University of Bath

UNIVERSITY OF BATH

PHD

Studying Workplace Emotions in India: A Rapprochement of Psychoanalytic and Social Constructionist Approaches

Ulus, Eda

Award date:
2012

Awarding institution:
University of Bath

[Link to publication](#)

Studying Workplace Emotions in India:
A Rapprochement of Psychoanalytic and Social Constructionist Approaches

Eda Ulus

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Bath

School of Management

April 2012

Table of Contents

I will analyse the above extract with Sonal, and the analysis will proceed by

contrasting Sonal's discussion with Rekha's disclosures about gender.

Abstract of Thesis

This thesis offers an analysis of workplace emotions by interweaving social constructionist and psychoanalytic theoretical frameworks. The introduction highlights the importance of workplace emotion for organisation studies and discusses the significance of drawing on more than one framework for an understanding of the complexities of workplace emotions. India was chosen as the locale for the study for a variety of reasons, including its global significance, its history of psychoanalysis, and immense diversity, which offer a vast landscape for exploring emotions from multiple perspectives. Engaging with India provides a cultural corrective to research on organisational emotion focussed upon Western spaces. The literature review discusses the tenets, limitations, and possibilities for cross-fertilisation of social constructionist and psychoanalytic accounts, and explores further the opportunities provided by the choice of India as the site for this work. The methodology informing the research is then introduced, focussing on qualitative interviews, storytelling, and countertransference as key features of the data collection and analysis. Four data chapters follow, which present and analyse empirical data from the field work to highlight the importance of both frameworks for an enriched understanding of emotions. The major themes that emerge from the data include cultural dynamics influencing emotions, emotional labour, workplace traumas, and the legacy of colonialism in work spaces. The thesis concludes with a review of the theoretical contributions and an identification of new possibilities and new stories for exploration opened upon by this research.

Studying Workplace Emotions in India:
A Rapprochement of Psychoanalytic and Social Constructionist Approaches

Chapter 1

Introduction

"It's a joy to work in an NGO."
-"Fulki", Administrator of NGO helping children with disabilities

"I can't do anything...we are helpless."
– "Deepa", University lecturer in Delhi area, with regard to favouritism at work

"There are times when one is furious."
– "Megha", same NGO as Fulki, with regard to coordinating with community authorities

Joy, helplessness, fury... these are all emotion words familiar to us, and upon reflection we may recall moments at work when we encountered these emotions in ourselves and/or in others. A few decades ago, when the idea of a rational organisation was widely taken for granted, it was common to perceive emotions as irrelevant or as a hindrance to the workplace. The picture of organisations has changed, however, with research demonstrating that emotions, rather than being subordinated to planned thought, are very much a part of the breath of working life (e.g. Fineman, 1993a, 2000a). Organisations are "emotional arenas" (Fineman, 1993b: p. 10), a defining metaphor which steered organisational research toward acknowledging that people *do* have emotions about their work, and emotions are generated in the process of doing work. Indeed, emotions are central for understanding the very *experiences* of work, including decisions and work relationships (Briner, 1999). Organisations can try to shape or suppress emotions, but emotions are not as readily controllable as once thought, nor are they simply a distraction from getting on with the needed aspects of working life. On

the contrary, emotions can be central to understanding the successes and failures, triumphs and heartbreaks of work in organisations.

We recognise instances at work in which our emotions are at play, like when we feel anger or happiness about a project outcome. Alongside these experiences, we face many tasks that require our cognitive functions such as making decisions, remembering procedural guidelines, evaluating different possibilities, and so on. These familiar situations that we encounter raise the question: are these cognitive and emotional experiences at work related to one another, and if so, what is the nature of the relationship? Two ways that emotions are related to cognition will be addressed: (1) Emotions are strongly *intertwined* with the processes of cognition; (2) Emotion can exert its influence *without* cognition. These possibilities are addressed here to provide context for topics like emotional labour and the defence of intellectualisation, elaborated in later chapters.

Fineman (1996) draws attention to the interlocking relations of emotions and rationality. Emotions may undermine individual and group work tasks, but they may also enhance rational endeavours – without emotional anchors, we may be lost about the meanings and potentials of work information available to us. Thus, "rational self-interest is thoroughly imbued with emotion... Once the emotion/cognition duality is broken down in this manner, the rational actor cannot exist" (Fineman, 1996: p. 550). In a later work, Fineman (2000b) discusses studies about the abiding significance of emotions for thought processes, such as evidence that emotions *help* decision-making.

Cromby (2004) refers to the work of Damasio to demonstrate the centrality of emotions for our cognitive functions. Specifically, Cromby describes Damasio's research about damage to the ventro-medial region of the frontal lobe of

the brain, and subsequent impairment occurs in *both* emotional processes and decision making. Emotions and cognition are intimately intertwined, and an informed analysis of organisational dynamics calls for an exploration of workplace emotions.

Emotions may also have a direct effect upon behaviour *without* any prior interaction with cognition, which challenges approaches to workplace emotion that subordinate emotion to cognitive controls, like Hochschild's emotional labour (2003) and the popular emotional intelligence movement (described in Gabriel and Griffiths, 2002). As highlighted by Theodosius (2008), neuroscientific inquiry disrupts the claim that cognition must be present for emotion: "Zajonc (1984: 118) for example argues that emotion does not need 'cognitive appraisal as a necessary precondition'. Substantial neuroscientific evidence supports this claim. The evolutionary development of the origin of affect before cognition suggests its primacy (Izard 1984)" (Theodosius, 2008: p. 58). Applying the insights from this research, many ostensibly cognitive activities of work life are intensely related to emotional experiences, *and* emotion can exert a powerful effect upon individuals' work spaces without passing through cognitive gateways.

Researchers continue to debate the multiple interrelations between emotional and cognitive processes, and organisational theorists have drawn attention to the formidable meanings of emotion at work. In the following paragraphs, I will highlight the study of emotions for groups and leadership, learning, and change. As demonstrated by De Board (1978), strictly rational approaches have failed to account for leaders and employees' fullness of work experiences. The work of Bion (referred to in Hirschhorn 1988), illustrates how fear and helplessness can influence a group to become overly dependent upon a

group leader; this dependency can then impede the group's work goals. Addressing the sources of emotional difficulty in the group alleviates the group's distress and lifts the dependency problem, allowing for productivity to commence. In contrast, ignoring the importance of emotions in relation to leadership and groups exacerbates work dysfunctions. Furthermore, organisational research on leadership and emotion illustrates the fantasies and emotional expectations that followers have of their leaders (Gabriel, 1997); leaders may induce very high, often unrealistic desires in their followers about what can be done for them.

Exploration of emotional processes has implications for the quality of learning that happens in organisations. Emotional obstacles to learning include narcissism, in which a person perceives her/himself as above any further learning (Antonacopoulou and Gabriel, 2001: in reference to Freud). The emotions involved in the teacher-student relationship, which mirror earlier childhood family patterns, have a strong impact upon enhancing or hampering learning as well (Antonacopoulou and Gabriel, 2001: referring to, for example, the work of Winnicott).

The study of emotions is crucial for engaging meaningfully with organisational change. In a study of a company takeover, the period of transformation was associated with formidable emotional dynamics like the experience of shame among managers (Vince, 2006). Furthermore, this study illustrated that efforts devoted to rationalising emotions may unleash other emotional dynamics (Vince, 2006). This finding demonstrates the metamorphosing character of emotions, which will be developed further in the literature review. In analysing emotions at work, therefore, one may explore whether the currently

expressed emotion originated in other emotions that changed along with shifts in the organisation.

Significant progress has been made in emotion research, most importantly by establishing its importance for organisations. Yet, much work remains to be undertaken to analyse more fully the complex emotional phenomena in organisational settings. Applying one system of conceptualisation for capturing the range and depth of people's emotions at work is inadequate for this purpose.

Why is it desirable to draw upon more than one theoretical perspective for the study of emotions? As observed by Morgan, "Images or metaphors only create partial ways of seeing, for in encouraging us to see and understand the world from one perspective they discourage us from seeing it from others" (2006: p. 27). Because emotions have multifaceted, often unpredictable qualities and are powerful sources of meaning for learning about organisational experiences, approaching their study from more than one standpoint opens up further exciting prospects for understanding. Fineman refers to social constructionism and psychodynamic theory as "two complementary conceptual lenses" (1993a: p. 2) for the study of emotions in organisations.

The strength of complementarity overcomes shortcomings when one is used alone. Fineman highlights limitations of both sociological and psychoanalytic approaches to the study of emotions; sociological ones, for example, "rarely acknowledge that individuals carry a personal past which can exert its own special emphasis on the social meaning-making process" (Fineman, 1996: p. 551). The social, therefore, is inseparable from personal history. The application of only one theoretical approach thus eclipses important meanings, and a greater intertwining of social, culturally based analyses, with individual biographies through

psychoanalytic resources, provides more comprehensive interpretations. Indeed, Fineman recommends relaxing "the disciplinary lines" (1996: p. 556), to focus upon the social context, tasks and roles, as well as the history of conscious and unconscious emotions of individual organisational members.

Gabriel indicates that "The challenge for the study of organizational emotions in the future lies in a *rapprochement* of psychodynamic and social constructionist approaches" (1999b: p. 230). Gabriel's work illuminates that emotions can be understood more fully through social constructions as well as the psychoanalytic emphasis on childhood, fantasies and unconscious process (1991a, 1998a, 2009). Challenges to this rapprochement include envy and distrust of other perspectives (Gabriel, Personal Communication, 2011).

Indian psychoanalyst Sudhir Kakar, to whom I will refer throughout this thesis, observes tensions between perspectives, in the context of discussing psychoanalysis and its traditional distancing from mysticism. Kakar refers to paradigm clashes, which are "...marked by emotional antagonisms, a total rejection of the opponent and the misperception of his data, methods and results – rather than any efforts towards a re-evaluation of one's own paradigm" (1982: p. 290). Kakar's insights point to the importance of examining the limitations of our own preferred or dominant perspectives, to facilitate rapprochement through the embrace of multiple metaphors.

Gabriel illustrates that our own social constructions of organisations relate to our individual psychological development, demonstrating the intertwining of social constructions with childhood and developmental concerns (1999b). Enriched insights like these result from the incorporation of multiple frameworks of analysis, yet Fineman (2000b; Personal Communication, 2011) notes that social

constructionist work on emotions has increasingly overshadowed the psychoanalytic angle. Given the continued predominance of social constructionist contributions relative to psychoanalysis, many useful resources for making sense of emotions may be lost.

Spence, who stresses the importance of metaphor in psychoanalysis, argues that "the choice of any one metaphor or model always implies the discarding of another; as a result, if we lock ourselves into the more familiar metaphors too quickly, we lose the possibility of arriving at other models which may mesh better with the clinical findings" (1990: p. 586). Spence's clinical discussion can be adapted in this thesis to emphasise the incompleteness of understanding workplace emotion when psychoanalytic ways of knowing, like exploring the irrationality and messiness of unconscious processes, are not engaged or are underutilised. Social constructionist accounts may be more readily accessible through articulation of specific norms and rules, but the richness of psychoanalytic approaches to emotion, especially those that disturb the surface of cultural understandings, can take us further on the path to emotional interpretation.

My thesis focuses on interweaving the social constructionist and psychoanalytic perspectives to emotion, stimulating analyses of emotion that would be distorted or incomplete with application of only one. Choosing these two perspectives helps to address tensions between the external world and inner subjectivity. In organisations, many layers like cultural expectations and politics have formidable effects upon individuals' work experiences, thus invoking the usefulness of the social constructionist perspective. From the psychoanalytic perspective, people at work privately reflect on and process their emotions, and

exploring the relations of these inner experiences to external pressures generates new resources for interpretation.

The distinct tenets of both of these theoretical outlooks must be preserved, however, so that one perspective is not fully explained in terms of the other. Times of discord need to be acknowledged; there are specific instances when elucidating meaning from these models may lead to jarring conclusions rather than fluidity. In fact, achieving full harmony is not the goal. Instead, the contribution of this thesis is to uncover ways of cross-fertilising these perspectives through practice, to demonstrate the strengthened interpretation of emotion. Practice includes uniqueness in methodological and data analysis approaches, which will be examined further in the Methodology chapter.

This thesis concentrates on the study of workplace emotions on a micro, individually-based level. Studying emotions at this level not only offers a depth of meaning about individual work experiences, but also provides rich possibilities for understanding wider collective emotional processes. Craib's reference to Adorno's work has resonance here: "perhaps it is in individual pain rather than the social whole that we can find the truth of the wider society (Adorno 1974)" (Craib, 1997: p. 12). This incisive observation has wide-reaching implications for the analyses of my doctoral work. Probing emotions in individual workers' lives can unmask cultural and organisational dynamics that shape emotion at work. An interview question about emotion can, for example, unexpectedly trigger sensitive disclosures about persistent colonial strangleholds at work, or about important emotion rules in the organisation that are not otherwise explicitly discussed or readily shared. This focus on individual emotional experiences, therefore, facilitates the understanding of work traumas and successes, in turn illuminating

organisational challenges and triumphs, overlaid by layers of cultural fabric. The significance of individual emotions in connection with collective dynamics is worked through in these chapters through practice, to fulfil the goal of interweaving different yet complementary theoretical perspectives.

India was the country which I chose to explore workplace emotions. India provides a vast, multi-layered terrain for the exploration of emotion. Learning from India offers opportunities for understanding different, *and shared*, emotional experiences across national and organisational boundaries. Studying India helps to offer a cultural corrective to the focus of emotion research on organisations in the West, and in so doing, provides vital resources for understanding work dynamics like contrasting emotion rules in globalised spaces. The opportunity for me to conduct field work in India in English, at a range of organisations and locations, points to its international prominence on the globalised stage.

One of the most significant features of India's diversity, providing richness of emotion exploration, is its colonial legacy. I will stress the influence of the British Empire, by drawing upon both psychoanalytic and social constructionist resources to highlight the conscious and unconscious lingering of colonial roles in today's organisations. It is through India, with its diverse, complicated, traumatic historical past, that we can starkly encounter the benefits of using both theoretical resources for a more comprehensive analysis of workplace emotion. The emotional ramifications of colonialism struck me unexpectedly and forcefully during my field work, and I will discuss explicit and implicit colonial dynamics throughout the chapters.

Alongside the longstanding significance of colonialism, India has remarkable sources of diversity, which may bear upon emotions at work in

complex ways. India is composed of "28 states and 7 Union territories" (http://india.gov.in/knowindia/state_uts.php).

Internal diversity in India has implications for studying workplace emotions, in a time when Indians are increasingly migrating to other states for work. One of my respondents described the difficulties experienced by his daughter when she worked in a different state, especially with regard to the state language preference and isolation that she encountered. To contextualise her experience, linguistic diversity is extensive in India. There are twenty-two national languages acknowledged in the Indian constitution (http://india.gov.in/knowindia/profile.php?id=2), and "Linguists have listed 845 dialects and 225 distinct languages" (Singh, 1990b: p. 14). The status of Hindi as one of two official languages, the other being English, is a point of cultural tension as shared by several Indian respondents, because some Southern state politicians argue that Hindi, primarily spoken in the North, should not be privileged over regional Southern languages.

In addition to the colonial legacy and the diversity of cultural traditions, India is sometimes described in terms of a North - South divide, a divide that is cultural, political, and emotional. When I spoke with South Indian friends and interview respondents, they often noted that "North Indians think they are superior". In my previous work in the US where I advised and counselled Indian students, views of North and South differences surfaced as well. This regional tension is sometimes related to an assumption of darker skin colour in the South compared to the North – an issue raised by one of my South Indian interview respondents in Chennai. At a SCOS conference in Istanbul in 2011, after I completed my presentation about my doctoral work, one of the Indian participants

asked, "Did any of the Indian workers bring up the North-South issue with you?", underscoring its potential importance when studying organisational dynamics.

Religious diversity further adds to the complicated, often mind-boggling differences found in India. The majority of the country follows Hinduism, and significant minorities are Buddhist, Christian, Jain, Muslim, and Sikh communities; Muslims are the largest minority (Singh, 1990b). In this discussion of diversity, it is crucial to note here the difficulties arising from the use of the terms "Indian" and "Hindu". Some writings, like those of Kakar, appear to use these terms interchangeably, a practice which is contested. The term "Hindu" has been used to refer to any person of the Indian subcontinent, but in current usage, it more commonly designates followers of Hinduism.

Within Hinduism the complicated, intricate caste system throws up a further layer of internal difference. Applying social constructionist understanding, caste is a complex concept that has changed in meaning over time, in part related to the interpretation and sometimes exploitation of caste by foreign invaders and rulers. As described by one of my interviewees, caste originally evolved to organise division of labour in society, but it later took on meanings associated with social division. Caste is not equivalent to social class, and it is another dynamic that may become manifest in the Indian workplace, as I will discuss in later chapters.

The wide cultural diversity of today's India offers many interesting opportunities to the researcher of emotions, in particular possibilities for bringing together these perspectives more closely. The social constructionist perspective can be deployed to examine the intersecting, sometimes conflicting cultural layers influencing the experience and display of emotions in Indian organisations.

Cultural factors like gender, hierarchy, the extent of Western influence upon a city, and each Indian city's unique culture may all interact to shape displays of emotion. The psychoanalytic approach, for its part, can elucidate the unconscious responses to multiple, often colliding cultural demands, for instance when a manger is unable to discipline a junior member who is senior by age, something that may result in anxiety and subsequent distortions of emotion.

The discourse about India also includes a view of a unifying national culture, frequently echoed in the mantra of India as a place of "unity in diversity". Conversations with Indian colleagues and information from conferences, like the London Book Fair 2009 featuring India, indicate notable commonalities across different regions of India, like hierarchy in family and work life, including respect to elders. I will discuss in the data chapters the impact of these shared Indian values for Indian work spaces, including tensions about these values that arise from rapid social changes.

My presence as a foreign researcher added to the complexities of conducting field work in India, but also enhanced the opportunities of interweaving these two perspectives. The researcher-researched relationship takes on enriched meanings in postcolonial context and becomes itself a terrain in which to study emotions. From a social constructionist understanding, my roles as a female researcher and foreigner evoked special emotion rules on how respondents may display and perform their emotions when discussing work experiences to an outsider. Anxieties about encountering a Western, white visitor, and my own anxieties about my outsider status, opened up important opportunities to interweave social constructionist and psychoanalytic understanding of the interviewer-interviewee encounter, one which generates its own emotions and in

turn offers insights about the interviewee's emotions in work spaces. In the following data chapters, I will demonstrate how the research interview itself becomes a postcolonial space for studying emotions. For instance, my encounters with Sonal, discussed in Data Chapter 1, stimulated emotions in both me as interviewer and Sonal as interviewee, which call for an acknowledgment of the significance of two individuals from different racial backgrounds meeting in a specific historical context. In particular, we met in the postcolonial space of India, which shaped Sonal's emotional labour pressures and my own anxieties about the symbolic meanings of a white person crossing into this space.

Probing both Sonal's and my emotions in turn provided invaluable insights about the ways in which India's colonial legacy influences how workplace emotions are shared, displayed or suppressed. Both social constructionist and psychoanalytic resources are pivotal for making sense of the links between the emotions that arise in the interview and the emotions of working spaces; for instance, emotion rules about the interview space, overlaid by the unconscious stimulation of colonial anxieties, can be probed for an enriched understanding of highly charged interview encounters, which may seem contradictory on the surface when not engaging with these theoretical resources. Hence, the interview space, as one which offers its own emotions for analysis, was crucial for supporting the study of a rapprochement of social constructionist and psychoanalytic perspectives of workplace emotions, and I will discuss further the reasons and meanings for this rapprochement in the last section of this Introduction, entitled "My Thesis - A Story Constantly Re-Written"."

A final, important reason for conducting this research in India is the rich history of psychoanalysis in India, which provides a unique way of testing some of

the universalist assumptions of psychoanalysis and of uncovering culturally
specific manifestations of unconscious phenomena. Sigmund Freud exchanged
letters with Girindrasekhar Bose, who is considered the father of psychoanalysis in
India (Ramana, 1964). The study of psychoanalysis in India continues today with
writings by psychoanalysts like Kakar. Thus, psychoanalysis has a longstanding
presence in India as one way of understanding, but the unique unconscious
processes and manifestations of emotion may be similar to and different from
psychoanalysis as understood in the West. As an example, social changes in the
Indian organisation, like the increasing presence of female superiors, can be
studied for the anxieties and subsequent defences of male subordinates, a point
which I will take up with detail in Data Chapter 1.

In the first part of this Introduction chapter, I addressed the importance of
studying emotions, including a discussion of their interrelation to cognition and
their centrality for workplace processes like groups and leadership, learning and
change. I continued by discussing the usefulness of applying more than one
theoretical perspective for exploring the complexities of emotion at work, and I
referred to Fineman (1996) and Gabriel's (1999) work on the possibilities and
challenges of working with both social constructionist and psychoanalytic
approaches to emotion. I detailed the importance and benefits of India as the
location of field work for this endeavour, as it evokes emotional dynamics that are
suitable to explore from these two theoretical frameworks.

The next part of the Introduction chapter, "My Thesis - A Story Constantly
Re-Written: Research Question, Choices and Limitations" , describes my doctoral
journey, in order to stress my research question, which guides the subsequent

chapters, and to highlight the choices and limitations related to the exploration of this question.

My thesis - A story constantly re-written: Research question, choices and limitations

I highlight that my thesis story was constantly re-written, as my journey was one of developmental learning. I did not merely add new material as I conducted the field work and analysed data, but rather I re-visited and re-analysed earlier parts of the story in light of new developments. For instance, interviews which explicitly indicated the importance of colonialism helped me to add a layer of contextual interpretation to earlier interviews. This inductive aspect of my thesis journey is demonstrated in the remainder of this work.

Before highlighting my research question, it is first significant to note that emotion can be studied with a number of different theoretical approaches and methods. Among the theoretical systems utilised are: biological; social constructionist; performance-based perspectives like emotional intelligence; positivist; and psychoanalytic approaches. Meanings about emotion may also be interpreted from Marxism or power analyses. With regard to data collection about emotions, a variety of methods may be employed, such as: biological tests or neuroscientific examinations like scans of brain activity; observations of behaviour; quantification of reported emotions through means like surveys; experimental psychological studies; exploration of emotions through stories, symbols and metaphors; and the use of interpersonal exchanges as a means of understanding the constituted nature of emotions in discourse and social

interaction. The chosen methods, of course, depend upon the suitability for exploring the chosen theoretical perspectives, and each theory and method has its own advantages and disadvantages. I will elaborate upon the strengths and limitations of my chosen theories in the Literature Review.

Most approaches to emotion were not explicitly addressed in this thesis, but it is important to note that there are emotion studies which have important strengths and spaces for complementarity with the ones that I chose to explore. Biological investigations, for example, provide insights about the ways in which information is processed, such as the making of decisions unconsciously. Biological approaches also help to provide support for the connectedness of emotion and cognitive processing centres in the brain, which has implications for analyses of emotional labour, to be addressed in the Literature Review. Feminist approaches to emotion can complement my exploration of socially constructed ideals of Indian womanhood and their shaping of workplace emotions, which will be explored for example in Data Chapter 1. Although there is not space in this thesis to engage with the range of rich feminist psychoanalytic discourses, it is important to note that the works of feminist psychoanalytic authors may enhance and take forward meaningfully the study of unconscious manifestations of emotions at work, particularly in gendered spaces.

Having acknowledged that the complex topic of emotion can be addressed from multiple angles and with different methods, I will now address the research question that I chose in order to study workplace emotion. After emphasising my research question, I provide more detailed explanations about why I chose to explore emotions utilising social constructionist and psychoanalytic theoretical perspectives and associated methodological approaches.

Research question

The main research question that inspired and guided my doctoral work follows, and the reasons for this research question are outlined in the next part of this section, called "Choices".

What are the opportunities and challenges in cross-fertilising a psychoanalytic with a social constructionist approach in studying workplace emotions of Indian employees?

I have addressed this research question throughout this thesis in a number of ways:

- I explored through literature possibilities for rapprochement, such as a search for similarities and complementary spaces between the perspectives. I also identified tensions between them, which can function as barriers to greater interdisciplinary engagement. These are detailed in the next chapter.

- I pursued this question by examining previous social constructionist studies of Indian and other Eastern cultures that provide a challenge to universalist psychoanalytic theories. Hence, I examined the possibilities of rapprochement by distilling the limitations of each framework, and I addressed the limitations by proposing numerous ways of interweaving social constructionist analyses of cultural specifics (such as language, myths and emotional labour) with a probing into unconscious processes.

- I addressed this question through empirical work, rather than the formulation of a new meta-theory. I decided to conduct field work to explore how the data could be analysed in enriched ways through the interweaving of both theoretical resources.

In the next part of this section, I will discuss the choices that I made in order to explore this research question. Following the choices, I will discuss limitations, as any choice made in the research journey implies limitations.

Choices

> *Why these two theories; why a rapprochement; and inspiration from India strengthening these choices*

> *Why these two theories?* A research journey involves making choices.

As I will discuss in the next chapter, Fotaki (2006) illustrates that a theoretical framework can shape the very *meaning* of the concept of *choice*. From a psychoanalytic perspective, a decision or behaviour may in fact be the enactment of unconscious anxieties or desires. Acknowledging this theoretical insight about choice, it is important to note that some choices in this journey were conscious ones, and some were unconscious. With regard to unconscious ones, I will refer later in this thesis, for example in Data Chapter 3, about my reflections uncovering unconscious motivations for decisions about how to pursue this doctoral work. Specifically, I begin Data Chapter 3 by discussing how both conscious choices, and unconscious concerns, guided my focus on giving voice to stories of trauma.

Recognising that our research choices are guided by a number of factors, some unconscious, I will in this section focus on some of the more conscious choices that I made in order to explore my research question. The first choice I will describe is the decision to deploy social constructionist and psychoanalytic frameworks for the exploration of workplace emotion. As noted in the first part of the Introduction, the choice of these two perspectives helps to probe tensions and interrelations between the external world and inner subjectivity in the experience of emotion. There has been a tendency to focus on either individual experiences *or* the social construction of emotions, to the neglect of the importance and

interconnections of both. For example, psychoanalytic approaches to emotion may stress individual, unconscious emotional processes, without sufficient consideration of work spaces' politicised dynamics, which shape emotion rules and their unconscious effects (Fineman, Personal Communication, 2011). Similarly, social constructionist approaches may not adequately address the intrapsychic effects of dynamics like emotional labour. Exploring the relations between these inner experiences and external pressures generates new meanings for interpretation, and the use of psychoanalytic and social constructionist resources are suitable for probing these links.

My interest in methodology also shaped why I chose these two perspectives. At the start of my doctoral path, I became interested in research approaches which allowed for self-reflection, and for engagement with the effects of interpersonal encounters upon the data generated. Both social constructionist and psychoanalytic perspectives are conducive to this approach to research, as they both provide expansive opportunities for reflecting on how the person of the interviewer and her/his subjectivity shape the resultant data about emotion. More quantitative approaches to emotion, or approaches that explore the neuroscientific processes of emotion, do not provide the same scope for self-reflection as a crucial part of the data analysis. My interests in stories, and in bringing together different approaches for the interpretation of emotions uncovered from these stories, also guided my choice in pursuing these perspectives, and I will elaborate in the next part about the reasons for my interests in a *rapprochement* of perspectives.

Social constructionist and psychoanalytic views are similar in their contrast to positivist epistemology, and I chose not to draw upon the latter for this thesis, for reasons related to my methodological interests above. In positivist approaches,

the data can and should be separated from any subjective impact of the researcher; the person of the researcher is an extraneous variable to be controlled, and the data should be replicable across different researchers. In contrast, I chose a methodological approach, supported by both social constructionist and psychoanalytic models, in which the researcher her/himself is a source of understanding in emotion research. This latter means of working with data is reflected in an "interpretive" epistemology, in that the "knower and known interact and shape one another" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: p. 22). With social constructionist understanding, the roles of interviewer and interviewed, set in the research context, alongside the meeting of cultural similarities and differences, influence the emotions that occur and are expressed or repressed. In a psychoanalytic framework, the researcher and researched may influence each other unconsciously, bringing to the interview emotional patterns from earlier relationships. Furthermore, applying psychoanalysis, the anxieties of the interviewer, arising from unconscious tensions in the interview space, can be probed as a source of understanding about the data (Stein, Personal Communication, 2011). This latter dynamic will be explained further in the Methodology and Data Chapters.

Differences between the social constructionist and psychoanalytic frameworks are thus found in what is emphasised as important for studying the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee, but epistemologically, these two perspectives are strongly interconnected in a study of meanings about emotion through researcher involvement, which distinguishes these perspectives from positivist research investigations. Hence, social constructionist and psychoanalytic approaches were both suitable resources to support my choice to explore emotions

through engaging with these interview dynamics, and this choice significantly involves reflecting on my own positioning and interactions as researcher in the interview.

I decided to conduct my field work in a partly structured manner, discussed in further detail in the Methodology Chapter; thus, it was the person interviewed who to a large degree guided the meaning and flow of the research exchange. This way of conducting interviews is different from a more systematic, ordered approach characteristic of positivist methods. I decided upon this dynamic approach, in order to study the unfolding dyad interactions in a variety of ways, such as the emotions of the non-structured interview exchanges, which in turn provided useful insights about the emotions reported, performed or suppressed. Thus, the interviews were the means of studying people's emotions by focussing on socially constructed and unconscious meanings in the data, rather than by testing hypotheses, quantifying data, or applying emotion typologies, which are suitable for more structured interviewing.

In the Literature Review, I outline in further detail the theoretical appeal for me of these two complementary frameworks, including how they dynamically address the postcolonial working space of India. Here, I will continue my discussion of choices by addressing in the next part why I chose to pursue a *rapprochement* of perspectives, in contrast to, for example, discussing them separately or focussing on one single approach.

Why did I choose to explore a rapprochement of perspectives?

I chose to study a rapprochement of these two perspectives, because of my interests in connections, and because of the previous literature about these

perspectives that pointed to opportunities for bringing them together through empirical work. I will address each of these major reasons further.

With regard to exploring connections among different theoretical perspectives, a passion that has guided my scholarly work has been an abiding and great interest in exploring links between ideas and concepts. In academic publishing, there is a tendency to using or extolling one theoretical perspective, while often summarily dismissing others. In reading about research on emotions, with my passion for connection and mutual engagements, I became sensitive to points made in the literature which offered possibilities for interweaving different approaches together, for example by highlighting their similarities, or by exposing to analysis how the areas of emphasis in one approach can make up for the blind spots in another.

I learned that the crossing of boundaries offers more than one way to understand a complex topic like the experience of emotion at work, and I responded to my passions, in finding relationships and tackling challenging endeavours, by choosing to study the interrelations between theories, in contrast to limiting myself to one. The latter may have been a more simplified and confined strategy for doctoral work, but I would have felt incomplete with the investment I made in my thesis for analysing workplace emotions, as more than one framework offered exciting possibilities.

With regard to methodological considerations, a shared interest in my chosen theories, for interpreting narratives and contradictions in the text, spoke to my passion for listening to people's stories, and considering different, at times complementary, interpretations. The study of stories also addresses a shared focus in both frameworks of exploring the *meanings* of people's emotions at work.

I also chose to embark upon a rapprochement of social constructionist and psychoanalytic approaches to emotion, because of my exploration of the literature and my expanding awareness of the possibilities for interlinking them, especially empirically. I referred earlier in this Introduction, for example, to Fineman's guiding challenge to move forward the application of social constructionist and psychoanalytic work empirically in the study of emotions (Fineman, 1993a: p. 7). With my approach, I have taken up this challenge, and the areas for further exploration uncovered by the literature in the next chapter, by developing the use of these frameworks through *rapprochement*, as compared to empirically studying one. As I will illustrate in the Data Chapters, my analysis of the data supported rapprochement in ways like: the use of social constructions *as* defence; the interweaving of myths with anxieties; and the intertwining of emotion rules with personal biography, which at times included a discussion of trauma. In addition to my passions for connection and my exploration of the literature, my ongoing engagement with India provided further interest to this project of rapprochement.

Inspiration from India, influencing me further to study a rapprochement of perspectives. My experiences growing up with South Asian families in the United States have guided my academic and professional interests. My childhood connection to the country of India in particular continued with my university work with Indian students, dances in Indian festivals, and invitations to present at Indian conferences. I have remained closely engaged with the culture of India, and a meeting with an Indian film festival director in Pittsburgh, PA, Mr.

Harish Saluja, was a particularly serendipitous one (2008). As we discussed the film festival and Indian culture, he shared with me this poem, which has resonated with me. I recalled this poem, among other reflections about my experiences with India, as I was conducting my literature review on emotions, and this poem is an example about how art provides a guide for making academic linkages and stimulating new projects (Stein, Personal Communication, 2010). I will analyse this poem to illustrate one of the ways I connected my passions to field work in India, and to highlight the complexity of emotion through its public and private contrasts, which can be studied by the choice of my perspectives.

This Indian poem is called "Babul", by Shubha Mudgal, and a video by a group called Breakthrough was made depicting the meanings of the verses:

"Father, my heart is afraid
But I must speak with you

Father, I beg you
Father, don't marry me off to a goldsmith
I am not interested in jewellery…

Don't marry me off to a trader
Money has never made me happy…

Don't marry me off to a king
I have no desire to rule…

Marry me off to an ironsmith
Who will melt my chains
He who will melt my chains…."

The haunting, deeply emotional singing of these lyrics in the video is accompanied by images of an Indian girl, who at a party observes on the surface the usual *social displays of emotions* as prescribed by conventions expected of her specific community: beautiful clothes, laughter, glamorous mannerisms, adoring

gazes, pride in show. The girl is also sharply perceptive, in that she sees beyond the customs to an *inner*, intensely personal life, one marked by *private anguish*. She observes in this way the emotions of three married couples, in social and private settings. In each case of observing the private realm, a disturbing, markedly different picture of the couple's relationship and interactions emerges, compared to the social setting. In each private instance, the woman asserts herself in some way that affirms her very selfhood, her freedom, which is met by abusive reaction from the husband.

As the song progresses and the contrasts of outer and inner worlds become painfully stark, it becomes apparent that there is much planned and effortful presenting of the couples' emotions in public (emotion work – introduced in the next chapter), which can be accounted for by: cultural expectations in this community of the female adoring and even worshipping the husband as a god (Saluja, Personal Communication, 2008); the female presenting one's self with great refinement; and the male displaying the beauty of his wife. This working of public emotion does not, however, capture the intensity of emotional frustration and pain experienced by the women, emotions which cannot be dismissed or articulated fully at a social, linguistic, conscious level of emotion.

Many additional dynamics and questions are evoked by this song and video, questions which can be approached within these two frameworks with which I was becoming increasingly familiar in my literature review. What are the anxieties of the men that may shape their reactions to their wives' assertions of selfhood? How are both men and women influenced by powerful childhood experiences, as well as by myths and fantasies of gender and emotional expectations, propagated by the greater cultural environment? (I will explore

fantasies and gender in subsequent chapters, in terms of how they shape constructions of gender relations at work). What factors influence when and how resistance to cultural rules is enacted, by both men and women? How can anxieties about gender be brought into consciousness to change the very nature of social constructions themselves?

The tailoring of social emotional displays in response to cultural rules is a useful, but as the only consideration insufficient, way to capture the powerful imagery and meanings of the emotional tensions within this song. Yes, the girl is very much cognisant that marriage is her fate and that the marriage partner is the decision of her parents. She is acutely aware of dynamics of gender and authority, as revealed in her appeals to the father; she does not plead with both parents or with only her mother. The verses imply that the girl has internalised a powerful metaphor, that of chains and being imprisoned, a metaphor that may exert its effect through unconscious meanings. I have devoted some space here to engage with this poem, because it is one of the sources about India that have nurtured my interests in: emotions; tensions between public and private; gender concerns; and making connections to understand emotions in a variety of ways.

I studied theoretical and methodological ways to bring these perspectives together, as outlined in the next several chapters. I also explored a rapprochement through empirical work; to do so, I developed a list of interview questions based upon important tenets of both approaches. I then made choices about how to organise the resultant data. The interview questions and reasons for the planning of the Data Chapters are detailed further in the Methodology chapter.

Limitations

I am aware that in any research endeavour, making choices is accompanied by limitations. By choosing to focus on certain theories and methods, other possibilities are excluded. I will discuss the limitations of my doctoral work, which include limitations of what I chose and did, and limitations of what I did not include or focus on in this work. Starting with my choices, I selected two theoretical perspectives, each of which has its own limitations. On first glance, two sets of limitations may appear as a formidable barrier. However, I worked with the limitations of the theories I chose, through my aim in this thesis of a rapprochement of emotion perspectives; the limitations of one can be addressed by the strengths of the other, which is possible due to the complementary features of social constructionist and psychoanalytic tenets.

My choice of respondents had limitations. I interviewed Indian employees fluent in English. My sample was a highly elite, educated group. Hence, my observations and reflections are limited to this group. I would have liked very much to pursue my interests and passions for understanding underprivileged individuals, by interviewing, in local native languages, Indian workers in marginalised or underappreciated work roles. It would have been illuminative to learn how globalisation is shaping the lived experiences of these workers, in contrast to those of the English-language educated individuals with whom I did engage. Hence, my exploration of emotions in postcolonial space is also limited to my select sample.

I interviewed respondents across different sectors, which did not enable me to study in detail how different workers within the same organisation or sector

responded emotionally to socially constructed and unconscious work experiences. The concept of limitation is itself socially constructed – a limitation in this latter situation served as a strength for what I did find – rich, intriguing dynamics across sectors and organisations, which helped to draw out important insights about emotion rules across organisational and cultural boundaries. It is, of course, significant to acknowledge that in any research endeavour, some choices leave out the possibility of other meanings or angles that could have been uncovered.

