issues for training interventions. In order to sustain Emotional Intelligence's worth and value as a training tool in the marketplace, caution needs to be paid to the more complex nature of people and their demands for emotional skills in contemporary capitalism. For example, positive scholarship's agenda which seeks to downplay negative emotions may be dismissive of any larger social understanding of situations and thus mask opportunities to challenge causes rooted in inequitable or unfair organisational practices. Without paying heed to these considerations EI's overall benefits may be compromised. It is argued that a more humanised and sustaining approach to emotions would be better positioned in teachings and models of Emotional Intelligence. This leads us to the final part of the conclusion: a discussion of the practical implications of the research.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The development of a cross-disciplinary model will be of great interest to academic communities within psychology, sociology and management studies as well as training consultants, (HR) managers, leaders, other industry professionals, practitioners and policy developers engaged in or responsible for management and executive development. These will be particularly relevant audiences for research findings presented in this thesis because the study provides an in-depth understanding of the impact of EI on social skill development and performance. The findings also reveal effective intervention/training strategies and highlight structural, agentic and model constraints to learning and using EI at work. These qualitative

accounts provide a valuable but frequently neglected user perspective, which will be of great interest and use to practitioners. For example, as highlighted in the previous section, Emotional Intelligence's link with positive psychology requires further consideration with regards to application in the practitioner community so that user groups are not deterred by this overly-prescriptive approach or harmed by its 'disabling' properties. In addition, more discussion need to centre around the invasive nature of EI training, particularly in 'in-house' contexts to debate the boundaries of practice and training consultants' professional competence.

Overall, this study captures the relationship between EI prescription, people and place in organisations. Through a broad investigation of mixed models of Emotional Intelligence, immersion in the field of EI training and collection of insightful data the voices and experiences of participating managers and leaders that have expressed the moral economy of Emotional Intelligence are illuminated.

REFERENCES

- Abraham, R. (2005). Emotional intelligence in the workplace: a review and synthesis. In R. Schulze and R. Roberts (Eds). *Emotional intelligence: an international handbook*. Washington: Hogrefe.
- Abrahamson, E. (1996). Management fashion. *Academy of Management Review*, 21 (1): 254-285.
- Ackroyd, S. (2009). Research designs for realist research. In D. Buchanan and A. Bryman (Eds). *SAGE handbook of organisational research methods*. London: Sage.
- Ackroyd, S. and Crowdy, P. (1990). Can culture be managed? Working with “raw” material: the case of the English slaughtermen. *Personnel Review*, 19(5): 3-13.
- Ackroyd, S. and Thompson, P. (1999). *Organizational (mis)behaviour*. London: Sage.
- Adams, M. (2006). Hybridizing habitus and reflexivity: towards an understanding of contemporary identity? *Sociology*, 40(3): 511-528.
- Alvesson, M. and Willmott, H. (2004). Identity regulation as organizational control producing the appropriate individual. In M.J. Hatch and M. Schultz (eds.). *Organizational identity: a Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Archer, M. (2000). *Being human: the problem of agency*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Archer, M. (2002). Realism and the problem of agency. *Journal of Critical Realism*, 5(1): 11-20.
- Archer, M. (2003). *Structure, agency and the internal conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Archer, M. (2007). *Making our way through the world: human reflexivity and social mobility*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ashkanasy, N.M. and Daus, C.S. (2005). Rumors of the death of emotional intelligence in organizational behaviour are vastly exaggerated. *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, 26: 441-452.
- Austin, E.J., Saklofske, D.H., Huang, S.H.S. and McKenney, D. (2004). Measurement of trait emotional intelligence: testing and cross-validating a modified version of Schutte et al's (1998) measure. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 36: 555-562.

- Aydin, M.D., Leblebici, D.N., Arslan, M., Kilic, M., and Oktem, M.K. (2005). The impact of IQ and EQ on pre-eminent achievement in organizations: Implications for the hiring decisions of HRM specialists. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 16(5): 701-719.
- Babaik, P. and Hare, R.D. (2006). *Snakes in suits: when psychopaths go to work*. New York: Regan Books.
- Barchard, K.A. and Hakstian, A.R. (2004). The nature and measurement of emotional intelligence abilities: basic dimensions and their relationships with other cognitive ability and personality variables. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 64: 437-462.
- Bardzil, P. and Slaski, M. (2003). Emotional intelligence: fundamental competencies for enhanced service provision, *Managing Service Quality*, 13(2): 97-104.
- Barling, J., Slater, F. and Kelloway, E.K. (1998). Transformational leadership and EI: an exploratory study, *The Leadership and Organizational Development Journal*, 21: 157-161.
- Barney, J. (1991). Firm resources and sustained competitive advantage. *Journal of Management*, 17(1): 99-120.
- Bar-On, R. (1997). *The Emotional Quotient Inventory (EQi): A test of emotional intelligence. Technical Manual*. Toronto: Multi-Health Systems.
- Bar-On, R. (2000). Emotional and social intelligence: insights from the Emotional Quotient Inventory (EQi). In R.Bar-On and J.D.A Parker (eds.), *The Handbook of emotional intelligence*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.
- Bar-On, R. (2001). Emotional intelligence and self-actualisation. In J. Ciarrochi, J. P. Forgas and J.D. Mayer (eds.). *Emotional intelligence in everyday life: a scientific enquiry*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Bar-On, R. (2003). How important is it to educate people to be emotionally and socially intelligent, and can it be done? *Perspectives in Education*, 21(4): 3-14.
- Bar-On, R. (2004). The Bar-On emotional quotient inventory (EQ-i): rationale, description and summary of psychometric properties. In G. Geher, (Ed). *Measuring emotional intelligence: common ground and controversy*. Hauppauge, N.Y: Nova Science Publishing.
- Bar-On, R. (2006). The Bar-On model of emotional-social intelligence (ESI), *Psicothema*, 18: 13-25.
- Bass, B.M and Steidlmeier, P. (1999). Ethics, character, and authentic transformational leadership behaviour. *Leadership Quarterly*, 10(2): 181-217.

- Berger, P.L. and Luckmann. T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: a treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday.
- Bharwaney, G. (2006). *Emotionally intelligent living*. Carmarthen, Wales: Crown House
- Bharwaney, G. (2007). Coaching executives to enhance emotional intelligence and increase productivity. In R. Bar-On, J.G. Maree and M-J. Elias (eds.). *Educating people to be emotionally intelligent*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger.
- Bhaskar, R. (1978). *A realist theory of science*. New York: Harvester Press.
- Blaikie, N. (2008). *Designing social research*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: perspective and method*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bolton, S. (2000). Emotion here, emotion there, emotional organisations everywhere. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, 11, 155-171.
- Bolton, S.C. (2004) Conceptual confusions: emotion work as skilled work. In C. Warhurst, I. Grugulis and E. Keep (Eds). *The skills that matter*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bolton, S.C. (2005). *Emotion management in the workplace*. London: Palgrave.
- Bolton, S.C. (2007). Emotion work as human connection: gendered emotion codes in teaching primary children with emotional and behavioural difficulties. In P. Lewis and R. Simpson. *Gendering emotions in organisations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bolton, S.C. (2008a). Me, Morphine, and Benevolence and concern for others: Experiencing the Emotional Community on Ward 8. In S. Fineman (ed.). *The emotional organisation: passions and power*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bolton, S.C (2008b). The emotional labour process and the dignity of indeterminacy. Paper presented at the 26th *International Labour Process Conference*, Dublin, April.
- Bolton, S.C. and Boyd, C. (2003). Trolley dolly or skilled emotion manager? Moving on from Hochschild's Managed Heart. *Work, Employment and Society* 17(2): 289-308.
- Bolton, S.C. and Houlihan, M. (2007). Beginning the search for the H in HRM. In S. C. Bolton, and M. Houlihan (Eds). *Searching for the human in human resource management*. London: Palgrave.
- Bolton, S.C and Houlihan, M. (2009). (eds.) *Work matters: critical reflections on contemporary work*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bondi, L. (2005). The place of emotions in research: from partitioning emotion and reason to the emotional dynamics of research relationships. In J. Davidson, L. Bondi and M. Smith (eds.) *Emotional geographies*. London: Ashgate.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J.G. Richardson (ed.). *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*. London: Greenwood Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Boyatzis, D. (2001). How and why individuals are able to develop emotional intelligence. In C. Cherniss D.Goleman (eds.). *The emotionally intelligent workplace*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Boyatzis, R.E., Goleman, D. and Rhee, K.S. (2000). Clustering competence in emotional intelligence: insights from the Emotional Competence Inventory (ECI). In R.Bar-On and J.D.A. Parker (eds.). *Handbook of emotional intelligence*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.

Boyatzis, R.E. and Sala, F. (2004). The Emotional Competency Inventory' (ECI). In G. Geher (ed.). *Measuring emotional intelligence: common ground and controversy*. Hauppauge, N.Y: Nova Science Publishing.

Boyatzis, R.E. and Saatcioglu, A. (2008). A 20-year view of trying to develop emotional, social and cognitive intelligence competencies in graduate management education. *Journal of Management Development*, 27(1): 92-108.

Boyatzis, R.E., Stubbs, E.C. and Taylor, S.N. (2002). Learning cognitive and emotional intelligence competencies through graduate management education. *Academy of Management Learning and Education*, 1 (2): 150-162.

Brackett, M.A. and Geher, G. (2006). Measuring emotional intelligence: paradigmatic diversity and common ground. In J. Ciarrochi, J.P. Forgas and J.D. Mayer (eds.). *Emotional intelligence in everyday life*. New York: Psychology Press.

Brackett, M.A. and Mayer, J.D. (2003). Convergent, discriminant and incremental validity of competing measures of emotional intelligence. *Personality and social Psychology Bulletin*, 29: 1147-1158.

Brackett, M.A. and Salovey, P. (2004). Measuring emotional intelligence with the Mayer-Salovey-Caruso Emotional Intelligence Test (MSCEIT). In G. Geher, (Ed). *Measuring emotional intelligence: common ground and controversy*. Hauppauge, N.Y: Nova Science Publishing.