In terms of data collection, I chose to visit Chennai and Delhi, in part to experience the reported North-South differences as noted earlier in this chapter. By focussing on tensions and cultural rules across boundaries, I could not study emotions with one city only. In regard to data analysis, I focussed on interconnected themes. Hence, my thesis is limited to these themes. I did not centre my focus on one or several specific emotions, which would have yielded a different focus. I will explain in more detail the choices that I made about how to structure my Data Chapters, at the end of the Methodology chapter.

I also touch on the limitations of my thesis work in a developmental manner. By reflecting on my initial interviews, for example, I realised that my self-disclosures about work and attempts to challenge perceptions of the US likely limited earlier free associations by interviewees. Upon accessing my countertransference, a method of self-reflection outlined in the next several chapters, I realised that this approach was limiting my initial data collection, and I adjusted my interview style accordingly. Hence, this doctoral project was not one in which a study was conducted, data evaluated in a discrete time period, and limitations articulated of the results in a chronological, structured manner. Rather, there were moments throughout my research journey when I reflected on my

interviews or data, became conscious of my mistakes or limitations, and adjusted and moved forward accordingly. In fact, being aware of my shortcomings, especially at the beginning stages of data collection, became a source of emotion understanding for my analysis. How? I realised, for instance, that some of my mistakes, like not following up adequately on previous interviewee responses and interjecting my experience, were motivated by anxieties in relation to the "other" Indian interviewee's perceptions of me in postcolonial space. These reflections sensitised me to the importance of exploring postcolonial dynamics of workplace emotions.

In this part, "**My thesis - A story constantly re-written",** I highlighted my research question, choices, and limitations. This section concludes the Introduction Chapter. The next chapter, the Literature Review, starts by discussing the assumptions, strengths, and limitations of social constructionist and psychoanalytic perspectives. I then review the possibilities for cross-fertilising the two approaches, including some obstacles to such efforts. The strengths of drawing upon both will be developed in further detail by describing examples which demonstrate that linking both views has greater meaning than consideration of one. The discussion will proceed to research in Eastern cultures to demonstrate similarities and differences between Eastern and Western cultures in emotions. A focus on India will highlight in further detail its place as an instructive one in which to conduct this research and uncover different ways of drawing upon social constructionist and psychoanalytic models of understanding. While I stress the benefits of a greater rapprochement, I will also discuss how a psychoanalytic application can unveil new interpretations of emotion that are not possible through social constructionist analyses alone. Following the Literature Review, the Methodology

chapter identifies areas of rapprochement through the methods that I chose to apply. The four data chapters that follow each offer a case of rapprochement of the two approaches in significant domains of emotion research, such as emotion rules, historical context of emotions, and defences. The last chapter provides a general assessment of the findings of this research in response to Fineman's challenge: "We do not need a new theory of emotion for organizations; what is required is the empirical development of specific propositions which arise from existing social constructionist and psychodynamic thought" (1993a: p. 7), and I take this aim forward through interweaving both systems of thought through the analysis of my field work in India.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

In the Introduction, I introduced emotions as central dimensions of human experience, which find extensive expressions in the workplace. In this chapter, I develop the study of emotion by interweaving psychoanalytic and social constructionist resources. I chose these frameworks, following the research of Fineman and Gabriel about their importance for organisational emotion, because of their complementary and contrasting strengths. Since its inception, psychoanalysis has engaged with the immutable and unconscious aspects of emotion. Social constructionist accounts, on the other hand, offer crucial insights that are not usually noted by psychoanalysis, like differing cultural contexts and the institutionalised displays of emotions.

This literature review first addresses some key features and limitations of social constructionist and psychoanalytic approaches to emotion, and then explores the possibilities and challenges to deploying them together for studying workplace emotion. The next part focuses on theoretical and empirical work drawing upon both resources. The final section elaborates upon the importance of India for studying emotion and brings these perspectives closer together. Detailed headings and subheadings of this Literature Review are provided in the Table of Contents.

To embark upon the review of these two emotion frameworks, it is important first to note and distinguish among the terms emotion, feeling and affect, and to specify the use of the word emotion for this thesis. Fineman distinguishes between feeling and emotion on the basis of privately, subjectively experienced sensations and public displays, respectively:

A feeling is essentially the subjective experience... can be in part determined by early life experiences and expectations - sources of which we may be unaware... *emotions* are the personal displays of *affected*, or 'moved', 'agitated' states... They acquire their meaning, their social currency, from the cultural setting – national, local and organizational (Ratner 1989; Lutz and White 1986; Fineman 1993a)... Emotion episodes and private feeling do not always correspond... [there is a] performance element of emotions... Emotions are also situational (Fineman, 1996: p. 546, original italics).

Vince and Gabriel (2011) note the strength of this conceptualisation, especially the importance of remembering that emotions are tied closely to their social context. They also stress the significance of not viewing feelings as fully private, but rather as very much social as well, because in psychodynamic approaches, these private feelings involve some representations of one's relationships with others (Vince and Gabriel, 2011).

Fineman distinguishes emotions and feelings from moods, which are "not linked to any particular object or event" (2003: p. 8); moods have an indeterminate cause and can spread over a period of time. Fineman refers to affect as "an all-encompassing expression for any emotional or emotionalized activity" (2003: p. 9), and notes that this term has been applied interchangeably with feeling and emotion (Fineman 2003).

Specifying emotion as a public display, distinct from the private experience, is significant, and Fineman's conceptualisations are central for interpreting emotion experiences, particularly when the public and private do not coincide or may be in conflict. It is important to note, however, that public and private distinctions can be become blurred, as indicated in Vince and Gabriel

(2011), and as will be demonstrated in this Literature Review and the data analysis. Indeed, one of the main aims of this thesis is to illustrate how public performances, couched in socially constructed norms, are intimately linked with private, unconscious processes. Therefore, for this thesis, I will not use different terms for different aspects or processes of emotion; emotion is the central term used here for social expressions, private and unconscious features, and their intertwining. Rather than use different words, I will focus on describing and differentiating varied processes of emotion, such as specifying the stimulation of emotion by organisational rules, or outlining the development of an emotion pattern originating in childhood. I will now proceed with the Literature Review, first by providing an overview of social constructionist and psychoanalytic approaches to emotion.

Key features of social constructionist and psychoanalytic frameworks of emotion

The theoretical accounts of *social constructionism* and *psychoanalysis* address different aspects of emotion, with implications for advancing our understanding of people's emotions in their organisational lives. Features characterising *social constructionism* include cultural rules of emotional expression, social influences, the primacy of language, and conscious creation and management of emotions, while points of focus integral to *psychoanalysis* include childhood experiences and family of origin dynamics that persist into adulthood, and the effects of the unconscious upon the experience and expression of emotion. Key assumptions and areas of emphasis in both perspectives will be addressed in this Literature Review, followed by a discussion of points of similarity, tensions, and previous studies that draw upon both of these theoretical perspectives.

Social constructionism and its application to the study of emotion

Social constructionism is a term associated with the postmodern era. The classic work of Berger and Luckmann (1967) led to widespread use of the term social constructionism especially in organisation studies. Berger and Luckmann discuss the significance of social and historical context for influencing central aspects of daily existence, like what we come to accept as knowledge and how our thoughts are formed. They argue that the way we construct and perceive our reality influences what we think of as knowledge. Language is emphasised as making possible our experience of what the authors call everyday life; language is the

anchor that enables us to make sense of reality shared with others. In fact, language is discussed as "the most important item of socialization" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967: p. 77); language, especially through conversation, makes it possible to maintain or even change one's encounter with reality.

In social constructionism it is stressed that the wide array of institutions like paternity are encountered externally and internalised by means of language, and thus they are human constructions, despite "The paradox that man is capable of producing a world that he then experiences as something other than a human product..." (Berger and Luckmann, 1967: p.78). Roles and language breathe life into these human-created institutions and enable their propagation. Through these roles, people come to have knowledge about a variety of aspects of human life like emotions. Explicit reference to emotion by the authors includes an example of a judge who "must also have appropriate 'knowledge' in the domain of the emotions: he will have to know, for example, when to restrain his feelings of compassion" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967: p. 94), which implies conscious awareness of one's emotions and their subordination to cognitive controls. Therefore, drawing upon social constructionism, as classically defined by Berger and Luckmann (1967), emotions are assumed to be products of human interaction and creation, and consequently they are subject to conscious human manipulation.

A key social constructionist contribution reinforcing many of the points of Berger and Luckmann (1967) is the work of Gergen (1985), who emphasises the importance of language and social interactions in shaping knowledge. Gergen outlines the historical significance of social constructionism, arguing that it addresses limitations of Western knowledge that has been too focussed within the individual and neglectful of history. Multiple references are made to the analysis

of emotions: "Emotions are not objects 'out there' to be studied, ventured Sarbin; emotion terms acquire their meaning not from real-world referents but from their context of usage" (Gergen, 1985: p. 267). The labelling of an emotion is influenced by social exchanges, and a picture emerges of emotion as constituted and experienced through socialisation, and as having meaning only by its situation in a specific place and time.

The work of Potter and Wetherell on discourse analysis (1987) has been significant for social constructionist understanding as well, particularly in emphasising the centrality of language for understanding social psychological phenomena. Discourse, described broadly as spoken or written communication, is argued to be worthy of analysis itself; in other words, text should not be utilised as a means to unveil a person's underlying motivations. Instead, discourse should be examined to illustrate the functions that language serves in a specific context. The authors (Potter and Wetherell, 1987) provide historical background as well as recent research examples to illustrate ways in which we are shaped by the language to which we have been exposed. They provide examples of scientists' varied accounts of their work to illustrate that differences between discourses, and within one's own discourse, affect how we construct our reality. Specifically, what we think of as a scientific fact can be socially constructed according to prevailing scientific values and social context, a point reinforcing Berger and Luckmann's (1967) arguments about what we appraise to be knowledge.

In regard to emotions, Potter and Wetherell make significant points about cultural differences in emotion, such as citing Maori culture in which individuals are described as experiencing emotions as external forces rather than "*own*[ing]" them internally (Potter and Wetherell, 1987: p. 105). They discuss the need for

researchers to understand their own culture and its assumptions before analysing the texts of another culture. These insights have important implications for studying emotions at work, such as learning how workers conceive of emotion and addressing cultural differences between researcher and respondents that may influence the interpretation of the text.

Different approaches have been developing within this conceptual system of social constructionism. Crossley (2000), in her introduction to narrative psychology, outlines varied approaches within social constructionism such as: discourse analysis, which is focussed upon the effects of language on the construction of self, and interpretive phenomenological analysis, which is more open to examining subjectivity in the self, in connection with language. Cromby and Nightingale (1999) describe one of the points of *divergence* among social constructionist approaches as the degree of realism or relativism adopted. That is, social constructionist theorists who adopt a more realist perspective conceive the world, the self, and so on to exist as an entity, beyond "representations" of the entity, such representations including "…language, beliefs and desires as well as artefacts…." (Cromby and Nightingale, 1999: p. 6). For social constructionists adopting a relativist stance, emotion does not exist separately from its construction in social context and its representation through the language that a community provides, while a more realist approach would acknowledge the nature of emotion as existing beyond what is constructed at a moment in time and in a specific context. Related to Crossley's work, for example, interpretative phenomenological analysis is much more realist in orientation compared to discourse analysis like that advocated by Potter and Wetherell (1987).

Cromby and Nightingale (1999) acknowledge the within-group diversity of social constructionism, to which Williams and Bendelow (1996) also refer. However, they highlight main areas of *shared* focus as well among the different social constructionist approaches, including: the shaping of people's lives through social processes especially through language; the primacy of "historical and cultural change" (Cromby and Nightingale, 1999: p. 6); and the influence of our social activities upon the type of information gathered that becomes viewed as knowledge. Similarly, as noted by Gough (2004), the essence of social constructionism is that our experiences and thus our reality come into being and make sense only by the utilisation of language and the interactions with surrounding culture. The very notion of subjectivity, of private, personal experience of emotion, may be dismissed by some theorists within social constructionism as a construction rather than an authentic inner experience.

It is important, therefore, to acknowledge the diversity and wide range of social constructionist approaches. For this thesis, the social constructionist framework of emotion is defined by stressing the shared areas of emphasis outlined above, and by drawing significantly upon the writings of Fineman and Hochschild. Hochschild's contributions on emotion work and feeling rules (1975, 1979), referencing both Goffman and Freud, have immense importance and application for organisations, especially from a social constructionist perspective of examining the impact of historical and cultural context on the shaping of emotion rules at work. Her conceptualisation of emotional labour (2003) will be addressed in more detail in a later section of this review. Here it is stressed that Goffman's performance metaphor has influenced social constructionist work on

conceptualising emotions as "learned, just as theatrical roles may be learned" (Gabriel, 1999b: p. 214).

The work of Fineman (e.g. 1993a, 2000a) has been defining for the study of emotion in organisations, making possible a number of critical developments in the field, such as providing the foundation for recognising the central role of emotions in many organisational phenomena, and emphasising the interrelation of emotions with cognition. The formidable advantage of a social constructionist approach to emotion is bringing into sharp relief "how emotions shape, and are shaped by, the social arrangements, rules and languages used" (Fineman, 1993a: p. 2). This approach makes possible the exploration of a variety of situational and cultural phenomena, like gender dynamics, status, social roles, and work context, in connection to how they shape the experience and expression of emotions (Fineman, 1993a, 1993b).

According to the "socially constructed perspective on emotion" (Fineman, 2005: p. 5), social learning, conventions, and structures define the very possibility of *having* emotional experience. The *meaning* of emotions can be shaped formidably by power, legality, and political structures. The way people describe others' emotions, for example, is influenced by their own power to make certain attributions about others' emotional state, and whether these attributions can be challenged depends on other available discourses in the existing social context (Fineman, 2005). Culture is paramount in this approach: "social constructionists... point out that private feelings are shaped by social and cultural influences, just like public displays of emotion" (Fineman, 2003: p. 21).

Coupland et al. (2008) conducted a study of emotions at work, drawing directly upon the social constructionist approach, and they illustrated how social

roles, hierarchy and language influence the emotional experiences of workers in a Further Education college. In order to discern the differences in emotion according to organisational role, the authors bring attention to "the analysis of different vocabularies in descriptions of emotional experiences" (Coupland et al., 2008: p. 336). By examining the words that people use to convey their work experiences, we can elucidate patterns of emotional responding associated with a role, such as that of a manager or teacher.

In Coupland et al.'s study, workers upgrade or downgrade their emotions when describing their experiences, according to their roles in the organisation (2008). This process of adjusting one's emotion presentation is illustrated in the graphic emotional revelations of teachers, in contrast to a manager and administrator depicting themselves as unaffected by emotion. This finding supports the social constructionist perspective, in that expectations from the social environment can strongly shape how emotions should be presented. These results about the relations between job role and emotion have implications for others' perceptions and thus for collective emotional dynamics at work: for example, if a person shows emotion incongruous with the expected role, surprise, anger, or envy from colleagues may result. In the Indian context, a worker who calmly recounts rebelling against his boss's orders elicits surprise and admonishment from colleagues, as he has displayed emotions of self-assurance in his subordinate role by defying, rather than obeying, the superior, which is a violation of emotion rules in Indian hierarchical dynamics.

This study (Coupland et al., 2008) further demonstrates the social constructionist approach to emotion by detailing the dynamic of mitigation. The researchers provide several excerpts to show that people, according to their role,

mitigate their expression of emotion through the process of sharing it, for the purpose of offsetting the negative qualities that are disclosed. As an example, a manager draws upon uncontrollable factors as a reason for why a negative emotion like sadness may be experienced in regard to organisational life (Coupland et al., 2008). Thus, with the social constructionist standpoint, the way that we make sense of, and express, our emotions is strongly affected by those with whom we communicate, and by our awareness of social norms and roles. Drawing upon Goffman, a metaphor of performance is invoked in this study (Coupland et al., 2008); roles require the enactment of certain emotions in relation to a particular audience. The social dimension is therefore paramount, and includes forces like power and control, which can lead to or suppress certain patterns of emotional expression according to one's role (Coupland et al., 2008).

The importance of the social constructionist perspective for conceptualising emotion has also been demonstrated by Crossley (2000) in her interviews with HIV positive men. Crossley's work exemplifies that adopting a specific narrative for making sense of a traumatic experience can change us psychologically, and the stories or narratives that we have available depend on historical context and current social circumstances. In Crossley's research, the AIDS crisis and political activism are such social events that shape the ways that people can narrate their stories and thus manage their emotions. Gabriel, Gray and Goregaokar's study of unemployed managers (2010) illustrates important connections between narrative styles and emotional experiences as well. Indeed, the emotions associated with being unemployed "were closely linked with the ways that each professional tried to make sense of job loss as part of their life story" (Gabriel et al., 2010: p. 1697). The authors found that individuals who reached closure in the narratives of their

experiences in fact did not achieve a state of being emotionally settled and consoled. The results suggest that finding a different way to construct the trauma of job loss within one's overall life journey can change the emotional outcomes of the trauma; creating a more open-ended narrative may mean closer engagement with the negative emotions but ultimately a more healthy resolution. Thus, different discourses can create varied emotional pathways.

To review key features of the social constructionist approach, emotions have *functions* which can indicate in a direct way which actions we wish to pursue; emotions give us *knowledge*, through interpersonal relating, about what is important to us (as reviewed in Coupland et al., 2008; Gabriel and Griffiths, 2002). Language defines the experience and presentation of emotion. Emotions are *learned*: "social actors learn to experience feelings appropriate to the social settings" (Gabriel, 1999b: p. 214). It is not only public performance of emotion that is shaped by culture, but also our private emotions occur due to cultural influences as well (Fineman, 2003).

These are examples of what emotions *do* and how they are represented; what exactly *are* they, according to a social constructionist perspective? Lynch describes emotions as "essentially appraisals, that is, they are judgments of situations based on cultural beliefs and values" (1990: p. 8); with this conceptualisation, emotions are cognitions arising from cultural context, similar to Menon's description (2000) of emotions as scripts and appraisals that draw upon culture. Emotions in the social constructionist perspective can also be described as "cultural phenomena whose meaning emerges through culture, is communicated through culture, and is even generated by culture" (Gabriel, 1998b: p. 295). The social dimension is central to a social constructionist depiction of emotion: as

argued by Coupland et al. (2008), "Emotions cannot be reduced to purely physiological or even psychological states but are aspects of the social self" (Coupland et al., 2008: p. 344). In relativist approaches, emotion as an entity does not exist beyond the language used to name it.

It is critical to emphasise that *choice* features as a central aspect of emotion from the social constructionist view, especially with the emotional labour approach that will be detailed below. Necessarily encapsulated within the dynamic of choice is consciousness: people are consciously aware of their emotional states, their surroundings, and cultural norms, and they can subsequently choose their emotions and expressions accordingly. In some social constructionist approaches, "emotions are rational" (Lynch, 1990: p. 10).

The psychoanalytic perspective stands in contrast to the social constructionist one on these assumptions of choice, consciousness, and rationality, offering a different approach to understanding emotional life. With regard to choice, in a study of the NHS, Fotaki notes that "particularly for psychoanalysis, choice is irrelevant since preferences constitute an expression of unconscious fears and phantasies that are acted out in a complex manner to avoid coming into contact with psychic pain and/or to experience gratification (Freud, 1920/1956)" (Fotaki, 2006: p. 1716). What appears externally as a choice, such as having the benefits of greater choice as a patient in the NHS, or choosing whether or not to engage in emotional labour, may instead be conceptualised as processes driven by unconscious needs, as will be shown for example in Fotaki's and Theodosius's work below.

Emotions, according to the psychoanalytic perspective, can be highly irrational, and they are profoundly influenced by childhood (Gabriel, 1999b).

They can persist in opposition to, or in spite of cultural scripts, and they have qualities beyond what is represented in language. Private emotions may not be directly malleable by cultural influences; they may arise not from immediate social events but instead may emerge from past unconscious patterns of relating with authority figures. The conceptualisation of emotion with psychoanalysis will be detailed further in the next section.

Psychoanalysis and its application to the study of emotion

Before commencing with this review of psychoanalytic approaches, it is important to address how the terms psychoanalytic and psychodynamic have been used for the study of organisations, and then to signal how I will be using the word "psychoanalytic" throughout this thesis. At times these terms are used interchangeably. The importance of "dynamic" in the use of "psychodynamic" can be traced to one of Freud's approaches to analysing the mind; the dynamic aspect refers to conflicts, their various sources, and the unpredictable, shifting nature of their outcomes (Gabriel, 1999b). Craib illustrates that the term psychodynamic is useful for bringing attention to the dynamic nature of internal-external interactions and conflicts (Craib, 1998). In the study of organisations, "psychodynamic" has been used more broadly than "psychoanalysis", in referring to a variety of concerns experienced at work in connection to unconscious motivations, anxieties and defences, and organisations themselves are depicted through psychodynamics as having defences and different psychological structures (Gabriel, 2008).

In this thesis, in contrast to previous trends in using psychodynamic broadly, I will be using the word "psychoanalysis" to refer to a dynamic approach to emotion that explores the unconscious and anxieties on individual and collective levels. I prefer emphasising the terms "psychoanalysis" or "psychoanalytic" in order to stress the connection to the original field of psychoanalysis, from which concepts about anxieties, desires and fantasies have developed and then been utilised for the understanding of organisations. Furthermore, in my doctoral work, the unit of analysis is workplace emotion, rather than a specific working group or organisation; for the latter, referring to "psychodynamic" may be more suitable as

it is often deployed for group level analyses. Studying workplace emotion with the starting point of the individual reflects a therapeutic tradition in psychoanalysis of interactions with individuals, which can provide insights about larger cultural and social phenomena. I will now begin to discuss the significance of psychoanalysis and its major tenets for understanding emotion.

Psychoanalysis is an immense field of inquiry developed by Sigmund Freud, exploring the meanings of a range of psychological phenomena in individuals and societies. The impact of psychoanalysis has been vast, penetrating common daily discourse about personal motives and social concerns, and forming a theoretical base for many other psychology and social disciplines. Common charges against psychoanalysis centre on objections or resistance to the notion of the unconscious. This resistance can be explained in part as a response to the undermining of human narcissism, in that psychoanalysis raises possibilities of emotional experience about which we are not immediately or fully aware, challenging notions of a coherent, stable, all-knowing self. Overcoming this resistance provides access to vast resources of interpretative possibilities offered by psychoanalysis. Searching beyond the surface of rational, consistent accounts of emotional and organisational life offers new, rich meanings (Gabriel, 1999b).

As with the previous discussion of diversity within social constructionism, the great diversity of psychoanalytic thought and varied points of focus within this field are noted here as well. In this doctoral work, the main themes of psychoanalysis that are shared across different approaches will be used for understanding workplace emotions. In addition to engaging with these central psychoanalytic areas of focus, I will address specific points of psychoanalysis in relation to themes arising from the data analysis, such as Freudian

conceptualisations of unconscious processes and Indian psychoanalytic theories of emotion and work, particularly drawing upon Indian psychoanalyst Kakar. Lacanian approaches are not emphasised in this thesis.

Chief among these shared points of focus across different psychoanalytic traditions is the unconscious; it is the foundation of psychoanalysis. Sigmund Freud (e.g. Freud, 1960a), did not first articulate the concept of an unconscious but emphasised it as a defining feature of development and personality, making possible ways to explain many complicated aspects of emotional life. As discussed by Gabriel, "In spite of many changes and developments which psychoanalysis has undergone since its early beginnings, the unconscious has remained at the heart of its arguments" (1999b: p. 5). In Freud's conceptualisation, "the unconscious is, in the first place, the state of ideas and desires which have undergone repression" (1999b: p. 6), or have been pushed outside of conscious awareness. The unconscious and the process of repression constitute core psychoanalytic ideas which are stressed in this thesis: "*The idea that repression is a form of mental defence against threatening psychic phenomena lies at the heart of Freudian psychology and much of depth psychology*" (Gabriel, 1999b: p. 6, original italics).

The unconscious, therefore, represents the space of our thoughts and emotions which is outside of our current awareness, and it is the primary motivator of human behaviour. The unconscious develops in childhood in relation with caregivers, and it influences the processing and expression of emotions (Gabriel, 1999b). Thus, common across different psychoanalytic theories is the formidable influence of childhood and personal biography throughout life, and this impact can unconsciously influence decisions and emotions. In turn, people influenced by these unconscious dynamics, which may include past traumas, have an impact

upon the organisational structure and processes (Fineman, 1993b). Consequently, unconscious experiences are not confined to the individual and can have far-reaching collective and organisational effects upon emotions. Even apparently "obvious" emotional displays or motivations for behaviour may indeed by driven by unconscious factors, particularly those that developed in childhood (Gabriel and Griffiths, 2002).

Seemingly contradictory emotions or ambivalence are expected as natural occurrences and powerful shapers of development in the psychoanalytic approach, such as Melanie Klein's work on "simultaneous strong positive and strong negative feelings about the same object" (Gabriel, 1999b: p. 23). Integral to the psychoanalytic model is the emphasis on emotions as a part of human life present *before* linguistic development, and emotions endure beyond what can be encapsulated in language (Gabriel and Griffiths, 2002; Sharma, 1998). For a useful discussion on thought predating language with similar implications for emotion, see Meissner (2008).

Anxiety is the central emotion in the psychoanalytic perspective, in that anxiety can powerfully influence behaviour in negative or positive ways and can stimulate or be transformed into a variety of other emotions. Anxiety often arises from conflict, another defining feature of psychoanalysis that is a point of focus across different psychoanalytic approaches (Gabriel, 1999b). Emotions like anxiety that are too overwhelming, often arising from conflicts between internal desires and societal restraints, can be repressed. Later, these emotions may become transformed and re-emerge into consciousness but with a much different affective character. In other words, distortions can occur, often through defences.

Defences, or defence mechanisms, processes elaborated in detail by Anna
Freud (1966), are *unconscious* responses to conflict and anxiety, distorting
emotions by masking them or changing them into other forms. As illuminated by
Antonacopoulou and Gabriel (2001), defensive behaviours and resistance, which
significantly influence organisational life, characterise *all* individuals, not only
those who may suffer from serious emotional difficulties. Everyone undergoes a
period of childhood in which emotional patterns develop in relation with others,
and these patterns, such as defensive modes of behaving, have a strong effect upon
later emotional responses in contexts like the workplace. Like the mobility of
emotions, defences may also spread from an individual experience to that of a
collective emotional one. Gavin (2003), referencing the work of Menzies on social
defences, conveys that individual emotions and reactions to clients, such as in the
caring professions, may become unhealthy or not adaptively discharged, resulting
in collective social defences, such as projections of blame continually upward on
the hierarchy.

Applying psychoanalysis to the study of emotion in organisations enhances
the understanding of people's workplace experiences in multiple ways. I will
discuss the research of Gabriel (1999b), Allcorn (2004), Fotaki (2006), and Gavin
(2003), to illustrate examples of the significance of psychoanalysis for studying
work meanings. Gabriel's work (1999b) has been central, demonstrating that
workplace phenomena like blame and scapegoating can be explained by a crucial
feature of emotion in the psychoanalytic perspective: its *mobility*. Thus, across
psychoanalytic strands of thought, emotions themselves not only can become
distorted or transform from one emotion to another, especially from inward
experience to outward expression, but also they can readily "move from one object

to another" (1999b: p. 216). An Indian employee, for example, may have anger toward a superior but is culturally prohibited from showing it, and can instead shift the anger to a junior assistant. The highly charged emotion of anger, in connection with the idea "My superior has criticised me for such a non-issue", can be displaced from the source of the anger onto a different recipient, frequently in an unconscious manner. It is this "distinction between an idea and its emotional charge" (1999b: p. 216) that is another defining feature of psychoanalytic schools of thought.

We can bring these two features of emotion, transformation and mobility, together by studying how emotions may transform in their various mobile paths; we can explore how the emotion changes in moving from inward to outward, from one object to another, from one individual to a collective, and so on. An Indian employee may feel envy about a colleague's triumph in defying a boss, particularly in a cultural context where doing so violates formidable emotion rules and thus carries considerable risks. This envy, suppressed due to its discomforting quality, may become unconsciously transformed into admonishment as it travels from the employee to the colleague. These transformations bring us again to *anxiety*; the anxieties of having disturbing emotions can trigger mobility and transformation of emotions to less psychically threatening ones.

Gabriel's work applying psychoanalysis to the study of emotions and organisations illustrates that individuals relate to their organisations through an intricate pattern of desires and fantasies, shaped by their upbringing and progression through developmental stages (Gabriel, 1999b). Indeed, fantasy and its impact upon emotional life is another central concern across psychoanalytic traditions, and one may develop unconscious fantasies about her/his organisation

in order to satisfy longstanding needs. Some of these needs may arise through trauma that has left scars, unconsciously motivating people to seek in their work ways to heal these traumas. In a point illustrating intimacy between the unconscious and the externally experienced organisation, Gabriel illuminates that the organisation's rules, purpose, and so on are constructed and imbued with highly charged meanings on the basis of one's unique emotional biography (1999b).

Allcorn (2004) highlights psychoanalytic dimensions of organisations by discussing how employees introject the organisation into the personality. Introjection concerns a process, often occurring unconsciously, whereby people take in external meanings from the environment and make them a part of one's sensemaking and enduring internal aspects like beliefs. When introjections occurs, internal conflict and associated anxiety may result (Allcorn, 2004), especially if the introjected information is in opposition to other longstanding, treasured parts of the self. Workers may respond to this anxiety by attempting to change the workplace, and these endeavours may or may not be complementary to the organisation (Allcorn, 2004).

Fotaki (2006) illustrates that the implementation of an organisational initiative, reforms in the NHS, is marked by contradictions and a likelihood of failure, because unconscious dynamics underlie the motivations of policymaking. Drawing upon the psychoanalytic work of Obholzer, for example, she describes an unconsciously-motivated purpose of health care as "creation of an illusion that disease and dying can be mastered" (2006: p. 1720). Fotaki (2006) scrutinises the drive to increase patient choice in the NHS, noting that the ostensible aim of enhancing patient choice is to improve health service; in contrast, with a

psychoanalytic understanding, this aim serves to sustain this illusion of conquering illness and mortality. She illuminates that the rhetoric on patient choice is underpinned by unconscious desires, "dispensing once and for all with any notion of vulnerability, infirmity and death by replacing them with consumerist ethos" (2006: p. 1726).

A seemingly rational process like the use of choice is, upon greater probing, associated with conflicts, because "choice is a complex theoretical concept riddled with many conceptual contradictions and normative statements, which cannot be easily translated into policy objectives (Fotaki et al., 2006)" (Fotaki, 2006: p. 1724-1725). Thus, the use of psychoanalytic resources brings attention to the fantasies, anxieties, and defence mechanisms that underlie, and at times undermine, policy goals like choice in institutions such as the NHS. The use of psychoanalysis helps as well to make sense of organisational contradictions that appear puzzling on the surface, such as the tension of pursuing individual choice within a system like the NHS that was designed with a collective purpose (Fotaki, 2006: referencing for example Oliver & Evans, 2005).

Apparently objective decisions to advance organisational effectiveness, in this instance through an assumption about patient desire for choice, are upon closer examination driven by primitive life and death drives. These policies with stated potential benefits may, upon implementation, actually lead to adverse effects, as important unconscious processes are not considered. Fotaki (2006) outlines fantasies of dependency that can be evoked in doctor-patient encounters and lead to negative emotions, but the trust traditionally assigned to doctors helps to maintain a balance which "protects them [doctors] from the excesses of envy and aggression" (2006: p. 1732). Imposing choice undermines the trust in the other to

provide care, which can unleash emotional encounters between doctor and patient that result in deterioration of the quality of care rather than improvement, the latter being the ostensible aim of market-led initiatives like choice.

Gavin (2003) exemplifies that a psychoanalytic approach facilitates reflection on why troubles in organisations occur, even if the time and sensitivity required for this reflection is viewed as diametrically opposed to the perceived need for rapid solutions when signs of organisational malfunction appear. By describing a case study of a caring service, she conveys how emotional turmoil related to workplace experiences like ambivalence, resistance, and uncertainty can be analysed with greater depth and resultant improved intervention, through reflection with a psychoanalytic view. As an example of ambivalence, she describes the difficulties faced by the staff with restructuring and attendant new leadership; there were struggles between wanting a leader yet rejecting one as well. The intricate dynamics of these emotional reactions are shown as parallels of unconscious ways of relating to parents, such as resistance to authority.

Indeed, central to psychoanalysis is the dynamic that our early childhood emotional patterns are reproduced in how we later relate to other adults, especially those in authority. This process is referred to as transference (Czander, 1993), as people *transfer* onto their seniors, mentors, and so on their emotional expectations, including any unfulfilled emotional needs, that arose from prior interactions with a significant caregiver(s). The transferred emotion in a work relationship may result from, or mask, an emotion that was experienced as a child encountering authority relations. It is important to signal here that cross-cultural differences in parenting and larger social values inevitably mean differences in these parallels from early family experiences to working life. In the Indian context, for example, the

traditional parallel is a transfer of obedience to parents and elders, to deference and submission to authority figures at work, particularly those older and/or with higher work status. Furthermore, psychoanalyst Roland, who practiced in India, draws upon the developmental work of Kakar to indicate that "a strong idealized parental image is projected throughout life onto external authority figures whose perfection the person then tries to adopt as his own" (Roland, 1982: p. 237), which fulfils a narcissistic function and has implications for workplace emotional life, like idealisation of work superiors.

People who are on the receiving end of these transferences respond with what is called countertransference (Stein, 2004), and these processes often occur unconsciously. More broadly, transference and countertransference refer to a delicate dance of interdependent emotional reactions we have in our interpersonal encounters, arousing emotions in others and likewise experiencing emotion in ourselves, as a direct result of unconscious communications overlaid by longstanding emotional needs. The meaning of these powerful emotions when in close interactions with others may not be clear until further probing and interpretation occur. Thus, it may appear perplexing that a worker has a feeling of impending doom when meeting a friendly boss, who has not done anything overtly to evoke such strong emotion. Upon reflection, it may be found that such emotional upset is rooted in earlier times of abandonment by parents, interrupting his short-lived times of security. The boss in turn, through countertransference, will respond to these transferred emotions and actions according to her or his emotional pattern of responding fashioned in childhood. Consequently, intricate relations at work may result in seemingly confusing or unexpected emotional expressions, defying rational explanations and leading to work disruptions. Upon

deeper exploration, it becomes lucid that such emotional conflicts or impasses arise from long established emotional ways of responding. As noted by Dr. Kerry J. Sulkowicz in an issue of *Newsweek* about Freud's contributions to work life, "*....*even high-level executives may bring transference issues into the office, seeking from their boss the approval they once craved from their parents" (Adler, 2006, p. 4 of the online version of the article).

Very powerful mechanisms like transference, operating beyond present awareness, do not come to a halt when workers cross the threshold of their organisations. Moreover, at work, even when an emotion is perceived *consciously*, it may have *unconscious* origins. As shared by Theodosius (2008), in reference to LeDoux: " 'Feelings do involve conscious content, but we don't necessarily have conscious access to the processes that produce the content. And even when we do have introspective access, the conscious content is not likely to be what triggered the emotional responses in the first place. The emotional responses and the conscious content are both products of specialised emotion systems that operate unconsciously' (LeDoux 1998: 299)" (in Theodosius, 2008: p. 81).

To review main points about the psychoanalytic approach to emotions, they are often unconscious and can generate defences, to ward off anxieties about the negative aspects of some emotions. They can readily transform into other emotions and can spread from an individual to other individuals or groups. Persistent emotional patterns of relating to others arise from the period of childhood, when one first encounters and learns about rules of authority. These patterns can be unconsciously reproduced in adulthood. The meanings of people's interactions with their superiors and colleagues at work are thus illuminated in

depth through adopting a psychoanalytic approach (Gabriel, 1997; Gabriel and Griffiths, 2002; Gavin, 2003).

What exactly *is* an emotion in the psychoanalytic perspective? In juxtaposition to a social constructionist approach, especially relativist ones, in psychoanalysis emotions *do* exist beyond linguistic conceptualisations of them. They are motivational forces, often irrational, and cannot be reduced to cognitions. Freud's approach to emotion, heavily influenced by physiology, ultimately resulted in conceiving emotions are psychic charges (Gabriel, 1999b), which can be discharged through a person's actions or the emotion's transformations. Clarke relays that "psychoanalysis still relies in part on a model which assumes some innate, or biological basis of emotion" (2003: p. 159), yet the emotion itself and its manifestations are heavily dependent upon a person's first interpersonal relations – with caregivers.

Spence (1990) uncovers possibilities for overcoming tensions on what emotions *are* in these two perspectives. He refers to Gergen and the work of social constructionists asserting that "there is no mind-stuff to be found" (Spence, 1990: p. 590), as emotions are to be found in social interactions. To address this criticism, Spence proposes considering Bruner's "narrative mode of experiencing the world. Perhaps our heritage of ideas about the stuff of the mind should be treated more as creative stories than as approximations to theory.... [the theories then] refer to ways of feeling and thinking, not to findable objects or places in the head....objects and places are always meant as metaphors and make no claim to correspond with the stuff of the mind" (1990: p. 592). In fact, Spence proposes that Freud's work can be conceived as "far-reaching narrative that depends heavily on metaphor and other rhetorical figures to tell a spell-binding tale about the life of

the mind than as a testable set of propositions" (1990: p. 592). Drawing upon this approach, points of disagreement on whether or not emotion exists beyond language and social interaction may persist, but emotion as something which can be represented or revealed through metaphor, story and narrative is a feature that appeals to both psychoanalysis and social constructionism, points which will be taken up in more detail in the Methodology chapter.

Both theoretical approaches provide useful ways of conceptualising emotions. Yet, they have their drawbacks as well, which will be outlined in the next section.