- Braverman, H. (1974). *Labor and monopoly capital*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Bryman, A. and Bell, E. (2000). *Business research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bunting, M. (2004). *Willing slaves*. London: Harper Collins.
- Burrell, G. and Morgan, G. (1979). *Sociological paradigms and organisational analysis*. London: Heinemann.
- Buroway, M., (1979). *Manufacturing consent: changes in the labor process under monopoly capitalism*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Buroway, M. (1985). *The politics of production*. London: Verso.
- Callaghan, G. and Thompson, P. (2002). We recruit attitude: the selection and shaping of routine call centre labour. *Journal of Management Studies*, 39(2): 233-254.
- Cameron, K.S., Dutton, J.E. and Quinn, R.E. (2003). Foundations of positive organizational scholarship. In K.S. Cameron, J.E. Dutton and R.E. Quinn (eds.). *Positive organisational scholarship: foundations of a new discipline*. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers.
- Capelli, P. (1995). Is the “skills gap” really about attitudes? *California Management Review*, 37 (4): 108-124.
- Carr, A. (2001). Understanding emotion and emotionality in a process of change, *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 14(5): 421-436.
- Carson, K.D. and Carson, P.P. (1998). Career commitment, competencies and citizenship. *Journal of Career Assessment*, 6: 198-208.
- Cartwright, S. and Pappas, C. (2008). ‘Emotional intelligence, its measurement and implications for the workplace’, *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 10 (2): 149-171.
- Caruso, D.R and Salovey, P. (2004). *The emotionally intelligent manager*. San Francisco: JosseyBass.
- Caruso, D.R, Bienn, B. and Kornacki, S.A. (2006). Emotional intelligence in the workplace. In J. Ciarrochi, J.P. Forgas and J.M. Mayer (eds.). *Emotional intelligence in everyday life*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Cassell, C. and Symon, G. (2004). (eds.) *Essential guide to qualitative methods in organizational research*. London: Sage

- Castells, M. (2001). *The rise of the network society*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cavaiola, A.A. and Lavender, N.J. (2000). *Toxic coworkers: how to deal with dysfunctional people on the job*. NY: New Harbinger Publications.
- Chapman, M. (2001). *The emotional intelligence pocketbook*. Arlesford: Management Pocketbooks.
- Charlesworth, S. (2000). *A phenomenology of working class experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chartered Institute for Personnel and Development. (2004) *Managing conflict at work: a survey of the UK and Ireland*. London: Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development. Retrieved Sept 1, 2006, from Chartered Institute for Personnel Development website <http://www.cipd.co.uk/NR/ronlyres/555F0D48-933A-408F-8658-CFC1A3C2D73D/0/manconfwrksr1004.pdf>
- Chartered Institute for Personnel Development (2007). *Reflections on the 2007 learning and development survey*. Retrieved April 1, 2008, from Chartered Institute for Personnel Development website <http://www.cipd.co.uk/NR/ronlyres/B9EF8122-5072-453F-9CCE-85498E3F6313/0/lattrnlrndeivr.pdf>
- Chartered Management Institute (2002). *The coaching work survey*. Retrieved Aug 7 2006 from www.managers.org.uk.
- Cherniss, C. (1999). *The Business case for emotional intelligence*. Retrieved on 10 October, 2006 from The Consortium for Research on Emotional Intelligence in Organisations. http://www.eiconsortium.org/reports/business_case_for_ei.html
- Cherniss, C. (2000). Emotional intelligence: what is it and why it matters. Paper presented at the *Annual Meeting of the Society for Industrial and Organisational Psychology*, New Orleans, LA, April. Retrieved on 9 October 2006 from www.eiconsortium.org.
- Cherniss, C. (2001). Emotional intelligence and organizational effectiveness. In C. Cherniss, and D. Goleman (eds.). *The emotionally intelligent workplace*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Cherniss, C. and Goleman, D. (2001) (eds.). *The emotionally intelligent workplace*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Ciarrochi, J., Dean, F.P and Anderson, S. (2002). Emotional intelligence moderates the relationship between stress and mental health. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 32(2): 197-209.
- Clarke, N. (2006). Emotional intelligence training: a case of caveat emptor. *Human Resource Development Review*, 5(4): 422-441.

- Coleman, J.S. (1990). *Foundations of social theory*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA.
- Collis, J. and Hussey, R. (2003). *Business research: a practical guide for undergraduate and postgraduate students*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Conte, J.M. and Dean, M.A. (2006). Can emotional intelligence be measured? In K.R. Murphy (ed.). *A critique of emotional intelligence: what are the problems and how can they be fixed?* New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Contu, A. and Willmott, H. (2005). You spin me round: the realist turn in organisation and management studies. *Journal of Management Studies*, 42(8): 1645-1662.
- Cooper, R.A and Sawaf, A. (1997). *Executive EQ*. London: Orion Business.
- Courpasson, D. and Reed, M. (2004). Introduction: bureaucracy in the age of enterprise, *Organization*, 11(1): 5-12.
- Cremlin, C.S. (2003). Self starters, can-doers and mobile phoneys: situations vacant columns and the personality culture in employment, *Sociological Review*, 51(1): 109-128.
- Cronbach, L.J. (1960/1970). *Essentials of psychological testing*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Cruickshank, J. (2003). Critical realism: a brief definition. In J. Cruickshank (ed.). *Critical realism: the difference it makes*. New York: Routledge.
- Cunningham, I. and Hyman, J. (1999). Devolving human resource responsibilities to the line: beginning of the end or a new beginning for personnel, *Personnel Review*, 28(1/2): 9-27.
- Cutting, A.L. and Dunn, J. (1999). Theory of mind, emotion understanding, language, and family background: individual differences and interrelations. *Child Development*, 70 (4): 853-865.
- Craib, I. (1995). Some comments on the sociology of emotions. *Sociology*, 29:151-158.
- Danermark, B., Ekstrom, M. Jacobsen, L. and Karlsson, J.C. (2002). *Explaining society: critical realism in the social sciences*. London: Routledge.
- Daus, C.S. and Ashkanasy, N.M. (2005). The case for the ability-based model of emotional intelligence in organizational behaviour. *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, 26: 453-466.

- Davies, M. Stankov, L. and Roberts. R.D. (1998). Emotional intelligence: in search of an illusive construct. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73: 989-1015.
- Day, A.L. (2004) The measurement of emotional intelligence. In G. Geher (Ed). *Measuring emotional intelligence: common ground and controversy*. Hauppauge, N.Y: Nova Science Publishing. p. 3-19.
- Day, A.L. and Kelloway, E.K. (2004). Emotional intelligence in the workplace: rhetoric and reality. In G. Geher (ed). *Measuring emotional intelligence: common ground and controversy*. Hauppauge, N.Y: Nova Science Publishing.
- Deetz, S. (1996). Describing differences in approaches to organization science: rethinking Burrell and Morgan and their legacy. *Organization Science*, 7(2): 191-207.
- Donaldson, L. (2005). Organization theory as a positive science. In H. Tsouka and C. Knudsen (Eds). *The Oxford handbook of organization theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Druskat, V.U., Sala, F. and Mount, G. (2006). *Linking emotional intelligence and performance at work: current research evidence with individuals and groups*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc.
- du Gay, P. and Saloman, G. (1992). 'The cult(ure) of the customer. *Journal of Management Studies*, 29 (5): 615-633.
- du Gay, P., Salaman, G. and Rees, B. (1996). The conduct of management and the management of conduct: contemporary managerial discourse and the constitution of the 'competent' manager. *Journal of Management Studies*, 33(3): 263-282.
- Dulewicz, V and Higgs, M (1998). Emotional intelligence: can it be measured reliably and validly using competency data? *Competency*, 6(1): 1-15.
- Dulewicz, V and Higgs, M (2000). Emotional intelligence: a review and evaluation study. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 15: 341-372.
- Dulewicz, V. and Higgs, M. (2004). Can emotional intelligence be developed? *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 15(1): 95-111.
- Duncan, S. (2003). *Present moment awareness*. Mumbai: Yogi Impressions.
- Dutton, J., Glynn, M.A. and Spreitzer, G. (2006). Positive organisational scholarship. In J. Greenhaus and G. Callahan. (eds.). *Encyclopedia of career development*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Dwoskin, H. (2005). *The sedona method*. Sedona Press.

- Eagly, A.H. (2005). Achieving relational authenticity in leadership: Does gender matter? *The Leadership Quarterly*, 16: 459-474.
- Eagly, A.H., Johannesen-Schmidt, M.C. and van Engen, M.L. (2003) Transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire leadership styles; a meta analysis comparing women and men. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129 (4): 569-591.
- Eagly, A.H. and Karau, S.J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, 109 (3): 573-598.
- Edwards, R. (1979). *Contested terrain: the transformation of the workplace in the twentieth century*. London: Heinemann.
- Edwards, R. (1986). *Conflict at work: a materialist analysis of workplace relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Edwards, P. and Wajcman, J. (2005). *The politics of working life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ehrenreich, B. (2006). *Bait and switch: the futile pursuit of the corporate dream*. London: Granta.
- Elias, M.J., Kress, J.S. and Hunter, L. (2006). Emotional intelligence and the crisis in schools. In J. Ciarrochi, J.P. Forgas and J.D. Mayer (eds.). *Emotional intelligence in everyday life: a scientific enquiry*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Erickson, R.J. and Wharton, A.S. (1997). Inauthenticity and depression: assessing the consequences of interactive service work. *Work and Occupations*, 24: 188-213.
- Estrada, C.A., Isen, A.M and Young, M.J. (1994). Positive affect improves creative problem solving and influences reported source of practice satisfaction in physicians. *Motivation and Emotion*, 18: 285-299.
- Fairclough, N. (2005). Discourse analysis in organisation studies: the case for critical realism. *Organisation Studies*, 26 (6): 915-939.
- Fine, G.A. (1993). The sad demise, mysterious disappearance, and glorious triumph of symbolic interactionism. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 19: 61- 87.
- Fineman, S. (1993). Organisations as emotional arenas. In S. Fineman (ed.). *Emotions in organizations*. London: Sage.
- Fineman, S. (2000). Commodifying the emotionally intelligent. In Fineman, S. (ed.) *Emotions in organizations*. London: Sage.
- Fineman, S (2003). *Understanding emotions at work*. London: Sage.