Limitations of social constructionist ways of understanding, invoking

the importance of considering psychoanalytic interpretations of

emotions

The psychoanalytic approach to emotions can help to address limitations of social constructionist accounts. As noted by Fineman, "social constructionism rarely asks where the emotions come from" (1993b: p. 23), and he points to psychoanalytic theories to help address this crucial aspect of emotion. Psychoanalytic approaches also probe the *why* of making meanings at work, and the *whys* challenge us to probe unconscious influences and "look beyond the roles we play" (Fineman, 1993b: p. 24).

Cromby and Nightingale (1999) address drawbacks with the social constructionist approach, citing embodiment as sorely neglected, a topic within which they note personal history as an important factor. Although psychoanalysis was not referred to explicitly, underemphasising or neglecting personal history is a blind spot that can be addressed by psychoanalytic approaches. Drawing upon Freud could have enhanced their argument about embodiment, as Freud observed that "nature, by endowing individuals with extremely unequal physical attributes and mental capacities, has introduced injustices against which there is no remedy" (1961: p. 71). This observation brings out the stark realities of drastically variable embodied spaces that can set off anxieties inadequately captured by social constructionist explanations alone. As argued by Cromby and Nightingale (1999), inadequately developed areas of social constructionism also include: the physicality of the world, or "Materiality" (Cromby and Nightingale, 1999: p. 11),

and the need to have a more precise discussion of power and its relation to material and embodied dynamics.

Schmidt (2001) highlights a number of limitations of constructivist approaches to knowledge, like Wrong's criticism about overemphasising the influence of social norms on behaviour and not addressing individuality. Schmidt (2001) notes the potential shortcomings of viewing language not only as that which helps us understand the world, but even further as constituting it, an approach which eclipses the possibilities of having powerful experiences that transcend language. Hollway and Jefferson (2000) argue that social constructionist depictions of research subjects neglect the varieties and fullness of "individuals' lived experience" (2000: p. 13).

Crossley (2000, 2003), who has studied trauma, acknowledges the importance of language, but notes that its emphasis in social constructionist approaches can neglect important understandings about self and subjectivity. Craib (1995) conveys that a strictly social constructionist approach may limit the interpretation of emotion, arguing that one should not "mistake the social scaffolding of emotions for emotional life itself" (Craib, 1995: p. 154). The emotions that we are expected to have, according to roles and the rules of interpersonal relating in cultural context, are not necessarily the same as the emotions we *actually* experience in these encounters at varying levels of consciousness. While the social constructionist perspective provides an invaluable framework, helping us to contextualise functions of emotion and their expected expressions on many social levels, it does not address fully the complicated, private, subjective experience of emotion. Emotions may change and endure in opposition to, *in spite of* their culturally assigned meanings, and these

transformations are analysed well with reference to points of interest in psychoanalysis, like unconscious processes, desires and anxieties.

In regard to the primacy accorded language, with specific reference to Jackson's social constructionist description of love (1993), Craib argues that language about emotion should not be conflated with the actual experience of that emotion (Craib, 1995). Language is inevitably present for communication about emotion, but it does not necessarily reveal the actual emotion or its intensity; it is not fully *constitutive* of emotion experienced within, or in relation to others. A psychoanalytic view offers a useful complement here: there is a vast emotional space that is unconscious and thus not revealed in a straightforward way in our linguistic expressions. Probing this space, and interlinking the exploration of private emotional experience with linguistic masks, shapers, or distorters, improve the study of emotion.

In a similar criticism, Craib states that "Social constructionist theories do not bring together insights and ideas from other disciplines, but replace them: if everything is constituted in scripts and discourse, then the only possible investigation is the constructionist" (1997: p.12). Craib's work (1995) is critiqued for approaching social constructionism in a uniform manner and generalising from Craib's limited clinical sample to make wide statements about emotional life (Williams and Bendelow, 1996). Although there are tensions in these arguments and counter-arguments, Clarke (2003) argues that the works of Craib (1995) and Williams and Bendelow (1996) do share some similar ground, in that they both have an interdisciplinary approach to exploring emotions.

Like language, focussing on cultural context as defining emotion neglects the possibility of private experience of emotion that occurs in *resistance to* cultural

expectations. As revealed in the work of Krone and Morgan (2000), one should not misperceive a cultural expectation, such as that in China of emotional restraint, as an absence of powerful emotional struggles in an organisation. The Chinese managers studied by these authors indeed experienced intense emotional events going beyond what the cultural constructions alone would predict. Thus, the cultural environment may have a high standard of emotional restraint, but the standard is not constitutive of a person's actual emotions experienced at work.

Krone and Morgan (2000) indicate that emotional restraint is expected as a natural part of development for Chinese individuals, and yet later on, the stories about the Chinese managers reveal acts of rebellion: managers are aware of expectations about appropriate emotional behaviour, but at times they defy those standards. A more in-depth analysis of individual emotional experiences of workers thus highlights the significance of within-group variation and illustrates the dangers in focusing on a cultural value to the point of stereotyping. To improve understanding of organisational life then, one can consider how specific work troubles result from people struggling with the contradictions between inner emotions and prescribed outward display. Gabriel (1995) discusses a similar dynamic about workers engaging in various forms of resistance in psychological spaces beyond managerial control, even if on the surface they appear to be conforming to organisational expectations. These considerations expand the social constructionist path to emotion by highlighting contradictions, secrets, and elusive emotional encounters that occur beyond what language and culture represent or predict, and these dynamics are usefully probed further with a psychoanalytic reference point.

Conforming to cultural display rules, therefore, does not mean that the inner experience is fully, consciously controlled and comfortable; in fact, there may be substantial ambivalence that is contended with in conscious and unconscious ways. A social constructionist view makes possible an understanding of the cultural framing of emotion. The dynamic effects of such constructions upon inner emotional experience can then be explored further with a psychoanalytic framework.

In some social constructionist writings, there are either-or implications for understanding emotion. For instance, Gergen states that "to treat depression, anxiety, or fear as emotions from which people involuntarily suffer is to have far different implications than to treat them as chosen, selected, or played out as on a stage" (1985: p. 268). Stressing only one explanation, or not exploring how the performative, historically contingent aspect of emotion may be intertwined with the biological or private, subjective experience of emotion, is a significant shortcoming.

Illustrating the problems of neglecting social considerations in previous conceptualisations of emotion is useful, but such arguments are undermined with suggestions that the social is the defining explanation. Indeed, an exclusively constructionist focus overlooks many important dynamics such as: one's unique birth and development of self and associated emotional growth; unconscious influences of childhood experiences and relations upon later adult relations and functioning, especially in work; and dreams and fantasies that, with interpretation, provide clues about one's emotions behind the distortions. To adopt an assumption that it is *only* through socialisation that emotions are created and experienced is to neglect profoundly significant inner subjective experiences, without which the rich

variety of insights about emotions are lost. Language is used even in the very naming of what we study, as demonstrated in the writing and sharing of this thesis as well, but emotional life persists beyond language, beyond the external, to influence humans significantly at levels beyond conscious constructions.

In this section and the following one, I emphasise the incompleteness or shortcomings of utilising one theoretical framework for emotion. In the next part, I will address drawbacks of psychoanalytic approaches, which can be addressed by the strengths of social constructionist ones.

Limitations of psychoanalysis, invoking the importance of intertwining social constructionist and psychoanalytic ways of understanding emotion

As social constructionism has its shortcomings, so too does psychoanalysis. The presumed universalism of classic psychoanalytic theory is one of the most significant points of criticism. The detailed attention to language and social influences upon emotional expression through a social constructionist system of conceptualisation is very useful to address this limitation. As noted by Gabriel (1998b), some psychoanalytic writings on emotion acknowledge social influences but do not explore them adequately in terms of how they shape emotion. Referring to the critical observations of Fineman on limitations, Gabriel (1999b) illustrates that psychoanalytic approaches need to engage meaningfully with display rules in organisations, which provide vital contextual information to make sense of the emotional experiences of workers who are socialised into these rules. Fineman argues that the focus on anxiety in psychoanalysis can limit its emotional exploration, and he notes that the emphasis on childhood in psychoanalysis occurs at the expense of appreciating the impact of "organizational structures of power and domination" (Fineman, 2003: p. 14) upon workplace emotions.

Psychoanalysis often does not engage with linguistic and cultural variations in emotions. The strengths of focusing upon language, to provide clues about the range of emotions we may have, is exemplified by Gabriel, as he discusses that languages across cultures distinguish among emotions in varied ways (1998b). Some similar emotions may be highly differentiated in one culture, while another culture may have one general emotion word to capture an experience. Furthermore,

it is notable that an emotion word in one culture may not even have a parallel in another culture (Gabriel, 1998a). It is instructive to be aware of these cultural specifics, often not explicitly addressed in psychoanalytic approaches.

Some emotions are found universally, but the specific meanings of emotions significantly depend on one's geographic, social, and historical location. To draw upon Sharma's discussion of repression, what is "*universal*" is not necessarily "*uniform*" (Sharma, 1998: p. 52, original italics). A new employee being exploited at work, for example, is an organisational phenomenon which can be found across national and organisational boundaries. Applying Sharma's conceptualisation, the meanings of this exploitation, and the defences in coping with such demotivating traumas, are not of a consistent, similar nature across work contexts. In India, this exploitation and the resultant emotions of defeat can be underpinned by gender role expectations and culturally specific superior-subordinate dynamics, and by characteristics of the Indian organisation which are influenced by indigenous and colonial values. The unconscious ways in which emotions are processed and worked through, therefore, need to be carefully considered in relation to the organisational, cultural and historical contexts, and the latter are not sufficiently addressed in classical psychoanalytic approaches.

The unconscious conflicts that people experience may be intimately tied to the roles that they occupy, both roles that are voluntarily taken up, and also those imposed externally. In particular, social constructionist resources provide rich information about the gendered nature of roles and consequent impact upon emotions. For Indian women from any economic background, motherhood is not an option but an obligation (Haq, Personal Communication, 2009); working women thus contend with the conflicts between high expectations of dedicated

motherhood and investment in being successful at work. From a psychoanalytic view, there are wide individual differences, rooted in family background and unconscious developments, in whether an Indian woman welcomes, rejects, or is ambivalent about balancing motherhood and working roles, but these roles first must be recognised and analysed carefully with a social constructionist frame, in order to make sense fully of the intricate relations between one's social location in life and personally-experienced emotions.

An exclusively psychoanalytic application, without examination of roles and structures like power, falls short of understanding and contextualising emotion. The impact that the external environment has on the experience of anxiety and its subsequent distortions is made lucid when considering social constructionist contributions, such as: rules about emotional display according to roles and hierarchical status; labelling of one's emotion through interactions with others; and the effects of historical context on which emotional experiences may be encountered. A significant example of the latter for the Indian context is colonial violence, a historical trauma with longstanding effects that shape one's emotional struggles and their unconscious manifestations.

Psychoanalysis itself has been viewed as a colonial discipline, charged with historically othering and subordinating non-Western subjects, for instance through Freud's writings on associations between the primitive and the pathological. It has also been criticised for not addressing the material realities of colonial violence upon the lived experiences and psychic lives of the colonised, particularly of women and individuals occupying lower social status (Greedharry, 2008). It will be argued in the section on colonialism below that this neglect does not render psychoanalysis irrelevant for studying postcolonial work contexts. On the contrary,

enriched understandings result when deploying psychoanalysis for coming to terms with colonialism (Hook, 2008). Yet, the problems of psychoanalysis with regard to historically measuring the non-West against standards of the West, and insufficiently exploring racial and other cultural influences upon psychological development and functioning, are significant points of ongoing criticism that call for attention.

Kakar's writings on psychoanalysis and India underscore significant limitations of the historical use of psychoanalysis, such as its neglect of non-Western cultural features affecting self: "As a 'depth psychology', psychoanalysis dives deep but in the same waters in which the cultural rivers too flow. Pre-eminently operating from within the heart of the Western Myth... psychoanalysis has had little opportunity to observe from within, and with empathy, the deeper import of other cultures' myths in the workings of the self" (2008: p. 83). The inadequate engagement with Eastern cultural meanings and their relations to intrapsychic experiences has been exacerbated in psychoanalysis by the use of Western developmental models of normality, against which Eastern cultures have been frequently pathologised. Kakar also references the colonial character of early psychoanalytic writings, noting that "psychoanalytic engagement with these [non-Western] cultures was of an **appropriating kind, as territories to be annexed**, particularly for the Oedipus complex" (Kakar, 1985: p. 441, my emphasis).

Social constructionist accounts, therefore, can markedly contribute to cross-culturally more meaningful applications of psychoanalytic theory for probing emotion, by: questioning universal assumptions; specifying cultural narratives and practices in their unique influences upon emotion; and bringing to the forefront the significance of historical context like colonialism in shaping people's private,

unconscious experiences. I will conclude this section on the limitations of psychoanalysis by referring to Kakar's observations, which have particular relevance for Eastern contexts like the ones explored in my doctoral work:

> I do not question the great developmental constants psychoanalysis has uncovered. These are, of course, based on a shared, universal experience of infancy and childhood within the structure of the family. My notions of relativity have more to do with establishing the boundary conditions for various analytic concepts... separating what is Western-cultural in psychoanalytic formulations from what is truly universal (Kakar, 1985: p. 444).

To summarise the preceding sections of this literature review from the beginning to this point, the main assumptions and areas of inquiry for both psychoanalysis and social constructionism were reviewed, with an emphasis upon how these models approach the study of emotion. Drawbacks of these two outlooks were discussed, by indicating how the limitations of one approach can be addressed by consideration of the other perspective. The next part will explore in more depth the different ways that social constructionism and psychoanalysis can be incorporated together for studies of emotion, by first addressing their points of similarity, and then proceeding to a discussion of obstacles that impede bringing them together more closely.

Implementing social constructionism and psychoanalysis to study emotions in organisations: Possibilities and challenges

Possibilities through similarity

Engaging with the strengths and limitations of both social constructionism and psychoanalysis is an important step for widening understanding of complex emotional phenomena at work. Highlighting *similarities* in these two frameworks of emotion supports their complementary use as well. Among shared theoretical points, Gabriel and Griffiths note that both approaches view emotion as "...a fundamental motivational principle in human affairs" (2002: p. 216), and both do *not* think that emotion "...can be quantified within a unified category such as emotional intelligence" (Gabriel and Griffiths, 2002: p. 216).

In reference to psychoanalysis and discourse analysis, Gough (2004) indicates that both have in common addressing the subjects of language and interpretation. Gough (2004) even asserts that both models in fact do "view... the subject as fragmented, whether torn between desire and reason (psychoanalysis) or distributed along a range of subject positions (discourse analysis)" (Gough, 2004: p. 246). In a recent work, Gough continues stressing similarity between discourse analysis and psychoanalysis, arguing that "both attend to the construction of self and identity, both present the speaker as active in producing meaning, and both suggest the shaping of selves by the 'other' (discourse, the unconscious), so a rapprochement is not out of the question" (2009: p. 531). He provides examples from his interviews illustrating how *both* discourse and psychoanalysis can be used to render an enriched analysis of a father-son relationship. Clarke emphasises

points of shared focus in psychoanalysis and social constructionism, in that

"…both are interactionist, both stress the importance of the social world, and both

approach stress, and add primacy to social relations" (Clarke, 2003: p. 159).

Wetherell, discussing discourse and psychoanalysis, points out that "Both note

how our access to reality (whatever that might be) is indirect and mediated"

(Wetherell, 2003: p. 105).

In social constructionist and psychoanalytic writings, a very strong shared

view on the nature of emotion becomes clear: emotion is not stable and contained,

but rather readily moves and transforms across spaces. In social constructionist

approaches, "emotion 'flows' by being symbolically constructed, communicated

and disseminated, from each individual to his or her audience" (Gabriel, 1999b: p.

214). Different audiences require different emotional performances, due to factors

like roles, politics and social context, resulting in changes required in people's

emotional presentations. Fineman stresses the social movement of emotions, such

as their capacity to become contagious, in turn leading to powerful group

formations (Fineman, 2003). Psychoanalysis also signals mobility and

changeability as crucial features of emotion; emotions can be shared in

relationships with others through transference, and can be altered through

defences. We find contagion in psychoanalysis as well through Freud's analysis of

groups, and the breakdown of emotional ties holding together a group can itself

unleash new emotions like panic, again pointing to emotions' highly

transformative nature (Freud, 1955).

Emotions flow across levels of consciousness, and they also flow from

historically influenced social values, to management, and on to workers. Indeed,

these movements in consciousness and across social layers can be conceived as

mutually enforcing. For example, the enforcement of a specific emotional presentation at work to fulfil capitalist values of profit can elicit strong emotions which become unconscious, and in turn generate defences that emerge in work behaviour. Both frameworks acknowledge the changing, non-static nature of emotion, and they address the potential for emotion to spread rapidly from one or several people to groups or larger collectives.

Shared views on the nature and significance of emotion are found through close scrutiny of some writings on discourse, revealing spaces for mutual engagement, even when psychoanalysis is not explicitly referenced. As an example, Davies and Harre (1990) discuss the importance of active positioning in discourse, as contrasted with more classical views on roles with scripts ready. Referring to the role of a mother as an example, they argue that "we bring to each new encounter with someone positioned as mother a **subjective history** with its attendant **emotions and beliefs** *as well as* a knowledge of social structures (including roles) with their attendant rights, obligations and expectations" (Davies and Harre, 1990: p. 52, original italics, my emphasis in bold). This emphasis on unique emotions through personal history, that can have a bearing on how we relate to others, would also be emphasised by a psychoanalytic perspective, illustrating opportunities for engaging the personal history with social dynamics and narrative positioning.

A keen interest regarding inconsistencies in reports of emotion is found in both social constructionism and psychoanalysis. Potter and Wetherell (1987) stress that variation in people's discourse should be examined as a source of useful information regarding the functions of a text, rather than suppressing this variation through positivist experimental methods. Probing variability means investigating

contradictions, which are of great interest to the psychoanalytic tradition as well.
However, the reasons proposed for the *source* of such inconsistencies differ.
According to a discourse analytic approach, contradiction is due to changing one's
construction of "a topic according to the context" (Potter and Wetherell, 1987: p.
50). A psychoanalytic way of understanding would instead conceptualise
inconsistency or ambivalence as springing from dynamics like emotional tensions
and intrapsychic conflict.

Potter and Wetherell (1987) highlight the importance of examining
repetition in text; furthermore, they stress that the *absence* of material that *could
have been included* in the text is just as paramount for analysis as what is actually
present in the text. Similarly, from a psychoanalytic view, it is significant to
explore the meanings underlying repeated words or phrases; probing the reasons
for information that is *absent* from emotional exchanges is critical for study as
well. In regard to the researcher's role during analysis of texts, Potter and
Wetherell encourage self-reflection, for the purpose of becoming cognisant of
patterns in the analysis. Self-reflection is the cornerstone of psychoanalysis in
terms of connecting with the transference and countertransference dynamics of the
encounter to foster effective interpretations. Thus, Potter and Wetherell's
discussion of important points of focus in discourse analysis uncovers multiple
areas of investigation endorsed by psychoanalysis as well, though the purpose for
exploring these points differs.

There are instances when both social constructionist and psychoanalytic
interpretations appear to be tapping into the same phenomena, although the
proposed root of the dynamic may be different. An example is the superego,
which influences people's adherence to societal rules; in traditional Freudian

theory, the superego evolves through the child's first identifications, and later reaction formations (a defence mechanism of opposite emotional patterns) against such identifications, in the psychical development of the mind (Freud, 1960a). In contrast to superego development, social rules are conceptualised in social constructionism as enacted through language and determined by external conventions and historical traditions. Both the superego and social rules are posited to shape people's emotions in the context of social restrictions and expectations; these two outlooks differ in propositions about *how* impositions develop to have an effect upon people's emotional experiences. There may be more similarity between these seemingly disparate frameworks than first considered, and such points of commonality can help to bridge these approaches in the interest of rapprochement for enriched understanding of emotion.

In fact, probing the meanings of "construction", in groundbreaking psychoanalytic and social constructionist writings, reveals that these frameworks are not so far apart as one may initially assume. Examining the use of "construction" in the works of Freud and Czarniawska illuminates that the goals of social constructionism and psychoanalysis, and the means of achieving them, are quite similar indeed. In "Constructions in Analysis" (1963), Freud speaks of a *process* of constructing, one of uncovering parts of the patient's repressed past through various clues and distortions, to facilitate psychological progress. The *end products,* constructions, are then provided to the patient, and processed in the ongoing therapeutic relationship. The analyst's work is described with the archaeology metaphor. Yet, the analyst is conveyed as having a distinct advantage over the endeavours of an archaeologist, as the analyst "has more material at his command to assist him, since what he is dealing with is not something destroyed

but something that is still alive" (Freud, 1963: p. 275). Czarniawska details important definitions of "construction" in organisation studies, one of which is "*construction as a process where something is being built out of the existing material*" (2003: p. 129, original italics). Here, then, we have a similar investment in providing a new understanding by drawing upon existing resources.

These frameworks may differ in outlook on the nature of this material used for construction, such as personal past or available social resources, but upon close scrutiny, we can also find similarities in the material itself. Czarniawska discusses social representations, which are, for example, "repeated in formal speeches" (2003: p. 129) and "mark the trail of construction" (2003: p. 129). Thus, speeches, texts, and so on provide powerful clues about how this process of constructing occurs. Freud was very interested in repetition, speech, and "actions performed by the patient" (1963: p. 274) as signs for putting together constructions about the past. With both perspectives we look to people's language and actions as a way of uncovering how the person or organisation has come to assume the current form with which we are faced.

Czarniawska stress the *social* of social constructionism, as it "indicates, without detracting from, the 'power of associations' so central to Latour's thought (1986)" (2003: p. 130), and the emphasis on the social highlights, drawing on Gergen (1994), that "relations create individuals" (2003: p. 130). These points would be welcomed in psychoanalytic approaches, tracing back to Freud's emphasis on private, intrapsychic experiences as frequently involving representations of others, like early caregivers or partners. The therapeutic relationship in psychoanalysis is central for a person's development, as evidenced in the primacy given to transference and other unfolding interactions in the dyad

rather than an exclusive focus on technique. A construction presented by the analyst occurs alongside new information provided by the patient, illuminating a highly dynamic dyadic encounter that shapes the recovered meanings (Freud, 1963). A psychoanalytic perspective also approaches individuals as created through relationships.

Interests in change, mobility, and transformations are found in both Czarniawska and Freud's writings as well. In a social constructionist approach, organisational change can involve many unpredictable processes; projects, for example, "can be conceived of as ideas which, transformed into objects... contribute to the construction of many other things: new structures and new emotions..." (Czarniawska, 2003: p. 136). In constructing the patient's past with a psychoanalytic approach, one probes how the past manifests in changed ways through ideas, dreams, or other associations, which provide links for making connections between the past and present. The researcher's stance for observing change that Czarniawska describes is very similar to how an analyst may approach the process of constructing the past in therapy: "Without deciding in advance what should or ought to be constructed, the researcher is free to notice the **unexpected and unintended,** to record both **positive and negative reactions**, and to chronicle the **changes** in **the idea or the object itself**" (Czarniawska, 2003: p. 136, my emphasis added). For creating constructions in psychoanalysis, the analyst's openness to a patient's free associations will necessarily bring up many unexpected dynamics; both positive and negative emotional reactions are significant; and mobility of an emotion from one form to another is considered natural and immensely informative.

This attention in a social constructionist approach (Czarniawska, 2003) to the significance of transformation, and to the work required for transformations like ideas into objects to occur, are embraced as important in psychoanalysis as well. The psychic work that is required to put up defences, and then to undo these defences to effect change by accessing painful anxieties and repressed material, is paramount in psychoanalysis. Social constructionism in organisation studies is " 'unmasking'... revealing what has been forgotten or not paid attention to" (Czarniawska, 2003: p. 137). The very process of constructing for Freud revolved around uncovering the forgotten past. The objects of this unmasking may be an organisational process or an individual's psychic struggles, or indeed the relations between them, as Gabriel demonstrates that there are powerful links between individual psychological development and one's ways of working in, and relating to, organisations (Gabriel, 1999b). The reasons for probing the individual and/or organisational past and the means for doing so have stark similarities in social constructionism and psychoanalysis, which deserve further attention and exploration.

Spaces for mutual dialogue are also found in an emphasis in Freud and Czarniawska's writings that one construction is not the only explanation, and that other constructions may be possible. Freud stated that "We do not pretend that an individual construction is anything more than a conjecture which awaits examination, confirmation or rejection" (Freud, 1963: p. 282). Czarniawska (2003) indicates that a focus on one process of construction necessarily means that many others could have been explored, even if they have not been chosen for the current inquiry, which signals an appreciation of more than one way to conceptualise the topic of study. This freshness and openness in both perspectives provides unique

opportunities for rendering greater breadth and depth in analysing and connecting with the complex and multifaceted nature of workplace emotions.

This comparison of Freud and Czarniawska's writings concludes this section about exploring similarities between social constructionism and psychoanalysis. The purpose of this section has been to demonstrate possibilities for drawing together social constructionist and psychoanalytic theoretical systems more closely, by highlighting similarities especially in areas of interest for study. Having acknowledged these possibilities, it is now important to turn to tensions, which often block awareness of these similarities or limit complementary use of the systems' resources. Tensions between the frameworks about their major tenets will be addressed, followed by three sections detailing specific sources of tension: resistance to Freud; tension about specific emotions; and tension with regard to emotional labour.

Challenges due to tensions between these approaches

For the task of implementing social constructionism and psychoanalysis to study emotions in organisations, what are the major barriers that can impede awareness of similarity and fruitful engagement? While there have been endeavours to demonstrate that there are common factors characterising both fields, it has been noted by Gabriel (Personal Communication, September 2008) and evidenced through the literature, that there is often friction, if not outright conflict, between these two paths to searching for insights about emotions. Tension often arises from views that the tenets of these two frameworks for conceptualising emotion are inherently incompatible.

Clarke (2006), who makes frequent references to the work of Craib (1997, 1998), outlines three major areas of the divide between psychoanalysis and sociology, which can be applied to this current discussion: epistemology; the very idea of Freud and the unconscious; and the distancing of sociologists from acknowledging biology. The latter necessarily causes a further chasm between psychoanalysis and social constructionism, in that points of interest in psychoanalysis like psychic energy, drives, and recently neuroscience that illustrates unconscious workings of the brain, significantly draw upon, though are not exclusively bound in, biological study. In the spirit of rapprochement, Clarke (2006) argues that researchers should not privilege the psychoanalytic or sociological perspective over the other, but instead that both should be utilised together for improved insights.

In regard to debates on the biological versus social, it is very useful to consider Craib's observation that "The very concept of the 'drive' itself, at least in

Freudian theory, presupposes a biological energy *and* a representation - it cuts across the cultural and the biological" (Craib, 1997: p. 6). Some tensions, therefore, can be addressed by exploring interlinking processes, such as how culture and biology are bound to one another, and by devoting sufficient attention to the ways in which psychoanalytic theory does in fact engage with factors other than the biological. Some social constructionist writings continue to set up these either-or divisions. Gergen describes "Averill's (1982) extensive work on emotion [in which] one is forced to question the assumption that anger is a biological state of the organism and is invited to consider it as a historically contingent social performance" (1985: p. 267). In contrast to positioning the understanding of anger as characterised by one or the other feature, it can be enriched by considering a number of biological and historical interrelating factors shaping this emotion.

Tensions may also arise due to very different areas of focus, such as a social constructionist view of conscious emotion management, contrasted to the possibility of unconscious emotions in psychoanalysis. Tensions about the very nature of what an emotion is can block fruitful dialogue, such as a perspective that: "Inner feelings make sense only because people already have words for them known to us by use in public language. Use of emotion words pivots essentially on the social evaluative aspect rather than on their identification of some inner essence" (Lynch, 1990: p. 13). This social constructionist view is juxtaposed to a psychoanalytic perspective, which stresses the preverbal existence of emotion and its endurance and manifestations nonverbally in a multitude of ways. Rizzuto, for example, illuminates how a patient emotionally responded to her therapeutic *manner* of speaking; the patient connected strongly to this nonverbal feature prior to engaging with the meanings of the words (2002). Yet, different points of

emphasis on what represents an emotion need not be divisive, but can be complementary.

The source of emotions is a locus of tension as well. Vogler notes the "strong social constructionist view that emotions originate in discursive relationships between individuals rather than internally within them" (2000: p. 22). Understanding of emotion can be enriched by considering emotion as potentially arising *both* internally and relationally. We can also consider that internal emotions affect *how* emotions emerge in relationships, bringing together more closely private emotion and the discursive negotiations between and among individuals in making sense of and performing emotions. Moreover, emotions that may first arise from an interaction can be examined for how they undergo transformations, from their arousal in a relational encounter to later expressions, which can be intimately tied to unconscious processes.

More detail on major sources of friction will be examined in the sections below, to illustrate further the challenges and possibilities of interweaving these perspectives. Tensions do not need to be insurmountable barriers but instead can reveal important points of engagement and new possibilities. The three areas of tension in particular that will be reviewed are: resistance to Freud; divergent perspectives on specific emotions; and emotional labour.

Tension resulting from resistance to Freud. Freud and the psychoanalytic legacy have provided the needed concepts for many later developments across psychology and sociology disciplines, yet it has become common to overlook or minimise the contributions of Freudian thought (Gabriel, 1999b). Insufficient engagement with psychoanalysis occurs not only though these oversights, but also through negative interpretations of psychoanalytic assumptions. For example, Scheff (2000) states, "Like most psychological theory, Freud's formulations concern emotions in isolated individuals and ignore the social context" (2000: p. 85). Scheff discusses ways in which sociology can "solve the inside-outside problem that plagues psychoanalytic and other psychological approaches to shame" (2000: p. 88).

This "problem" results from what is thought to be a flawed psychoanalytic view of emotions as located within individuals, to the neglect of context; however, this apparent neglect of the outside or environment is contradicted by psychoanalytic writings which do address important external concerns. Posing such an "inside-outside problem" (Scheff, 2000: p. 88) is in itself a social construction, and it is possible that this "inside-outside" problem may reside within very relativist social constructionist approaches in which the "inside", and the interdependence of inside and outside, are not adequately examined. Indeed, classical approaches in psychoanalysis must be criticised, in which the universality of emotional experience was stressed to the neglect of local and cultural variations. Yet, this shortcoming need not lead to a view that all psychoanalytic thought fully neglects the many dynamics in "outer" reality; rather, psychoanalysis as an approach to emotion can offer many valuable insights to strengthen social constructionist views about the impact of the external world upon emotion.

In *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (Freud, 1955), Freud asserts that "…only rarely and under certain exceptional circumstances is individual psychology in a position to disregard the relations of this individual to others. In the individual's mental life someone else is invariably involved, as a model, as an object, as a helper, as an opponent" (1955: p. 69). The internal is thus intimately linked to the external; people's relations become internalised, which in turn can affect their later behaviours with others in many social environments. Kakar, who discusses the usefulness of various relational psychoanalytic models (like that of Winnicott and Erikson) for studies of non-Western psychic life, states that these models "are in general agreement that **the mental representations of relationships with others** constitute the fundamental building blocks of mental life" (Kakar, 1985: p. 446, my emphasis). These writings thus challenge's Scheff's charge of the "inside-outside" problem (2000: p. 88) as a central fault of psychoanalysis.

The work of Frosh also throws up new understandings of "inside" and "outside", as he argues that an exclusive focus on a person's use of discourse can block attending to powerful features of emotion outside of the discourse:

> There is an outside to the world of discourse, I am arguing, and whilst psychoanalysis is undoubtedly applicable to discourse – indeed, *is* discursive in much of its activity – it differs from discourse theory in being attuned **especially to this outside.** The excess, what cannot be held or contained, keeps cropping up; to a considerable degree, the discursive is something which defends against it (Frosh, 1999: p. 386, my bold, original italics).

Here there is a recognition of the significance of discourse for psychoanalysis, alongside insights about the potential problems of being trapped inside the study of discourse. The result of this entrapment is not engaging with the unpredictable, highly emotionally charged meanings that cannot be comprehended with words at the time that they are experienced, although reflection afterwards with discourse may be useful. Just as some criticisms of psychoanalysis centre on its being too focussed on events as located inside the head, we can similarly caution against an emotion conceptualisation that is too much inside words and insufficiently engaged with emotion experiences associated with, but not fully encapsulated in, words.

The importance of group life was analysed by Freud as well. He discussed the group as a way for people to find escape from repressed instincts, and he highlighted that images and associations *connect* group members, just as associations exist *within* the individual in states of free flow (Freud, 1955). Freud's analyses of groups have important applications for work, as noted by Sulkowicz: "Freud's writings on group dynamics... can serve the thoughtful CEO well" (Adler, 2006: p. 4 of the online version). Freud addressed both the existence of the world outside of the individual, as well as the indestructible bonds linking the inner and outer:

> Whereas the ego is essentially the representative of the external world, of reality, the super-ego stands in contrast to it as the representative of the internal world, of the id. Conflicts between the ego and the ideal will… ultimately reflect the contrast between what is real and what is psychical, between the external world and the internal world (Freud, 1960a: p. 32).

Crossley (2004) introduces her research with Freud (1958), who indicated that organisations need to address the *external* world, and a lack of such attention would destroy the organisation's viability due to dynamics like the pleasure principle (Crossley, 2004: p. 225). Resistance to Freud can thus be addressed by stressing that a psychoanalytic study of emotion emphasises interdependence of inner and outer worlds. As discussed by Gabriel, society imposes upon individual instincts, resulting in anxieties and repressions, which are in turn addressed by "socially acceptable consolations" (1999b: p. 41), illustrating an intimate cycle of mutually linked individual and social dynamics.

Psychoanalysts after Freud continued to acknowledge the social context, like Erikson who noted consideration of "the social conditions in which we encounter him [patient in psychoanalysis]" (Erikson, 1965: p. 243). He also asserted:

> If our **social and historical processes** have not simply *reproduced* human instincts as they are, but have repressed, displaced, perverted them and often made them doubly anarchic and destructive, then **it is to these processes and not simply to the nature of instincts** that we must turn for our answer [my bold; original italics], (Erikson, 1965: p. 252).

Interestingly, Marcuse (1962) conveys psychoanalysis as subordinating the individual to society, in contrast to perceptions from some social constructionist approaches that psychoanalysis is the study of the individual as an island of existence.

Significant limitations of psychoanalysis for examining cultural variations in emotion require scrutiny. However, these concerns should not result in full resistance to the usefulness of psychoanalysis based on an assumption that it

entirely neglects the social context. Psychoanalytic and social constructionist analyses may emphasise different points in studying private-social dynamics, but psychoanalytic approaches do not uniformly ignore external factors outside the individual. A greater openness to possibilities from psychoanalysis will help to tackle further sources of friction, such as contrasting views on specific emotions like envy and shame, discussed below.

Tension resulting from divergent perspectives on specific

emotions. The contrasts and conflicts of these two systems of conceptualising emotion not only result from different assumptions about the nature of self and society in relation to the experience and expression of emotions, but also from contrasting views on the meanings of specific emotions. Envy, shame, and emotions associated with power will be addressed as examples. Hochschild (1975) approaches envy as a socialised emotion, associated with historically-specific factors like prevailing gender norms; such a social context must be present for the emotion of envy to have any sustaining value or meaning. While these external influences are emphasised, Hochschild also refers to stable qualities like self-esteem that can influence susceptibility to envy. I argue that such qualities may persist regardless of influences from the social environment, and self-esteem may be strongly rooted in childhood experiences. Thus, Hochschild (1975) usefully illustrates social processes that make possible the very experience of envy, but there is also room, when examined psychoanalytically, for the potential impact of more persistent individual factors upon specific emotions.

In terms of coping with the discomfort of envy, Hochschild (1975) notes "symbolic redistribution" (p. 292) as one possibility. This process basically entails a reduction in envy by some symbolic function, like having feelings of pleasure through association with another person, who in fact is the object of envy. In reading about this coping strategy, substitute gratification (Gabriel, 1999b) from psychoanalysis comes to mind. Are both of these processes similar, in terms of minimising anxiety by the transfer of emotions or energy? To what degree is this redistribution process as described in Hochschild (1975) consciously sought to quench envy? If conscious, it would be juxtaposed to substitute gratification, where

satisfaction is searched for unconsciously. We can also probe: do people consciously feel a reduction in envy upon employing this strategy of symbolic redistribution? Is it possible that envy may persist unconsciously and transform into different emotions like anger, and be revealed through behaviour in varied forms, like chiding a colleague for defying authority? These questions are posed to illustrate different ways that social constructionism and psychoanalysis may be contrasted in studying a specific emotion. A psychoanalytic view can offer rich possibilities about the meanings of envy, even when it originates through social processes.

Hochschild (1975) conveys that the high value placed upon rationality has impeded exploration of emotions, but later on her discussions, such as that of envy, appear to be based upon very rational arguments. For envy, the influence of socialisation implies that clearly defined and observable factors smoothly and rationally lead to parallel changes in emotional experiences. Yet, a myriad of other possibilities can influence the experience of envy, as Hochschild notes as well in citing self-esteem. Hochschild refers to processes in socialisation like goals one is expected to attain in life, and she describes how envy may arise when another person rather than the self is attaining these goals. This understanding of envy can be taken further with psychoanalysis, through probing envy's unconscious stimulation or its suppression, bringing together more closely social reasons for envy with its private experiences and varied manifestations.

Clarke (2003) addresses social constructionist areas of inquiry for envy, including history, language, culture, and morality, and he notes the limitations of this approach, in terms of not exploring unconscious reasons for, or individual differences in, envy. He then turns to Melanie Klein's analysis of envy, to expand

understanding of this specific emotion with a psychoanalytic approach. As

described by Clarke (2003), Klein conceptualises envy as destructive of the good

in the other object, a process threatening the integrity of the *depressive* position.

This position is a psychological state involving an understanding and acceptance of

both good *and* bad in an object, by realising the coexistence of both in one's self.

By undermining the depressive position, envy unleashes an unhealthy state in

relation to the other. Clarke (2003) then incorporates his own work on racism in

the context of Kleinian interpretations to envy, depicting racist acts as a way that

the perpetrators can purge their envy of others. Clarke's discussion is revealing as

he outlines social constructionist *and* psychoanalytic views to enhance

understanding of envy, emphasising the interrelationships between the frameworks

and the usefulness of focusing on their similarities and unique insights.

Analyses of work problems arising from envy can be enhanced by

considering both theoretical accounts, and by questioning and expanding social

constructionist approaches to envy like the work of Hochschild (1975). We can

explore how organisational structures and culture may foster envy among workers,

and how envy may be manifested differently based upon expected gender roles of

the local culture (a social constructionist slant). We can investigate how envy may

have roots in childhood dynamics and become transformed unconsciously to

different emotions like anger, to help explain with more depth dynamics like

dysfunctions in work relations (a psychoanalytic slant).

Like envy, shame is a specific emotion that has been examined from social

constructionist and psychoanalytic points of emphasis, and the research of Scheff,

Gabriel, and Billig will be highlighted. Scheff (2000) in particular advocates the

need to focus on specific emotions, separately from a general sociological

approach to emotional life, in order to improve what can be learned from research. This point is indeed useful, but similar to Scheff's rejection of Freud as discussed above, he indicates that a psychoanalytic approach to shame is devoid of social considerations and consequently limited in its contribution. Scheff does note later psychoanalysts like Erikson who assigned a more defining role to shame in development.

Scheff (2000) then reviews interesting and helpful contributions of sociologists to the study of shame, such as Cooley and the looking-glass metaphor, and he interprets these studies by conceptualising shame as an emotion resulting from potential impairment to one's interpersonal relations. Scheff (2000) views shame as an emotion of utmost significance in all interactions, and he describes different forms of shame, like modesty and humiliation. Shame and its variants are linked together by the common factor of social bonds and their potential damage or dissolution (2000).

Scheff (2000) does discuss and provide detail about analyses of shame by Helen Lewis, a psychoanalyst. However, he cites Lewis as discussing her results, derived from transcripts of patients' experiences in psychotherapy, in a very social manner. The psychoanalytic reference thus circles back to providing support for social determinants of shame. By doing so, potential contributions of psychoanalytic analyses of shame and their interrelationships with social approaches are lost.

To illustrate, Scheff describes Lewis as indicating that shame can "...occur in response to threats to the bond from the other, but it can also occur in response to actions in the 'inner theatre,' in the interior monologue in which we see ourselves from the point of view of others" (Scheff, 2000: p. 95), and he proceeds

to make a link between Lewis' analyses and the view that "the self is a social construction..." (2000: p. 95). Possibilities for engaging with these inner monologues from a psychoanalytic perspective, and for probing unconscious ways in which these social relations are internalised or distorted, are not sufficiently explored.

Scheff's strengths (2000) in putting forth shame as a social emotion could be complemented by inquiring about the following: During social interactions, why do people vary in their responses to one another and in the intensity of their anxieties about potential impairment to the social bond? Why is there great diversity among individuals in response to the same potential stressor caused by a social interaction? While this diversity may be attributed to people's different experiences of socialisation, including variation in the impact of social structures, it would be useful to consider that the source of these differences may be found in transference dynamics and other private, internal struggles occurring often unconsciously. We can also consider the possibility that shame is in fact an emotion that has been transformed into a different one in the journey from internal experience to external manifestation, similar to shame/anger loops of Lewis discussed by Scheff (2000), whereby people can have "emotional reactions to their emotions" (Scheff, 2000: p. 95). A reference to the unconscious is made through discussion of Lewis' work, but more explicit, in-depth links between unconscious processing and shame created through social bonds would have greatly enhanced the study of this specific emotion.

Scheff (2000) moves from shame as experienced on an individual level to analysing shame in collective processes. In the context of the prior research of Lewis, he refers to the distinction between shame that is, or is not, acknowledged,

and suggests that un-addressed shame can damage culture and relationships. It would be helpful to consider more precise differentiations between an unacknowledged or unnamed emotion, and one that exists outside of conscious awareness. A collective group may not name shame in relation to a past trauma, but they may be very aware of it, which can be very different from a group that is paralysed by painful emotions but is not consciously aware that shame is the driving force. Allowing space for such considerations helps to address the "inside-outside" (Scheff, 2000: p. 88) problem that Scheff himself puts forth.

Gabriel (1998a) addresses shame, among other emotions, in the context of insults, by examining the written narratives of students about their internships. Shame was implicated, for example, in a report of a student who was insulted by a superior, but she did not respond to this attack. The interdependence of these negative social interactions with emotions like shame, supports the significance of social constructionist analyses of emotion: it is through roles and relating with others that we come to experience emotion. Intriguing psychoanalytic insights are derived from this study of insults as well (Gabriel, 1998a). The student's insult was compounded by her superior's use of stereotypes, intensifying further the emotional response. Stereotypes are described as serving social and political functions like oppression, as well as deriving their recalcitrant strength from satisfying the offending person's unconscious desires.

To help address one of the above questions I posed about how to explain individual differences in shame, it is instructive to refer to Freud's psychical conceptualisation of multiple parts of the mind. In this formulation, a variety of events can hurt different aspects of our mind. Specifically, Gabriel (1998a) notes that insults to our ego-ideals may wound us more deeply and intensely than such

attacks on our ego. Ego-ideals are a source of very emotional identification, as they stand for emotional states of heroism or joy to which we aspire, and insults that directly target such ideals will arouse shame in a distinctly powerful fashion. Consequently, there may be a persistence of shame in the face of attacks on our ego ideals, a resistance of emotion to redress that cannot be explained fully through studying: the content of the insult itself; the nature of the social bond; or the power status or other similar social characteristics of the actors, to draw on performance metaphors from Goffman (1959). These are significant social constructionist considerations, but there may be times that painfully wounded ego ideals need to be examined when strong emotion appears to persist with intensity, beyond what would be expected from an analysis of relationships and social environment.

Conceptualising the psychical mind as having different parts can be taken further: as insults may stimulate a diversity of emotional responses in kind and intensity, depending upon the part of the mind that has been wounded, it follows that different defence mechanisms may be utilised to deal with the resultant shame and other emotions (Gabriel, 1998a). These specific defences, associated with different parts of the insulted psyche's structure, will then have varied manifestations in subsequent social interactions in the workplace. Consequently, Gabriel's analysis illuminates a link between social and psychical processes, demonstrating that unconscious processing of emotion can have cascading and multiple effects in later social interactions.

Billig (1998) formulates the concept of dialogic repression, which brings together discursive psychology and psychoanalysis by linking the power of language with the unconscious occurrence of repression, to help explain how emotions like shame may occur. He argues that "adults, in their everyday talk with

children, provide models of repression. [Billig (1998) later indicates that the parents are not consciously aware of doing this modelling.] In this sense, repression, and thereby the unconscious, will be rhetorically and culturally reproduced through the words of adults" (Billig, 1998: p. 12-13). With regard to shame, parents speak to the child in ways that establish, unconsciously, conventions of morality and attendant shame. As a result, in adulthood and at work, people may embody a well of shame based on the idiosyncrasies of one's unique family upbringing and unconscious messages conveyed linguistically.

In addition to emotions like envy and shame, desire for power is a specific emotional process approached in different ways by these two perspectives on emotion. According to Hochschild (1975), along with the usual financial benefits, people with power "also enjoy more affective rewards" (1975: p. 296), which include "immunity from hostility and exposure to awe and liking" (1975: p. 296). In contrast, the allure of power from Freud's view includes gratification of impulses and freedom from restrictive group ties (Freud, 1955).

From a social constructionist contribution, the emotions associated with various power statuses are particularly illustrative for studying work dynamics. Hochschild (1975) illustrates that people do inhabit vastly different "emotional as well as social and physical worlds" (1975: p. 296) based upon their position in the power hierarchy, and unequal power relations influence the degree of expressed emotion (1975). However, considerations of power that only focus on role or status may be inadequate for capturing specific emotional dynamics associated with various hierarchical positions. Someone with enormous power may not necessarily enjoy freedoms of affective experience, as there may be other emotional burdens imposed by the position of power, such as anxiety resulting

from constant scrutiny and limited opportunity to experience emotions fully in private life.

Complicating matters further, the discourse about power, when analysed more specifically, unveils many layers of power, potentially cutting into one another: material, political, intellectual, physical, and cultural, the latter including bodily experiences of power varying by gender, race, sexuality, age, and so on. An Indian CEO may on the surface enjoy material power, but may experience great ambivalence and conflict upon having to hire white employees in order to open international business opportunities. In this instance, the CEO experiences anxiety rather than "affective rewards" (Hochschild, 1975: p. 296), and he defers to other *subordinate* white employees who are the ones attracting "awe and liking" (Hochschild, 1975: p. 296) from potential business partners, despite occupying less power accorded to an official role. The Indian CEO's painful emotions are linked to unconscious re-enactments of colonial racial hierarchies. Thus, a more comprehensive analysis of a power status and its associated emotions results from linking these unconscious processes to history, the embodiment of race, and attendant anxieties.

To review, this section focused on how psychoanalytic and social constructionist assumptions are in tension when studying specific emotions. Envy, shame, and emotions associated with power were addressed. These examples were used to convey the nature of friction between these two frameworks, and to signal ways that these specific emotions can be understood more fully when consulting both systems of conceptualisation. This section on tensions regarding specific emotions is included in the context of outlining major areas of tension between these two prominent ways of understanding emotion. The first section focussed on

tensions resulting from resistance to Freud, and the next section focuses on

tensions when contrasting psychoanalytic approaches to emotion with emotional

labour, a conceptualisation of emotion significant in social constructionism.

Tension specifically in regard to emotional labour, a prominent social constructionist approach to emotion. The study of emotional life in organisations has been enriched by consideration of emotion work (Hochschild, 1975), especially such work defined as emotional labour, which is working on one's emotions specifically to satisfy demands by organisations for the goals of profit and success. Emotional labour was greatly popularised by Hochschild in *The Managed Heart* (Hochschild, 2003). This research (2003) has been widely hailed as groundbreaking, and indeed its contributions to later investigations of emotion at work have been substantial. Hochschild's essential premise is that companies exploit people's emotional lives by requirements about how their emotions are to be managed and displayed in the organisation, with the ultimate goal of benefitting the bottom line. Hochschild notes that while this labour is expected, it is not officially compensated or recognised, which may create additional emotional burdens.

Feeling rules are central to Hochschild's research, to the extent of shaping the "private, symbolic world" (Hochschild, 1975: p. 292). However, the nature of the symbolic is not clearly outlined, and perhaps too much importance is accorded to the feeling rule itself in conceptualising its effects. It may be useful to consider individual differences in the perception, interpretation, and internalisation of such rules. Two people from a cultural group may be exposed to the same cultural rules, but they may interpret these rules in vastly different ways depending upon: unconscious experiences; individual needs and desires; unique experiences in childhood; and fantasies. The psychoanalytic perspective thus helps to illustrate dynamics that can advance our understanding of the unexpected, varied, and at times irrational responses to emotion rules. In fact, there have been growing

criticisms pointed out for example in Vogler (2000) that people do not simply absorb such rules in a compliant manner.

Workers can respond to these rules by surface acting or deep acting. In surface acting, an emotion is displayed without any actual felt authenticity, while in deep acting, a person actually induces her/himself to feel that which is expected by the organisation (2003). In the process of deep acting, for example, an angry airline employee may incite her/himself to remove the anger and feel compassion for the passenger instead. The social constructions of surface and deep acting in regard to people's emotional processing can be challenged. Taking a psychoanalytic probe into acting, we can question to what extent, in response to an organisation's feeling rules, one engaging in deep acting *genuinely* feels the emotion that is prescribed, and *no longer* experiences the undesired emotion.

If one is expected to be enthusiastic even with a confrontational customer, can the person convince her/himself that the accommodating emotion has been effectively aroused? In deep acting, if an emotion is genuinely felt, is it really acting anymore? Does an emotion like anger really "go away"? If so, where and how? Does the person now feel calmness when interacting with the rude passenger? Alternatively, is the anger merely pushed away and manifested as different emotions? Is it transformed in later behaviour through sublimation? Sublimation is an unconscious defence mechanism whereby an aggressive emotion like anger finds a transformed outlet of expression through some socially acceptable means (Freud, 1966). The unconscious responses, like defences, in response to an organisation's feeling rules can be studied alongside acting, for fuller knowledge of emotions at work.

Interestingly, Hochschild (2003) refers to the subconscious and fantasy as resources for deep acting. Yet, her description of tapping into these resources sounds more like a cognitive strategy, or even self-deception, rather than a true emotional re-working. The strategy of drawing upon specific memories to change emotions is described as very purposeful. The emphasis on acting to control emotions illustrates a fundamental tension between emotional labour and psychoanalysis: emotional labour is rationally and consciously worked through, while a psychoanalytic view assumes the possibility of unconscious influences like defences and transformation of emotion. Indeed, Theodosius concludes that Hochschild's formulation essentially subordinates emotion to cognition: "The whole premise of emotion management itself is based on the belief that emotion is innately manageable" [and therefore conscious] (Theodosius, 2008: p. 55). However, these frictions between views can be overcome by interlinking the process of emotional labour with its unconscious manifestations and consequences. As demonstrated by Theodosius, for example, there may be times that a cultural rule may be embraced unconsciously for private needs, rather than being fully consciously controlled through acting.

It is useful at this point to probe, if Hochschild's work with emotional labour explicitly refers to any relations with psychoanalytic thinking. In fact Hochschild (1975, 1979, 2003) does make multiple references to Freud and highlights psychoanalytic contributions applicable to the development of emotional labour theory. She is critical of Freud as well, for instance viewing him as overlooking conscious thought (Hochschild, 1975). Yet, Freud did in fact make references in his writings to conscious experiences in addition to unconscious ones, such as highlighting anxieties which may arise from "external danger" (Freud,

1960a: p. 61). It is not that a psychoanalytic way of studying emotion asserts exclusive workings of the unconscious; in Freud's psychical conceptualisation, different parts of the mind function at fluid, varying levels of consciousness. Rather, a psychoanalytic window opens up a dynamic landscape of possibility for analysing emotional processes like emotional labour, which may operate beyond cognitive controls.

Hochschild (1975) does acknowledge the possibilities of the unconscious influencing emotion, but does so in a limited manner, as her work implies that one's reported emotions directly reflect private ones. Hochschild (1979) emphasises a focus on conscious feeling in her emotion management conceptualisation, but we can question whether there are clear boundaries between conscious and unconscious emotion. In the psychoanalytic view, the actor required to make an emotional performance at work may actually be sharing different emotions from what is being unconsciously experienced. One can report on the idea of an emotion, and this *idea* can be separate from the *actual* felt emotion itself; such a process was discussed by Sigmund Freud and later defined as isolation of affect by Anna Freud, as noted in Gabriel (1998b).

The work of Theodosius (2008) about the emotional labour of nurses helps to illuminate this contrast between unconscious emotion and what is outwardly expressed. In one of the revealing clinical vignettes, a nurse is confused about suddenly crying as she thought that her main emotion was anger, when in fact it was "unacknowledged shame" (2008: p. 183). "Drawing on Freud... it is possible to see that Kate **induces** anger and consciously interprets her repressed shame as anger. Her anger, therefore, is the **'ideational presentation'** of repressed shame" (Theodosius, 2008: p. 184 my emphasis). Incorporating a psychoanalytic view can

thus widen the interpretations of people's emotions when they engage in emotional labour. Hochschild's contributions are immense: the very recognition and naming of what people may experience at work as emotional labour has been pivotal for emotion research. Studies of emotional labour can be broadened, by considering the different ways that the processing of emotion, subsequent to rule exposure, may be more intricate and multi-layered than what would be logically predicted.

We may gather further support for the helpfulness of intertwining psychoanalytic work with analyses of emotional labour, by examining how the study of emotional labour has been updated and revised. This expansion of the conceptualisation of emotional labour creates more layers about emotion, and psychoanalytic interpretations can help to derive greater meaning from these layers. The studies of Bolton and Boyd (2003), Theodosius (2008), and Gabriel (2009) are particularly instructive to emphasise.

Bolton and Boyd (2003) propose a typology of emotional labour, to demonstrate that feeling rules as laid out by the organisation comprise only a part of the feeling rules to which people are exposed; individual motivations such as caring for others can influence the type of emotional labour one engages in during work as well, independent of organisational demands. The focus is thus shifted from the organisational imposition of rules upon the individual, to a recognition that a private domain does exist during work life, which is not emphasised by Hochschild. Bolton and Boyd stress that employees' uniqueness will have an impact upon how and to what degree they engage with feeling rules.

Similar to Bolton and Boyd (2003), Theodosius (2008) outlines different types of emotional labour like therapeutic and collegiate, demonstrating this labour to be more multifaceted than that which satisfies company requirements. Her

emphasis on the relational, interactive nature of nurses' emotional labour highlights that *who* people are in the emotional encounter, and how they interact, are just as important as the occupational context and its rules; it is the individuals who determine the nature of unfolding emotional experience. Drawing upon an interaction between a nurse and patient in one of the vignettes, Theodosius notes that "Their emotions were not defined by the feeling rules; rather, they informed the individual of aspects of those feeling rules which were important to them" (2008: p. 205), and she illustrates that people can internalise and interpret feeling rules in different ways. She conveys that an interaction can generate *new* emotions unique to the two individuals involved, and these emotions are just as useful to examine as factors like rules to understand emotional labour. We can add here the psychoanalytic perspective: if the individuals are significant beyond context, engaging in a shifting emotional labour according to the unique interaction, their personal histories will have an impact upon emotional exchange and the meanings derived from them.

Theodosius (2008) makes reference to psychoanalytic and other research to support her widened understanding of emotional labour. She stresses that Hochschild's original conceptualisation does not allow for unpredictable emotions; she argues that in repressing emotion, "the emotion has not really been managed... it may express, influence or motivate further emotion responses, and bypass cognitive processes" (Theodosius, 2008: p. 84). She draws upon Freud to note that emotions can emerge or exist *without* needing words. In addition, Theodosius (2008) devotes considerable attention to the research of Archer, who "…directly makes socially constructed feeling rules optional to individuals because for them to matter, the subject needs to have a relationship with them" (Theodosius, 2008: p.

96-97). The individual personality is thus accorded importance for studying

engagement with emotion rules at work.

Theodosius (2008) also notes important concerns of social constructionist

inquiry that provide a more comprehensive understanding of emotional labour.

She conveys that the profession being examined, the power balances within the

organisation, and so on will influence the nature of emotional labour. Thus, we

cannot readily generalise from the profession of flight attendants and the associated

impersonal worker-client dynamic, as originally put forth in Hochschild, to

interactions in other professions. As noted above in the discussion of social

constructionism, roles define the emotions that we experience, and such roles and

their expectations may indeed vary by profession.

Theodosius (2008) thus describes the emotional labour of nurses in a

complex, multifaceted way by referring to tenets of psychoanalysis and social

constructionism, *and* interlinking these frameworks. She illuminates that

managing emotions *consciously* for the purpose of emotional labour actually may

be serving the function of satisfying *unconscious* motivations (2008: p. 85), an

insight which requires the use of concepts from different approaches to emotions.

Moreover, she illustrates that individuals can internalise and interpret the *same*

feeling rules in *different* ways.

The challenges that studying emotions generate are met more meaningfully,

therefore, when both theoretical models are drawn upon, to bring together in a

more interdependent manner private inner experience and externally encountered

feeling rules. In interpreting vignettes of workplace experiences, Theodosius

(2008) illustrates that we can consciously think we are having one emotion, while

we are actually experiencing another and have repressed it, because it does not

meet consciously or unconsciously learned social rules. Theodosius (2008) provides the example of a nurse who represses anger and feels guilt instead, because being angry at a grieving relative would violate her internalisation of the emotion expectations of a nurse as a caring person. The interaction of repression with feeling rules, and the resultant emotional tranquillity or storm, demonstrate an intimacy between the individual and the socially constructed rules she/he encounters.

Gabriel (2009), discussing social constructionist and psychoanalytic points, unveils nuances and greater depth about emotions during work, specifically the work of caring for others. His research significantly updates the approach to emotional labour, by illustrating unique emotions experienced in this highly ambivalent relationship of the carer and the cared for; these emotional experiences occur beyond what would be expected in rules and scripts. To illuminate one of the sources of ambivalence, he describes common views of consumers as "social constructions… consumer as all-good and deserving and all-bad and undeserving" (Gabriel, 2009: p. 183-184), and he interlinks social constructionism with psychoanalytic insight by tracing the source of these social constructions about consumers to fantasies.

These fantasies take root in childhood, in which humans experience a long time of being dependent upon a caregiver in order to survive. Anxieties result when a child fears that the caregiver is not available. As a result, in adulthood, a person who was once independent and finds her/himself now needing another to meet basic needs, can re-experience the discomforts and traumas of childhood around this dynamic of dependence (Gabriel, 2009). The carer, for her/his part, may split the recipient of care into a grateful, suffering person in need of help, or

into an ungrateful, demanding one. Therefore, the sources for one's outward emotions during emotional labour are found in childhood and later revival of unconscious anxieties. Alternatively, the return to childhood may evoke positive memories. A client being cared for may feel gratitude to the carer, not because of the organisation's message about being helpful, but rather because the current interactions with the caregiver stimulate an unconscious reawakening of comfort and peace when protected in childhood.

The caring profession and its expectations are socially constructed, situated within a capitalist era where people who engage in often exhausting, underpaid care work are not highly-esteemed in society (Gabriel, 2009). These conditions can influence the very emotions that are experienced during the emotional labour of care work, such as frustration, or in contrast a positive emotion like empathy, in the instance of people who pursue this work for its emotional rewards. These social constructionist considerations of the emotions that one engages in during care work are complemented by psychoanalytic approaches that emphasise fantasy, as illustrated by Gabriel. A fantasy perspective offers an illuminating contrast to emotional labour, initially conceived as work demanded by the organisation.

To conclude this analysis of emotional labour, the assumptions of this widely researched topic and associated concepts like feeling rules and acting were reviewed. Tensions with the psychoanalytic perspective, as well as useful ways that psychoanalysis can complement emotional labour studies, were discussed. Recent studies refining and expanding the meanings of emotional labour were noted.

This exploration of emotional labour is the third in three sections on specific sources of tension between social constructionist and psychoanalytic tenets

of emotion. Tension may persist due to fundamentally different assumptions, like conscious management versus unconscious processing of emotion. There are times, however, that tension may be overcome through more efforts to conduct research that intertwines both frameworks. The next section will focus on such studies of joint efforts, by first reviewing theoretical attempts and then empirical studies, which have incorporated assumptions and meanings from both of these outlooks to emotion. The final part of this section about attempts to bring these approaches together will explore research in the East, demonstrating its importance to improving our understanding of emotion with these two frameworks.

Theoretical, empirical, and cultural studies illustrating the strengths of joint application

Indians and psychoanalysts can both provide important lenses for one's work, sometimes in conflict, sometimes going together, but not one completely dominating the other [Kakar, as told to Sharma in an interview] (Sharma, 2000: p. 278).

In a discussion of being an Indian and a psychoanalyst, pre-eminent psychoanalyst Sudhir Kakar expressed the above view, one that captures the purpose of this section. Making a parallel to this doctoral thesis of studying social constructionism and psychoanalysis in relation to emotions, I similarly argue that these two approaches can inform one another or be utilised jointly, without one being lost in the other. In this Literature Review chapter, I first focussed on the features of both theoretical perspectives and their limitations, followed by a discussion of their similarities and the tensions between them. This part of the Literature Review will highlight ways in which the incorporation of both models of emotion enhances theoretical and empirical knowledge. The studies discussed below either explicitly address both approaches and depict a relationship between them, or they invoke dynamics which are represented by constructs in these approaches.

Theoretical endeavours for incorporating both perspectives

Research on the application of both perspectives has focused on theoretical intertwining of concepts and new formulations. As noted earlier, Billig (1997, 1998) developed a concept called the dialogic unconscious, in which he utilises both psychoanalysis and discourse analysis, for a new conceptualisation of the unconscious in terms of what is repressed during interactions. In essence, his argument is that conversations serve the function of repression.

Billig (1997) reviews the perceived incompatibility between inner dynamics and socially constituted processes, and then proceeds to argue that apparent contradictions may be misleading; one can place value upon the interactive processes while also acknowledging that such verbal interactions can create processes of repression. In drawing psychoanalytic and discursive accounts closer together, Billig helps to convey that what is repressed in the first place, what is considered to be taboo for conversation, and so on, depend upon historical and cultural circumstances that shape the language of the interaction. He emphasises examining conversations in microdetail, which can illustrate the cultural specificity of unconscious repressive processes.

Billig (1998) interprets Freud's Little Hans case study to argue that emotions associated with morality, such as shame, can be understood by studying the language used in interactions. Defence mechanisms like projection and denial may be modelled to children through parents' language and behaviour in relation to the child. Billig's analysis of Hans (1998) reveals that parents may teach repression through their words, without fully being aware of the repressive effects of their speech upon children. In his work Billig at times appears to subordinate the

unconscious to language; however, he asserts that "To point to the dialogical basis of repression is not to dismiss the unconscious as a 'linguistic artefact' " (Billig, 1998: p. 20-21). Yet, any dual incorporation of these two models for understanding emotions requires careful treading, so that in fact one is not fully subsumed under, or explained in terms of, the other.

In evaluating Billig's formulations (1998), it is important to note that he has been criticised for overemphasising language in developmental socialisation, a process which may be more relevant for "Euro-American middle classes" (Sharma, 1998: p. 59). In addition, Sharma indicates that Billig (1998) neglects recent developmental studies that illuminate the occurrence of preverbal emotional development. While Billig (1998) illustrates that language can be critical for serving the functions of repression, Sharma (1998) argues that repressive processes are not limited to language modelling only, as "Social interactions prior to and independent of the emergence of language" significantly affect repression (1998: p. 50). Applied to work spaces, both linguistic and non-linguistic factors, the latter including nonverbal behaviours and unspoken cultural values, can reveal repressed emotions.

It is notable that Sharma (1998) adopts a cross-cultural approach which in fact challenges the social constructionist emphasis upon language as shaping our emotional reality; thus, one may argue that there are universalist assumptions inherent in social constructionist theorising. Sharma (1998) indicates that the impact of language itself varies culturally. Therefore, making assumptions about universal experience through the tenets of one's theoretical view is not only a concern which must be addressed by psychoanalysis, but also it is a caution for social constructionist approaches. From Billig and Sharma, we can conclude that

there are cultural settings in which language contributes to the repressive process, but repression predates and also operates independently of language (Sharma, 1998). Furthermore, the use of language itself, like metaphors, can vary among individuals due to different unconscious meanings. Makari and Shapiro note that "We all live in a net of signifiers, many of which we rightly believe have general cultural currency, ignoring that they may *also* have profoundly individual histories that carry and convey unconscious messages" (Makari and Shapiro, 1993: p. 1008).

Parker (1997) has discussed the usefulness of making links between psychoanalysis and discourse analysis; similar to Billig (1998), he argues that a major theoretical revising of psychoanalysis is needed. This repeated emphasis by Parker suggests that psychoanalysis should be moulded to social constructionism, but the reverse process appears unnecessary, as he states that "...psychoanalysis needs to be reworked to make it sensitive to social constructionist accounts of the subject" (Parker, 1997: p. 493). However, a social constructionist approach may need to engage more closely with private, unconscious, inner subjectivity. In Parker's discussion (1997) of how to apply psychoanalysis to improve discourse analysis, he outlines specific suggestions such as shifting focus from the individual to the text, and like Billig, analysing what is not included in the text as a source of information. Parker's suggestions are useful, though a balance is desirable, such that one model does not eclipse the other or obscure its contributions.

In a later work, Parker (2008) illustrates a source of social constructionist hostility to psychoanalysis: a perception by some researchers that psychoanalysis inevitably means narrow views of the person as represented in experimental psychology (Parker, 2008: p. 154). It is helpful that Parker highlights such

misconceptions, as they indicate ways to move forward to greater collaboration rather than dismissal of an approach based on misunderstanding. Parker makes repeated use of the word boundary, to describe psychoanalytic and discursive work on different sides of this boundary. His use of this metaphor stimulates questions for the reader like: Is the boundary permeable, and in what ways? Who creates and monitors this boundary? Answers to such questions can reveal assumptions about whether and how social constructionist and psychoanalytic perspectives are brought together usefully. If, for example, one conceives the boundary as unidirectional, the underlying assumption may be that one perspective can overtake the other.

Perhaps the most inclusive and balanced approach to drawing upon these perspectives in relation to each other has been put forth by Clarke (2003), who emphasises the importance of psychoanalysis for the sociological understanding of emotions. He argues that exploring emotions "has become stuck, almost static between the social constructionist viewpoint, and those who see emotion as having some innate character" (2003: p. 145). Clarke posits the term "psychoanalytic sociology" (2003: p. 145) to denote a novel approach in which both views can be joined, to improve how we interpret emotions, and to indicate that one is not inherently superior to the other. Clarke asserts repeatedly with clear examples that psychoanalytic approaches, rather than being in direct opposition to social constructionism, can indeed enhance the study of social phenomena. One such example is that at times there is no direct physical or social experience to explain our emotional reactions to others; thus, fantasies then figure prominently as affecting emotions (Clarke, 2003).

These theoretical possibilities highlight ways in which to inter-relate social constructionism and psychoanalysis. Research investigations in the East and West examining a range of emotionally-charged phenomena will be discussed in the following sections, to illuminate further the benefits of drawing upon both interpretive frameworks of emotion. Empirical studies in the West will be examined, with a focus on gender and sexuality, as these studies have explicitly drawn upon resources from both perspectives. These gender and sexuality studies will be discussed in detail, to illustrate different ways that processes conceptualised by psychoanalysis and social constructionism are highly interconnected. Next, research in the East will be explored, bringing to focus the reasons in this thesis for studying India as a promising bridge of these two theoretical accounts.

Studies of gender and sexuality: Heightened understanding through applying social constructionist and psychoanalytic analyses

The previous section highlighted theoretical possibilities for drawing upon both social constructionism and psychoanalysis. In this section, studies about gender and sexuality will be reviewed, because they explicitly draw upon social constructionist and psychoanalytic theories to further understanding of the issues explored. The purpose of discussing these studies in detail is to highlight previous endeavours showing that social constructionist and psychoanalytic accounts can be brought closer together or can be complementary in uncovering important meanings. The significance of studying gender and sexuality from more than one perspective can enhance our understanding of these features at work. As illustrated by Fineman, Gabriel and Sims (2010), people's gender and sexuality are not ignored or discarded when they cross the organisational threshold. Indeed, gender dynamics can influence and be powerfully shaped by work, affecting emotions associated with workplace experiences like discrimination and anxieties about gender roles. Fotaki's research (2011) demonstrates the ways in which the embodiment of sexuality consciously and unconsciously affects working spaces, and Fotaki's work will be explored further to analyse stories in Data Chapter 3 on trauma.

Frosh (2001) and Frosh et al. (2003) demonstrate that psychoanalysis helps to *explain* the positions that one adopts within available discourses. From Frosh et al.'s study of masculinity (2003), it can be posited that social constructionism supplies a frame, and psychoanalysis can provide explanations for which pictures form in the frame.

They argue:

> While culture makes available the subject positions we can inhabit, the
> 'investment' that people have in these subject positions is not necessarily captured
> by the articulation of the discourses themselves; rather, it may hinge on **unspoken**
> **and at times unspeakable events**, experiences and processes, all of them
> 'cultural', but also deeply embedded in subjectivity. It is here, very specifically,
> that psychoanalysis might have something significant to say (Frosh et al., 2003: p.
> 42, my bold).

The authors (2003) support these points through their study of masculinity
in a sample of London schoolboys. Contrasts in individual and group interviews in
how the boys represent their masculinity are very useful to note, similar to
Gabriel's insight about how groups can increase or decrease one's defences,
resulting in variable presentations (Personal Communication, 2008). The presence
of others influenced one boy to act very masculine in a group interview, but in an
individual interview, he strongly conveyed himself as fighting in school against
conforming to stereotypically masculine expectations. The authors depict the
unconscious motivation driving his rebellion against masculinity as anxiety about
the expectations of masculinity, especially in regard to sexuality, rather than a
conscious rejection of the masculine role.

These interviews reveal that an unconscious motivation to satisfy certain
needs or cope with painful anxieties can influence the emotional presentations of
one who ostensibly situates the self within cultural expectations. Their results point
to transference dynamics as well, in that the emotional quality of experiences with
caregivers can shape a boy's identifications and later positioning within

masculinity. An example is that people may seek in others the *opposite* of the emotions encountered with one's first adult figures- in this case, a boy seeking sensitivity to counter the "bullying father" (Frosh et al., 2003: p. 48). The examples in this study exemplify the importance of social context in what identity positions are most commonly available in the first instance, and the unconscious focus in psychoanalysis makes more lucid the meanings, the why, of one's gender identifications.

Gough (2004) explores masculinity by bringing together both systems of understanding as well, supporting his arguments by examining discourse from boys and university male students. The driving motivations for the embrace of traditional masculinity are characterised both by social constructionism, in that one can exploit societal powers conferred by this construction of masculinity, and also by psychoanalysis, in that one can spurn parts of the self that are unconsciously considered undesirable, like homosexual and feminine tendencies. Moreover, consultation of the psychoanalytic approach unveils responses to masculinity that *defy* prevailing social expectations. One would expect the boys to portray themselves as fighters when threatened by a homosexual individual, because such a triumphant response would fulfil society's expectation of macho masculinity. Yet, unexpectedly in these stories the boys depict themselves as victims, evidencing deep unconscious anxieties. In a discussion among the university men about women, according to socially constructed standards women should be depicted as easily "conquered", but the women were discussed as domineering and threatening. Gough argues that "Culture informs talk within the group, but the discourse is marshalled in particular (unconscious) ways" (2004: p. 250).

By bringing together social and unconscious sculptors of masculinity, it emerges that powerful unconscious anxieties can defy stereotypes and social demands, requiring more detailed attention to struggles between private emotion and societal dictates. A focus only on the social constructions of masculinity would have masked the impact of unconscious fears. However, a reliance only on the psychoanalytic perspective would have neglected crucial points about social context and hidden the important frictions between unconscious influences and cultural ideals.

Discursive analysis, as a method of showing support for the importance of social constructions, helps point to the structure of the narrative and ways in which it is maintained, while the psychoanalytic account fills in the missing pieces with a discussion of the "why", such as: why do people persistently attach to an emotion or belief even in the face of challenging evidence? This question arises when Gough (2004) illustrates that the boys were resistant to the interviewer's challenging of false information or stereotypes. For the boys, fantasies about homosexuals evolve from ambivalence due to fear of, as well as attraction to, other men, and stereotypes result to contend with the anxieties of this ambivalence. In analysing the data further, Freudian slips of the tongue, symbols of sexuality, and Kleinian splitting and projections are among the processes discussed, that offer insightful and varied interpretations of masculinities (Gough, 2004).

The advantages conferred by joint efforts are made clear in a study of sexuality and oppression. Crossley (2004) does not explicitly address "social constructionism", but her multiple references to historical and social context, as well as her analysis of social issues through the language of narratives, illuminate important points of mutual engagement with psychoanalysis. Crossley (2004)

focuses on autobiographies and fiction of gay men to undercover possible reasons for why they may resist health education and pursue unsafe sex in the face of mortality and suffering. Resistance to safe sex practices is conceptualised as unconscious spurning of the prevailing norms of society, even at risk to the conscious body and self, a dynamic which thwarts rational interventions.

In these narratives, Crossley (2004) highlights content revealing emotional phenomena like ambivalence and fantasies; fantasies in particular can provide unconscious wish-fulfilments for some gay men. Resistance to safety is present throughout the historical periods addressed by the narratives, although the roots and manifestations of this resistance are shaped by the current social context in which they occur. Specifically, changing social discourse about sexuality, in tandem with historical developments like the beginning of the AIDS crisis, has an impact on how people make sense of their sexuality and what anxieties they will experience, and in turn what they repress. Similar to Billig (1997), unconscious processes like repression, therefore, are conveyed as inseparably tied to the external environment and affected by historical circumstances. Crossley's study illuminates that phenomena like resistance cannot be explained in an individualist, isolationist way; many insights are added with social constructionism alongside psychoanalysis.

Crossley (2004) makes several references to Freud, but it would have been useful in this study to discuss Freud's work on the unconscious nature of guilt that civilisation arouses in individuals (Freud, 1961). Similarly, a reference to the defence of identification with the aggressor (described by Anna Freud, 1966) would have been instructive in Crossley's study (2004). In this defence, people contend with being oppressed, overpowered, or threatened by those with more

privileged or senior status, by taking on these threatening qualities, in an attempt to move from an anxiety-provoking, helpless state to a more powerful one. This dynamic helps to explain gay men's internalisation of societal oppression during the period before AIDS; we can consider that the prevailing norm of the macho man was embraced, rather than shunned, to overcome anxieties of oppression. These defensive processes, which appear contradictory on the surface when predicting logically what might occur according to social constructions, illustrate conflicts between inner experience and outer social encounters.