- Fineman, S. (2004). Getting the measure of emotion – and the cautionary tale of emotional intelligence. *Human Relations*, 57(6): 719-740.
- Fineman, S. (2005). Appreciating emotion at work: paradigm tensions. *International Journal of Work Organisation and Emotion*, 1(1): 4-19.
- Fineman, S. (2006a). On being positive: concerns and counterpoints. *Academy of Management Review*, 31 (2): 270-291.
- Fineman, S. (2006b). Reply: accentuating the positive? *Academy of Management Review*, 31 (2): 306-308.
- Fineman, S. and Sturdy, A. (1999). The emotions of control: a qualitative exploration of environmental regulation. *Human Relations*, 52(5): 631-663.
- Finlay, L. (2003). The reflexive journey: mapping multiple routes. In L. Finlay and B. Gough (eds.). *Reflexivity*. Blackwell.
- Flecker, J. and Hofbauer, J (1998). Capitalising on subjectivity: the ‘new model worker’ and the importance of being useful. In P. Thompson and C. Warhurst (eds.). *Workplaces of the future*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Fleetwood, S. (2005). Ontology in organization and management studies: a critical realist approach. *Organization*, 12(2): 197-222.
- Fleming, P and Sturdy, A. (2008). ‘Just be yourself!’ Towards neo-normative control in organisations? Paper presented at the 26th *International Labour Process Conference*, Dublin, March.
- Fletcher, J.K. (1999). *Disappearing acts: gender, power and relational practice at work*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Foucault, M. (1991). *The Foucault reader*. Rabinow, P. (ed.). London: Penguin.
- Fox, S., and Spector, P.E. (2000). Relations of emotional intelligence, practical intelligence, general intelligence, and trait affectivity with interview outcomes: Its not all “g”. *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, 21: 203-220.
- Francis, H. and Keegan, A. (2006). The changing face of HRM: in search of balance, *Human Resource Management Journal*, 16(3): 231-249.
- Friedman, A. (1977). *Industry and labour: class struggle at work and monopoly capitalism*. London: Macmillan.
- Frost, P.J., Dutton, J.E, Worline, M.C. and Wilson, A. (2000). Narratives of compassion in organisations. In S. Fineman (ed.). *Emotions in organizations*. London: Sage.

- Gabriel, Y. (2005). Glass cages and glass palaces: images of organization in image-conscious times, *Organization*, 12(1): 9-27.
- Gardner, H. (1983). *Frames of mind: the theory of multiple intelligences*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gardner, H. (1993). *Multiple intelligences: the theory in practice*. New York: Basic Books.
- Geher, G. and Renstrom, K.L. (2004). Measurement issues in emotional intelligence research. In G. Geher (Ed). *Measuring emotional intelligence: common ground and controversy*. Hauppauge, N.Y: Nova Science Publishing.
- Gennard, J. and Kelly, J. (1997). The unimportance of labels: the diffusion of the personnel/HRM function. *Industrial Relations Journal*, 28(1): 27-42.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Gillham, B. (2004). *The research interview*. London: Continuum
- Gini, A (2000). *My job my self: work and the creation of the modern individual*. New York: Routledge.
- Gobo, G. (2007). Sampling, representativeness and generalizability. In C. Seale, G. Gobo, J.F. Gubrium, and D.Silverman (eds.). *Qualitative research practice*. London: Sage.
- Goffman, E. (1961). *Encounters*. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company Ltd.
- Goleman, D. (1996). *Emotional intelligence*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Goleman, D. (1998). *Working with emotional intelligence*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Goleman, D. (2001b). An EI-based theory of performance. In C. Cherniss and D. Goleman (Eds). *The emotionally intelligent workplace*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Goleman, D. (2006). *Social intelligence*. New York: Random House.
- Goleman, D., Boyatzis, R. and McKee, A. (2001). Primal leadership: the hidden driver of great performance. *Harvard Business Review*, 79(11): 42-48.
- Goleman, D., Boyatzis, R. and McKee, A. (2002). *Primal leadership: realising the power of emotional intelligence*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.
- Gorz, A. (1999). *Reclaiming work: beyond the wage-based society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Grant, A. (2007). Enhancing coaching skills and emotional intelligence through training. *Industrial and Commercial Training*, 39 (5): 257-266.
- Grugulis, I., Dundon, T. and Wilkinson, A. (2000). Cultural control and the 'culture manager: employment practices in a consultancy. *Work, Employment and Society*, 14(1): 97-116.
- Grugulis, I. (2007a). The human side of skills and knowledge. In S.C. Bolton and M. Houlihan, M. (eds). *Searching for the human in human resource management: theory, practice and workplace contexts*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Grugulis, I. (2007b). *Skills, training and human resource development: a critical text*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Harré, R. (1986). *The social construction of emotions*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Hatch, M.J. and Yanow, D. (2005). Organization theory as an interpretivist science. In H. Tsoukas, H and C.Knudsen (eds.). *The Oxford handbook of organization theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hatcher, C. (2008). Becoming a successful corporate character and the role of emotion management. In S. Fineman (ed.). *The emotional organisation: passions and powers*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hawkins, J. and Dulewicz, V. (2007). The relationship between performance as a leader and emotional intelligence, intellectual and managerial competences. *Journal of General Management*. 33(2): 57-78.
- Higgs, M. (2004). A study of the relationship between emotional intelligence and performance in UK call centres. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 19: 442-452.
- Higgs, M. and Dulewicz, V. (2002). *Making sense of emotional intelligence*. London: ASE, nferNelson.
- Hochschild, A.R (1979). Emotion work, feeling rules, and social structure. *American Journal of Sociology*, 85(3): 551-575.
- Hochschild, A.R. (1983). *The managed heart: commercialization of human feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hochschild, A.(1990). Ideology and emotion management: a perspective and path for future research. In T.D Kemper (ed.). *Research agendas in the sociology of emotions*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Höpfl, H (2002). Playing the part: reflections on aspects of mere performance in the customer-client relationship. *Journal of Management Studies*, 39(2): 255-267.

- Hopkins, M., O'Neil, D. and Williams, H. (2007). Emotional intelligence and board governance: leadership lessons from the public sector. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 22(7): 683-700.
- Hubbard, G., Backett-Milburn, K. And Kemmer, D. (2001). Working with emotion: issues for the researcher in fieldwork and teamwork. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 4 (2): 119 – 137.
- Hughes, J. (2005). Bringing emotion to work: emotional intelligence, employee resistance and the reinvention of character. *Work, Employment and Society*, 19(3): 603-625.
- Hughes, J. and Sharrock, W. (1997). *The philosophy of social research*. London: Longman.
- Hughes, M., Bonita Patterson, L. and Bradford Terrell, J. (2005). *Emotional intelligence in action*. San Francisco: Pfeiffer.
- Hunter, J.E. and Hunter, R.F. (1984). Validity and utility of alternative predictors of job performance. *Psychological Bulletin*, 96: 72-98.
- Hutton, W. (2002). *Working Capital*. Report for The Work Foundation. Retrieved on 28 August, 2006 from www.theworkfoundation.com
- Huy, Q. (1999). Emotional capability, emotional intelligence and radical change. *Academy of Management Review*, 24(2): 325-345.
- Huy, Q.(2001). In praise of middle managers. *Harvard Business Review*, 79(8), 72-79
- Huy, Q. (2002). Emotional balancing of organizational continuity and radical change: the contribution of middle managers. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 47: 31-69
- Huy, Q. (2003). An emotion based view of strategic change. Paper presented at the *Strategy Process Conference*, INSEAD, August.
- Isen, A.M., Daubman, K.A and Nowicki, G.P (1987). Positive affect facilitates creative problem solving. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52: 1122 - 1131.
- James, N. (1992). Care = organisation + physical labour + emotional labour. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 14: 488-509.
- Jordan, P.J., Ashton-James, C.E. and Ashkanasy, N.M. (2006). Evaluating the claims: emotional intelligence in the workplace. In K. R. Murphy (ed.). *A critique of emotional intelligence: what are the problems and how can they be fixed?* New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Jordan, P.J., Ashkanasy, N.M and Hartel, C. (2002). Emotional intelligence as a moderator of emotional and behavioural reactions to job insecurity. *Academy of Management Review*, 27(3): 361-372.

Jordan, P.J., Ashkanasy, N.M. and Ascough, K.W. (2007). Emotional intelligence in organisational behaviour and industrial-organisational psychology. In G. Matthews, M. Zeidner, M. and R.D. Roberts (Eds). *The science of emotional intelligence: knowns and unknowns*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kanter, R. (1989). *When giants learn to dance*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Keat, R. (1991). Starship Britain or universal enterprise? In R. Keat and N. Abercrombie (eds.). *Enterprise culture*. London: Routledge

Keen, L. and Vickerstaff, S.A. (1997). 'We're all human resource managers now': local government middle managers. *Public Money and Management*, July-Sept: 41-46.

Kersley, B., Alpin, C., Forth, J., Bryson, A., Bewlesy, H., Dix, G. and Oxenbridge, S. (2004). *Inside the Workplace: First findings from the 2004 Workplace Employment Relations Survey*. Retrieved from Routledge website on 1 Oct 2006, <http://www.routledge.com/textbooks/0415378133/pdf/insideWP.pdf>

Kets de Vries, M (2006). *The leader on the couch: a clinical approach to changing people and organisations*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

Kiefer, T (2002). Understanding the emotional experience of organizational change: evidence from a merger. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 4 (1): 39-61.