It is likely that this internalisation of a macho ideal occurred unconsciously for many individuals, and Crossley (2004) does refer to latent processes; such unconscious processes stimulated by social oppression can help to explain the irrational persistence of repeatedly engaging in destructive, hurtful behaviours. These interrelations between unconscious processes and oppressions, as shown in Crossley and theoretically strengthened through the consultation of Anna and Sigmund Freud's writings, have formidable implications for understanding emotions at work in a more rich, meaningful way. Seemingly perplexing emotional responses by workers experiencing oppression are made lucid when considering the interaction between the social reasons for their stress and the unconscious way of responding, for example by identification with the aggressor, in order to overcome anxiety and gain power.

Referring to Freud and Billig, Crossley's analyses of ritualistic behaviour (2004), as revealed in the narratives, highlight how rituals in themselves can become acts of repression. Similarly, rituals that arise at work, either as officially sanctioned ones by management, or as symbolic actions created by the workers themselves, may serve a defensive function, such as repressing current work

troubles or containing anxiety associated with change. Engaging in the process of ritual, which involves repetition and predictable consequences even if harmful, can ease the fears surrounding uncertainty.

Crossley (2004) exemplifies that different perspectives can be brought together meaningfully, and she illustrates that an exclusive approach from one discipline can lead to misconceptions about the phenomena under study. Her work indicates the problems of overemphasising classical psychoanalytic views on sexuality, such as: the view of gay individuals as not achieving healthy development, and drives, which suggest lack of agency in that people are overrun by their sexual drives in how they behave. She references the work of Billig (1997) which helps to present new psychoanalytic views through his concepts including the dialogic unconscious, which has been discussed above.

These studies on gender and sexuality illuminate constructive ways forward in bridging psychoanalytic and social constructionist thought. The theoretical and empirical studies discussed in this section are derived from a Western approach and context, and if a study of emotion is to draw upon social constructionism, a more widened, diverse, multicultural exploration is needed. Cultural rules can be examined at micro levels, like organisational rules. However, many wider dimensions of culture like country of origin and race cannot be probed adequately in relation to emotion by limiting investigation of emotion to the West.

With these considerations in mind, it is now time to turn to the East, to examine from a fresh approach the links between psychoanalytic and social constructionist approaches to emotion. Learning about the East can in fact enhance understanding of emotion at work in Western settings, by offering new possibilities for consulting both perspectives, rather than being limited by only one.

Furthermore, many work settings in an increasingly globalised, mobile, border-less workplace include people from multiple cultural settings, resulting in varied emotional encounters. India is chosen as the Eastern focus for this thesis, as it is a land of hundreds of languages and dialects, many religions, varied foreign influences through invasions and colonial occupations, and endless contradictions, making this country ideal for studying a diverse emotional landscape. The significance of India is also detailed in the previous Introduction chapter of this thesis, and the ways in which India moves forward the study of emotion will be demonstrated in the remaining data chapters as well.

Meanings from the East: Providing cultural clarity to the

psychoanalysis of emotions

In this section, I address theoretical and cultural studies that indicate how fruitful a joint application and cross-fertilization of the two perspectives can be, by discussing the development of a specific branch of psychoanalysis in India and noting several examples of distinguished non-Western psychoanalytic studies. In so doing, I illustrate how unconscious and socially constructed meanings from the East invite a joint application of these perspectives. I bring out the strengths of joint application by, for example, highlighting the limitations of psychoanalysis, namely universalist assumptions, through demonstrating culturally specific aspects of Oedipal phenomena. As noted in my Introduction and earlier in this Literature Review, one of the ways to pursue a greater rapprochement of perspectives is to analyse the limitations of one by illuminating strengths of the other that address the limitations.

With regard to this example of Oedipal developmental phases, these are shaped by and enacted in the background of wider cultural myths. Myths are highlighted as an important aspect of social constructionism, as noted in Berger and Luckmann (1967) and Lynch's *Divine Passions: The Social Construction of Emotion in India* (1990). Berger and Luckmann (1967), for their part, describe mythology as "the most archaic form of universe-maintenance, as indeed it represents the most archaic form of legitimation.... [mythology is] a conception of reality that posits the ongoing penetration of the world of everyday experience by sacred forces" (1967: p. 128). Their discussion has implications for the later analysis in this section of the Ganesha myth ("sacred forces", 1967: p. 128), and

this myth's meanings for the mother-son bond (legitimation of everyday developmental experiences), which can have reverberations for gender at work, a point taken up in detail with Rekha in Data Chapter 1. With reference to the emotions of an Indian community, Chaubes, Lynch argues that emotions "can be understood in part through the myths they tell about themselves" (1990: p. 24), with similar implications for how the sharing of myth reinforces emotions of developmental relations, which are later enacted in work encounters. Broadly, the cultural features of myths provide crucial insights about culturally specific, and at times shared, anxieties and fantasies, which shape formative emotion processes and ultimately adult patterns like work interactions.

This section also addresses both socially constructed and psychoanalytic meanings, as uncovered from exploring India, through its focus on language, caste, historical changes, and emotional labour. Each of these will be addressed in further detail later in this section. For a brief overview here, earlier I noted that language and historical changes are among the main points of shared emphasis of social constructionist approaches, and the significance of these considerations in relation to psychoanalytic ones are brought out in new ways by expanding the emotion focus beyond Western contexts through engagement with India. Emotional labour and emotion rules, addressed earlier as significant emotion frameworks from a social constructionist context, are implied in psychoanalytic studies of hierarchical relations, such as with Roland (1982). The meanings of caste, which is itself analysed through social constructionism, become enriched through its interrelations with resistance, a universal psychoanalytic phenomena. Hence, this sub-section highlights topics of interest in social constructionism like myths and historical changes, and studying them alongside psychoanalysis through the

emotional landscapes of India supports the aim of this thesis, illustrating the strengths of a rapprochement of perspectives.

I will now proceed with this section by first noting the foundations of psychoanalysis established in India by Bose; I will then discuss the work of Kakar, continue with Roland, and address cross-cultural research on defences. I will conclude with an Eastern analysis of the Oedipus complex.

There is a historical record of a series of letters exchanged between Freud and G. Bose, who can be considered the father of psychoanalysis in India. Kakar (2008) quotes Bose as indicating, " 'During my analysis of Indian patients I have never come across a case of castration complex in the form in which it has been described by European observers. This fact would seem to indicate that the castration idea develops as a result of **environmental conditions acting on some more primitive trend** in the subject' " (Kakar, 2008: p. 73, my bold). Bose responds to Freud's doubts on his approach to castration by indicating that indeed castration is an important phenomenon in European patients, but for Indian male patients, the essence of anxiety connected to castration is the desire to be female (Sinha, 1966). Bose's observations exemplify that a universal anxiety, such as castration, may affect males, but the driving source and meanings of this emotion spring from local social dynamics.

The work of Kakar (2008) in particular illuminates the interdependence of inner and outer worlds, and the impact of culture upon shaping internalised images of caregivers. Nagpal (2000) notes that "In Kakar's work, the 'bad mother' image in India tends to be more of the 'sexually devouring' kind than the 'aggressively destroying' one" (Nagpal, 2000: p. 303). This childhood fantasy can be explained against the backdrop of patriarchal India and the highly elevated status of the male

child, whose arrival provides the mother with erotic satisfaction through newly acquired power and status, as her own female sexuality was not openly celebrated or allowed to flourish before this male birth (Nagpal, 2000). The importance of maternity assigned to Indian women (Nandy, 1982) generates its own fantasies, which in turn can influence expectations about, and patterns of relating with, women at work, as will be explored in depth in later chapters.

These early, highly charged mother-son patterns, including the shock of later separation from the intensely close bond with mother, can profoundly affect the adult male's emotions in relation with females, his narcissism, and his unconscious patterns of submission to idealised figures at work, as conveyed in Kakar's writings discussed by Nagpal (2000). For instance, submission to authority can provide an outlet for re-embracing the earlier highly charged affective relations that were traumatically cut off through separation from the mother. Nagpal (2000) highlights Kakar's observation about " 'the lifelong search for someone, a charismatic leader or a guru, who will provide mentorship and a guiding world-view, thereby restoring intimacy and authority to individual life. (Kakar, 1978, p. 128)' " (Nagpal, 2000: p. 304). A more culturally specific application of psychoanalysis offered by India brings into focus the inadequacies of studying emotions at work only from one standpoint; culturally specific childhood patterns, reinforced by wider cultural myths, interlock with unconscious fantasies, in turn guiding how people relate emotionally in workplaces.

Adding to this historical base in India, the cross-cultural clinical work of Western psychoanalyst Roland (1991), who practiced in India and Japan, provides space to review the significance of these two frameworks for understanding emotion, especially with regard to the frequently cited problem of assumed

universality in psychoanalysis. From his clinical work, Roland concludes that emotional processes studied within psychoanalysis, like ego boundaries, developmental stages, transference, countertransference, and resistance, are indeed found across cultures, but the specific dynamics and manifestations of these processes are very much shaped culturally. His work reveals that the emotional impact of child-rearing practices upon later adult functioning has potent implications *across* cultures, especially unconscious effects upon later adult emotional functioning and work life. The local values and language subsequently and intricately make the effect of these practices meaningful in cultural context.

To explore resistance in further detail, similar to Crossley (2004), Roland (1991) encounters resistance as present universally, and shaped by specific familial and cultural values. One example noted by Roland (1991) is that the source of resistance for Indians undergoing psychoanalysis is a deep fear of disclosing anything that would affect the family name. In my own work with Indian students and faculty from different states and religious backgrounds, the spiritual importance of family name was often discussed with pride and frequently noted as a reason for renunciation of individual desires, whereas such a concern may not characterise people from some Western families who value independence and do not stress any long-term significance of the name from one's birth. Furthermore, as indicated by one of my interviewees, Hindu surnames, particularly in North India, often give away one's caste. Consequently, resistance to disclosure, in therapy or in other social interactions that raise anxiety, not only may involve fears about portraying one's immediate family, but also may represent a need to uphold the dignity of one's caste. These cultural variations in resistance have very significant implications for this thesis; applying a social constructionist

understanding, the reasons that an organisational member may be reluctant to disclose emotional matters can be probed by attention to these cultural values.

Some emotional processes are culture bound; issues like separation, autonomy, and identity conflicts are reviewed by Roland (1991) as not comprising central issues of emotional development in Asian cultures, in contrast to the primacy of these dynamics for Westerners. However, the current phenomenon of globalisation is implied in Roland's acknowledgment that such "Western" conflicts may be more critical for the development of people in Asian cultures who are directly and strongly influenced by Western values. In a time when cultures increasingly share work spaces, exposure to different values inevitably affects the importance of dynamics like autonomy.

The importance of psychoanalytic research in India for clarifying universalist assumptions of psychoanalytic theory is also made clear in Roland's discussion (1991) of specific ego boundaries in India and Japan, which are not fully conceptualised in Western psychoanalytic theorising. He indicates that

> Indians and Japanese have…. a kind of inner boundary that enables them to keep a highly private self, to maintain an inner sanctum of feelings and thoughts while being partially merged with others of the family or group. In psychoanalysis, this can result in a plethora of secrets that go beyond anything I have experienced with Western patients (1991: p. 4).

Roland's clinical work (1991) therefore provides substantial support for the observation that emotional experiences, rooted in shared human experiences like development, transference, and additional unconscious processes, are found universally, while the social constructionist perspective illustrates that the ways we

conceptualise and interpret emotional experiences require attention to culturally specific family upbringing and wider societal dynamics.

Roland's research about hierarchical relationships in India (1982) illustrates that deference to those higher on the hierarchy in India, a formidable dynamic cultivated in childhood, may manifest in outward display but *not* in private feeling. One may have highly ambivalent feelings about those to whom one is expected to accord automatic respect, due to their superior status by age, gender, position, and so on. Roland does not use the term emotional labour, but his experience conveys Indians who consciously engage in this labour of respect toward their superiors, yet may harbour negative feelings about a superior. Ambivalence may trigger unconscious responses as well. Anger about the person higher up on the hierarchy may occur, but strong cultural prohibitions against aggressing toward superiors may unleash unconscious defences like reaction formation. With this defence, a person exhibits great like rather than dislike towards the superior in order to suppress anxieties of aggressive impulses, which violate important cultural standards about emotional submission (Roland, 1982). The emotion rules of hierarchy are thus tightly interconnected to unconscious processes.

The intertwining of unconscious dynamics with cultural influences is further demonstrated in the study of defences. Sharma's work (1998) highlights that defences have cultural specificity, based upon variable factors like the extent to which verbal behaviour is considered important in modelling defences. In a study examining Thai and American individuals, Tori and Bilmes (2002) demonstrated cultural differences in the defence mechanisms employed. Nghe and Mahalik (2001) studied defences in African American college students, and they found that the types of defences utilised were associated with one's stage of racial

identity development. This research signifies that defences are invoked across cultures for responding to emotions, but the nature of the defence mechanisms are finely tuned by cultural experience.

In this discussion of universality and the relationships between unconscious processes and cultural influences, it is now critical to turn to one of the most contentious aspects of psychoanalytic theory, the Oedipus complex. Cultural challenges to the Freudian formulation of the Oedipus Complex can be traced back to the groundbreaking work of Malinowski, whose analyses of kinship patterns much different from those encountered in the West led to pointed questioning of Western assumptions about psychological development and family interactions. With regard to recent observations about Eastern manifestations of this developmental struggle, Sripada (2005) addresses the significance of language for identifications during Oedipal development, and his descriptions of religion and sexuality in India help to illustrate his formulation of: the plural Oedipal complex. This complex comes to being in the context of the Hindu culture of India, linking Hindu myths about the sexual fluidity of gods to a Hindu child's identifications.

Sripada (2005) juxtaposes the traditional psychoanalytic approach to feminine and masculine identification, to the plural Oedipus complex in the Hindu example of identifying with *both* feminine and masculine features in *both* parents. The father *and* the mother can be a source of such identifications for the Hindu child, and the social context gives shape to how these identifications are transmitted (Sripada, 2005). Kakar (1989) similarly notes culturally unique male development in the Oedipal phase for Hindu males, by describing fantasies of the child in absorbing the characteristics of both parents. He indicates that the influence of the goddess Devi, and of both maternal and feminine characteristics in

Indian myths such as the Ganesha one, are central to understanding Hindu male development; in contrast, Western myths do not convey these joint maternal-feminine concerns in the same manner (Kakar, 1989). On a wider scale, the very discussion of variations in the Oedipal complex, reflecting different religious traditions and cultural values, is in itself an example of the centrality of analysing interlinked unconscious and cultural processes. Applied to the work environment, the ways in which adults are influenced by feminine and masculine behaviours in their development affect their transference, the emotions that they experience in relation to female and male colleagues and superiors.

Tang and Smith (1996) highlight universal and culturally-specific aspects of Oedipal phenomena by describing Eastern myths in detail. Referring to criticisms about universal claims of the Oedipus Complex, the authors assert that individuals levying these criticisms are reading the Oedipal myth in too literal a fashion, and not distinguishing properly between form and content of the story. Describing Chinese and Indian myths that illustrate the Oedipal process, they argue that in fact there are commonalities of the Oedipal dynamic across Eastern and Western cultures, such as: the father-son struggle as the boy develops; the notion that each culture has messages about how one becomes a man; and the embodiment of these lessons in such stories like the Oedipal one.

Cultural specificity of the Oedipal struggle is noted by Tang and Smith (1996) as well, in that the Chinese and Indian myths are more centred around the father's wish to kill the son, in contrast to the classical Western understanding which reverses the struggle as the son wishing to eliminate the father. The Ganesha myth is about a Hindu god, Lord Ganesha, who is the god of beginnings and remover of obstacles. Lord Shiva, Ganesha's father, is intensely jealous upon

seeing Ganesha guarding his wife Parvati's place; as a result of his strong emotion, Lord Shiva beheads Ganesha. The exceptionally strong mother-son Hindu bond is reflected, and perhaps reinforced, through the telling of the Ganesha myth, as Ganesha is forever asexual after his regeneration from beheading: "…he is destined to live for eternity with his mother as a presexual, preadolescent boy… he embodies the fantasy of a successful union with the smooth maternal body" (Tang and Smith, 1996: p. 574). External cultural resources like mythology shape unconscious phenomena like parent-child emotional interactions, and the authors refer to anthropological research demonstrating a "more intense mother-son relationship in India than in European cultures (Spiro, 1985)" (Tang and Smith, 1996: p. 574). Cultural variation in parental closeness will have a later impact upon transference at work, as indicated above as well in Nagpal's reference to Kakar (2000); people will approach their superiors with expectations of closeness according to their upbringing, reinforced by wider cultural myths.

These studies of Eastern cultures signify the importance of expanding Western classical psychoanalytic understanding by invoking a greater cultural perspective, and they indicate the significance of utilising psychoanalysis for understanding a range of emotional processes. By focusing only on a classical Western psychoanalytic approach, an unacceptable *imperial* error of universalist assumption is committed without considering the local cultural variations of dynamic processes. It is important, however, to note the recognition of social processes by psychoanalysis, which challenges assumptions about universalism in this framework. Tang and Smith (1996), for example, observe that "Freud's approach to the application of psychoanalysis to the study of culture was based on his assumption that the requirements of society were inimical to the needs and

desires of the individual" (Tang and Smith, 1996: p. 577). In other words, the intimate bonds and tensions between the external social world and private unconscious processes have been acknowledged.

Freud did not venture much beyond his own social context to posit multiple cultural variations of unconscious phenomena, a very notable shortcoming. Yet, his acknowledgment of the importance of social processes and his interpretations of individuals in group behaviour and in relationship to their cultures, provide immense possibilities for meanings about work which, culturally cultivated further, yield a more lucid understanding of emotional life. We can expand upon Freud's central contributions to the understanding of culture, including the "ways in which specific cultural attributes become embedded in the mental personality; how, in other words, each culture becomes part of the mental life, conscious and unconscious, of individuals" (Gabriel, 1999b: p. 179).

To review, this section is the third of three sections focussed upon demonstrating the wider range of emotional understanding which results when consulting both social constructionism and psychoanalysis. Following the review of theoretical endeavours to draw upon both frameworks and empirical studies of gender and sexuality in the West, this part addressed studies of Eastern cultures, to support the importance of both perspectives. The next section of this literature review will probe India in greater depth by exploring: the nature of emotion specific to Indians; studies of Indian organisations, specifically those that highlight the impact of childhood or Indian culture upon working life; and the postcolonial location of India, a historical dynamic that requires close engagement, without which understanding of workplace emotion is vastly reduced.

India in greater depth

Emotion dynamics specific to India

Research about India offers rich possibilities for engaging with workplace emotions. What about the nature of emotion itself? Is it experienced similarly and differently in India, compared to Western cultures? The answer to such a question partly lies in the exact time and cultural location of India being probed. Because of the marked diversity and variability in degree of Western exposure and English language use for working life in India, simple comparisons and observations are not feasible. For the purpose of this thesis, some indigenous information on emotion in India will be briefly reviewed, followed by the work of Kakar which indicates culturally specific Indian emotion, as well as shared features with those of the West. The examination of culturally specific emotional processing is central particularly from a social constructionist perspective, but it should not eclipse awareness of *shared* emotional struggles with work across national boundaries.

Menon indicates that in "Hindu India... emotions are not separated from, and thought of, as lower than reason" (2000: p. 47), in contrast to a historical tradition of duality between cognition and emotion in the West, and elevation of reason as superior to emotion (Williams, 1998). Yet, some Western managerial discourse about emotion and rationality has intruded upon Indian work spaces, as revealed in comments that I encountered during field work, like "Don't be emotional, be rational", by Deputy Director of an Indian University in a speech to his students. Similarly, in response to my interview questions about emotions, an Indian employee stated, "One needs to control emotions at work and be within the

limits". Thus, there can be a tension between ancient conceptualisations of emotion, and emotion specifically encountered in the current Indian working environment. This tension can be explained by dynamics like globalisation, with its attendant mobility of cultural dynamics in international working spaces, and the influence of British organisations and colonial culture upon Indian working life, detailed below. Such comments about controlling emotions that I experienced in my field work, of course, may also have comprised an emotional performance to me as a Western visitor, perhaps due to assumptions about my views on emotions on the basis of this British influence and Western historical primacy given to rationality.

The main indigenous theory of Indian emotions is called the rasa theory; rasa means juice, extract, flavour, or essence (Lynch, 1990; Menon, 2000). This theory is attributed to Bharata, a sage, sometime between 200 BC and AD 200, in the *Treatise on Dramaturgy (Natyasastra)*. The rasa theory developed in the context of artistic questions, about "how the experience of enjoyment in poetry and drama differed from enjoyment or emotion in everyday life" (Lynch, 1990: p. 17), and artistic performances served to stimulate tasting the "flavor – the *rasa* – of the different emotions... as an opportunity to apprehend the essence of ultimate reality" (Menon, 2000: p. 46-47). The rasa theory notes "eight primary emotions... inherent in all human beings: love, humor, courage, disgust, anger, astonishment, terror, and pity" (Lynch, 1990: p. 18) alongside "thirty-three transitory emotions... including envy, jealousy, anxiety, despair" (Lynch, 1990: p. 18). While different from a psychoanalytic conceptualisation which assigns anxiety a primary role especially in stimulating other emotions, these emotions of the rasa theory are remarkably similar to those which have been discussed in Western literature, such as the

presence of emotions like anger and envy in Western work organisations. There are cultural differences in the origins and meanings of these emotions, but similarities across Eastern and Western cultures and mutual spaces for dialogue and understanding merit further study.

The relational importance of emotion for Indians is stressed by Kakar, who notes that:

> ...emotions... have come to be differently viewed due to the Indian emphasis on connection. As some cultural psychologists (Shweder and Bourne, 1984) have pointed out, emotions that have to do with other persons, such as sympathy, feelings of interpersonal communion, and shame, are primary while the more individualistic emotions, such as anger and guilt, are secondary. The Indian psyche has a harder time experiencing and expressing anger and guilt but is more comfortable than the Western individualistic psyche in dealing with feelings of sympathy and shame. If pride is overtly expressed, it is often directed to a collective, of which one is a member. **Working very hard to win a promotion at work**... is only secondarily connected to the individual need for achievement, which is the primary driving motivation in the West. The first conscious or pre-conscious thought in the Indian mind is **'How happy and proud my family will be!'** This is why Indians tend to idealize their families and ancestral background, why there is such prevalence of family myths and of family pride... (2008: p. 24, my emphasis).

Kakar adds further meaning and nuance to these useful culturally specific points about emotion by stressing that *both* individual and relational selves can take hold *across* cultures [subsequently shaping individual and collective emotions]: "In a sense, both [Western and Indian selves] are fictions; their

influence on behaviour derives not from their actual occurrence but from their enshrinement as cultural ideals" (2008: p. 24-25). Following Kakar, socially constructed ideals, like the importance of family, status and community, can be explored for their influence upon Indian work emotions like pride, yet similarities in emotion with Western experiences may be found as well – especially in a postcolonial historical situation complicated by Westernisation, particularly of Indian urban locations. Furthermore, some Indian workers may have family upbringings more similar to Western ones, shaping their pride as more individualistically rather than collectively experienced. To illustrate, one of my entrepreneur respondents, "Prakash", lived for a time with his family in America, and his father was influenced by American ideals. Consequently, his father signalled that Prakash should be out of the house by a certain age, and he thus had to fend for himself, a demand in contrast to traditional Indian family life in which the son stays with the family of origin, including after marriage. In this familial context for Prakash, then, his expressed pride about his later entrepreneurial achievements are not tied explicitly to family as one might initially expect from Indian traditional values. Prakash's example points to the importance of studying unique family upbringing and personal biography, and not making assumptions based upon the expected cultural ideals of a given community or nation.

Following Kakar, the ideals predominant in one country, like self-sacrifice for the family in India, may not be totally absent from another – shared cultural ideals can influence pride in ways that show similarity of emotion experiences. Mascolo and Bhatia (2002), for example, asked an American and Indian about experiences of proud moments, and they both socially constructed pride as caring for the family. The authors conclude that "Both notions of pride are similar with

respect to *what* they take to be important characteristics of pride... The differences

lie in *how* the participants use their cultural frameworks to give meaning"

(Mascolo and Bhatia, 2002: p. 82). The authors suggest interpreting these

responses about pride to be "cultural differences as embedded *within* similarities"

(2002: p. 82), demonstrating rich possibilities for cross-cultural understanding and

mutually shared spaces of engagement about emotion.

Drawing upon his psychoanalytic therapy with Indian, American, and

European patients, Kakar (1995) illuminates culturally specific *and* shared

dynamics, by conveying that similar fantasies may exist across cultural

backgrounds, like the " 'guru fantasy' " (Kakar, 1995: p. 269). In Indian culture, a

healer, in this instance a psychoanalytic therapist, is expected to provide direct

guidance and cure in a guru role, to provide the keys to full healing, in a saviour-

like, openly emotional manner. Kakar's Western patients on the surface belong to a

culture with a much different doctor-patient relationship, marked by more rigid

boundaries, therapist neutrality, and greater patient participation for charting a

healing path; yet, they also revealed having this guru fantasy, though it may be

much more hidden in consciousness compared to Indian patients.

Kakar's work (1995) also indicates that pervasive cultural dynamics like

the centrality of family and spirituality do not preclude significant individuality for

Indians, including powerful private fantasies and even desires for being relieved of

some cultural traditions. Similarly, Western patients, on the surface extremely

individualistic, indeed incorporate a more relational view of their selves than they

consciously realise, in contradiction to what we may first assume by examination

of individualistic cultural or feeling rules. Kakar's approach reflects the

interweaving of theoretical frameworks in this thesis: "Individual and communal

[we may make a parallel and say psychoanalytic and social constructionist], self and other [let us say unconscious and relationally conscious], are complementary ways of looking at the organization of mental life [and at the emotional life of organisations]" (Kakar, 1995: p. 274).

Individualism and collectivism take on more nuanced meanings through the work of Sinha and Tripathi as well (2003), who challenge perceptions of India as uniformly collectivist, a view that has partly resulted from Hofstede's classification. They explored the responses of Indian undergraduate students, studying in an English medium, to various situations that they may encounter, like whether to live with parents, and whether to vote according to personal or familial concerns. The authors found that many endorsed responses that were mixed between individualist and collectivist ones, often more frequently than purely individualist or collectivist responses. The authors refer to both individualist and collectivist aspects of Hinduism, which in turn shape highly complex, sometimes contradictory, context-dependent processes and outcomes of the "Indian psyche" (Sinha and Tripathi, 2003: p. 206). Interestingly, the authors also note that conflicting processes, while ubiquitous in Indian culture, can be viewed as the source of Indians' anxieties, a point to which I will return in the Data Chapters regarding conflicts between family upbringing and work life. Ultimately, these studies point to the interplay between socially influenced behaviours and individually driven experiences for Indians, very similar to the purpose of this thesis in bringing together socially constructed and psychoanalytic aspects of emotion – the study of India is particularly well suited for examining these multiple influences upon emotion, even more so in Indian globalised, yet in some ways still colonial, working spaces.

Turning to India, therefore, throws into sharp relief that knowledge of cultural rules or commonly discussed Indian values like self-sacrifice may not provide complete understanding of people's powerful emotional experiences shaped by anxieties and fantasies, and it is here that the psychoanalytic perspective can complement the social constructionist framework. One can challenge, probe, disrupt the surface of cultural constructions to unveil contradictions and the anxieties of contending with these contradictions, thus opening up new realms for emotion understanding. Knowledge of socially constructed features of emotion is critical for comprehensive understanding of emotional experience, and psychoanalysis can be drawn upon to engage in particular with the resistance against, and ambivalence about, these social expectations of emotion. Kakar's findings harmonise with Craib's experiences as a therapist, revealing that deep emotion work occurs regardless of what cultural resources predict about roles and emotions (Craib, 1998).

In this part of the literature review, I have outlined some findings on emotion dynamics specific to traditional and more current Indian conceptualisations of culture and emotion, and these findings show some spaces of similarity to Western emotional experiences. This research has significant implications for the interplay of socially constructed and psychoanalytic ways of understanding how emotions manifest at work. In the next part of "India in Greater Depth", I will discuss several studies of Indian organisations that highlight important dynamics bearing on working life.

India and organisational dynamics

In this section exploring India in greater depth, the first part above addressed important dynamics of emotion that are specific to the Indian context, as well as similar to Western ones. In this part, I will review several studies on Indian organisations and work that have implications for studying emotions from both perspectives. Chattopadhyay (1975) draws very direct parallels between family and working life in India. He conveys the "image of the all-powerful father and the dependent son" (1975: p. M-31) to explain that a son's problems are never blamed on the father, which subsequently shapes work relations with superiors. The compliance of subordinates with managers, for example, reflects children following parents' orders. This socialisation, that a parent is never flawed, emerged in my field work. For instance, "Ashutosh", HR Manager in an Indian steel company, expressed, "Never can father and mother teach bad to child.. parents are best.., parents give values to respect others, to value education". Manifestations of these dependency dynamics for both members of the superior-subordinate dyad include managerial resistance to juniors' ideas, as well as juniors pushing responsibility for work progressively up the hierarchy (Chattopadhyay, 1975).

Sinha and Sinha (1990) provide an overview of Indian values relevant for organisations, such as hierarchy, noting that submission of subordinates is expected in return for being provided patronage and guidance, drawing a parallel to the protections offered by the Hindu god Lord Krishna. This parallel is not exceptional, as indeed godlike status is often accorded to highly ranked or prominent individuals in India, as I witnessed for example in academic rituals resembling worship of an Indian University leader in the Delhi area. The emotional

and personal qualities of the superior-subordinate relationship are stressed by Sinha and Sinha as well (1990) and can even supersede the importance of job tasks. Roland (1982), discussed above, has also noted the intense affective quality in Indian hierarchical relationships. Cultural stories reinforce the importance of emotions in relations between the authority figure and subordinate; in a study of stories in Indian school texts, submission is secured most commonly through emotional rewards and guilt (Kakar, 1971b).

Sahay and Walsham (1997) describe social systems in India and their effects upon current working practices. In their case study of the implementation of a technology project, they discuss, for example, the communal value of functionality. This value shaped the scientists who strictly defined their responsibilities and did not want to engage with duties outside these tasks, such as more collaboration with the potential users of the technology. They also depicted the scientist-user dynamic in family terms, in that scientists approached users parentally, viewing them in need of substantial attention to learn the technology, and reinforcing their exalted status in relation to the user-child.

Traditional Indian cultural values related to age and social groupings can affect the Indian organisation in specific ways. Reverence to elders is an example that formidably affects organisational life. As indicated by Singh, firing the elderly is considered "being almost sacrilegious" (Singh, 1990a: p. 85). Budhwar and Sparrow (2002), in their comparative study of British and Indian HRM practices, suggest that membership of family and religious groups can significantly influence work dynamics; one respondent, for example, referred to strong family and feudal systems in India, and to most HRM practices as " 'father-son relations' " (Budhwar and Sparrow, 2002: p. 624). Caste may affect organisational life, such

as caste members protecting one another from being disciplined at work (Sinha and Sinha, 1990). The esteem in the caste system given to bearers of knowledge is reflected in the highly elevated position accorded to scientists (Sahay and Walsham, 1997). However, other features of Indian diversity are sometimes more salient than caste in the organisation, like gender, state and language (Wilson, 2003).

Gender oppressions can persist in the Indian workplace, against the backdrop of traditional religious and familial views of women. Difficulties experienced by Indian women include sexual harassment and restriction of job duties according to gender stereotyping (Wilson, 2003); the influence of traditional gender roles on the practices of hiring women was noted by Budhwar and Sparrow as well (2002). Rapid changes in India, however, are stimulating female breakthroughs in jobs like the police force and bartending. Furthermore, when compared to Western counterparts, there are staggering proportions of Indian women in traditionally male-dominated occupations like engineering, finance and politics. As an international adviser in the United States, I had ample opportunity to observe the high proportions of Indian female postgraduate students in engineering and computer sciences, compared to relatively lower numbers of American female students. Many high political posts in India are held by women: the President of India, Pratibha Patel; the President of the ruling Congress Party, Sonia Gandhi; and Chief Minister of the capital Delhi, Sheila Dixit. Elections in 2011 found women overtaking key positions in many states, like West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee, among others. The significance of women in these roles can be contrasted to the United States, where the idea of a female president was not part of the discourse until very recently. Probing India reveals

stark contradictions between the high achievements and inequalities of women at work.

Dynamic cultural influences in Indian organisations, with roots in family and historical tradition, were the focus of this part. The next part will add a further layer to this study of "India in Greater Depth" by engaging with colonialism. The colonial history of India is one of the most significant factors influencing the workplace emotions that emerge, and engaging meaningfully with colonialism requires the deployment of both social constructionist and psychoanalytic resources.

Colonialism and its significance for Indian workplaces and emotion

In this third and final part of the last major section of this literature review, "India in Greater Depth", I will probe a significant feature of Indian organisations for exploring emotions: its location in postcolonial historical context. I will first draw attention to the significance of social constructionist and psychoanalytic resources for enriching the analysis of postcolonial work emotions. Fineman stresses that social constructionism "draws attention to the **fragility** of many social patterns" (1993b: p. 10, my bold), and social constructionism focuses on making meanings "in terms of more or less **transient** understandings between people" (Fineman, 1993b: p. 23, my bold). Yet with a psychoanalytic approach, specific patterns of relating with others *persist* from childhood and frequently become superimposed onto other adult encounters, even if the new people and settings are different from those of our upbringing. Both of these approaches, the historical context and social shaping of emotion from social constructionism, and the persistence of unconscious dynamics *across time* and different relationships, can be interweaved powerfully for analysing a defining feature of India: colonialism. With India, we observe that colonial dynamics continue to affect work relations, in spite of the British officially having left their colonial roles with India's independence in 1947.

Colonialism as a point of focus brings forth insights about the *intricate intertwining* and *mutually reinforcing* of socially produced and unconscious work emotions. Not only are these theoretical approaches complementary, as Fineman has stressed (1993b), but also they address features of emotion which are bounded to one another. Historically emergent emotions, enacted in interpersonal

encounters, are sustained in the face of rapid social transformations, because they are often *internalised* and become unconscious ways of relating. In particular, Nandy notes that *colonial roles* become internalised (1982).

In this thesis, colonialism will refer to the impact of the British Empire upon the Indian psyche and work. While India experienced intrusions before the British, such as Muslim invasions, the British Empire represented an overtaking of the Asian subcontinent in ways qualitatively distinct from previous external rulers. Specifically, Western colonialism was particularly marked by economic and cultural domination (Prasad, 2003). For India, moral and religious justifications for colonialism were advanced as well. Nandy notes the views of "Richard Congreve, Bishop of Oxford, [who] once said, 'God has entrusted India to us to hold it for Him, and we have no right to give it up.'[18]" (1982: p. 209). These views worked alongside a homology between childhood and primitive societies, such that colonialism was presented as a project that was viewed as unfortunately necessary for the sake of developing these societies (Nandy, 1982), similar to how a parent controls and takes care of a child, laying claims to what is in its best interests.

Colonialism and psychoanalysis in India have a strongly interrelated, complicated, and historically traumatic relationship. Indeed, as noted earlier, psychoanalysis itself has been charged as a colonising endeavour perpetuated through its discourse, pathologising those who are other than white men in European cultures (Greedharry, 2008). Psychoanalysis arrived in India through colonialism and was initially deployed for such subordinating aims. In the British Empire, the Western declaration about normative psychological development served the function of justifying rule, as revealed in British psychoanalysts' writings about India, notably Owen Berkeley-Hill and Claude Dangar Daly

(Hartnack, 2001). Such work included sweeping, negative comments about Hindus by Daly, who had not even worked with Indian patients (Akhtar, 2005b). Despite these British intrusions, psychoanalysis initially had some appeal in India, specifically in Bengal, through the interests and pioneering work of Girindrasekhar Bose, discussed above. The historical conditions of Bengal, as the seat of the British Empire in India, supported the development of psychoanalysis as well. Nandy (1995) depicts the experiences of Bengalis as characterized by great flux, social breakdowns, and the anxieties of being influenced by both Western and Indian traditions, and Bose utilised the resources of psychoanalysis to fill in the relative vacuum of explanations for their struggles. Hartnack (2001) references the work of Indian scholars who used psychoanalysis to make sense of political situations, such as Bhattacharya's publications in the early 1940s making use of Bose's psychoanalytic theories to analyse Indians' relations to British rulers . Interest in psychoanalysis later declined, especially after India's independence, "at least in part... [due to] extensive poverty, resulting from prolonged colonial rule, the country's partition, and war" (Akhtar, 2005b: p. 14). The clinical practice of psychoanalysis in India today is concentrated in urban areas.

Salman Akhtar, whose 2005 work I cited in the previous paragraph, is an eminent Indian psychoanalyst and writer whom I interviewed for my thesis. In responding to my question about criticisms of the ongoing use of psychoanalysis in India as a colonial endeavour, he noted that it need not always be perceived in this way. In the first instance, one must be precise about exactly which aspect of psychoanalysis is being applied to the study of India (Akhtar, Personal Communication, 2011). Psychoanalysis concerns universals, and Akhtar specifies universals to include the ego and its functions, fantasies, and mental mechanisms

like repression; the study of these processes, therefore, is not considered to be a colonial import/oppression. Psychoanalysis does, however, become a colonial problem for India, Akhtar stresses, when Western developmental models and their associated views of psychopathology, and treatment techniques, are taken as the standard and imposed on non-Western cultures, making non-Western development appear pathological.

The colonial traumas through which psychoanalysis was introduced into India cannot be ignored. Yet, a complete casting off of psychoanalysis as a way of understanding India would, ironically, undermine analysis of the impact of colonialism upon workplace organising and emotion, as the unconscious, conflict-ridden, ambivalent nature of these dynamics are laid bare with the use of a psychoanalytic framework. The writings of Nandy and Bhabha in particular have exemplified the importance of psychoanalytic resources for coming to terms with the insidious shadows of colonialism.

Nandy's work highlights the central *psychological dynamics* of colonialism, which can persist after the official conclusion of colonial rule; colonialism's "sources lie deep in the minds of the rulers and the ruled" (Nandy, 1982: p. 198). Nandy's contributions in particular underscore that the effects of colonialism linger *unconsciously*, shaping powerfully not only the once ruled, but also the former rulers. Bhabha (2004) takes us further by challenging the notion that colonial dynamics occur in a simple, binary, coloniser/ruler – colonised/ruled relationship. Instead, colonial encounters are highly ambivalent and unpredictable; there is a new hybrid space in which the colonial relationship can be intensely charged by desire, anxieties, and fantasies which subvert the power relations.

The application of postcolonial theory to organisational studies reveals Western assumptions about normative management practices, which may lead to stereotyping or misperceptions of non-Western working (Prasad, 2003). Countering these assumptions, and focussing more explicit attention on meanings generated in spaces where East and West meet at work, are increasingly important in globalised work environments and growing economic significance of Eastern countries like India. Frenkel and Shenhav (2006) provide an overview of the development of management practices out of colonial occupations, and they illustrate that management and organisation studies as disciplines have been heavily influenced by Western othering, negative stereotypes, racism, and attempts to universalise Western approaches even in international management practices. The salience of colonial dynamics for understanding organisations, however, has not been engaged with substantially until recently, and Jack et al. (2011) illustrate that postcolonialism is still underused for probing new meanings in management and organisation studies. Indeed, these authors "found no MOS studies that explicitly address the psychological trauma of colonial and postcolonial experience" (Jack et al., 2011: p. 282), and they note "the virtual absence of work from within MOS that explores a psychoanalytic perspective and that examines the psychological damages of postcoloniality" (2011: p. 293). The study of emotions in this thesis unexpectedly led to an exploration of this very trauma, which will be analysed with social constructionism and psychoanalysis in later Data Chapters.

Resistance to coming to terms with the consequences of the British Empire is noted by Prasad and Prasad (2003) as a possibility for the slowness of engaging with postcolonial resources to enhance the study of organisations. Indicating "the unpopularity of the term 'imperialism' in Britain, Williams and Chrisman (1994)

have pointed to the refusal, till fairly recent years, of sections of British academe to seriously analyze the processes of imperialism" (Prasad and Prasad, 2003: p. 287). This dynamic has indeed manifested in my own discussions with several British management academics who responded to my work by asking, "Why colonialism, why not caste?", a this-one/not-that-one response with no room for mutual engagements. This response may be viewed through psychoanalysis as unconscious resistance to the implications of colonial occupation and its psychological traumas. Adapting Klein, this response splits off problematic work encounters from colonial history, and casts off responsibility about colonialism by projecting work concerns as generated by the Indian subcontinent and its own dynamics like caste. Work troubles are safely located on the other; they do not arise from one's own historical and cultural space.

Overcoming this resistance can enhance the analysis of work encounters in postcolonial spaces. Particularly tied to the study of emotions, a postcolonial perspective together with psychoanalysis helps us to question the surface behaviours of organisational phenomena. Prasad (2003) draws upon the work of Alvesson and Deetz about defamiliarisation to underscore how postcolonial applications can generate new insights about organisations. In my data, with Abhinav's story, I will analyse ignorant comments by Westerners of Eastern workers in an international work setting, by considering historical envy and threat as unconsciously motivating such behavioural manifestations in postcolonial spaces.

Kakar's work (1971a) illustrates the impact of two powerful social dynamics upon Indian organisations: traditional Indian family culture and colonial history. He depicts the Indian family influence as primarily nurturant, characterised

by *high* emotional affiliation and high task control; this pattern manifests in Indian stories about the emotional bonds of superior-subordinate (Kakar, 1971b). This nurturant authority influence is different from an assertive one, the latter defined significantly by *low* emotional affiliation, and high task control.

Kakar's review of authority relations in Indian organisations revealed that an assertive superior was common, rather than a nurturant superior, and this authority influence is traced to the import of British organisational structure and administration against the backdrop of colonial agendas. In contrast to the Indian family and broader caste groupings, which "include authoritarian elements, [but] the nurturance inherent in them is of equal importance" (1971a: p. 300), the British approach to Indian subordinates, couched in colonial reinforcement of rule and perceived psychological superiority, reveals highly negative, distancing, and even dehumanising approaches.

The insidious residues of these dynamics are shown in their reproduction, such that Indian managers, through identification, enact similar ways of exerting authority; "emotional aloofness combined with high control of subordinates – has persisted in Indian work organizations" (Kakar, 1971a: p. 301). Nandy refers to the "impersonalization of social relationships" (Nandy, 1995: p. 112) as an example of the "West's cultural baggage" (1995: p. 112). The diversity of India can affect Indian organisations in a myriad of ways, as shown in Kakar's own study in India (1971a) with superior-subordinate results similar to American styles, explained by the salience of occupational identity. However, the potential overlay of the colonial shadow on working life calls for attention, especially if authoritarian relations are present, which can unconsciously persist from British subordination.

Cohen and El-Sawad's study (2007) illuminates the lingering effects of colonial dynamics in the accounts of UK and Indian workers of each other; for example, extracts indicate that UK workers are threatened by their Indian counterparts. Such threats can have multiple sources; it was reported, for instance, that the Indian group overall was more highly educated than the UK group. Several times the authors (2007) note that the UK workers infantilise the Indian ones, which evokes the homology made by Westerners between childhood and developing societies, to justify colonial rule (Nandy, 1982).

Cohen and El-Sawad (2007) draw upon Gopal, Willis and Gopal's discussion of conditioning effects (2003), or hegemonic practices of ingraining a social process as something taken for granted, to render a postcolonial reading of their results. In Cohen and El-Sawad's study (2007), the UK workers, referencing the Indian work ethic, indicated it as acceptable for Indians to engage in extensive work which the UK workers would not do; the globalised environment thus becomes the new colonial exploitation. The authors significantly rely upon Bhabha in conceptualising the ambivalence of these colonial encounters. This study could have been taken further by explicit discussion of psychoanalysis, such as analysing how *threats* can unconsciously trigger *defences*, which are then manifested in comments by UK workers like " 'They're just constantly messing things up' " (Cohen and El-Sawad, 2007: p. 1250). Studies like this one demonstrate a more nuanced understanding of work relations by engaging with historical context and colonial resources, like Bhabha's conceptualisation of ambivalence.

I will review this section on the significance of colonialism for understanding Indian workplace emotions by discussing various meanings of the term "postcolonial". It refers to a time frame for India, its current location as an

independent nation, which formed in 1947 after the British Empire departed, in a traumatic manner that continues to have aftershocks after the subcontinent's Partition (http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/6926464.stm); (Wolpert, 2006). Postcolonialism signals the lingering effects of colonial dynamics, like subjugation and resistance, and their implications for organisations (Prasad, 2003), especially for the Indian organisation jointly influenced by Indian historical traditions and British impersonal bureaucracy (Kakar, 1971a). Postcolonial influences upon workplace emotions reveal that changes in political structure do not change underlying colonial dynamics, which are often reproduced unconsciously (Nandy, 1982). Yet, these dynamics can be marked by immense ambivalence and *new* spaces, in which the former roles of coloniser and colonised can become blurred and take on new meanings (Bhabha, 2004).

It is important to acknowledge the vast literature on postcolonialism and the wide array of disciplines like literary theory which are used for this area of inquiry (Prasad, 2003). Edward Said's *Orientalism* (2003) has been foundational particularly in highlighting the construction of binary opposites through the West's discourse about the non-West. In this thesis, the works of Nandy and Bhabha, as well as the writings of Amartya Sen about India (2005), will be drawn upon to make sense of postcolonial emotions emerging from the data. Research on envy (Clarke, 2006; Hochschild, 1975) has implications as well for the effects of colonial dynamics upon emotional tensions in work spaces. In the Data Chapters, colonial dynamics will be explored broadly in two ways: their influence upon the emotions of the interview encounter, especially in my speaking with "Sonal", and their impact on the workplace emotions shared by the interviewees, in particular

the ambivalence of "Rakesh" to colonial power and the reversing of colonial roles in "Abhinav".

This part about the significance of colonialism for Indian workplace emotions concludes this section, "India in Greater Depth", and it concludes this Literature Review. To summarise this Literature Review, I first reviewed the points of focus and limitations of social constructionist and psychoanalytic theoretical frameworks of emotion. I then proceeded to a discussion of their similarities, and tensions between them. Previous studies that have worked with these two perspectives together were reviewed, such as theoretical approaches and empirical studies on gender and sexuality. Next, I explored India in greater depth to address culturally important considerations in the use of psychoanalytic theory. In the final part of this Literature Review, I began with an analysis of Indian dynamics of emotion, some of which show points of similarity to the West, and continued with a discussion of cultural facets of Indian organisations that are important for the study of workplace emotions. I have concluded with a discussion of colonialism, without which the study of Indian working and emotion is incomplete. I will continue in the next chapter with Methodology, where I will illustrate that socially constructed and psychoanalytic features can be brought together closely as well through the process of data collection and interpretation.

Chapter 3

Methodology[1]

As a researcher embarking upon the journey of bringing together social constructionist and psychoanalytic approaches to workplace emotions, I met with a number of challenges and opportunities when conducting interviews and analysing the resultant data. In engaging with interviewees, a significant challenge was balancing the wearing of both theoretical hats when listening to the participants and guiding the flow of questions and responses. Wearing a social constructionist hat entails attending to the here-and-now co-production of meaning, with particular focus on emotional performances and the cultural roles in the interview context. Putting on the psychoanalytic hat involves taking a step back and considering what motivations and underlying concerns may be influencing the interview process; a guiding theoretical tenet is that unconscious processes can distort the meanings presented on the surface of talk.

The shared interest in probing meanings of the data helped to balance these listening approaches. Indeed Dick (2004), who describes critical discourse analysis as a method with foundations in social constructionism, argues that this method "encourages researchers not to accept research data at face value" (2004: p. 212). Scrutinising the use of different discourses in the text, in the context of how the interviewer and interviewee introduce or discuss them, can highlight: competing discourses and their historically-contingent meanings; the taken-for-granted nature of some discourses; and the possibilities of alternative discourses (Dick, 2004).

---

[1]Sections of this chapter have been included in " 'It's all in the Plot' - Narrative Explorations of Work-Related Emotions", to be published in the anthology, *Researching Emotions*, by Jochen Kleres and Helena Flam

Similarly, with roots in clinical tradition, psychoanalytic approaches to research emphasise that a participant's shared experiences in the interview may not be fully revealing of, or directly congruent with, her/his emotions. Talking about the emotion may attenuate the intensity experienced, a dynamic which underscores Frosh's discussion (1999) about the retroactive nature of discourse , and I will return to Frosh in this chapter and Data Chapter 4 to explore further the defensive possibilities of discourse use. Crossley (2000) and Hollway and Jefferson (2000) also view as problematic taking accounts at face value. Utilising the resources from both models, therefore, can provide richer understandings beyond surface engagements with the data, and this similarity facilitates the ease of listening and analysing with both hats.

To address further the demands of different listening priorities during interviews, at times I paused during the exchange and consulted my overall guide of questions, detailed below, to ensure that I was pursuing a good balance of social constructionist and psychoanalytic interests. In the analysis stage, I listened to audio files repeatedly, and I completed my own transcriptions. These processes helped me markedly to recover new meanings that I may have missed upon first listening during the interview, with the heavy influence of one or the other hat.

A central challenge, as well as opportunity, in data analysis is constructing interpretations of the data with the application of more than one perspective. An interpretation may be formulated using one theoretical framework, or both, and the interpretations need not be seen as competing, but rather as stressing different, perhaps interlocking, features of emotion. From a psychoanalytic standpoint, for example, we can formulate interpretations through scrutinising patterns like contradictions, which can reveal unconscious distortions. With a social

constructionist application, interpretations may be made based upon a functional analysis of the text; the discourse, along with knowledge of the context in which it occurred, provides vital information about emotion. Working with both approaches can provide a unique opportunity to augment emotion understanding. For instance, I can work with the text to interpret how the use of a discourse has shaped emotions at work, and re-engage with the text as a place where the discourse may be deployed in response to anxieties.

Attention to similarities in the positioning of the participants within the interview brings the methods of these two approaches together more meaningfully. In both models, both the researched *and* the researcher are sources of understanding in emotion research. Those who are researched engage with the researcher in a specific encounter that is not to be standardised or sanitised of the dyad's unique interrelations. With social constructionist understanding, the roles of interviewer and interviewed, set in the research context, alongside the meeting of wider cultural similarities and differences, will influence the emotions that are shared, displayed or hidden. Dick (2004), in an overview of discourse analysis, highlights the importance of the interviewee upon the research interaction and subsequent meanings that can be derived, stating that the "participant makes a **social reading of the interview and the interviewer** and this has a fundamental effect on the nature of the data produced, which needs to be accounted for within the analysis" (2004: p. 207, my emphasis). In a psychoanalytic framework, the researcher and researched can influence each other unconsciously, bringing to the interview emotional patterns from earlier relationships. Psychoanalytic approaches also stress the significance of the interviewer for making sense of emergent meanings. As noted by Midgley, "Freud placed great emphasis on empirical

observation, while simultaneously recognizing that psychoanalytic observation was inevitably implicated with the subjectivity of the observer him or herself' (2006: p. 215).

The challenges of deploying social constructionist and psychoanalytic methods are met not only by deriving strengths from shared points of focus like the importance of the researcher, but also by *intertwining* both views on the effects of dyadic encounters for unfolding data. To illustrate, the specific form of emotional work that I engage in during an interview, such as exerting a nonthreatening, self-deprecating stance, takes on added significance when later analysed as unconsciously motivated by anxieties about being judged or misunderstood. As another example, the interviewer or interviewee may make social and cultural assumptions about the interview, at times unconsciously, and these assumptions can shape which emotions are shared, as well as how emotions are experienced in the interview.

Methodological challenges can therefore be perceived anew as opportunities; I embraced the wearing of different hats and multiple engagements with the data, applying both theoretical resources. I did so by choosing to conduct partly structured qualitative interviews with Indian employees across sectors and hierarchical levels. In this chapter I will first outline how I planned the interviews, by drawing upon stories, metaphors, and countertransference to enrich the exploration of Indian employees' workplace emotions. Next, I will discuss specific considerations for the data analysis, followed by a field work summary in which I detail where I chose to conduct my field work, with whom, and why. I continue with my reflections on the interviews and analyses, and conclude with points about my transcription and the organisation of the subsequent data chapters.

Interviews as approached from social constructionist and psychoanalytic understandings: *Engaging in the interview*

Construction of the interview questions and processes

For this thesis, I chose to conduct qualitative interviews, a method rich for drawing upon shared approaches to data in both models, such as studying meanings and analysing the relationship between interviewer and interviewee. In this section about engaging in the interview, I will discuss: the process of interview planning; the implementation of storytelling in the interviews; and the use of countertransference as a tool that can reveal both psychoanalytic *and* social constructionist insights.

In planning the interview, I constructed a list of questions to uncover emotional experiences that could be interpreted from both theoretical perspectives. Example questions rooted in a social construction conceptualisation included: "Is the working culture here in Chennai different from other parts of India?" [to investigate city-specific cultural influences upon emotion], and "Was there a time in your work that you had to hide your emotions?" [to explore emotional labour and its organisational and cultural influences]. From a psychoanalytic approach, several representative questions were: "What is your earliest memory?" [to learn about possible childhood connections to workplace emotions], and "Have you ever had a dream about your organisation?" [to delve into fantasies]. In the group interviews, I put forth additional questions addressing group processes, such as asking members to comment on what their colleagues shared, to probe possible shared and divergent cultural meanings, and to study the heightening or relaxing of defences in the presence of others. In Appendix 1, I have included my initial broad list of questions for starting the interview exchanges, and I asked appropriate

follow-up questions and new questions in tune with the responses of the interviewee, to support my interview method of free-association interviewing, as detailed below. These interview questions were constructed to explore my research question, as discussed in the Introduction.

In keeping with a focus on meanings, questions were drawn upon flexibly when conducting the interviews. A fixed order was not followed, and *new questions* were generated as the interview proceeded according to the information shared by the respondent. The interviews that I conducted were thus partly structured. The structured aspect was having questions prepared that represented significant tenets of these two outlooks on emotion, but the actual interview exchange was unstructured, as much of my way of interacting throughout the encounter was spontaneous, in response to the emergent meanings shared by the participant.

The interviewee thus to a large degree guided the flow of the research exchange. In this way, my interviewing technique follows that of free association interviewing, as advocated by Hollway and Jefferson (2000). The authors illustrate that a highly structured interview puts forth strongly the researcher's agenda, which can result in the person answering questions according to what she/he thinks the researcher wants, rather than responding to the interview exchange according to her/his unique, personally valued experiences. In free association interviewing, the goal is asking questions in a way that facilitates the sharing of rich experiences through the respondent's unique meanings. This interview technique was suitable to yield data about people's emotions that would later be interpreted entirely qualitatively, applying both frameworks of understanding.

As with any method of data collection, there have been some criticisms of Hollway and Jefferson's approach, such as Parker's view that it may individualise or essentialise, as reported by Midgley (2006). Midgley (2006) refers to Parker's criticisms as "partly a familiar re-working of the general critique by discursive psychologists of *any* approach to research that claims to give access to the 'inner world' of those studied..." (Midgley, 2006: p. 223). Frosh and Baraitser (2008) object to applying clinical terms like countertransference to the research context as Hollway and Jefferson do, arguing that the exchange of emotions is substantially different in a therapeutic situation. My position is that the terms transference and countertransference, as described in the literature review, are useful tools for describing the interactive emotional encounters during research. It is indeed important to distinguish between research exchanges and clinical psychoanalysis, upon which I will elaborate below, but doing so does not preclude the application of psychoanalytic meanings in the research interview, which help to uncover rich layers about emotion.

Acknowledging that limitations may be found with all methods, I stress the useful advantages of free association interviewing as outlined by Hollway and Jefferson. Among these strengths are: the unveiling of *both* socially constructed and unconscious dynamics that may otherwise not emerge through more direct, traditional interviewing; the interlinking of psychoanalytic resources and the language of the text, by studying defences and anxiety to probe *why* a specific cultural discourse was taken up in the interview; the acknowledgment of anxieties and fantasies in *both* interviewer and interviewee and their impact upon the interview exchange; and the recognition that unconscious dynamics *and* social context influence the research interaction (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000).

The process of asking questions in an interview, especially to support a free association manner of responding, requires great sensitivity and care. Stressing important differences between the research and clinical contexts helps to support a sensitive interview. Kvale (1999) signals one of these crucial distinctions to be the matter of *interpretation during the encounter*, which is critical for clinical progress, but is highly inappropriate during a research interview. Typically individuals seek therapy and choose to attend sessions; it is expected that the clinician will challenge the patient/client and offer interpretations during the course of the session. In contrast, in a research interview, the respondent has not volunteered for this endeavour but has been recruited, for the purpose of sharing her/his work experiences, not for receiving interpretations within the exchange to initiate life changes.

Thus, in my field work, a free association approach means listening carefully and encouraging the sharing of meanings, but *not* challenging the experience or offering alternative views. The research space is one of curiosity and interest in learning about emotions, with interpretations by the researcher commencing later during analysis of audio files and transcripts. It is possible that interpretations may begin to form for the interviewer consciously or unconsciously during the interview, but analyses are *not* explicitly shared during the research interaction itself. Similarly, Clarke, who discusses his conceptualisation of psycho-social studies as empirical exploration of "the emotional life of researcher and respondent" (Clarke, 2006: p. 1167), notes that "The interview is a time of listening to the subject, the analysis is where we can identify and monitor our own biases, prejudices and affective responses" (2006: p. 1165). I stress that this analysis period includes reflecting on how our own emotions may have affected

the interview process itself, in line with both social constructionist and psychoanalytic models about co-producing meaning in the interview dyad.

Free association in the *research* context is also to be distinguished from the overall process of classical psychoanalytic therapy, in which the patient takes over and may talk about whatever comes to mind for the remainder of the session with no interruption or minimal responding. In keeping with my partly structured format, there were points in the interview when the current topic appeared to reach a conclusion, and I guided the direction of the interview by asking another question from my overall topic list, to start probing another cultural or personal dynamic. The free association aspect means that the participant shares unique experiences and meanings that may have remained unexpressed in a method of proceeding directly from interviewer question to question. The organisational member shares an experience, for example, and I support an empathic free-association space by acknowledging this experience, through affirming comments and/or questions for further exploration. These follow-up questions were asked often utilising the participant's own words and phrases, to strengthen the commitment to her/his voice.

Sensitive conducting of a qualitative interview also demands careful consideration of the use of words in interview questions, as language may carry cultural and unconscious assumptions. Clarke (2006), referring to Hollway and Jefferson, advocates staying away from questions that begin with "why", because such questions may generate platitudes rather than lead to knowledge about personal meanings. Furthermore, I argue that "why" questions may raise defences, blocking meaningful and open interactions, and these questions often have built-in negative assumptions that may lead a person to feel evaluated. Questions like

"Why did you leave your job?", and "Why did you leave that awesome boyfriend?" imply judgment, but such "why" questions with a positive aim are less likely to come to mind.

My previous counselling training also influenced the interview style, as I learned to avoid asking *suggestive* questions, especially as they may convey unconscious messages about how the person *should* act in her/his work. For instance, rather than ask "Did you confront your boss?", which has an implicit message or suggestion that the person *should* have done so, I would instead ask, "What was your response to this situation?". The latter question has a less confrontational emotional tone and opens up more possibilities of responding, thus creating greater spaces for more authentic exchanges. While forms of resistance may occur at any point in the interview and are in themselves a great source of understanding and interpretation about emotions, efforts should be made so that the participant is not totally alienated and does not disconnect from the interview. The empathic manner of asking questions is one way in which to minimise unfortunate impasses.

My approach to interviewing has some similarities to the process described by Crossley (2000). Like her narrative approach, I interviewed by drawing upon different theoretical perspectives, but notable differences are that I did not adopt a life story approach as outlined by McAdams, to whom Crossley refers. Instead, I applied an interview style more specific to matters of work life, though I did draw upon the psychoanalytic model to make links to childhood and other parts of one's personal history, according to how the interview unfolded. Another distinction is that my format was non-ordered and flexible, in contrast to the structure outlined by Crossley.

To review this part of the Methodology about engaging in the interview, I discussed the partly structured and free association nature of the interview, including points about how to interact with the participant in the research context, to elucidate dynamics about her/his emotions. These techniques rest on the assumption that we can learn about emotion by exploring a person's unique meanings, rather than by implementing a highly structured interview agenda. The next sections will explore further the methods of learning about emotions from interviewees, by demonstrating how stories and countertransference are integral parts of the research exchange. The sharing of stories flows in the context of the free association format, and countertransference is a continual process for the researcher, one which is critical for making sense of *both* social constructionist and psychoanalytic understandings of the interview material.

Storytelling as a way of responding in the interview, and specific stories as resources for exploring workplace emotions

Storytelling is significant to consider as an *overall way of participant responding*, and the *sharing of specific stories* provides unique paths to employees' emotions. Interacting in the interview by approaching the interviewee as "a story-teller rather than a respondent" (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000: p. 31) creates many opportunities for people to share their working lives, a distinct advantage over highly formalised interviews with a predetermined question sequence, which may narrow the range of what organisational members disclose. Indeed, "As Holloway and Jefferson note, story telling shares many things in common with the psychoanalytic method of free association...This principle [of eliciting a story in an interview] ...allows the researcher to look at various forms of unconscious communication" (Clarke, 2006: p. 1163).

Inviting participants to share the complex, many-layered moments of their work, by encouraging a storytelling way of sharing, supports a rich exchange for exploring the depth and contradictions of emotion, overlaid by organisational, cultural and political rules. Gabriel (1999a) illustrates that storytelling provides freedom to the teller, and a researcher who participates together in the adventure with the interviewee will be able to uncover dynamics that traditional approaches *will not find*, and *thus assume do not exist*. In following this methodological approach, I did not want to engage with the participants as repositories of information; instead, I worked toward the aim of creating a space in which the person had the opportunity to express the significance of her/his unique emotions. With this storytelling space, it is possible to uncover more readily factors like

socially constructed emotion rules and unconscious meanings, in contrast to rigid, fact-based interview questions that can significantly eclipse personal experiences.

Encouraging a storytelling style in the interview opens up moments for the sharing of specific stories, which offer a number of insights about organisational life. Contributions to demonstrating the significance of stories in organisations have been made by a variety of researchers. Mitroff and Kilmann (1975) illustrated that stories can be a source of insight about organisations, and they can be applied for organisational problem-solving, especially as "The use of organizational stories... [in contrast to relying on quantitative data only] taps the unconscious, qualitative phenomena that pervades organizations" (Mitroff and Kilmann, 1975: p. 28). Stories *unveil* anxieties and function to *alleviate* them, as revealed in a discussion of common organisational stories about insecurity and tension (Martin et al., 1983). Stories are powerful: they can influence how people in seemingly "rational" jobs make decisions (Gabriel, 2004b). Stories are often deployed as forms of resistance, enabling people to rebel against organisational dictates and controls, not by dismantling but by defying them in unmanaged spaces (Gabriel, 1995). The identity of organisations can be studied through narrative as well: "The very fabric of organization is constantly being created and re-created through the elaboration, contestation and exchange of narratives" (Brown, 2006: p. 735). Not only can the collection and analysis of stories reveal important insights about organisational phenomena like identity (Brown, 2006) and organisational change (Brown et al., 2009), but also organisations in themselves can be conceptualised as storytelling places (Boje, 1991, 1995).

Rhodes and Brown (2005) illustrate the breadth and depth of narrative research in organisation studies, in which stories figure significantly. They outline

the contributions of narrative studies to understanding dynamics like sensemaking, change, and power, and they provide extensive support for the argument that "science and stories are both important in organization research... attention to one need not necessarily preclude understanding of the other" (Rhodes and Brown, 2005: p. 177). This spirit of rapprochement is greatly welcomed in this thesis, in which I seek more than one approach to improve the analysis of emotion in organisational settings. I study different ways of understanding stories as one source of data among others to enhance interpretations of people's complex work experiences. Attention to stories does not distract from other modes of knowledge but rather enriches the process of studying emotion at work.

My specific approach to stories is inspired by Gabriel's emphasis upon stories as having a clear beginning, middle, and end (Personal Communication, 2008). Stories in this view are distinct from opinions or incomplete narratives; therefore, this perspective is in contrast to the work of Boje, who advocates viewing stories as narrative parts coming together across time and different people. In fact, in Boje's conceptualisation (1991) a story can be as short as one phrase or sentence. Boje argues that the beginning, middle, and end are not required features for a story (1995, 1999).

I implemented Gabriel's conceptualisation of stories, because the qualities of stories, as defined with this perspective, are very rich for the analysis of social and unconscious features of workplace emotion. One of the most important qualities of stories with this chosen framework is that they have *plots* (Czarniawska, 2004; Gabriel, 2004b); plots are significant, because "the meaning of events is revealed in relation to one another" (Gabriel, Change Management Forum, University of Bath, 2010). Stories are characterised by a clear time

sequence and turning points, as well as some kind of tension, trouble, or conflict in the story, which is addressed in its resolution. They are different from narratives, which detail a sequence of events but may be broad and diffuse, in contrast to the immediate "What happens next?", "How will it work out?" quality of stories with a beginning, middle, and end (Gabriel, Personal Communication, 2008; Gabriel, Change Management Forum, 2010).

Regarding the role of researchers in listening to stories, the emphasis is not on asking questions to verify factual accuracy, but rather on listening to the importance of the story for the personal, social, and often unconscious meanings for the individual. Asking seemingly minor but objective questions shuts down the fantasy mode of storytelling and redirects to fact-based, structured interviews (Gabriel, 1995). Connecting fully with the telling of the story means that the researcher will become immersed in the fantasies of the storyteller as well (Gabriel, 2004c). Yet, in this shared research space, one must stay cognisant of a need to maintain a balance between: giving voice to the story and engaging with the participant's associated wishes and fantasies *during the interview*, and examining its multiple meanings critically at later stages o*f analysis*. One must therefore be within *and* outside the story, joining the participant's journey while considering possible interpretations from an external perspective of a sensitive, careful listener. This epistemological tension, contemplating multiple interpretations as a researcher while being with the interviewee on the storytelling journey, points to the "core discursive clash of our times - the clash between the authority of the expert... and the authority of experience" (Gabriel, 2004a: p. 12), a point which will be emphasised again in the section on data analysis below.

This tension in authorities can be overcome by interweaving the sources of the expert and the experience, and maintaining awareness about the importance and limitations of each one. Czarniawska's argument that "responsibility and respect [to "somebody else's story" (2000, p. 18)] do not have to be expressed in a literal repetition of what has been said" (2000: p. 18) can be applied to this context of balancing the storyteller and interpreter's voices. Similarly, Hollway and Jefferson (2000) argue that one should not unquestionably accept interviewees' reports [stories] as directly congruent with their experiences. Indeed, "If we wish to do justice to the complexity of our subjects an interpretative approach is unavoidable" (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000: p. 3). In particular from a psychoanalytic standpoint, it is critical to give voice to research participants, providing a climate of empathy for them to express their meanings, and to consider what other possibilities may be occurring that are not *explicitly* conveyed, or are distorted, by the interviewee in her/his storytelling.

Through the sharing of stories, participants may share information about their work lives that otherwise would be inaccessible or difficult to obtain from other means (Gabriel, Personal Communication, 2008; Hollway and Jefferson, 2000). The subjective and shared presence of the interviewer, rather than being something which a more positivist approach may seek to minimise, can help the interviewee to respond more freely, resulting in the disclosure of private material through the story that could not be readily accessed by more rigid interview techniques. Stories are particularly formidable means of processing and sharing negative emotional encounters or traumas; such experiences may be too painful to address in a straightforward, explicit manner, or may be associated with workplace taboos. In the interviews, I asked participants about specific stories in their

organisation, such as inquiring, "Is there a story you can share about something memorable that happened in your work?" At other times, workers shared stories spontaneously, without first being asked.

Stories provide important gateways to emotion understanding in both theoretical frameworks. What do stories provide from a social constructionist perspective? In the telling of the story itself, an emotional performance may be occurring which signals crucial meanings, such as the person's constructions of the interview context and its emotion rules. Furthermore, stories can *function* as outlets for emotions (Fineman, 1993b), both individually and collectively, which will become particularly illustrative in Data Chapter 3, with "Ghazala" recounting her work trauma story to me and colleagues, and with "Abhinav" sharing with me and classmates his triumph over British colleagues. Individually, the telling of the story points to pride and satisfaction for Abhinav, and catharsis for Ghazala, who works to achieve recovery from her trauma through the telling of her story to an audience. Collectively in both instances, the release of emotion that the stories stimulated in the group can be analysed as well, to heighten understanding about the wider cultural and historical context of workplace emotions.

Fineman (1993b) illustrates that stories provide an opportunity to convey meanings about power, voice and hierarchy, a point which is particularly salient for probing the postcolonial aspects of emotions in stories. Furthermore, it is important to emphasise the *constitutive* nature of stories for emotional life in organisations. Fineman notes that in social constructionist approaches, "...stories do more than represent individual emotions, they actually *constitute* the emotional form of work life. They are alive in social interactions, moulded by the cultural language and conventions of organization" (Fineman, 2003: p. 17).

What do stories provide from a psychoanalytic perspective? As stories contain *distortions*, they are a particularly rich source for psychoanalytic interpretations, as illuminated by Gabriel (Change Management Forum, University of Bath, 2010). According to a psychoanalytic way of understanding, threatening unconscious material comes to consciousness through distortions, and the distortions of stories are therefore one vehicle by which such unconscious anxieties are made lucid. Stories also provide an outlet for wish-fulfilments (Gabriel, 1999a), for the satisfaction of desires that one may otherwise consciously not feel comfortable to express. They are a powerful source for expressing fantasies, which can unveil many difficult to access dynamics about work life (Gabriel, 1995). The symbols used by storytellers, and the ways that they depict or locate themselves in the fantasies, are useful tools for probing features of organisations not readily obvious or discernible through their external constructions. Stories often function to recover symbolically from an injury experienced in the organisation (Gabriel, 1995), and this symbolic use may be occurring unconsciously. Stories bring together social constructionist and psychoanalytic models as well (as demonstrated in Gabriel, 2004c): the story itself is the linkage between the language about people's organisations, and the fantasies that are revealed through analysis and interpretation of that language. By applying both social constructionist and psychoanalytic approaches to stories, this thesis addresses the importance of multiple perspectives in storytelling research (Boyce, 1996).

Stories may be enriched by the use of metaphors, which are illuminative for illustrating organisational phenomena and unconscious processing of emotion. In Rekha's story explored in the next chapter, for example, the metaphor of nightmare powerfully underscores the depth of emotional uncertainty related to dismissals in

her organisation during the 2008 recession; her metaphor of being "kicked out" helps to signal the intensity of her experiences and associated defences. Metaphors are particularly vivid for conveying emotions that are difficult or prohibitive to express through more direct linguistic forms. Indeed, as noted by Spence (1990), they are especially important for psychoanalytic exploration of the unconscious, which is not available for direct observation.

Stories are powerful resources for exploring important cultural features of emotion in India. India is historically rich in storytelling traditions, which are often expressed in a variety of art forms like song and dance and serve to reinforce, or sometimes subvert, daily cultural rules (see for example Dalrymple, 2010). I described in the literature review the Ganesha myth, which underscores the close mother-son bond in Hindu culture, and the telling of the story itself acts to reinforce this bond. I noted Kakar's study (1971b) of Indian stories in textbooks, which function to highlight important emotional features of superior-subordinate relationships. In these stories, the authority figures are "modelled on... the *paternal* image of assertion and control... or the *maternal* image of nurturance and support" (Kakar, 1971b: p. 96).

Stories thus reveal important sources of authority that can affect working relations, and for India two central sources are Indian familial patterns, and colonial authority. The legacy of colonialism for India is vividly shown through the novel *Midnight's Children*, by eminent Indian postcolonial writer Salman Rushdie. This novel illuminates remarkable insights about the traumatic partition and birth of the new Indian nation, coinciding with the narrator's birth. The narrator, through his embodiment of this new birth and growth, starkly draws out the enduring relevance of colonial trauma for engaging with meanings in India.

Mezey describes this powerful work as "*an attempt to provide a therapeutic understanding of history and its traumas in a manner that places individualized psychoanalytic constructions in juxtaposition to those of larger collectives*" (Mezey, 2006: p. 178). Drawing upon this observation, stories can embody the tensions between one's private anxieties and "larger collectives" like organisational culture, family norms, and historical trauma, and these frictions emerged in stories during my interviews. For instance, I will highlight in Data Chapter 4 Rakesh's stories that illustrate his ambivalence about the persistence of white privilege in postcolonial work spaces.

Stories are valuable moments in the interview exchange, providing a depth of understanding that can be interpreted readily from social constructionist and psychoanalytic viewpoints. In listening to stories and responding to the moment-to-moment dynamics of the interview, another immensely useful resource we have at our disposal is *ourselves*. Listening to the voice of countertransference, which is our own emotional response to the interviewee and the emotional events she/he shares, brings to the forefront more ways to work with the resultant interview data and extract meaningful interpretations from it.

Countertransference: Engaging with one's own emotions in the interview and subsequent analyses

Searching for keys to unlock the complexities of emotional life is enhanced by relying on a tool in psychoanalysis for engaging in interviews and interpreting data: countertransference. As described in the Literature Review, transference and countertransference refer to dynamic interactions between researcher and respondent, in which highly emotional experiences with caregivers and significant others are reproduced in the research relationship. Transference refers to the interviewee's way of responding to the researcher, which can evoke earlier patterns of interacting with authority. As illustrated by Gabriel (1999b), transference does not interfere with therapeutic understanding but rather facilitates it. Applied to my research context, if an Indian employee transfers emotions to me (consciously or unconsciously) as a constructed white person, that process provides important information about the broader colonial context affecting Indian working lives. Countertransference is the dynamic that the researcher experiences in relation to the interviewee and is paramount at all times in the research journey: conducting the interviews, transcribing, and listening to and reading the transcripts on multiple occasions.

Significant to countertransference is the cultural diversity of each person in the interview, including many considerations such as gender, ethnic background, and social class. Being a "white" visitor to India, a country previously colonised by the British, I had a multitude of emotional reactions and invoked certain emotions in others, specifically resulting from the tensions of this postcolonial context. I have not been at ease with being perceived as "white", due to my

countertransference anxiety of being put in the role of one with privilege, but my Indian friends told me several times that I would be treated in specific ways, such as having ease of access (which did not always materialise), due to my skin colour. It was only after my interviews and extensive reflections that I realised the depth of these racial dynamics, by close engagement with meanings in the interview about postcolonial concerns and enduring racial inequalities. The historical and cultural shaping of me and the interviewees, made clear through application of social constructionist understanding, therefore is powerfully linked to unconscious exchanges, illustrating the widened understanding in data collection and later analysis when social constructionist and psychoanalytic models are brought together in a more complementary manner.

Hollway and Jefferson ask us to consider, "What will you assume about your effect as interviewer on the answers given? Does your sex, race, age and so on make a difference?" (2000: p. 2). Regarding the latter question, from a social constructionist *and* psychoanalytic standpoint, the answer is *yes*. My gender, my role as PhD student and researcher, and additional cultural features significantly influence my positioning in the interview and the meanings shared by the respondents, who in turn are affected by their own social role expectations. As emphasised in my previous counselling training, *every* interaction is a multicultural interchange with multiple layers (Hendrick, Personal Communication, 2002), with the attendant social constructions and historical context for how emotions are shared or hidden. From a psychoanalytic view, cultural diversity in an encounter can stimulate unconscious emotions that have an effect on: the ensuing discussion, and the defences that people employ. Thus, a rich engagement with countertransference draws upon the intertwining of social constructionist and

psychoanalytic resources, as captured in Clarke, who points to "the role of the unconscious in transmitting our ethnic, gendered, and class identities (to name but a few) into the research environment" (2006: p. 1167), which has especially strong implications for the study of emotions in postcolonial research spaces.