Knights, D. and Wilmott, H. (1989). Power and subjectivity at work: from degradation to subjugation in social relations. *Sociology*, 23(4): 535-558.

Knights, D. and Wilmott. H. (2000). *The reengineering revolution: critical studies of corporate Change*. London: Sage.

Korczynski, M (2003). Communities of coping: collective emotional labour in service work. *Organization*, 10(1): 55-79.

Kunda, G. and van Maanen. J. (1999). Changing scripts at work: managers and professionals. *ANNALS American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 561(1): 64-80.

Landen, M. (2002). Emotion management: dabbling in mystery – white witchcraft or black art? *Human Resource Development International*, 5(4): 507-521.

Landy, F.J. (2005). Some historical and scientific issues related to research on emotional intelligence. *Journal of Organisational Behaviour*, 26: 411-424.

- Legge, K. (2005). *Human resource management: rhetoric and reality*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lewis, P. and Simpson, R. (2007). Gender and emotions: introduction. In P. Lewis and R. Simpson (Eds). *Gendering emotions in organisations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Lively, K.L (2000). Reciprocal emotion management: working together to maintain stratification in private law firms. *Work and Occupations*, 27(1):32-63
- Locke, E.A. (2005). Why emotional intelligence is an invalid concept. *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, 26: 425-431.
- Lorber, J. (2001). *Gender Inequality*. Roxbury Publishing: Los Angeles, CA.
- Lupton, D. (1998) *The emotional self*. London: Sage.
- Mandell, B and Pherwani, S. (2003). Relationship between emotional intelligence and transformational leadership style: a gender comparison. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 17: 387-404.
- Mann, S. (1997). Emotional labour in organisations. *Leadership and Organizational Development Journal*, 18 (11): 4-12
- Mann, S. (2002). *Hiding what we feel, faking what we don't*. London: Vega.
- Marshall, C. And Rossman, G.B. (2006). *Designing qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Martin, J., Knopoff, K. and Beckman, C. (1998). An alternative to bureaucratic impersonality and emotional labor: bounded emotionality at The Body Shop. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, June: 429-69.
- Matthews, G., Roberts, R.D. and Zeidner, G. (2004). Seven myths about emotional intelligence. *Psychological Inquiry*, 15(3): 179-196.
- Matthews, G., Zeidner, M. and Roberts, R.D. (2002). *Emotional intelligence: science and myth*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
- Matthews, G., Zeidner, M. and Roberts, R.D. (2007). Emotional intelligence: consensus, controversies and questions. In G. Matthews, Zeidner, M. and Roberts, R.D. (eds.). *The science of emotional intelligence: knowns and unknowns*. New York: OUP.
- Mayer, J.D., Caruso, D. and Salovey, P. (1999), Emotional intelligence meets traditional standards for an intelligence. *Intelligence*, 27: 267-298.

Mayer, J.D. and Salovey, P. (1997). What is emotional intelligence? In P. Salovey and D. Sluyter (Eds). *Emotional development and emotional intelligence: educational implications*. New York: Basic Books.

Mayer, J.D., Salovey, P. and Caruso, D. (1999). *Test Manual for the Mayer- Salovey- Caruso emotional intelligence test: Research Version 1.1*. Toronto, Canada: Multi-Health Systems.

Mayer, J.D., Salovey, P. and Caruso, D.R. (2000a). Emotional intelligence as zeitgeist, as personality, and as a mental ability. In R. Bar-On, R. and J. Parker (Eds) *The handbook of emotional intelligence: theory, development, assessment and application at home, school and in the workplace*. San Francisco, California: Jossey Bass.

Mayer, J.D., Salovey, P. and Caruso, D. (2000b). Models of emotional intelligence. In R. Sternberg (ed.). *Handbook of emotional intelligence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Mayer, J.D., Salovey, P. and Caruso, D. (2002). *Mayer-Salovey-Caruso emotional intelligence test (MSCEIT) user manual*. Toronto, Canada: Multi-Health Systems.

McBride, P. and Maitland, S. (2002). *The EI advantage: putting emotional intelligence into practice*. Maidenhead: Mcgraw-Hill.

Meštrović, S.G. (1997). *Postemotional society*. London: Sage

Mirvis, P. (1994). Human development or depersonalisation? The company as total community. In F.W. Heuberger, F.W. and L.L.Nash (eds.). *A fatal embrace? Assessing holistic trends in human resources programs*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction.

Molinsky, A and Margolis, J (2006). The emotional tightrope of downsizing: hidden challenges for leaders and their organisations. *Organizational Dynamics*, 35(2): 145-159.

Murphy, K.R. (2006). Four conclusions about emotional intelligence. In K. R. Murphy (ed.). *A critique of emotional intelligence: what are the problems and how can they be fixed?* New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Murphy, K.R. and Sideman, L. (2006a). The two EIs. In K.R. Murphy (ed). *A critique of emotional intelligence: what are the problems and how can they be fixed?* New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Murphy, K.R. and Sideman, L. (2006b). The fadification of emotional intelligence. In K.R. Murphy (ed.). *A critique of emotional intelligence: what are the problems and how can they be fixed?* New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Newsome, S., Day, A.L. and Catano, V.M. (2000). Assessing the predictive validity of emotional intelligence. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 29: 1005-1016.
- Newton, T. (1995). Rethorising stress and emotion: labour process theory, Foucault and Elias. In T. Newton, T. with J. Handy, J and S. Fineman. (1995). *Managing stress: emotion and power at work*. London: Sage.
- Nickson, D., Warhurst, C., Witz, A. and Cullen.A.-M. (2001). The importance of being aesthetic: work, employment and service organisation. In A. Sturdy, I. Grugulis and H. Willmott (eds.). *Customer service: empowerment and entrapment*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Nussbaum, M. (2000). *Women and human development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Orme, G. and Bar-On, R. (2002). The contribution of emotional intelligence to individual and organisational effectiveness. *Competency and Emotional Intelligence*, 9(4): 23-28.
- Outhwaite, W. (1983). Towards a realist perspective. In G. Morgan (ed.). *Beyond method: strategies for social research*. Newbury Park, California: Sage
- Payne, W.L. (1983/1986). A study of emotion: developing emotional intelligence; self integration; relating to fear, pain and desire. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 47, p. 203. (University microfilms No. AAC 8605928).
- Petrides , K.V. and Furnham, A. (2001). Trait emotional intelligence: psychometric investigation with reference to established trait taxonomies. *European Journal of Personality*, 17: 39-57.
- Porter, M. (1990). *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*. New York: Free Press.
- Porter, S. (1993). Critical Realist ethnography: the case of racism and professionalism in a medical setting. *Sociology*, 27(4): 591-609.
- Rapley, T. (2007) Interviews. In C. Seale, G. Gobo, J.F. Gubrium and D. Silverman (eds.). *Qualitative research practice*. London: Sage.
- Reed, M. (1992). *The sociology of organizations: themes, perspective and prospects*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Reed, M. (2005). Reflections on the ‘realist turn’ in organization and management studies. *Journal of Management Studies*, 42(8): 1621 – 1644.
- Rego, A., Sousa, F., Pina e Cunha, M., Correia, A. and Saur-Amaral, I. (2007). Leader self-reported emotional intelligence and perceived employee creativity: an exploratory study. *Creativity and Innovation Management*, 16(3): 250-264.

- Reilly, P. (2005). Teaching law students how to feel: using negotiations training to increase emotional intelligence. *Negotiation Journal*, 21(2): 301-314.
- Reilly, J.M., Brett, J.M. and Stroh, L.K. (1993). The impact of corporate turbulence on managers' attitudes. *Strategic Management Journal*, 14: 167-179.
- Reinharz, S. (1997). Who am I? The need for a variety of selves in the field. In R. Hertz (ed.). *Reflexivity and voice*. California: Sage.
- Renwick, D. (2003) Line manager involvement in HRM: an inside view. *Employee Relations*, 25(3): 262-280.
- Rhee, K. and White, R. (2007). The emotional intelligence of entrepreneurs. *Journal of Small Business and Entrepreneurship*, 20 (4): 409-425.
- Ritzer, G. (1999). *Enchanting a disenchanted world: revolutionising the means of consumption*. London: Pine Forge Press.
- Roberts, R.D., Zeidner, M. and Matthews, G. (2007). Emotional intelligence: knowns and unknowns. In G. Matthews, M. Zeidner, M. and R.D. Roberts (eds.). *The science of emotional intelligence: knowns and unknowns*. New York: OUP.
- Rose, N. (1999). *Governing the soul: the shaping of the private self*. London: Free Association Books.
- Rosete, D. and Ciarrochi, J. (2005). Emotional intelligence and its relationship to workplace performance outcomes of leadership effectiveness. *Leadership and Organization Development Journal*, 26: 388-399.
- Ross-Smith, A., Kornberger, M., Anandakumar, A. and Cheterman, C. (2007). Women executives: managing emotions at the top. In P. Lewis and R. Simpson (eds.). *Gendering emotions in organisations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Roy, D.F. (1993). Banana time: job satisfaction and informal interaction. In G. Salaman and K.Thompson (eds.). *People and organisations*. London: Longman.
- Salovey, P. and Mayer, J. (1990). Emotional Intelligence. *Imagination, Cognition and Personality* 9(3): 185-211.
- Sanders, T. (2004). Controllable laughter managing sex work through humour. *Sociology*, 38(2): 273-291.
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (2003) *Research methods for business students*. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Savage, M. (2000). *Class analysis and social transformation*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

- Sawaf, A., Bloomfield, H.H. and Rosen, J. (2001). Inner technology: emotions in the new millennium. In R.L.Payne and C.L.Cooper (eds.). *Emotions at work: theory, research and applications for management*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Sayer, A (2000a). Moral economy and political economy. *Studies in Political Economy*, 61: 79-104.
- Sayer, A. (2000b). *Realism and social science*. London: Sage.
- Sayer, A. (2002). What are you worth?: Why class is an embarrassing subject. *Sociological Research Online*, 7(3) <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/7/3/sayer.html>
- Sayer, A. (2003). Restoring the moral dimension in social scientific accounts: a qualified ethical naturalist approach. Paper presented to the *International Association for Critical Realism Annual Conference*, Amsterdam, August.
- Sayer, A. (2005). *The moral significance of class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sayer, A. (2006). Approaching moral economy. In N. Stehr, C. Henning and B. Weiler (eds.). *The moralisation of the markets*. New York: Transaction Books.
- Sayer, A. (2007). Moral economy and employment. In S.C. Bolton and M. Houlihan (eds.). *Searching for the human in human resource management*. London: Palgrave.
- Schmit, M.J. (2006). EI in the Business World. In K. R. Murphy (ed.). *A critique of emotional intelligence: what are the problems and how can they be fixed?* New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Schulze, R., Wilhelm, O., and Kyllonen, P.C. (2007). Approaches to the assessment of emotional intelligence. In G. Matthews, M. Zeidner, and R.D. Roberts (Eds.). *The science of emotional intelligence: knowns and unknowns*. New York: OUP.
- Seligman, M.. (2005). Positive psychology, positive prevention and positive therapy. In Snyder, C.R. and Lopez, S.J. (eds.) *Handbook of positive psychology*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sennett, R. (1998). *The corrosion of character: the personal consequences of work in the new capitalism*. New York: Norton.
- Sieben, B. (2005). Management studies on emotion: a compass to assist orientation in a diverse field of research. Paper presented at the *European Management Academy Conference (EURAM)*, TUM Business School, Munich, Germany, May.
- Sieben, B. (2007). Doing research on emotion and virtual work: a compass to assist orientation. *Human Relations*, 60 (4): 561-580.

- Silverman, D. (2003) *Interpreting qualitative data: methods for analysing talk, text and interaction*. London: Sage.
- Silverman, D. (2005). *Doing qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Sivanathan, N. and Fekken, G.C. (2002). Emotional Intelligence, moral reasoning and transformational leadership. *Leadership and Organization Development Journal*, 23: 198-205.
- Slaski, M. and Cartwright, S. (2002). Health, performance and emotional intelligence: an exploratory study of retail managers. *Stress and Health*, 18(2): 63-68.
- Slaski, M. and Cartwright, S. (2003). Emotional intelligence training and its implications for stress, health and performance. *Stress and Health*, 19: 233-239.
- Sternberg, R.J. (1999). Book review: Working with emotional intelligence. *Personnel Psychology*, 52(3): 780-783.
- Stein, S.J. and Book, H. (2006). *The EQ edge: emotional intelligence and your success*. Mississauga, Canada: John Wiley and Sons.
- Sturdy, A. and Fineman, S. (2001). Struggles' for the control of affect - resistance as politics and emotion. In A. Sturdy, I. Grugulis, and H. Willmott (eds). *Customer Service: Empowerment and Entrapment*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Sunindijo, R.Y., Hadikusumo, B. and Ogunlana, S. (2007). Emotional intelligence and leadership styles in construction project management. *Journal of Management in Engineering*, 23(4): 166-170.
- Sutton, R.I. (1991). Maintaining norms about expressed emotions: the case of bill collectors. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 36 (2): 245-268
- Taylor, S. (1998). *Emotional labour and the new workplace*. In P. Thompson and C. Warhurst (Eds). *Workplaces of the future*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Taylor, S. and Tyler, M. (2000). Emotional labour and sexual difference in the airline industry. *Work, Employment and Society*, 14 (1): 77-95.
- Thompson, P. (1989). *The nature of work*. London: Macmillan.
- Thompson, P (2007). Making capital: strategic dilemmas for HRM. In S.C. Bolton and M. Houlihan (eds.). *Searching for the human in human resource management*. London: Palgrave.

- Thompson, P. and Harley, B. (2007). HRM and the worker: labour process perspectives. In P. Boxall, J. Purcell and P. Wright (eds.). *The Oxford handbook of human resource management*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thompson, P. and McHugh, D. (2002). *Work organisations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Thompson, P. and Newsome, K. (2004). Labor process theory, work, and the employment relation. In B. Kaufman (ed.), *Theoretical perspectives on work and the employment relationship*. Cornell: Cornell University Press.
- Thorndike, E.L. (1920). Intelligence examinations of college entrance. *Journal of Educational Research*: 329-337.
- Thorndike, R.L. and Stein, S. (1937). An evaluation of the attempts to measure social intelligence. *Psychological Bulletin*, 34(5): 275-285.
- Thory, K. (2008). More than a feeling: the currency of emotional competency. Paper presented at the 26th *International Labour Process Conference*, Dublin, March.
- Toynbee, P. (2003). *Hard work: life in low-pay Britain*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Turnball, S. (2002). Emotional labour in corporate change programmes: the effects of organizational feeling rules on middle managers. *Human Resource Development International*, 2(2): 125-146
- van Rooy, D.L. and Viswesvaran, C. (2004). Emotional intelligence: A meta-analytic investigation of predictive validity and nomological net. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 65, 71-95.
- van Rooy, D.L., Dilchert, S., Viswesvaran, C. and Ones, D.S. (2006). Multiplying intelligences: are general, emotional and practical intelligences equal? In K. R. Murphy (ed.). *A critique of emotional intelligence: what are the problems and how can they be fixed?* New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Vince, R. (2006). Being taken over: managers' emotions and rationalizations during a company takeover. *Journal of Management Studies*, 43(2): 343-365.
- Vince, R. and Broussine, M. (1996). Paradox, defence and attachment: accessing and working with emotions and relations underlying organizational change. *Organization Studies*, 17(1): 1-21.
- Waldron, V.R. (2000). Relational experiences and emotion at work. In S. Fineman (ed.) *Emotions in Organizations*. London: Sage.
- Warhurst, C. and Thompson, P. (1998). Hands, hearts and minds: changing work and workers at the end of the century. In P. Thompson and C. Warhurst (eds.). *Workplaces of the Future*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

- Warhurst, C. and Nickson, D. (2007). Employee experience of aesthetic labour in retail and hospitality. *Work, Employment & Society*, 21: 103-120.
- Warhurst, C., Keep, E and Grugulis, I. (2004). *The skills that matter*. London: Palgrave.
- Watson, T. (2001). *In search of management*. London: Thompson Learning
- Webb, J. (2004). Organizations, self-identities and the new economy. *Sociology*, 38 (4): 719-738.
- Weisinger, H. (1998). *Emotional intelligence at work*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Wharton A.S and Erickson, R.J (1993). Managing emotions on the job and at home: understanding the consequences of multiple emotional roles. *Academy of Management Review*, 18 (3): 457-486.
- Williams, S.D. (2004). Personality, attitudes and leader influence on divergent thinking and creativity in organisations. *European Journal of Innovation Management*, 7(3): 187-204.
- Williams, H.W. (2008). Characteristics that distinguish outstanding urban principals: emotional intelligence, social intelligence and environmental adaptation. *Journal of Management Development*, 27 (1): 36-54.
- Young-Eisendrath, P. (2003). Response to Lazarus. *Psychological Inquiry*, 14(2): 93-109.

APPENDIX A: METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This appendix engages with various aspects of methodology relevant to the research in this thesis. To reiterate, this study seeks to explore peoples' experiences and outcomes of developing and using EI in the workplace. This research aim was established in Chapter Three based on a critical review of the EI literature. Chapter Four set out explore what a range of organisational analyses could offer. Chapter Four concluded that a realist approach would be suitable for the study. Chapter Five introduced the analytical framework for this thesis which included Andrew Sayer's (2006) moral and economic context and Margaret Archer's (2000) conceptualisation of benevolence and concern for others.

Appendix A addresses a series of methodological topics including: realist approach and related philosophies, research design and methods, research procedure, sample selection and composition, selection and use of analytical tools to analyse data, ethical considerations, reflexivity in the research process and a discussion of methodological limitations of this project. Importantly, the data analysis section sets out to explain how the empirical typology presented in Chapter Five was developed from the literature reviewed, the creation of a new analytical framework and the data analysed. Appendix A complements methodological issues discussed in the introduction of Chapter One, a presentation of the training courses in Chapter Six and limitations to the research discussed in Chapter Nine.

ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS AND RESEARCH APPROACH

Linking philosophical assumptions to methodology is core to social science research. The ontological foundations of business research were explained for positivism, post-structuralism, interpretivism and labour process research in Chapter Four. In the first section of this appendix, a clearer mapping of the relationship between the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of this research – a realist approach - and the choice of research design are explained.

In a realist ontology social reality is described as social patterns that are the products of material structures of social relations which cannot be seen (Blaskar, 1979). With a realist approach, the aim is to explain events or regularities through the identification of generative mechanisms and structures that produced them (Blaikie, 2008). Explanations of this nature rely on the realist logic of *retroduction* (Blaikie, 2008).

A realist epistemology adopts a model building approach which aims to explain how mechanisms, if they were to exist and act in the indicated way, would explain the phenomena being studied (Blaikie, 2008). Models offer a way of illuminating how the mechanisms work through descriptive means (Blaikie, 2008). Following this, realism starts with an approach of establishing regularities or events but goes beyond this by identifying and explaining the causal mechanisms. Because mechanisms and structures may or may not be visible, the realist's task is to describe the consequences of their existence and argue for the plausibility of the relationship between evidence and theory (Blaikie, 2008: 180).