It is important to note that cultural differences do not always yield heightened negative emotions or block fruitful exchanges. Indeed, there are times when differences actually make it possible for greater disclosure to occur, as when one would rather share deep seated worries with a stranger, rather than a close cultural companion who may render criticism. Moreover, similarity in culture can provoke emotional clashes; for instance, two women of similar age may experience unconscious envy and competition in a context of glass ceiling dynamics. The many dimensions of cultural context need to be examined carefully to probe the emotional dynamics of the research encounter.

Countertransference is not something to ignore. One's own anxieties or doubts in the interview *can in themselves be a source of understanding*, to: guide one's probing of emotionally-laden material in the interview in more detail; heighten awareness of nonverbal and verbal meanings; and interpret the analyses in an expanded way. What are some ways of accessing our own countertransference reactions? Paying attention to our own emotional responses during the interview, while being careful not to display them, is integral to this process. It is also significant to probe whether our emotions may be masking others. We may not immediately realise the meaning of our emotions, but reflection at different stages assists in this process. Reviewing transcripts, and discussing the interview with colleagues who were not present, can bring into consciousness underlying dynamics like one's repressed emotions.

Our countertransference can emerge in a variety of creative ways. Stein, notable for his work on the importance and usefulness of countertransference for understanding organisational life (e.g. Stein, 2004, 2006), advocates tapping into our creative resources to access what is often elusive unconscious material. He argues that different modes of artistic, "non-academic" ways of being provide "intimate access to your unconscious... you will maybe write a poem or paint a picture now and then as a way of better understanding the organisations with which you are working. Far from distracting you from keen observation, interpretation, and explanation, it will serve as a valuable instrument for all three of these virtues" (Stein, 2010, Personal Communication).

Photography is useful as well; I took pictures throughout my travels, and viewing them from time to time brings back my emotional experiences in ways that cannot be captured fully by my verbal written notes. The significance of photography in research across disciplines, not only media ones, has been recognized by the University of Bath as well, as a photography competition has been established for postgraduates to explain links between the images and their research work. Sievers (2008) describes the Social Photo Matrix, which he utilised with students as a means of accessing unconscious assumptions about their University, demonstrating the power of images for giving voice to emotions and unconscious experiences.

In order to illustrate some of the nonverbal ways in which I connected to my countertransference, I included in Appendix 2 some of the pictures that I took during field work in India. I had an emotional experience in this study of workplace emotions, and these pictures are among many that I look at to help evoke the meanings of the interview space that I experienced. I also included these

pictures to share with the reader snapshots of some of the crucial experiences that I had during my doctoral journey.

Images are one of the ways in which I accessed my own countertransference to probe the interview material beyond what I consciously experienced at the time. Furthermore, one of the criticisms of social constructionist approaches is that an emotional experience cannot be fully expressed by words; consequently, I wished to provide visual examples of furthering my study that were in a form other than written text. The importance of visual methods for studying organisational topics, as primary or supplementary research methods, has been demonstrated by an ESRC funded group, called in-visio, and by the work of Dr. Harriet Shortt (Shortt, Personal Communication, 2012).

Stein implements a technique he calls " 'Howard's Hat Trick' " (2008: p. 310) to illuminate insights that emerge when probing transference-countertransference. Utilising the metaphor of hats during an external mediation of a psychology organisation's retreat, he asked group members to imagine the qualities of hypothetical patients, who were identical in symptoms but represented by different kinds of hats. He "asked them to **'listen' to their emotional reaction** to the 'patient' wearing the hat" (Stein, 2008: p. 310) [my bold]. Conclusions from this hat exercise, illustrating the richly informative method of countertransference, are:

(1) we each wear our own hats;

(2) sometimes **out of awareness,** we put some of our own hats
 on to others, then react to 'them' as if the hats were theirs;
 *[a defence mechanism called **projection**, putting distressing or uncomfortable emotions onto others, as if they are shown by others and not actually belonging to us]*

(3) again, **out of awareness**, we sometimes wear some hats others have, often forceably, put on our heads, and act as if the hats were now our own; *[a defence mechanisms called **projective identification**, in which someone not only projects emotions on to us, but also we are induced to experience these emotions that actually originate in the other]* and

(4) in family, **workplace**, and community relationships, we often wear multiple hats, some of which we are aware of, and some of which do or do not correspond to the hats others are expecting us to wear at a given moment (Stein, 2008: p. 311) [my bold].

These points provide instructive guides for making sense of interview results. Interestingly, Stein (2008) indicates that hats can refer to the different *roles* one undertakes, and he interweaves the importance of roles, with unconscious responding to another person's roles. In conducting my interviews, I embodied the role of researcher, and interviewees interacted emotionally with this role in varied ways according to their social expectations; similarly, my own emotions were shaped by the interviewees' roles as research participants. These intertwined patterns of responding to roles frequently occur unconsciously through transference-countertransference.

A focus on countertransference brings attention to the tensions that the researcher may experience in making sense of her/his emotional reactions to the interview, which in turn can provide valuable insights about the emotions expressed and recalled by the respondent during the interview. Free-association interviewing, stories and countertransference were emphasised in this part of the Methodology document, primarily addressing the interview process itself. The next part of this document will focus on important considerations when analysing data. I will start by highlighting the focus of social constructionist and psychoanalytic frameworks in probing the data and continue with discussing how the data was organised. I will conclude with specific points about interpretations.

Interviews as approached from social constructionist and psychoanalytic understandings: *Analysing the interview data*

Perspectives on extracting meanings from the data, and organising the analysis

Both the social constructionist and psychoanalytic conceptual systems make use of interview data analysis as one of the ways to learn about emotion, but they differ in assumptions about how to make sense of the data. Crossley (2000) notes that "more traditional 'realist' approaches [like psychoanalytic ones] assume that the interview can be seen as a tool which elicits information about the respondent's beliefs, perceptions or accounts of a particular topic... By contrast, social constructivist approaches, such as discourse or rhetorical analysis, view the interview as a place where specific social and interactive functions are being performed" (Crossley, 2000: p. 87).

In my approach, just as I am intertwining social constructionist and psychoanalytic views theoretically in the interview process itself, I am interlinking these perspectives in the analysis stage as well, by demonstrating how interpretation of an interview can in fact illustrate *both* outlooks, as outlined above by Crossley. My interviews entailed asking questions about cultural and personal experiences related to work; in studying the results, I consider multiple possibilities, such as interpreting interviewee responses as performative, from a social constructionist standpoint, and/or as pointing to unconscious processes. An examination of the text may illustrate that the respondent is enacting a performance or using a discursive strategy to achieve a specific aim, and another angle may

indicate that beyond the surface of the performance, a person's response patterns illustrate more sensitive, conflicted emotions. The possibility that performances are enacted to satisfy unconscious motivations offers enriched meaning from the interview data (see for example Theodosius, 2008: regarding unconscious needs as driving external presentation).

Crossley notes that "The discourse analyst is not at all interested in how this response may 'reflect' on the psychological or social reality of events 'outside' the interview context" (Crossley, 2000: p. 87), and it is on this point where I distinctly depart from a strict social constructionist application of discourse analysis. I argue that it is possible to investigate context-specific emotional dynamics of the interview, *and* to probe how these emotions may interrelate with private psychological processes and/or wider social dynamics in the organisation. Crossley (2000) takes a similar position through the narrative psychology approach that she details, by considering the importance of interview-specific social acts, as well as the significance of personal, subjective reality. The difference in my outlook from Crossley is considering the potential for unconscious dynamics to shape even the most interview-specific encounters. Crossley (2000) gives the example of wanting to look good for the interviewer, but one can question, why? What is the motivation for impression management in the interview context?

My approach to analysis, drawing upon both frameworks, is reflected in Hollway and Jefferson (2000), who embark upon data analysis by emphasising the significance of exploring links between inner and outward experiences. They stress the "need to posit research subjects whose inner worlds cannot be understood without knowledge of their experiences in the world, and whose experiences of the world cannot be understood without knowledge of the way in which their inner

worlds allow them to experience the outer world" (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000: p. 4). This approach addresses the importance in social constructionism of the external shaping of individuals, and taps into psychoanalytic resources for the impact of private subjectivity upon making sense of one's lived cultural experiences.

The way forward for constructing interpretations from the interview data can be captured by the balance advocated by Gabriel. As a researcher, we embark as a fellow traveller with the interview respondent, making possible disclosures of meaning, and at the same time we need to maintain ourselves as interpreters external to the immediate story, to apply a different angle in formulating understandings of the experience (Gabriel, 2004b). To foster meaningful data analysis, in my interviews I sought this balance between: giving research participants voice, to support a climate of respect and empathy for them to express their meanings, and considering during data analysis possibilities that were not explicitly noted by the interviewee.

This approach to data analysis inevitably raises questions, such as: how can we be sure about our interpretations of meanings as researchers, which involve issues of power? Will we stifle the participant voice? As argued by Hollway and Jefferson, we can have confidence in this method of interpretation as it allows us "to do justice to the complexity of our subjects" (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000: p. 3). In contrast, presenting the text as a full representation of the participant experience would in fact greatly undermine the complexities of individuals, as many-layered emotional life is not always smoothly and directly revealed. Moreover, this approach of analysing and offering interpretations is justified only if we apply the same standards to ourselves as researchers (Hollway and Jefferson,

2000). Applying this view to my research, if I engage with the possibility that an interviewee displays anger about a topic, I need to consider whether I too feel anger, and whether I am projecting my own anger (see above on projection as a defence mechanism), or if it is an emotional experience that indeed we both share.

To begin this process of interpreting the interview exchanges, I first needed to settle how to store and organise the rich data in the transcripts. The method advocated by Hollway and Johnson is relevant to my work: "In contrast to the widespread tendency in qualitative research to fragment data by using code and retrieve methods, we illustrate a method based on the principle of working with the whole data and paying attention to links and contradictions within that whole" (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000: p. 5). In my research, I did not utilise software, which may quantify interview data in a way that takes away from its qualitative features. As an example, a computer program can in a matter of seconds identify the number of times a certain word was used, but Hollway and Jefferson ask us to consider the possibility that "the same words do not guarantee the same meanings" (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000: p. 8); people can socially construct their own personal meaning for any concept. Consequently, I examined the meanings of words in the context of the interviewee's overall responding, and I studied the patterns, inconsistencies, and nuances that often become more prominent after listening to audio files, transcribing, and reading the transcripts multiple times.

A prior emotion system or classification was not used to impose upon the data analysis. As an entirely inductive study, in this thesis the emergent emotions and work themes were noted for each individual; I did not try to mould the responses into previously-established categories or a prior Western or Indian emotion system. As the focus of this thesis is on socially constructed and

psychoanalytic ways of understanding emotion, the emergent themes were then analysed with resources from these two theoretical frameworks. I made notes of emergent patterns like similar cultural dynamics expressed across interviewees. I transcribed the interviews, and through the process of transcription, I engaged with specific dynamics of workplace emotions. An Excel spreadsheet was used to store the growing list of themes from the interviews, such as specific emotions, Indian cultural dynamics influencing working life, stories, and defence mechanisms.

In regard to the transcription process, Crossley (2000) indicates that nonverbal expressions like intonation are not crucial for what to include in the transcription, which is surprising given her attention to multiple influences upon interviewee experience. In contrast, in my transcriptions I found including as much nonverbal detail as possible to be vital, especially for exploring the interviewee's emotions from two theoretical models. For example, describing if a "no" was said softly, vehemently, hesitatingly, and so on, provided critical information about the significance of the "no" in terms of emotional labour, cultural emotion rules, and/or unconscious processes. The recording of nonverbal data also provided a rich resource for analysing transference and countertransference.

In this section on analysing the interview data, I addressed points about how to approach and organise the data. In the next section, I will discuss in more depth specific methods for interpreting the data. Significant points in the next part include: my role as a non-Indian engaging with the data, and verbal and nonverbal resources for analysing emotions.

Specific methods and considerations for analysing the interview data

In analysing the data, it is critical to address, particularly from a social constructionist standpoint, the meanings of me as a non-Indian engaging with the workplace emotions of Indian employees in postcolonial spaces. I stress that difference may or may not be constructed as a threat or obstacle by respondents, and in fact my *not* being Indian offers significant *strengths* to this work. For example, difficulties that arise in the interview due to cultural differences between me and interviewees can be analysed for their socially constructed and unconscious meanings, and the emotions of difference can provide clues about multicultural encounters in the organisation. Furthermore, as an Indian colleague pointed out, my being different may facilitate *greater disclosure* by Indian workers in some instances, compared to what may be shared with Indian interviewers (Jalan, Personal Communication, 2009). In the literature review I discussed Roland's observation (1991) about fears of harming the family name, and these fears may be attenuated in the presence of a foreigner who presumably has limited knowledge about caste names, community habits, and so on. Thus, respondents may or may not construct me as a threat, and both instances can add valuable interpretive information about the emotions shared, performed and masked.

Makari and Shapiro (1993) discuss Kohut's approach to empathy, in which it is implied that dissimilarity in the therapeutic dyad challenges empathic listening. However, Makari and Shapiro take this discussion a step further by "add[ing] that even similarity of surface does not guarantee common experience or internal structure" (Makari and Shapiro, 1993: p. 994). Applied to my research setting, I argue that simply belonging to the same cultural group does not guarantee

comfort in disclosure or greater emotion understanding than an outsider. Indeed, we can look to the research about collectivism in India, in which some Indians, tightly loyal to their religious or community groups, may not be engaged with other Indians outside of these specific groups; in fact, there may be distrust or tensions according to group status (e.g. Sinha and Tripathi, 2003: reference to Sinha 1990a on ingroups and outsiders). Thus, being an Indian or a foreigner does not by itself signal the usefulness, quality or meanings of the research relationship. This assertion may be contentious from a postcolonial context, as postcolonial scholars may criticise outsiders for making claims about the other, but as will be developed further in the Conclusion, I argue that othering can occur both from within and without, and that moments of great connection and mutual sharing are at times possible, even transformative, across cultural divides.

For instance, I experience myself as a changed, more informed and self-aware person as a result of my field work in India, which was marked by emotional, cross-cultural encounters. For the part of the interview respondents, several shared with me their observations about the interview after its conclusion. Rekha wrote to me several days after the interview, noting that "I never had such an interaction". Aasha disclosed at a later time, "Your interview had a cathartic effect".

The postcolonial context of India is *always* significant for making sense of emotions; this context is crucial for being vigilant about differences in race and geographic location that can affect the encounter, including mistakes that I make. However, a blanket approach to *how* it affects the subsequent data, such as assuming that no Westerner can connect with or describe Indian emotion experience, is what I contest. Instead, I emphasise that postcolonial shadows can

shape, distort, or transform the sharing of emotions about work in the research interview in a multitude of ways, strongly depending upon the unique personal biographies brought into the dyad against the backdrop of a specific organisational context.

It is important to note briefly here the writings of Spivak (1993) about the subaltern. Her criticisms concern the (non/ mis-) representation of the subaltern, particularly the gendered subaltern, in elite Western scholarship, and her approach is grounded in literary theory. In a later work, she discusses changing meanings of the subaltern in the context of global capitalism (Spivak, 2000). More broadly, her arguments may be used to counter any representation of the Other from an outsider perspective. I acknowledge the importance of these points and the potential dangers of Othering. However, I argue that there is a wide range of ways in which to engage with the Other, ones that can yield new possibilities, as noted in the specific points above in my own field work.

For the organisational work context of my thesis, with connections to family and personal dynamics, Spivak's writing is of limited accessibility. I found that the cross-cultural unconscious interview dynamics were one of the most telling sources of meaning for this study. The meeting of privileged Western researcher and elite Indian worker, if here we define elite as having access to education and material resources, offers a unique opportunity for exploring workplace emotions through social constructionist and psychoanalytic perspectives, as will become clear for example with Sonal in the first Data Chapter.

Spivak's work (2000) touches on the dynamics of globalisation as a new form of exploitation. I will be developing points about new global working spaces as reproduced colonial ones particularly in Data Chapter 4 through connecting

directly to my empirical data, with reference to recent empirical organisational studies. Overall, among Indian postcolonial scholars the writings of Bhabha and Nandy have provided the most useful resources for my doctoral work. For my analysis, I have focussed upon how empirically-driven meanings, a result of field work and not literary analysis, have spoken to me to connect to the most illuminative empirical and theoretical references.

Moving now from my place as interviewer to the application of social constructionist and psychoanalytic models for data analysis, it is important to note that in both theoretical models, there are similarities in outlook about interpretation. Midgley (2006) provides an illustrative account of commonalities of psychoanalysis and qualitative research, which we can apply to our current discussion. He describes a tentativeness in interpretations: "Freud's description of the way in which he built up his conceptual scaffolding bears striking similarities to the processes described in modern qualitative research, where the emphasis is on cautious, changing and evolving understandings, built up out of a constant interplay between data and the emerging hypotheses - while recognizing that no observation is ever 'neutral' " (2006: p. 215-216).

In social constructionist approaches, new meanings can emerge, depending on factors like: the social context in which the data is approached; the researcher's subjectivity in engaging with the data; and engagement with changing cultural conditions for different ways to frame the data. In psychoanalysis, Frosh and Young (2008) argue that

interpretation is always wavering and uncertain even when it can be tested against the patient's response, and even more so when it cannot [as in the research

context]; but this can be turned into a strength if one can maintain the stance of uncertainty and tentativeness within a context of **cautious checking against the emotional tone of the research participant's talk and of the researcher's reactions** (Frosh and Young, 2008: p. 117, my emphasis).

Indeed, applying psychoanalysis means to probe, to disturb and question the verbal and non-verbal meanings presented in different forms by participants, and this questioning requires ongoing reflection by the researcher of her/his own emotions in the interview and subsequent analysis.

Frosh and Emerson (2005) demonstrate the contestable nature of interpretations through analysing interview extracts from psychoanalytic and discourse analytic positions, respectively. Interestingly, Emerson contested Frosh's earlier psychoanalytic interpretations of these interview extracts (which are first discussed in Frosh et al., 2003). Their study usefully conveys different points of emphasis with two different theoretical perspectives, but the authors do not try to bring the perspectives more closely together or highlight shared spaces of understanding.

Gough (2009) notes criticisms of psychoanalytic qualitative research, referencing for example Frosh and Emerson (2005). Gough responds to these debates through his own study of a father-son relationship, by exploring "defensive **as well as** discursive patterns in the interview data" (2009: p. 527, my bold). Wetherell (2003) positions herself as engaging with psychoanalysis and discourse in her study of extracts about masculinity, but her analysis and conclusion appear to present the discursive accounts as superior to the psychoanalytic ones. In contrast, Gough's work is more balanced, "arguing that both discursive and psychoanalytic frameworks can offer valuable, and not necessarily incompatible,

levels of interpretation, while either perspective presented in isolation may lead to an impoverished analysis" (2009: p. 528).

We can therefore acknowledge that no interpretation is ever final, and that there are enriched meanings through analysis with both theoretical resources. How can these resources be deployed to strengthen confidence in constructing strong interpretations? An interpretation is put forward when accumulating evidence provides depth which an alternative interpretation lacks. Described by Gabriel, signs will accumulate and point toward an interpretation that has strength in capturing the interviewee experience (Personal Communication, 2010). Specific linguistic strategies and clues about performance may signal a social constructionist interpretation, and the intensity of contradictions that persist beyond surface constructions may indicate the importance of unconscious facets of emotion. Indeed, there are times when signs point to the relevance and usefulness of *both* theoretical interpretations, or signs may indicate mutually reinforcing processes conceptualised by social constructionism and psychoanalysis, such as the interweaving of emotion work with unconscious concerns. As one specific example, Dick (2004) analyses multiple hedges in an interviewee's answers as indicative of how she positions the researcher. I add that psychoanalysis can draw out from hedges the potential anxieties and unconscious concerns about the interview and/or the material being discussed. These may be related: hedges can result from the relational stimulation of anxieties; the relational aspect may be driven by social constructions of power differentials in the interview relationship.

A social constructionist analysis of transcripts, which includes studying interviewees' use of discourses and specific linguistic patterns, can provide insights about significant emotion rules, cultural values, and multiple features of

the organisational context. A study of language use within the transcript can illustrate psychoanalytic processes as well. Gabriel (1997), describing a student's story about meeting her awe-inspiring manager, examines how the use of the word "all", as well as its repetition, help to illustrate the projection of primal mother upon a leader. Indeed, "Listening for unconscious communication on the level of narrative is based on this assumption that repetitions in material, either at a narrative level or metanarrative, thematic level, can be inferred to have overdetermined unconscious meaning" (Makari and Shapiro, 1993: p. 1005). Similarly, Gough observes:

> The operation of the unconscious can be identified through patterns of associations, repetitions, inconsistencies and lack within the text which the speaker cannot hope to appreciate (unless fantastically self-reflexive) and which on the face of it appear puzzling. By attending to the gestalt, assessing how disparate elements may in fact function collaboratively to produce particular self and other positions, and referring where appropriate to relevant biographical fragments, then analysts can begin to understand ostensibly perplexing material (see Hollway and Jefferson, 2000, 2005). (Gough, 2009: p. 542).

The complementarity of these frameworks, for uncovering meanings through specific patterns like repetition, emerged in my data. When Rakesh, a CEO who will be discussed in Data Chapter 4, repeats "winning formula", from a social constructionist standpoint the function of repetition is to stress the emotions of satisfaction for his organisational achievements, in the context of an interview performance. A psychoanalytic perspective hones in on the ambivalence and

attempts for anxiety reduction underlying these repetitions. Both interpretations offer important possibilities; in fact, both approaches are required when engaging with interactive cultural-unconscious processes.

With regard to thematic repetition noted by Makari and Shapiro (1993), Rekha states that she maintains distance from senior employees, and this point is made in response to a variety of different questions. This repetition about keeping distance can function as a linguistic strategy, to stress an important emotion rule for me to understand. The repetition may also reveal that troubles have occurred in her senior-junior relations, the emotions of which are materialising in different discursive contexts, such as answering a seemingly unrelated question about myths by noting this issue.

In some writings, there is criticism about utilising discourse analyses together with psychoanalytic resources (Edley, 2006), and about exploring the interview discourse for features about the interviewee seemingly beyond the text (e.g. Potter and Wetherell, 1987). Yet, the advantages and greater depth of understanding that result from doing so have been shown in multiple studies, such as the works of Frosh and Gough, and in my data as previewed briefly here. As outlined previously, I stress that attending to similarities between frameworks rather than focussing upon obstacles supports the aim of fuller interpretations.

Midgley's reference (2006) to Freud helps to address reservations about the applicability of discourse analysis for helping with psychoanalytic insights. For Freud, the psychoanalyst [here the researcher] needs to "make 'constructions' about how these pieces might fit together, constructions which **necessarily go beyond the data available, but are only maintained in so far as they explain or fit the existing data.** The discovery of new fragments may force the archaeologist-

analyst to revise or reject their previous hypotheses, or to build up new hypotheses" (Midgley, 2006: p. 216, my emphasis). Returning to Gabriel's analysis, if the signs fall apart when proposing a specific psychoanalytic interpretation in the context of other discursive and cultural features of the interview extract, then a new interpretation can be attempted. Similarly, if a social constructionist interpretation appears to waver or be incomplete, the potential complementarity of psychoanalysis can be explored.

The intertwining of linguistic and unconscious features in the interview analysis may uncover the dynamic that emotions are *defended* against *through* the use of discourse. Specific discourses can be worked up in the interview, perhaps not consciously, to mask or contend with anxieties, a point which will be elaborated through Bhavesh's story about work trauma in Data Chapter 3. Frosh stresses that "The excess [of emotion, trauma, fantasy], what cannot be held or contained, keeps cropping up" (Frosh, 1999: p. 386), and a specific discourse may be used as a defence against this excess. The discourse utilised in the interview, therefore, may indicate a variety of possibilities like: linguistic strategies for making sense of an experience; vital insights about emotion and cultural rules; or an intertwining of the discourse with defences against workplace experiences.

Not only can the text offer rich sources to explore emotions, but also nonverbal data can reveal many dimensions of emotion that are not disclosed by one's words. Such data includes tone of voice, hesitations, body language, and changes in volume or intensity of expression. These nonverbal communications, or the "music of the words" (Makari and Shapiro, 1993: p. 1001) are particularly crucial in "*psychoanalytic listening*" (Makari and Shapiro, 1993: p. 991, original italics), particularly so for becoming attuned to unconscious processes. Similarly,

Rizzuto (2002), through clinical examples, illustrates the significance of prosody, or tone and rhythm, for revealing important emotional dynamics and defences when contrasted with the semantics of the words.

These nonverbal dynamics in the clinical setting can be stressed in the research setting as well, as the nonverbal behaviours of both interviewer and respondent, even in a brief interview exchange in contrast to an extended clinical one over time, can unveil important unconscious processes. I may become aware of clenching my hands tightly or becoming nauseous while a respondent expresses admiration of a murderous dictator, realising that I've done so to contain my anxiety about masking my emotions of incredulity. Thus, the emotion work of adhering to a setting's rules, like appearing calm in an interview space, is *interwoven* with nonverbal manifestations and unconscious emotional currents. My conscious emotion work may result in continued presentation of a neutral, empathic listening stance, but the unconscious distress about the points shared may at times find other nonverbal manifestations. Thus, nonverbals help me connect more closely with my own countertransference and significantly enhance my interpretations of the interviewee's disclosures about emotions at work.

A social constructionist understanding of nonverbal data is imperative for interpreting the purpose of these mannerisms, because there can be cross-cultural variation in some nonverbal expressions. For example, nodding a head can mean agreement as commonly understood in Western cultures, but in some places like India, it indicates respectful acknowledgment of what was said but may not necessarily entail agreement. Nonverbals like silence in response to a specific question may provide information about emotion rules and their perceived transgressions as well. Indeed, Fineman stresses that "The emotionality of

narrative is more than the location of certain emotion words and phrases. It includes the relationship between the words, the metaphors used.. and the sense of **cadence, hesitation and silences detectable in the structure of the text...**" (Fineman, 2004: p. 733, my emphasis).

Both psychoanalytic and social constructionist models, therefore, address the significance of nonverbal data for analyses, but they differ in their interpretations. For example, Potter and Wetherell describe delays as indicative of responses which are not preferred. They do acknowledge that people are not likely to engage in "complex planning" (Potter and Wetherell, 1987: p. 87) for formulating non-preferred responses, but there can be more to explore about delays by consideration of unconscious motivations. From a psychoanalytic perspective, there is a greater focus on how intrusions of conflict and anxiety may halt what one is disclosing.

As illuminated by Freud, stable nonverbal and verbal mannerisms may result from the chronic use of defences; since defences are invoked to contend with painful emotions, threatening affect may be transformed through defence into a nonverbal repetitive behaviour (Freud, 1966). Litowitz (1998) describes how some defences used in early development may become manifest through both verbal and nonverbal means, and adds a cautionary note about the interpretation of gestures which may have varied meanings. This important recommendation brings back the point about how to have confidence in an interpretation: through analysing whether signs grow and point to a viable understanding (Gabriel, Personal Communication, 2008). Important considerations for constructing an interpretation of nonverbal signs include: understanding of the cultural context; sensitivity to the unfolding

dynamics between interviewer and interviewee; and connection to the overall emotional patterns in the interview.

The application of more than one theoretical resource widens the possibilities for meaningful understanding of nonverbal signals. In my interviews for this thesis, a nonverbal feature like rising tone of voice may signal increasing irritation or excitement about the discussion of an issue in the context of performing to a foreign researcher, or the rising tone may signal the intrusion of emotion like anxiety about a past work trauma and the associated use of defences. Rizzuto, describing her clinical work, explains how "defences were at work in her [the patient's] **manner of speaking**" (2002: p. 1334, my emphasis), and in research encounters, the nonverbal features of speaking are one of the most potent ways to access unconscious processes. These varied points of emphasis, performance or defence, are not necessarily incompatible, but can be complementary or present more than one way of apprehending the emotional work experience. The performance in the interview, signalled by nonverbals like tone of voice, may be unconsciously motivated. Indeed, "In our *manner of speaking* we all say things about ourselves that go beyond what we convey with our conscious communicative intentions and the explicit content of our sentences" (Rizzuto, 2002: p. 1340, original italics).

In this part of the Methodology chapter, I emphasised that the text of the interview and nonverbal information can be studied to uncover emotional experiences, by intertwining social constructionist *and* psychoanalytic assumptions about the meanings of interview data. The next part of this document will outline in detail the field work that was conducted to explore these possibilities for analysis. The setting and participants will be reviewed, followed by a discussion

of access, my reflections about the interviews, data organisation, transcription conventions, and the organisation of the Data Chapters.

Field work setting and participants

India was chosen for the location of fieldwork, as it offers rich, dynamic cultural settings in which to explore emotions from more than one outlook. My unit of analysis in this thesis is the workplace emotions of individuals, and I described in the Introduction the advantages of studying emotions in this manner. Because my unit of analysis is workplace emotion rather than one organisation or one city, I conducted field work in multiple organisational locations. Doing so was part of my social constructionist agenda: to study how different work sectors and local cultural values can significantly shape the experience and expression of emotion.

I collected my data in two locations: Delhi, the capital of India, and two of its satellite cities, Gurgaon and Noida, located in Northern India; and Chennai, state capital of the Southern state of Tamil Nadu. I wished to visit places in different geographical areas of India to explore in greater depth the meaning of emotions from a social constructionist perspective, as these cities differ greatly from one another in language use, politics, degree of Westernisation, cultural festivals, and so on. Therefore, these city-specific cultural features can be explored for their impact upon people's management and expression of emotion at work. To illustrate, a respondent shared that people from Delhi can be more ostentatious in emotional expression and that people from Chennai are more characterised by humility.

Similarities, on the other hand, between these two different cities can point to Indian values that are strongly ingrained across linguistic and state lines. In addition to the marked diversity in India, therefore, there are unifying elements of Indian culture across different regions and religions, as detailed earlier. By visiting

two different locations, I explored these culturally shared, as well as distinct, aspects of India as expressed through emotions in people's organisations. For instance, managing negative emotions in relation to one's elders in an organisation requires careful expression of discontent rather than outright scolding or open display of dissatisfaction; this expectation was articulated in Chennai and Delhi, reflecting a shared Indian value of deference to age. Consequently, conducting interviews in more than one area of India strengthens the pursuit of social constructionist inquiry, through studying the impact of multiple layers of cultural context upon the shaping of workplace emotion.

In both locations, I visited businesses, hospitals, and charities/nonprofit organisations. In the Delhi area, I also visited two universities. Varied occupational settings provided an additional source for examining emotions from multiple angles, as the people I interviewed occupied distinct roles and described varied work experiences according to their setting. I spoke with women and men mostly occupying middle-level hierarchical positions. It was my preference to learn from people at middle and lower levels of the hierarchy, to explore multiple cultural and unconscious influences from both senior and junior workers and associated systems of authority. Overall, the specific places I visited and individuals whom I interviewed were significantly influenced by access. I consulted with my contacts in both cities and made my own inquiries to request visits at locations in different sectors, in order to pursue my research question. The resultant field sites were those where the respondents could speak English, a point I detail below, and where approval was granted for me to visit.

In my initial field work planning, I wished to conduct group interviews. In addition to the dynamics between researcher and interviewee that can be analysed,

group interactions among participants can provide a valuable source of data. In groups, people's defences are enhanced or relaxed (Gabriel, Personal Communication, 2008); people may become more or less comfortable in sharing experiences and responding to one another. These patterns of defences help to illustrate the conflicts and tensions of organisational life experienced by individuals. Group interactions, such as comments on another person's stories, may bring out emotions about the storyteller and/or the organisation that may remain unexpressed without the presence of others.

When I began my field work, however, it was difficult for practical reasons to bring together people in groups at a common time, even when appointments were planned in advance, owing to the dynamic nature of the work place and unexpected changes in schedule. To illustrate, when I was on my way to interview at a nonprofit organisation, I was called and asked if I could at that moment go to a business that I was planning to visit on another day. As a consequence of unpredictable alterations in interview plans, most of my interviews were individually-conducted. I did have three group interviews recorded by audio. The advantage of individual interviews is more time and space for engagement between researcher and respondent, yielding data which can be analysed in more depth for interviewer-interviewee interactions.

The following interviews that I conducted were all audio-recorded after receiving consent from the interviewees. In the interests of protecting confidentiality, especially for the North Indian Universities as there are not many in the studied area, some precise suburb or nearby satellite cities are not named, and instead "Delhi-area" is indicated.

2009

Interviewee, Delhi Area

"Sonal"
- Female Finance Manager at a private business in the transportation sector
- Age late twenties, married

"Rekha"
- Female manager in Internal Audit and Control, in the same business as Sonal
- Age 27 (voluntarily shared), married

Group Interview, 8-10 participants (late arrivals)
- Nonprofit Community Organisation
- References to this group in the thesis include comments by "Akshay", a manager, in Data Chapters 1 and 3.

Class of approximately 50 Executive MBA students
- Students in age range estimated as 25-40 years old, with a majority of male students
- The male instructor of this class, "Jaspreet", is in his late thirties/early forties, married with one child
- References to this group include "Harish" in Data Chapter 2, "Gautam" and "Virochan" in Data Chapter 3, and "Abhinav" in Data Chapter 4.

2010

Interviewee at Private University in Delhi Area

"Nandita"
- Female lecturer
- Age mid-late twenties, married with a son

"Chanchal"
- Male lecturer
- Age sixties, married with two daughters
- Retired; formerly he worked for the government in the Procurements Department

"Anthony"
- British white male, Head of Academic Coordination and Professor
- Age late fifties, married
- He is the only non-Indian participant in my study. My contact asked him to participate in my project to provide his perspective on work life in India.

"Deepa"
- Female lecturer
- Age mid-twenties, adopted, rejected by birth parents for being a girl
- Attempting to convince parents for permission to marry a man from another caste

"Ghazala", "Priya", "Faarooq", interviewed together in a group
- Ghazala and Priya are female, Faarooq is male, and all three are in their mid to late twenties
- Ghazala is a communications trainer, Priya is a soft skills trainer, and Faarooq is a senior soft skills trainer

Interviewee in Chennai, 2010

"Vikas"
- Male Marketing Head, Real Estate company
- Age forties
- Has a son in school

"Ojayit"
- Male Marketing team member, same Real Estate company as Vikas
- Age twenties

"Giri"
- Male boss of his own sales organisation, interviewed at a Chennai Boat Club
- Age forties
- Has two sons

"Prakash"
- Male entrepreneur, interviewed at the same boat club as Giri
- Age forties
- Spent a period of time growing up in the United States
- Married with two sons; he and his wife wanted a daughter but "it didn't happen".

"Fulki", NGO Administrator, Female
- Female administrator at Chennai NGO, which helps children with physical disabilities
- Age forties
- Married with a son and daughter; Brahmin caste by birth, married to a Christian

"Megha"
- Female NGO Worker with children and families at the same NGO as Fulki
- Age early forties
- Has a visual impairment, as indicated by requiring assistance for walking to different places; she did not refer to the impairment during the interview
- Raised in a business family; experiences beauty in helping children

"Latha"
- Female NGO Community Worker at same NGO as Fulki and Megha
- Age early sixties

"Udita"
- Female doctor at Specialty hospital
- Age late thirties/early forties
- Married to a doctor at the hospital; they have one son

"Ikshu"
- Male manager at a shipping company
- Age forties

"Ekavir"
- Male Deputy Manager at the same shipping Company as Ikshu, Chennai
- Age late twenties
- After the interview finished, the topic of racism against Indians in Australia rose, and Ekavir commented that North Indians were "hypocrites" (for noting this racism), as he indicated skin colour tension between North and South Indians.

Group of four female NICU nurses
- Two senior nurses, "Mitra" and "Lakshmi"; two junior nurses, "Kavisha" and "Gajra"
- Multispecialty Hospital

"Rajnikanth"
- Male Head of Housekeeping, at same Multispecialty Hospital as the NICU group
- Age forties

"Rakesh"
- Male CEO of a Private Business
- Age voluntarily shared as 32

Interviewee in Delhi Area, 2010

"Banhi"
- Female Administrator at a Charity Hospital
- Age fifties
- Has a daughter and son, both in their twenties

"Kanaan" and "Phoolendu", two male workers at the same hospital as Banhi
- "Kanaan" is an administrator and "Phoolendu" is an IT worker
- Age for both late twenties/early thirties

"Aasha"
- Female Fundraiser at the same hospital as Banhi, Kanaan and Phoolendu
- Age fifties
- Married with two daughters; her elder daughter has a son

Three male students, 14-18 years of age
- NGO for educating children from slums

"Jalpa"
- Female Teacher at the NGO for educating children from slums
- Age fifties
- Married, has three children

"Bhavesh"
- Male founder of charity organisation for rural children's education
- Single, age early twenties

In addition to these audio interviews, in 2009 I conducted individual interviews at a private steel company in Delhi, in which the HR manager, "Ashutosh", did not grant permission for audio recording. At this company I interviewed Ashutosh, in his forties, and "Hina", an Associate Manager of Corporate Finance in her twenties. I conducted two group interviews in 2009 at a private phone company in Gurgaon, and permission was not given at this setting as well. In Chennai, 2010, one of the multispecialty hospital interviews was conducted with an administrator who is also daughter of a politician, and she declined to be recorded by audio.