However, explanations depend not only on identifying causal mechanisms and how they work but also under what conditions (Sayer, 2000b). For example, agentic causal mechanisms rely on people having certain properties and powers but these can only be activated in contexts which are contingent and conditional (Blaikie, 2008)

For a study which aims to understand peoples' experiences and outcomes of learning and using EI at work, realism's retroductive approach is highly suitable. By explaining connections and relations between structures, agency and context a novel (re)conceptualisation of people's uses of EI is possible through a model building approach. The retroductive logic enables an understanding of the basic characteristics of the structures and causal mechanisms, without which social relations and people's use of EI cannot exist.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION

Research Design

Gaining access to a broad sample of participants requires a study of people attending 'open' training courses provided by independent training consultancies which can be attended by anyone rather than 'in-house' courses which are more suited to a case-study approach. A study of the management consultancy landscape confirmed there are ample training consultants servicing this training demand. Independent training providers offering 'open' EI programmes and seminars can be found in their dozens in the UK. A simple search on the web produced a fairly large number of hits. The significant representation of independent EI training providers at specialist Emotional Intelligence practitioner conferences further highlights EI's sustained popularity in industry via this avenue. Thus, it was decided that this study's focus would be on individuals who choose to develop their EI skills for work via this route. This was further supported by literature which notes a transfer of responsibility to employees for investment in their human capital (Thompson, 2007).

Because this study sets out to explore peoples' voluntary take-up of EI skills on external training courses, the EI courses investigated must best reflect what is typically used in these contexts. Thus this study sets out to investigate these most popular EI models used in commercial training contexts.

Organisational and participant access

Organisational access

At the beginning of May 2007 letters were sent to the Managing Directors of twenty-one independent training consultancies which ran 'open' Emotional Intelligence training courses in England and Scotland, inviting them to participate in my study. Companies were selected based on their online corporate websites and training brochures. From an initial desktop research it was concluded that there were three types of EI training courses available to the public: those based on either Goleman's or Bar-On's model or a 'Hybrid' type which is best described as an eclectic mix of content from mixed models. The criterion was to collect data from a representative cross-sample of the courses available in the marketplace – one from a Goleman, Bar-On and Hybrid or mixed course. This would enable me to compare and contrast different EI courses to see if there were any similarities or differences in delegates' experiences. This constituted a purposive sampling strategy where cases (or training courses) were selected in order to represent all possible situations (Gobo, 2007). The other selection criterion was pivotal on access to research data. It was essential that participating consultancies would allow me to participate fully as a delegate on the EI course, provide me with complete access to delegate support materials and offer opportunities to observe and interview a variety of participants (different occupational groups, employers, both sexes).

In early July full access to an organisation which ran a Goleman course was gained and several days later access was confirmed to a Hybrid course –a 'hit' that materialised from a follow-up email to the original correspondence. Then in November 2007 an advert appeared in a local paper for a new 'Bar-On' EI course being launched in Edinburgh the following month. I emailed the organiser, we talked on the phone several days later and access was granted.

For ease of reference and to reflect their orientation and content the three courses or events have been labelled: 'Goleman', 'Bar-On' and 'Hybrid'. The Goleman course was run by a medium sized training consultancy which specialised in training in leadership and management, trainer development, interpersonal skills, personal effectiveness and commercial excellence. The Hybrid course was run by another medium sized provider specialising in training in business law, commercial contracting, project management, facilities management, marketing, PR and management development. The Bar-On course was run by a specialist commercial training unit within a University Business School. See Table 5 for the course details including length of the course and general training approach. A report was offered to each company on completion of the research, providing a summary of clients' perceptions of the training experience as informal market research. This circumvented any problems regarding data ownership because the feedback to the

company would be clearly separated from the research material. Chapter Six describes the course content of each course in full detail.

Table 5: Description of EI training courses

Course type	Provider	Length of EI course	Dates /location	No of trainers and delegates	Training approach to EI course
Goleman	Medium sized, independent training consultancy	1 day	Oct 2007 Manchester	1 trainer 2 delegates	Interactive; informal lecture; discussion; individual/group exercises; self assessment; development plans.
Bar-On	Independent training consultancy within University	3 days	Nov 2007 London	1 trainer 8 delegates	Interactive; informal lecture; group discussions; individual/group exercises; self assessment; development plans.
Hybrid	Medium sized independent training consultancy	1 day	Dec 2007/ Jan 2008 Edinburgh	2 trainers 34 delegates	Interactive; seminar; group exercises; self assessment; development plans.

Access to participants

Informing delegates of my attendance on the training courses and my research intentions was steered differently by each organisation and I had little control over this process. On the ‘Goleman’ course the trainer emailed the participants prior to the event notifying them that there would be a PhD researcher on the course who wanted to learn more about EI. At the beginning of the training day the trainer introduced me and I spoke for a few minutes about myself and the study. On the ‘Bar-On’ course, I was briefly introduced to the delegates by the trainer in the morning on the first day. On both these courses I spent time chatting to participants during coffee and lunch breaks briefly outlining the general aims and objectives of my study and inviting them to participate. I also gave each interested person a brief one A4 page outline of my study. The aims of study my study were conveyed to each participant: to gain understandings into the ways Emotional Intelligence is taught through training sessions, workshops or seminars and to explore how employees come to use their learning when they are back in the workplace. Each participant was told that my

study was different to previous research studies because it took a more reflective approach to the investigation of EI by exploring the insights and reflections of those engaged in an EI learning event.

For the 'Hybrid' course I was given access to participants' email addresses from a course that had taken place in May 2007 and an identical one scheduled for November 2007. In October 2007 I emailed thirty participants from the May course inviting them to take part in the study and received six positive replies for a telephone interview. In early November 2007 I emailed delegates on the November course prior to the event inviting them to take part in my study. Those interested (thirteen out of thirty four) emailed me back and we arranged to meet and talk during the training day. Each trainer also agreed to be interviewed and this was confirmed before each course commenced.

Sample Composition

In total, 31 subjects, including 26 training delegates, 4 trainers and 1 representative from an internationally leading EI test distributor were interviewed (see Table 6). The delegates interviewed were mainly managers and leaders but the sample had the added benefit of six people who were in non-managerial positions. Methodologically this is not a large enough sample to say that the study is about non-managers but it does offer scope for exploring whether the motivations and experiences of managers are the same as non-managers. Participants worked in a broad range of industry sectors and organisations.

Overall, my sampling strategy was predominantly a self-selection approach because I interviewed individuals who were interested and responded because of their desire to take part in the study (Saunders et al, 2003). However, I believe this sample is representative of those occupational positions who typically attend 'open' EI training courses which is what I aimed to achieve. Unfortunately the sample size for the Goleman course was small because only a few participants attended the course. Attempts to gain further access to previously run courses proved unfruitful.

Table 6: Participants

Position	Name	Industry type	EI course attended	Interview date	Interview details
Personal Assistant (PA)*	Kate	IT network provider	Hybrid	13 Sept 2007	Telephone (office)
PA/Office Manager	Vera	Food manufacturer	Hybrid	13 Sept 2007	Telephone (home)
Planning Development Programme Manager	Gemma	Planning consultancy	Hybrid	21 Sept 2007	Telephone (office)
Sales and IT Manager	Stan	Building materials assembly	Hybrid	19 Sept 2007	Telephone (office)
Marketing Communications Manager	Nadia	Further education college	Hybrid	22 Sept 2007	Telephone (home)
Trustees Account Manager*	June	Insurance	Hybrid	24 Nov 2007	Telephone (office)
PA*	Claire	Environmental government agency	Hybrid	12 Feb 2008	Telephone (office)
PA/Office Manager	Elaine	Marketing consultancy	Hybrid	14 Feb 2008	Telephone (office)
Learning and Development Manager	Nicci	Pharmaceuticals	Hybrid	15 Feb 2008	Telephone (office)
Process Engineering Manager	Ivan	Mineral mining/manufacturing	Hybrid	15 Feb 2008	Telephone (office)
Human Resources Manager	Helen	Local government	Hybrid	26 Feb 2008	Telephone (office)
Highway Services Manager	Grant	Energy company	Hybrid	27 Feb 2008	Telephone (office)
Manufacturing Pharmaceuticals Director	Sally	Pharmaceuticals manufacturing	Hybrid	3 March 2008	Telephone (office)
Receptionist/Administrator*	Sara	Animal welfare/registration agency	Hybrid	3 March 2008	Telephone (home)
Director of College	Carol	Special Needs Education	Hybrid	10 March 2008	Telephone (car phone)
Head of Customer Connections	Adam	Energy company	Hybrid	7 May 2008	Telephone (office)
Head of Benefits Realisation	Jim	Banking	Goleman	18 Jan 2008	Telephone (office)
Loans Manager	Angus	Banking	Goleman	4 March 2008	Telephone (office)
Leadership Advisor*	Samantha	Police	Goleman	13 March 2008	Telephone (office)
Managing Director	Ron	Recruitment consultancy	Bar-On	12 March 2008	Telephone (office)
Managing Director	Esther	Speciality exams for medical profession	Bar-On	14 March 2008	Face-to-face (office)
Training Consultant*	Malcolm	Management consultancy (training)	Bar-On	27 March 2008	Telephone (home)
Programme Management Assistant*	Karl	Local government	Bar-On	28 March 2008	Telephone (office)
Hardware Services Manager	Pippa	Banking	Bar-On	4 April 2008	Telephone (office)

General Manager	Alan	Taxi business	Bar-On	29 April 2008	Telephone (office)
Training Director	Mark	Management consultancy (training)	Bar-On	13 June 2008	Face-to-face (office)
Consultant/EI Test Distributor	Paul	International EI Test Publisher/Distributor		4 October 2007	Telephone (office)
Goleman Trainer	Wilma		Goleman	31 Oct 2007	Telephone (home)
Hybrid Trainers (two)	Angie and Andy		Hybrid	20 Dec 2007	Telephone conference (home)
Bar-On Trainer	Martin		Bar-On	15 Jan 2008	Telephone (office)

* non-managers/leaders

Research methods and data collection

Phase one: Attendance at a practitioner conference on Emotional Intelligence

I spent one day as a delegate at an International practitioner Conference of Emotional Intelligence in London in June 2007. I attended five paper presentations given by practitioners and academics covering topics on ability and ‘mixed’ or ‘trait’ models of Emotional Intelligence. This helped me understand some key theoretical and applied issues and debates in the practitioner field as well as gain some insight into how organisations and training consultancies value, develop and encourage the use of EI. I had numerous conversations with training providers and delegates attending the event. I also collected seventeen sets of conference presentation slides which provided a rich source of introductory data.

Phase two: Pilot Interviews

In September 2007 I conducted telephone interviews with six delegates from the first ‘Hybrid’ training event which took place in May 2007. Each interview lasted between 45 minutes and 1 ½ hours and was audio-recorded with consent. I used this sample as a pilot for the interviews. I reviewed my interview style (questioning style and choice of words) to ensure the language was comprehensible and relevant (Bryman and Bell, 2003). I also reviewed the content of the questions and I made some minor changes to the interview schedule as a consequence.

Phase three: Participant Observation

Being a participant observer provided an important source of research data in this study (Brewer, 2000, as cited by Cassell and Symon, 2004: 155). During the five days (40 hours) of participant observation fieldwork I participated fully as a ‘participant as observer’ on three Emotional Intelligence training courses where I was open about my research. My aims were: to immerse myself in the setting to hear, see and to begin to experience the course as the participants did; to find out what the trainers taught and did; and to gain useful analytical insights which would focus

consecutive data analysis more tightly (Marshall and Rossman, 2006; Saunders et al, 2003). The aim, on some courses, was also to recruit subjects for my study.

Trying to capture fast-moving and complex behaviour and dialogue when immersed in a social setting as a participant observer proved to be demanding (Saunders et al, 2003). To manage this effectively I focused on key participants – the trainers' activity during the formal event, sequence of events around them and their interactions with participants during the formal sessions. Informal chats with delegates provided some useful insights into peoples' expectations, thoughts about the course and why they were there. These came from chats during coffee and lunch breaks and at other moments during the training days. Notes were also taken from group exercises and discussions I participated in when the groups broke away from the 'lecture' style approach.

During each course I sat at a table alongside other delegates with a copy of course handouts and a notepad. I was amongst others who were also copiously taking notes, so this made my job as a recorder of what went on far less conspicuous and minimised my researcher 'outsider' status. I was able to capture quotes from the trainer and note observations immediately as they occurred. In addition to collecting *primary data* - descriptions of the key people, events and conversations I also collected *experiential data* – my thoughts on what was emphasised, feelings, perceptions and hunches around my fieldnotes (Delbridge and Kirkpatrick, 1994 as cited in Saunders et al, 2003: 227). I documented this experiential data during the day as key words and extra comments in the margins of my notepad. I wrote these notes up at the end of each training day and as further thoughts came to me over following days. These notes transformed into my fieldwork journal and with time became filled with ideas, reflections and analyses that arose during each phase of fieldwork.

Phase four: Interviews

A further twenty telephone interviews with training delegates took place 3-4 months after each training event. These were scheduled between February and May 2008. Six to eight weeks after the course I emailed participants and organised a mutually convenient time for the interview. All of the interviews were audio-recorded with consent. As can be seen in Table 6, the majority of interviews were conducted on the telephone during subjects' office hours with a few exceptions.

Each interviewee was told at the outset of the interview that the format would seek to explore their reflections and experiences of their use and development of EI. The interview was broken up into three parts to cover: their motivations for attending the EI course, their experiences of the training event and developing EI at work and their uses of EI at work since the course and related outcomes. This enabled a thorough exploration of the relationship between EI prescription, place and people in organisations.

Asking interviewees to find the words in which to discuss their internal dialogues meant asking questions such as: 'what are your thoughts and reflections on x,y,z?',

‘what, if anything, restricted your use of EI? ‘describe your reasons to me’ or ‘how did you come to that decision?’.

A significant part of the interviews involved asking participants to relive and describe events/situations/reasons which contributed to their attendance on the EI course and encourage them to describe the circumstances in which they used EI back at work (the situation/scenario, purpose, with whom, what happened, the outcome/what changed, any constraints and how they felt the event would have been different without the use of Emotional Intelligence). As the fieldwork and my ideas progressed, accessing people’s inner commentaries also involved engaging with their prioritising processes. In effect, in order to explore people’s reasons as causes, the methodology required the exploration of their insights into how they understood their situation.

Of course, gaining these types of reflections is not without difficulties. Such accounts are not an exact mental reproduction of the sequence of events, discussions, priorities and ruminations; people provide a digest for the internal conversation and for external reporting. But it is fair to argue that using reasons accessed through people’s sharing of (some of) their inner conversation is fundamentally no different to researching the relationship between ‘attitudes’ and ‘attitudinal research’ or any research which explores beliefs, intentions and outlooks, such as subjects’ political outlooks and the internal conversation (Archer, 2003: 155-156).

As part of the fieldwork I also interviewed each trainer shortly after the course. During these interviews I asked questions about the content, objectives and focus of the course and its genesis. I explored events that had happened on the training day and gained insights into trainers’ reflections and opinions on broader issues such as the growing popularity and trends in EI usage in the UK. I also interviewed a representative from an international EI test distributor. This interview was useful in acquiring background information and statistics on trends in EI test usage in the UK.

All interviews with participants lasted between 45 minutes and 1 ½ hours. During the interviews participants were given the space to talk at length. The interviews were flexible so that room was left to pursue topics of particular interest to the interviewee. Ultimately I wanted the exchange to feel like a normal conversation but obviously it wasn’t a wholly natural process. Adopting a semi-structured interview approach meant that some questions were omitted or asked in different orders and additional questions were asked when something needed exploring. As Ackroyd (2009) notes, a characteristic of realist research is the developing or changing concerns for particular kinds of data as the study progresses. Whilst the interview structure was roughly crafted to explore people’s experiences and outcomes of developing and using it at work, it was anticipated that interests and foci would emerge as I experienced the different training courses myself.

For the telephone interviews, I was aware of the need to quickly build a comfortable atmosphere to overcome the ‘technological divide’ of non- face-to-face communications. I compensated for a lack of body language, eye contact and facial expressions typically used to create a rapport and a sense of trust by adopting a

mixture of gentleness, sensitivity and openness (Bryman and Bell, 2003). I tried to compensate for cues and signifiers which I might have missed due to the interview being conducted on the telephone by listening to the tone of voice, to signifiers such as pauses, emotions and at times, clarifying and probing further. Overall, I engaged with participants by listening, asking questions, testing, challenging, steering and sometimes offering ideas and opinions where it was relevant (Bryman and Bell, 2003; Rapley, 2007; Saunders et al, 2003). Using self-reflection techniques was a useful tool because paraphrasing the content and emotion of what was conveyed frequently led to further discussion (Gillman, 2004). I felt naturally empathic and understanding towards participants. This underpinned my respect towards my interviewees' accounts and formed a basic level of good qualitative interviewing techniques (Hubbard, Backett-Milburn, and Kemmer, 2001).

I ensured there was minimal interview bias in my approach because my research questions were clearly developed from the literature reviewed. In addition, I made sure that questions during the interviews were not 'loaded' or that they 'ring-fenced' participants' responses. In effect, I attempted to keep my questions as open-ended as possible and then explored themes further as they arose.

After each interview I made some brief notes on the process. These included: how did interview go? (was interviewee talkative, cooperative, nervous); where did the interview take place?; any other feelings about the interview? the setting? (busy/quiet). (Bryman and Bell, 2003). I also jotted down any thoughts and ideas on emerging themes or interesting points the participants had made.

Research Ethics

As part of the procedure for ethical approval a proposal of my research underwent a rigorous University of Strathclyde assessment and fulfilled the criteria through demonstrable evidence of a number of criteria. In addition a Research Ethics seminar was held in my department which I attended and gained further advice during the formative period of my research design.

Each of the consultancies were made aware from the outset the broad topic and nature of the research. For reasons of commercial sensitivity each consultancy requested to be reported anonymously within this thesis.

Each individual volunteered to participate in the study and to allow the interview to be audio-recorded for research purposes. In addition, each individual was assured that their organisational and personal identity would remain anonymous and all information would be treated confidentially. Each participant received a comprehensive Participant Information Sheet and Participant Consent Form to read, sign and return to me prior to participating in the study.

Observations made during participant observation were not undertaken during personally sensitive times or within restricted areas.

Data analysis

Because there is a paucity of literature on realism's related research approach of retroduction, clear research guidelines to guide data analysis were difficult to find. According to Blaikie (2008: 110) the retroductive research strategy encompasses several stages. Because structures and mechanisms are generally 'hidden', a model must first be constructed to describe them, drawing on familiar sources. Such models play a vital role in realist research because: 'They are used to provide abstract descriptions of the regularities or episodes under consideration... and they are then used to construct 'images' of mechanisms' (Blaikie, 2008: 180). The constructed model is then tested against actual descriptions of people and their activities to establish whether it stands up to empirical scrutiny. This final phase may involve working out further consequences of the model.

In general terms, I followed Blaikie's strategy by developing a model early on in the data collection phase. This model was informed by my literature review in several ways. The model incorporated a way of depicting peoples' needs for Emotional Intelligence in response to the 'new economy' and it was informed by the critical review of EI literature which I argued failed to acknowledge that people have broader needs and concerns at work than solely economic ones. In conjunction, the model was also informed by a preliminary data analysis. The model was a two-by-two box typology which represented peoples' *individualistic vs social needs* for Emotional Intelligence at work and whether these were *discordant* or in *alignment* with organisational concerns and goals. This produced four types of EI use according to different combinations of individuals/human connectedness and alignment/antagonism. After the model was constructed, I then went back to test it against all of my empirical data. What follows is a detailed description of this process.

Between November 2007 and March 2008 I absorbed myself in the audio-recordings of the first twelve interviews (conducted between November 13 2007 and February 14 2008), listening and re-listening to them (Collis and Hussey, 2003). As Marshall and Rossman (2006) explain this enables the researcher to become very familiar with the data: 'People, events and quotations sift constantly through the researcher's mind' (p. 158).

The next stage involved making notes of emerging themes. At this point I referred back to the audio-recordings of interviews, literature reviewed, participant observation notes, practitioners conference materials and my research diary to aid my reflections and early analysis. During this stage I identified a key agentic theme: peoples' varied needs and concerns for using Emotional Intelligence - in other words their reasons for attending an EI course. Although I was aware at this stage that peoples' reasons were a small part of my data, I decided to focus on this as a starting point for the model building. I identified from the data that flexible capitalism was a key backdrop to participants' narratives. Based on this key observation, which was backed up in the EI practitioner literature I could confirm that flexible capitalism or the 'new economy' was creating a demand for EI skills and was a key motivation for people to seek out EI skills training.

The next stage – still involving the initial twelve interviews – entailed generating categories which I could build up as different stories using my key theme of motivations to use EI. First I read through my notes and coded each example of motivations. Collis and Hussey (2003) recommend allocating codes to specific categories and then grouping codes into smaller categories to aid analysis. I sketched out user ‘names’ and descriptions to best depict peoples’ needs for EI. Some of these overarching names or labels had sub-group ‘names’. Next I collected together quotes for each user type. Saunders et al (2003) refer to this as ‘unitising data’ where the researcher attaches relevant bits of chunks of data to the associative categories. During this phase I began to see the themes of instrumental and non-instrumental needs for EI emerging from the data.

The next stage involved recognising relationships between the different motivations. This was the ‘creative’ part of my analysis where I sought to identify relations and connections which were not evident or obvious. The aim was to develop linkages and a story line which best represented the data. During this process I designed what Marshall and Rossman (2006) refer to as an ‘analyst-constructed typology’ (as previously described) to help explain the relationships between the categories of user needs. Ultimately I wanted my model to communicate peoples’ complex and diverse needs for Emotional Intelligence at work. This process was fairly demanding, involving creative and imaginative input (Blaikie, 2008).

In effect, this phase constituted a pilot analysis and model building from a sample of the interviews which was carried out before the completion of all the fieldwork. This model was presented as a conference paper in March 2008 (see Thory, 2008). The model was then further tested against the remaining eighteen participant interviews and three trainer interviews and further consequences were worked out. This was done in the following way.

When all the data had been collected I listened to the interviews and drew up a table which included the following subheadings as key themes, made notes accordingly and wrote down relevant quotes: motivations to attend (pre-course i.e. reasons); what is EI? (definitions, all about positive emotions/personality?); training experiences (practiced learning EI since course? how? easy to learn? motivation, willingness?constraints?); using EI (situation, with whom, purpose, outcomes, enablers, constraints, conditions); other evidence of active agency; other comments (e.g. other constraints, participants’ criticisms of EI, other issues).

During this phase the model moved from originally explaining peoples’ pre-course needs for EI to actual uses of Emotional Intelligence. I coded and unitised my data with user types as I had done before. In parallel I tested all the empirical data against the model to see whether peoples’ uses of Emotional Intelligence fitted into the categories I had initially crafted. During this phase my retroductive causal mechanisms of agentic powers (peoples’ needs and concerns) and structural forces consistently explained peoples’ varied uses of Emotional Intelligence at work.

However, whilst conducting this phase of the analysis I wanted to remain open to any ‘surprises’ in the data. Further key sub-themes came to light including the different ways participants conceptually mediated their experiences of EI – how they understood, defined, interpreted and used EI. In addition, *agential* enabling and constraining factors in peoples’ use of EI became another theme. Overall, during this process I was very keen to retain the rich and varied uses of Emotional Intelligence at work and to represent the linkages and connections in the data. Significant and iterative refinement of the labelling took place during this stage.

Also during this stage I found it useful to write summaries as analytical aids (Collis and Hussey, 2003; Saunders et al, 2003). I did this for each category and sub-category of EI use. My summaries were more like storylines which contained key themes assimilated to generate different ‘life tales’. I then put these stories to one side for a while, return to them afresh, and adapt and amend the stories in an iterative sense, in accordance with the data. This provided a useful way, in conjunction with developing the model, to test and clarify what felt right and true to the data. As a consequence some sub-plots or stories of the different types matured in ways which more accurately reflected the data.

Finally, I searched for alternative understandings of my data to ‘critically challenge the very patterns that seem so apparent’ (Marshall and Rossman, 2006: 162). I could not find any other plausible explanations for the data and the linkages among the categories and so felt satisfied the data analysis was complete. Ultimately, I felt I had documented enough consequences of the existence of the identified causal mechanisms to argue a connection between the data and theory (Blaikie, 2008).

The final point of discussion in this section refers to reliability and validity. Silverman’s (2003; 2005) guidelines inform this brief account. Reliability was achieved from ‘low inference descriptors’ where observations and accounts of what people said were considered to be as concrete as possible (Silverman, 2003: 227). Tape recordings were taken of interviews, notes from the training days were made ‘live’ throughout the day and notes were written up at the end of each day.

Validity was achieved through the adoption of a comparative method which contrasted three different EI training courses (Silverman, 2005). From my data I can conclude that the user types are representative of three very different training courses. I also used a comprehensive data treatment approach (Silverman, 2005). Patterns existed throughout all the interview data which supported my model rather than for some participants or some examples within each interview. I believe this enhances the validity of the findings. I also conducted a reflective practice of my own values and pre-conceptions during data collection and analysis in order to minimise any bias. This is discussed more thoroughly in the next section.

Researcher Reflexivity

Reflexivity is now arguably a key feature of qualitative research (Banister et al, 1994 as cited in Finlay, 2003: 5). Being reflexive requires the researcher to reflect on their

impact on the research process during design and fieldwork through to analysis and writing up phases. Due consideration may be given to how the interviewer's questions and style influence the answers given, how the relationship between the researcher and researched affects the research process or how the identity of the researcher influences interpretation and analysis through the knowledge and world view brought to the data. This section offers a thorough and separate treatment of key issues in relation to two important topics: *functional reflexivity* where reflexivity is used as a methodological tool and '*positioning*' which refers to the researcher's mindfulness of personal interests and perspectives in the research to avoid any research bias. These themes were chosen because they were highly pertinent to my own research experience.

Functional reflexivity

As a fully-immersed participant who was an observer on the EI training courses, I was mindful of a number of issues during my five days of observation work. I realised that some delegates might feel inhibited or uncomfortable in the presence of a researcher, particularly in the context of sharing feelings and emotional experiences. Ultimately I wanted to minimise any of these reactions and so my 'student status' was purposefully emphasised throughout the fieldwork as I believed this would make participants and trainers feel safe, relaxed and natural in my presence. I found that most participants soon got used to my note taking and saw me as one of them. My delegate status was reinforced by the frequent times when, as part of exercises, I engaged fully with other participants. My complete immersion in exercises and activities (some serious discussions, others more experiential, light hearted and fun) enabled me to build a basic level of familiarity and informality with others within the limited timeframe we were together as a group. This impacted positively on the interview rapport later.

During the interview phase I felt the style I intended to create – more of an interactive interview as realist methodology recommends, was generally achieved. On reflection, a key commonality between myself and my subjects which served as a connector was our genuine mutual interest and curiosity in Emotional Intelligence. I also believe that the prior reading and signing of the consent form made participants feel more comfortable, that it legitimised the study and offered them explicit security and guarantees which made them relaxed and fairly 'unscripted' during our conversations.

However, there are drawbacks to conducting telephone interviews. They can create difficulties in developing a more complex line of questioning compared to face-to-face interviews (Saunders et al, 2003). I was mindful of this from the outset and used a number of techniques to try to overcome these possible drawbacks including probing, empathy, challenging and self-reflecting (e.g. Gillham, 2004). As interviews progressed I noted that a lack of face-to-face contact did not impede frank, honest and reflective discussions.

Overall, I enjoyed my interviews and this related to the pleasure many of those I interviewed took in the simple act of telling me their stories. Like Bondi (2005) I was touched by their enjoyment and this is one example of how participants' feelings can impact on those of the researcher. Similarly, the constant goodwill I experienced from others (sometimes extra time given to complete an interview, effusive well wishes for my research study, offers to read my thesis and warm invitations to have another 'chat') often energised the interview process in very positive ways. On reflection, I believe the enjoyment I and participants experienced in the interview process encouraged participants to be more willing to engage in follow-up questions when requested. I took up this opportunity on a few occasions without any difficulty. I also believe that the energy and openness shared during the interviews enhanced the quality of data because people were happy to give full elaborations when requested.

Positionality

Marshall and Rossman (2006) note that the researcher must address the challenge of not letting personal interest bias the study. This is often referred to as *positionality*. My personal interest in EI as an ex-management consultant who left the industry because I was disillusioned with the prescriptive philosophy underpinning managerial assessment and development methodologies meant I had to give this some thought. I meditated on this point frequently during my study and made every effort to adopt an 'open mind'. In the end, any residual bias I held was put to good use as critical analysis in the following way. In my 'previous life' as an internal consultant I had been part of a team running management development courses and I had often related strongly with participants who were subject to the power of others (Findlay, 2003). For example, I was highly aware that the reasons and motives for attending training courses were sometimes complex and contained political agendas. These reflections helped me to look more carefully at my own research data. This reflection informed some of my analysis in this study. In the end, I believe my positionality heightened my ability to apply a social critique to my research material (Findlay, 2003).

Methodological Limitations

These research limitations highlight further methodological limitations not described in 'Research limitations' in Chapter Nine.

I had planned to adopt a purposive sampling strategy (Saunders et al, 2003) in addition to the self-selection strategy on the Hybrid course because there was broad scope for 'recruiting' more participants. To achieve this I tried to recruit additional participants during coffee and lunch breaks on the training courses I attended, honing in on those delegates who had appeared quite opinionated and engaged during the training sessions and thus would make interesting interviews. However, I found that I was so busy making sure I met and confirmed interviews with those who had shown prior interest via email that I had little time to fully exploit this sampling strategy.

Another limitation was that whilst I felt I overcame some problems of conducting telephone interviews I did wonder whether in some cases I would have been given more time to complete the interview if I had conducted them face-to-face. However, the overall benefits of telephone interviews in terms of access, speed and lower cost (Saunders et al, 2003) outweighed any drawbacks and was crucial in this study.