All interviews were conducted in English, as I do not have knowledge of the local languages as yet. English is a commonly-accepted language of many organisations in India, making it possible to conduct meaningful interviews; particularly in Delhi, English has widespread usage in the media, politics, entertainment, and so on. Many employees were educated from an early age in

English-medium schools. Of course, there are shortcomings to not conversing in the local language. I would have been very interested to understand work emotions from people who did not have access to learning English and occupied positions in work like construction, food and tea service, and housekeeping. Language necessarily confined me to interacting with an elite group of middle-class individuals who had the educational privilege of learning and becoming fluent in a foreign language, in this instance English.

In keeping with social constructionist tradition, it is imperative to specify the benefits and limits of language as a tool of data collection. There may have been times during the interview that some native expressions would have been useful to capture a specific emotional dynamic. Interestingly however, I have Indian colleagues who have done their field work in India utilising English rather than their mother tongue. For this thesis, emotions are being explored in the context of work; therefore, the use of English at Indian work places makes possible meaningful connections between the occupational setting and the emotional life experienced therein. Furthermore, many workers have been educated from childhood in English-medium schools, and they have become accustomed to encountering and experiencing emotion through the use of English.

The diversity of India is emphasised throughout this thesis. My sample is limited to educated, English-speaking employees from families employed by the government or from business families. The work experiences of underprivileged or lesser educated Indians in cities or of Indian villagers will be markedly different from the individuals in my sample, and their workplace emotions cannot be addressed in this thesis. Ancient Indian theories of emotion and self may have

been more applicable for conceptualising the emotions of non-English speaking Indian groups, especially with interviews conducted in their native language.

In India we find substantial diversity between urban and rural areas, and there is variability within cities and within organisations as well, which will be illustrated in the Data Chapters. This diversity will be drawn upon as one of the ways to demonstrate the importance of social constructionist understanding for workplace emotion, such as differences between cities in emotion rules. The examples in this thesis are not meant to represent all people or organisations in India, but rather to demonstrate important cultural features for the emotions of the employees whom I interviewed, to fulfil the purpose in this thesis of bringing together social constructionist and psychoanalytic perspectives more meaningfully.

Regarding access, I personally contacted organisations, and relied upon friends and their contacts in Delhi and Chennai to help me overcome barriers to setting up interviews. With the exception of one University, I visited all sites on my own, which frequently involved challenges in negotiating with rickshaw drivers, sometimes nonverbally when English was not known, to find locations not accessible to public transport. My reflections on these site visits and the processes of data collection and interpretation are addressed in the next section.

Reflections on conducting and analysing the interviews

In my first several interviews, my primary anxiety was how I would be received as a foreign researcher, although the postcolonial depth of this meaning became clear to me later as I was analysing the data. In starting the interviews, I was asking myself: Will they trust me? Will they perceive me as an undercover reporter or someone other than the PhD researcher that I am? What does my non-Indian status mean? Will they think of me as an arrogant Westerner judging India? To help allay these concerns, I started engaging with the first several interviews by self-disclosure of some of my own work experiences and impressions, in an effort to connect as fellow workers and not be perceived as an intruder. I made efforts to share misperceptions and weaknesses of Western working environments, to offset any potential perceptions that I held views about Western work spaces being superior to Indian ones.

Interestingly, it was upon later listening to the audio files of these initial interviews that I fully consciously realised the depth of my anxiety and the extended efforts I undertook to not appear like a judgmental figure from the "developed" West. This realisation guided me to reduce drastically my own speaking and disclosures in all subsequent interviews, such that my responses became mainly limited to asking clarifying questions and reflecting empathically on what was said. In the few instances when inaccurate perceptions were put forth about my cultural background, I was clear not to correct these assumptions but allow them to flow as part of the exchange, and as vital clues for the interviewee's social constructions of me and the interview encounter. For instance, when one female doctor respondent said "You people are much more independent than we

are", rather than clarify the meanings of independence in my own cultural experiences, I instead did not comment and privately noted these responses as important signifiers of how I was socially perceived.

It is useful to note that the level of interviewer self-disclosure can generate important meanings for the interview process, from both psychoanalytic and social constructionist perspectives. Sharing my work experiences could have significance for unconscious processes in the interview, such as transference - countertransference dynamics, and the emergence into consciousness of new stories that may otherwise have remained hidden. Yet, disclosing my experiences may have also interfered with greater free associations by the respondent; this realisation influenced my decision to reduce greatly my own talk after the first several interviews. From a social constructionist standpoint, sharing one's own experience may shape the co-production of meanings and the symbolic significance of subsequent interview exchanges. However, from my initial experiences I learned that self-disclosure is not crucial for conducting the interview meaningfully with a social constructionist framework, as cultural meanings and emotional performances can be analysed richly with minimal talk in the interview on my part.

Engaging in the interviews was one of the most enjoyable stages of this doctoral journey. I benefitted from listening to employees' unique moments and encounters in organisational and cultural context. The respondents' stories and experiences have provided an immense source of further learning and discovery about the meanings and linkages between these theoretical frameworks. Learning about others' workplace emotions also helped me realise how they can be very

similar to those in the West; while culturally distinct experiences occur, these do not need to eclipse the wide range of shared emotional spaces across boundaries.

I have greatly treasured these interview moments and often reflect on them with nostalgia, "my days of challenge and fulfilment in India". I increasingly feel that the exchanges between me and the respondents have taken on a life of their own, opening up new possibilities of understanding over time. I often recall one of my Counselling Psychology professors reminding us that it is "a *privilege* for you when someone shares her/his psyche", a privilege to respect (Garos, Personal Communication, 2003). As discussed earlier, this research setting is distinct from a therapeutic one, yet the depth of emotional exchanges and the experiences shared recall similar privileges and responsibilities.

The pleasure of sharing interview space was accompanied, of course, by challenges, such as self-disclosure which I readily addressed, and the difficulties of withholding or masking my own emotions in response to heavily-charged disclosures. There were a few interviews in which the information shared challenged my own beliefs and values, and I had to exert more emotion work to maintain externally my neutral listening stance and not betray any change in my facial expression that would indicate my emotions. For example, I was greatly disturbed when one community worker described to me that she advised a woman to keep quiet about a sexual assault by her brother-in-law. I was privately outraged, yet also reminded of the pressures upon women in many settings to not voice their traumas and to accept patriarchy, not only in parts of India but also in many Western spaces, including more "liberal" ones like the United States where I was born and raised. There were also moments in which I wanted openly to share in an interviewee's anger and express my emotions of injustice, like when Ojayit

discussed that credit was stolen for the work he completed on a project. In a few instances, especially with Aasha, I held back from showing the full depth of how I was affected by her stories of her father's depression and her mother's death. Of course, I did not aim to present myself as a robot, and expressed empathic understanding verbally and nonverbally when I felt appropriate, but I was careful to be restrained so that the focus was the respondent's experiences, not the full intensity of what I was experiencing at the time.

I felt a sense of accomplishment in overcoming the multiple obstacles of conducting field work in a different country, such as utilising public transport and arranging for a driver to places not reachable by public transport. Transport was particularly a challenge in Delhi, where native Delhi-ites (as they call themselves) and friends from other parts of India have cautioned me to "not trust just anyone who comes along in Delhi" (it's considered the crime capital of India), and to be very careful about having safe arrangements. It was wonderful to enter new organisational spaces and witness the hubbub of activity in another nation; I have been eagerly looking forward to my next research project in India as a result of these challenging, enriching opportunities.

I sensed a very different reaction to my wanderings in Chennai compared to Delhi, which corresponds to interview respondents' comments on the more humble and traditional character of Chennai compared to Delhi. Delhi is described as an individualistic city of immigrants who settled there from different parts of South Asia, for example after the Partition (Personal Communication with Indian colleagues, 2010). In Delhi I was regularly approached and sometimes insistently followed as a tourist: "Ma'am I can give you a good tour package; ma'am best deals on these shoes; Hello where do you come from", comments very

characteristic in touristic areas of many large cities in Asia like Istanbul, a city I have visited frequently. In Chennai, I was pleasantly surprised that people for the most part interacted with me as if I were a resident of the city. There were occasional comments like "Madam would you like to try these pickles?", which had a much different emotional tenor of curiosity and humility than the more aggressive approach in Delhi. One gentleman in Chennai went out of his way to help me with a mobile phone problem, and then he arranged a group taxi for me to go to the local mall, thinking that as a Westerner naturally that would be my priority, an amusing and touching gesture.

In transcribing the interviews, I often relived some of the emotions during the interview and encountered new ones by being outside the story during analysis, a challenge described above. To illustrate, when I first interacted with Sonal, my main emotions were hurt and incredulity about her responses resisting cultural and gender dynamics. Perhaps I also had some narcissistic indignation – "People usually open up to me, even when I try to avoid it – what's happening here?" – a countertransference response useful to signal that not all was fully disclosed.

Upon later transcription and reviewing the accounts multiple times, I developed a more enriched understanding of my interaction with Sonal through application of a postcolonial analysis, and I appreciated more deeply that gender difficulties may have driven Sonal's resistance. I disengaged much more from my own initial hurt to probe how the contradictions and distancing in Sonal's account could have been driven by painful experiences. Indeed, I shared extracts from Sonal with Indian psychoanalyst Professor Salman Akhtar (Personal Communication, 2011), to whom I referred in the Literature Review. Akhtar proceeded to circle all the "no/not" related words in Sonal's responses. He

indicated that a variety of cultural factors may drive this style of responding, and he also noted the possibility of unconscious "troubles" (his word) around the topics discussed. Thus, my commitment to doing my own transcriptions, though time-consuming, was central to the analysis process, helping me to engage with, rediscover, and open up new emotions that assisted me in making sense of the data and constructing interpretations.

Data organisation

During transcription, I found it useful to start an Excel database to track the emerging themes. As I progressed with the number of transcriptions, I decided it would be useful to divide the database into different sheets, in the manner described below. For Sheets 1-3, I listed themes vertically, and the names of the respondents in the top row, horizontally. Within the cells themselves for Sheets 1-3, I listed the initial of the respondent and the line(s) of the transcript where the theme occurred, in order to locate it for further analysis and detail. I emphasise that these sheets and columns were not created at the outset but rather came into being over an extended period of time, through progressively transcribing more files and sorting how to organise the data so that I could retrieve, reference and analyse it. The focus of each of these sheets follows:

Sheet 1: Organisational, cultural, and familial dynamics, such as:

- Different emotional patterns according to work sector/organisational culture/ newness of company

- Reference to Indian value/history/culture/spirituality/ generational difference/gender concerns

- Impact of childhood/family upon career choice, work ethic, work style

- Work issues specific to living in India

- Non-linguistic aspect of emotions

Sheet 2: Specific emotions, and specific defence mechanisms

- Examples of specific emotions: Anger, helplessness, guilt, hope

- Examples of specific defence mechanisms: Rationalisation,

identification with the aggressor, sublimation, negation

Sheet 3: Interview dynamics, such as:

- Delays; interruptions; emergence of an issue unrelated to the current discussion

Sheet 4: Colour coding scheme within the transcripts

- Highlighted in green – reference to the time marking of the audio file

- Highlighted in red – cross-reference to another respondent's interview, indicating similar or contrasting themes

- Highlighted in yellow – bringing out a theme or specific dynamic for further scrutiny

- Highlighted in pink – Reference to an academic article or book useful for analysis

Sheet 5: Stories conceptualised with Gabriel's approach – a beginning, middle and end

- The first column lists the participant's name and the story, at times signalled with the transcription lines, and the second column includes useful references for the respective stories

Sheet 6: Useful academic references for major themes or specific points in the interview data

- Column A: References for age/status/seniority/dependency/patronage

- Column B: References for Indian family-work connections

- Column C: References for gender

- Column D: References for fear

- Column E: Reference for greater fluidity between work and home

- Column F: References for colonial issues/anxiety about Western imposition **or** anxiety experienced BY the former colonisers

- Column G: References for specific defence mechanisms

- Column H: Reference useful for the interpretation of texts

- Column I: Reference for useful quote about the meaning of

    dialogue between views

- Column J: References for trauma

- Column K: References for envy, many of which have

    postcolonial implications

- Column L: Reference for emotional labour

- Column M: Reference for emotion mobility

- Column N: Reference for shame

- Column O: References useful for differentiating theoretical terms

- Column P: Reference for emotions' independence from language

- Column Q: Reference for conflicts between one's upbringing

    and new work spaces/ social changes

- Column R: References for ambivalence

- Column S: References for resistance

- Column T: References for organisational rituals

Sheet 9: (Sheets 7 and 8 were copies of 1 and 2 that were later deleted)

- One column, listing specific ways to bring social constructionism

and psychoanalysis together, by reference to the interview data and academic literature

My overall experiences of interviewing, transcribing, and analysing,
the latter two processes overlapping with one another significantly, were marked by challenges
which were also opportunities, as discussed in the Introduction to this chapter.
It was an emotional journey to engage and re-engage with the data, and interestingly
I did not experience worries about working with both perspectives, as I found they

interweaved with each other in useful and illuminating ways, and at times one or the other could be applied with a stronger emphasis. In many instances, I found that the psychoanalytic perspective added a depth of personal, individual meaning that was not discernible through the social constructions themselves, yet the social and cultural contexts were key for making sense of many workplace emotion dynamics. The next and final section of this chapter addresses specific transcription conventions that I used when presenting the interview excerpts, and concludes with an outline of the subsequent Data Chapters.

.

Transcription conventions and organisation of the data chapters

In referring to the interviewee data, *italics* are used to reflect the *respondent's* emphasis, such as an increase in volume or stress. **Bolded** words or phrases reflect **my** intention to highlight parts of the transcript for greater scrutiny. A question mark in brackets, [?], indicates a space in the audio file that was not clear. A phrase with a question mark indicates a few words that are partly clear, but some spaces are not fully discernible; [such as?], for example, means that the words "such as" are coming through on the audio file but the full phrasing is not clear.

Everything in the transcripts is directly the English spoken by the participants, not translated. On occasion a Hindi word like "hahn" (yes) was inserted among the English use. Similarly, in some of the transcripts, the reader will come across the use of the word "ki" by respondents, which means "that" in Hindi. In a few places where respondents referred to a native saying, it will be clearly indicated, such as: [Banhi now speaks the Sikh verse]. My personal reflections or comments on the transcript material are located within brackets. At times between the lines of a transcript, I inserted brackets to refer to another interviewee who expressed a similar sentiment.

Due to space limitations, all the experiences of the interviewees cannot be included in this thesis. Four data chapters follow. The first and fourth ones in particular focus on contrasts of experiences, which provide extensive space for identifying and analysing emotions from these perspectives. Contrasts of emotions at work are also provided in the second and third chapters, within the context of the main themes being discussed. The first chapter contrasts the experiences of

"Rekha" and "Sonal", two female employees at the same transportation company. These interviews were among my first ones, hence symbolically beginning with them has important implications, such as illustrating in a narrative, developmental manner changes in my interview approach in subsequent field work as an outcome of my countertransference. I also began with this contrast, because an analysis of Rekha and Sonal's experiences and stories uncover central features of Indian emotions and working life, which reverberate in later chapters and lend themselves to social constructionist and psychoanalytic analyses. The second Data Chapter will explore in more depth the cultural themes arising from Rekha and Sonal's chapter, such as the impact of Indian emotion rules in the family upon work spaces. This chapter devotes substantial space to a more detailed exploration of socially constructed aspects of workplace emotions in India. Next, the third data chapter will explore in depth the theme of trauma, specifically childhood trauma affecting working life, and workplace traumas. In this project about workplace emotions, participants contributed a number of powerful stories that indicated the importance of sharing trauma in the interview space. I describe in further detail, in my introduction to this chapter, the conscious and unconscious concerns guiding my focus on trauma. The stories highlight distressing experiences that have left marked effects on the respondents, effects which can be richly analysed with both frameworks. The focus on trauma is not all negative, however; the stories demonstrate resilience, strength, compassion, and growth as well.

The fourth, the final Data Chapter, focuses on an aspect of trauma very sensitive and significant for Indian work spaces: colonial trauma. The stories and emotional disclosures about international working dynamics point to the lingering influence of colonialism, consciously and unconsciously, upon working spaces,

and greater attention to colonial dynamics facilitates more comprehensive cultural understanding of workplace emotions. It was significant to devote space to colonial dynamics, as the interview encounters in my field work and the reported work experiences both pointed to their enduring impact. Exploring *how* colonial history continues to shape workplace emotions is strengthened by deploying social constructionist and psychoanalytic resources, in line with the aim of this thesis. While finishing the chapters, I became aware of a possible unconscious motivation for ending my Data Chapters with the story of Abhinav in the last data chapter: Abhinav's story illuminates agency and subversion- a challenge to racial hierarchies. Ending this way embodies my interests in hope and change – for the emergence of new stories that can alter previous patterns of oppression. Following this fourth and final Data Chapter, in the Conclusion I review the contributions made in this thesis and highlight future directions in research about workplace emotions.

Chapter 4

Data Chapter 1

Sonal and Rekha:

Contrasts in Accounts that Introduce Key Areas to Cross-Fertilise

Social Constructionist and Psychoanalytic Understandings of

Workplace Emotion[2]

Outline and choices of data chapter 1

This first Data Chapter focuses on individual interviews with two female

managers, "Sonal" and "Rekha", in a transportation business based in the Delhi

area. I chose to start the data chapters by contrasting emotion management between

two individuals of the same gender and similar age and hierarchy level, to bring

out starkly unique emotional life of employees accessing the same organizational

and linguistic symbols. This approach is consistent with both psychoanalytic and

social constructionist methodologies which often focus on a relatively narrow

range of data, submitting them to close scrutiny rather than addressing broad

regularities across a wide range.

In particular, I chose to contrast Rekha and Sonal's accounts of gender and

spirituality, because their varied accounts on these topics brought out the

[2]Sections of this chapter draw upon an article that will be submitted for journal review, titled

"Bridging the Contradictions of Social Constructionism and Psychoanalysis for Understanding

Workplace Emotions: Inspiration from India"

importance of analysing both socially constructed and psychoanalytic interpretations of their displayed and reported emotions. A juxtaposition of these excerpts highlights possible disconnections between overtly expressed and tacitly communicated emotions, which can be addressed richly through both theoretical frameworks, as will be demonstrated in the empirical data below. Furthermore, focussing on extracts about gender and spirituality foreshadows the significance of these cultural topics for the workplace emotions discussed in subsequent chapters. Moreover, through a contrast of Rekha and Sonal's disclosures about these two crucial areas, central feeling rules affecting Indian workers emerged. For instance, Rekha's haunting by a male subordinate's "no", which will be analysed in this chapter with reference to gender tensions, underscored the significance of an Indian cultural rule of obeying superiors. This rule reverberated in the data addressed in the remaining Data Chapters, providing meaningful interpretive resources for several workplace emotion examples, such as Harish's story eliciting envy in Data Chapter 2, and Ghazala's trauma in Data Chapter 3. Hence, bringing out this emotion rule in this first Data Chapter, through reference to both Rekha's and Sonal's experiences, highlights its significance for the exchanges discussed in later chapters.

This chapter also permitted me to reflect on transference-countertransference dynamics, which inform the later chapters. The chapter highlighted the methodological strengths and weaknesses of my interview approach. For instance, at times I felt out of depth or confronted with projections; a limitation, however, may become a strength, a dynamic I address in the Introduction. By reflecting on the challenges and moments of impasse in the interview, I was able to engage substantially with my own experiences of feeling

rejected, which provided space for probing the meanings of the emotions in the interview and beyond the interview context, as will be explained below. I now continue the Introduction to this chapter with a discussion of the reasons for choosing the extracts that follow.

Why I chose Rekha's extracts about gender

I focussed on two extracts with Rekha in reference to gender, because both of these extracts provided illustrative contrasts to Sonal's discussion about gender in the first part of this chapter. The first gender extract with Rekha is her response to my question about scolding and gender, stimulated by her prior discussion of scolding, and by my serendipitous moment of finding an Indian television program about gender and discourse before my interview with Rekha. Rekha's response included references to male ego and tensions between female superiors and male subordinates. After analysing this extract, which includes my countertransference about my responses in the exchange, I introduce the second gender extract with Rekha, which brings out her own emotional responses at work in relation to a male subordinate. Both gender extracts convey tensions that are markedly different from Sonal's accounts of gender.

Why supporting voices like Deepa were included in the juxtaposition of Rekha and Sonal's discussions

When giving voice to people's experiences, such as those of Rekha and Sonal, providing a supporting voice helps to complement or emphasise the

dynamics arising from their accounts (Gabriel, Personal Communication, 2010, 2011). To use a theatre metaphor, voices from the chorus can enhance the emotions projected by lead singers to the audience about their trials and triumphs. For analysing Rekha's extracts about gender, it was fitting to bring in Deepa's voice, because Deepa's life story, which was tragic at birth due to being rejected as a girl child, provided striking information about socially constructed and unconscious meanings about women. These meanings in turn helped to make sense further of the gender dynamics uncovered by Rekha. Similarly, in later chapters, I brought in supporting voices to provide additional context and meaning to the interview exchanges; for instance, in Data Chapter 3, I relied upon exchanges with Akshay and Vikas to provide further meaning about competition.

Bringing in supporting voices to interweave stories and support the data analysis also addressed my commitment to highlighting and honouring as many voices and moments of my interviewees as possible. With a postcolonial sensibility in particular, giving space and respect to the intimate, highly valued disclosures of respondents was paramount to my work. I began and continue my study with an interest and care for the sensitivities of the interview space, and I wished to draw out as many disclosures as possible, especially as the non-Western, non-white voice continues to be unrepresented and undervalued in the quest for knowledge and understanding about working spaces.

The final extracts of this first data chapter

The last interview extracts included in this Data Chapter centre on Rekha's story about her friend being fired from work, and Rekha's subsequent fears. I

chose to include this story, because it organically evolved after Rekha recounted her haunting experience with the male subordinate and consequent sleep loss (Rekha's second gender extract), and I then asked about any other nightmare or dream experiences related to work. This question led to Rekha revealing a deeply unsettling experience, and Rekha's responses to it yielded rich data which offered opportunities for analysis with both frameworks.

Therefore, I chose this story as another empirical example supporting the main goal of this thesis, exploring the benefits of rapprochement such as widened interpretations. With Rekha's story, both the significance of her work role in shaping her emotion, as well as her unconscious responses to threats to this role, can be probed and intertwined for enhanced meanings about her workplace emotions. As noted in the Literature Review, social constructionist accounts stress how, for example, roles and our social expectations of them create emotions, while psychoanalytic accounts invite us to consider how we process workplace events that challenge the meanings of our roles, for instance through defence mechanisms. I also chose this story shared by Rekha, because it sets the stage for later data chapters, in which the intricate and sensitive stories shared can similarly be approached with a depth of understanding supported by both emotion frameworks.

How I conclude this first data chapter

I conclude this juxtaposition of Sonal and Rekha's experiences by reviewing several key parts of their data, namely by bringing out the verbal and non-verbal significance of the interview responses. In doing so, I provide further support for the richness of meaning through considering more than one way to

analyse the data; for example, vehemence may be indicative of a performance to satisfy a rule, *and/or* may signal manifestation of defences.

OUTLINE OF HEADINGS OF THIS DATA CHAPTER

This data chapter is organised with the following headings:

Extract 1 with Sonal: Gender

Analysis of the above Extract 1 with Sonal about gender: -I will analyse the above extract with Sonal, and the analysis will proceed by contrasting Sonal's discussion with Rekha's disclosures about gender.

Contrast to Sonal's account of gender: Rekha's experiences

Extract 1 of Rekha and gender

Extract 2 of Rekha and gender

Summary of extracts about gender

Extract 2 with Sonal: Spirituality

Analysis of the above Extract 2 with Sonal about spirituality, and contrast with Rekha

Final Extracts of this data chapter: Rekha's experience, unveiling emotions through story, fantasy, defence

Analysis of the final extracts of this data chapter: Rekha's experience above

Conclusion of this first data chapter

Extract 1 with Sonal: Gender

In this section, I will introduce an exchange with Sonal on the topic of gender. First I will provide some background information about meeting Sonal, and I will then include the interview transcription about gender. In the following section, I will analyse this extract by contrasting Sonal's experiences to that of Rekha on the topic of gender.

Sonal is a senior finance manager, and her age range is 27-35 years old. Rekha is a manager in Internal Audit and Control, and her age, 27, was voluntarily shared. At the beginning of the interviews, I explained that the purpose of my research was to learn about the emotional experiences of workers in Indian organisations. In speaking with Sonal, I shared my interests in travelling to India for this research, by describing: my childhood upbringing with Indian families in the US and participation in Indian festivals with college friends; my advising and counselling work with Indian students; and my overall interests in the history and diversity of India. With the goal of creating a shared space and minimising my imposition as a researcher, I emphasised that we all have a variety of experiences in organisations, and that I would like to understand more about organisations and countries in which I have not worked.

It is important to note that before the interview proceeded, Sonal warned me that people would give me "half-baked truths", although I had not asked for any perspective on my interview process. Her comment brought to mind an interview I conducted several days earlier with Sudhir Kakar (Personal Communication, February, 2009, Delhi), who cautioned me that people would tend to say what they thought that I, as a foreign guest, would want to hear. However,

once the actual interview exchange with Sonal began, I sensed that she did not see herself as telling half-truths, as she was increasingly firm in her convictions about her organisational experiences.

Reflecting upon our encounter, I realised that several times I asked a broad, neutral, nondirective question, and Sonal offered topical information in a manner assuming that I was adopting a particular emotional stance. The meanings of her responses, providing very specific, vehement perspectives, can be interpreted through both social constructionist and psychoanalytic considerations. Two parts of the interaction with Sonal will be discussed to exemplify this pattern. The first extract and analysis will focus on gender, and the second extract will focus on spirituality. I will contrast both of these topics with Rekha's accounts.

After introducing myself and the study, to begin the discussion I thought it would be interesting and complimentary to ask Sonal about her experiences as a female manager. I have long been impressed with the significant presence of female employees in India in high managerial and political positions, often in much greater proportions than Western counterparts. I referred in the Literature Review to examples of Indian women in traditionally male occupations in the West like politics. I therefore started the interview with curious admiration, with the intention to learn from Sonal's emotion experiences as a woman with important responsibilities in the workplace. The question below is the first that I asked in the interview.

> **E:** So is there anything specific you would like to say about your experiences?
>
> [In regard to being a female manager at work]
>
> **S: [Sonal]:** [She began speaking just as I was finishing the above question]

No it's not [**said very firmly**] see it depends on the organisation the people you meet, I have worked with various companies I have never seen this [unclear word] bifurcation, I've never seen [**firm repetition of "never" observing a gender difference at work**].

Except you do meet people who have that thinking 'Oh she's a female' but largely it's not there....put it on...50-60 criteria.., it's not, I will not say that this thing is there, that being a female you have a different, no, It's **almost equal**....

E: Ok

S: Rather being a female I can say is to an advantage.

E: Oh-Ok

S: So you can say that's there, advantage in the sense that I don't have to stretch too far. So, my working hours are not that long as compared with any other male counterpart...so it's, there is, today there is **no discrimination** between male and female worker.

E: Ok

S: I really have not come across.., rather in this organisation if I take the example, only the female people, females, they sit longer than the male, male counterparts, so, that's there.

E: As in they stay longer than

S: Hmm?..

E: They stay longer in working? [I wanted to clarify what she meant by sitting]

S: Yeah

E: Oh ok

S: Working hours, they have to stretch working hours [than the?] male counterparts.

E: Oh ok

S: So it depends on your position [Here, there was a shift in the tone of Sonal's voice, possibly revealing her late realisation that she just hinted at a gender inequality, although previously she argued the opposite position. The result, as shown below, is Sonal returning to another assertion that there is no difference between men and women at work.]

E: Yeah

S: It really depends on your position, the amount of work you have, it really depends on that, nobody tells you stretch too far, nobody tells you to do things because you're a female. No, nobody does that, so

E: OK...

Analysis of the above Extract 1 with Sonal about gender:

I will analyse the above extract with Sonal, and the analysis will proceed by contrasting Sonal's discussion with Rekha's disclosures about gender.

Reflecting upon this exchange, it was striking to me that when I asked in an open-ended way about the experience of being a female manager, I did not specify that I was wondering about discrimination, different working hours, or any other specific work issues. Yet, this question appeared to release an emotional storm, and I was privately surprised at her response, as if I had levelled an accusation or made some judgemental remark. From a social constructionist perspective, Sonal was enacting a performance, which displayed an emotional state of satisfaction with gender at work. It is possible that her performance also indicated dissatisfaction or even annoyance with having to answer a question that she perceived to imply negative experiences. Such emotional displays satisfy feeling rules on multiple levels, such as the expectation that people feel happy with a comfortable and just workplace, and that they are unwilling to be critical of their employer or culture to outsiders. More specific to the Indian context, there is a feeling rule of presenting a positive image of gender relations to foreigners, especially "white" ones. While I am uncomfortable with this racial designation, several Indian colleagues informed

me before my field work commenced that people would be willing to help me as a "white" person to be impressed.

Sonal, however, appeared to construct me as a white person who may harbour negative gender stereotypes about India. In fact, asking about gender may have been perceived as a serious emotional transgression. Sonal and I experienced a clash in our emotional expectations, constructing each other very differently. While I approached the question of gender in a spirit of solidarity, as a fellow professional woman, impressed by the high achievements of Indian women in traditionally male domains, Sonal's emotion rules led to constructing me as a foreign visitor who is liable to hold stereotypical assumptions and ask awkward questions about sensitive issues.

Related to the performance of emotions for a white visitor, an additional contribution from social constructionism is analysis of the postcolonial context of India, which places added pressure of presenting a smooth, successful independent nation that has overcome the colonial oppressions of the past. Emotions of satisfaction as a woman living in a modern, successful country that does not discriminate must be presented in this context. "Akshay", a manager who was in a group that I interviewed at a Delhi-area non-profit organisation, quickly and subtly admitted that greater efforts are sometimes expended to make foreigners satisfied, compared to how Indian guests of the non-profit are approached. Akshay revealed the endurance of these efforts for foreigners, Westerners in particular, beyond his organisational boundaries. For instance, he mentioned that improvements in Delhi infrastructure sometimes come into being when international events are scheduled to take place, like the Commonwealth Games in Delhi, attracting the eyes and scrutiny of foreign visitors and motivating the need for changes. In this context,

then, there is intense cultural pressure to present a flawless image to the foreign visitor. One must also consider the emotional rules of the research situation itself, in which a stranger crosses into organisational terrain and begins asking questions, leading to expectations for representing working life in a positive manner to the outsider.

These social constructionist considerations provide valuable insights. We can consider that the emotional storm of Sonal is my social construction of her presentation in our exchange, and that her expression of emotions was a manifestation of her constructions of me as a misguided intruder. However, signs point to emotional tensions experienced by Sonal about gender that persist beyond cultural misconstructions in the interview context. Indeed, the intensity of emotions expressed by Sonal, in the absence of any direct reference to specific gender tensions, calls for further probing that draws on psychoanalytic resources. Drawing upon the major tenets of understanding emotion from *both* perspectives, *feeling rules* about pleasing foreigners and resisting their assumptions, which are social constructions arising from India's postcolonial location, can be *unconsciously* invoked in response to anxiety about the occurrence of gender-related work troubles. The result is defensive emotional displays. Thus, interpretation is enhanced by intertwining understanding from both approaches: the social constructionist emphasis on cultural context and feeling rules is tightly intertwined with the psychoanalytic examination of internal, private dynamics that occur unconsciously in reaction to these cultural constructions.

Sonal's emotional performance can thus be analysed in multiple ways. Applying a social constructionist view, there is considerable evidence that her emotional performance "cracks" (Fineman, 1996: p. 555), because she played the

game badly, in response to a perceived transgression. Drawing upon psychoanalysis, my question about gender led to anxiety, which undermined the use of emotion rules and thus cracked the performance. The cracks manifest through multiple contradictions in Sonal's responses, wavering from views that gender is not an important factor for work, to revealing fleetingly that employees *are* treated in specific ways on the basis of their gender. Phrases such as "almost equal" are especially illuminative about the tensions of this topic that, unexpectedly for me, aroused deep emotion from Sonal at the beginning of our exchange.

To interpret this inconsistency further from a social constructionist framework, Sonal was experiencing confusion, being drawn out of her comfort zone into a new encounter, as indeed was I. We were both consequently not yet clear on the precise nature of the feeling rules and expectations for interacting with one another. We entered a new space and encountered emotion rules affecting us in different ways. I approached this newness with attempts to relate to Sonal and express my admiration of her work; in contrast, Sonal likely constructed me as a judgmental foreigner asking strange or inappropriate questions.

Potter and Wetherell (1987) argue that contradictions in a text, like Sonal's conflicting assertions, indicate shifting constructions of "a topic according to the context" (Potter and Wetherell, 1987: p. 50). The context was changing for Sonal, as she was coming into the research setting from the middle of her workday. Sonal's emotions about work and gender as expressed in the text can, therefore, be explained as searching for footing in context. She moves from daily working life where gender related dynamics are alive and taken for granted, to the research

interview context where questions are being asked by a foreign stranger, resulting in a need to reconstruct her emotions and present them in a suitable manner.

From a psychoanalytic standpoint, we can uncover a greater depth of meaning about Sonal's emotions by probing the strength of her specific responses to my open-ended questions. In response to my opening question, I thought that Sonal might share some examples of the strengths and challenges of being a woman in a high managerial position. Instead, she brought forth phrases like "no discrimination", "working hours", and so on to assert that there is equality at work, raising the question: Is an example given without prompting in fact an expression of unconsciously repressed emotions about troubling events? Volunteering specific issues as not, in fact, being issues at all within the organisation, may function as a defence against their anxiety-provoking presence.

There is sufficient tension in the above extract to indicate that Sonal may have experienced and/or observed gender tensions, double standards, or inequalities that challenge her desire to put across a view of work harmony to a foreigner. Anxieties about such work troubles may prompt defences, unconsciously pushing the possibility of gender discrimination or inequality out of awareness, and conveying a rosier, more pleasant emotion. With a social constructionist approach, tension about emotions can be consciously managed; however, the intensity of contradiction and ambivalence with Sonal's responses point to unconscious reactions as well. Strong emotions were stimulated by an open and nonspecific reference to gender, and unconscious defences like denial and negation manifested through the inconsistencies in the text and marked changes in tone and volume.

The terms denial and negation have often been used interchangeably in psychoanalytic literature, creating challenges for appreciating the significance of what is meant by one who defends with denial or negation. This diffusion in the use of terms has resulted from several factors, like: differences from Freud's original conceptualisation of denial to later usages of the term; problems of varied translations from the original German terms; and grouping of diverse processes under the umbrella term "denial", rather than designating them with different terms according to the specific, distinct phenomenon in question (Trunnell and Holt, 1974). One way in which to distinguish these terms is the matter of perception: "*Disavowal or denial as originally described by Freud involves, not an absence or distortion of actual perception, but rather a failure to fully appreciate the significance or implications of what is perceived[1]*. When accurate perception itself is warded off or interfered with, it is not denial or disavowal that is involved, but rather... **negation**, or some other defensive operation" (Trunnell and Holt, 1974: p. 771, original italics, my bold).

Applying this distinction by Trunnell and Holt (1974), the term negation is more apt in accounting for Sonal's responses in which she stated that there are *no differences* between men and women and conveyed that gender is *not an issue* ("No"... "I've never seen" ... "nobody tells you to do things because you're a female" ....). However, when she started to reveal possible gender differences, she *denied* their implications. At one point she indicated that indeed, there are distinctions made according to being a man or woman, but actually being a woman is not a problem at work, but rather a blessing ("to an advantage" for working women). The potential stresses and oppressions of being treated at work differently on the basis of gender are denied.

Linking the unconscious with socially constructed role expectations, when Sonal said: "[Being a female at work] is "to an advantage", it may be that these constructed advantages are in fact veiled defences against male-centred workplace dynamics, in a society where women are still largely expected to be submissive, according to conversations with Indian colleagues. I was struck by the cultural reinforcement of this expectation when attending a fashion show by students at an Indian University. While the women were walking the ramp in Western clothing, the narrator of the show was listing the expected attributes of Indian women, which included "being submissive".

In looking back upon this excerpt with Sonal, I continue to be struck by a vacillation between saying that gender does, and does not, matter in the Indian workplace. Bringing together both theoretical perspectives of emotion, this contradiction or emotional ambivalence can reflect a variety of possible social tensions processed unconsciously, such as the clash between what is acceptable to present to a stranger, a foreigner no less, and the reality of one's direct lived experience, which may include the effects of traditional gender roles intersecting with colonial constructions of masculinity, an intersection which I will return to in the Conclusion. Tensions may also arise due to the meeting in space of two professional females, the interviewer and interviewee, and any unconscious female competition about asserting one's comfort, independence, and success. Strain between the phenomenal and rapid rise in India of women's status, and the persistence of occasions of oppression in and out of the workplace, can lead to anxieties triggering defences as well.

These tensions, indicated by the faltering strength and inconsistency of Sonal's performance, lead to questions like: Why do enactments of specific

emotions sometimes not hold together? What happens to emotions when they are ostensibly managed to be hidden from view? Where do the emotions then go? Why do very strong emotions about specific issues arise in the absence of conscious stimulation of these topics? With social constructionism, we learn about social features like structures, feeling rules, and cultural context, which create and shape emotional work life. A psychoanalytic approach involves asking questions about the dynamic meaning of emotions that cannot be addressed through consideration of these constructions alone.

Contrast to Sonal's account of gender: Rekha's experiences

Extract 1 of Rekha and gender

We can now contrast Sonal's discussion to that of Rekha, who depicts work experiences in which gender figures prominently. The exchange below occurred at 7 minutes into my interview with Rekha, who was discussing "work shockers", or people who do not do their work properly, and her tensions in having to scold people in such circumstances. I then proceeded with the following:

> **E:** ... I was here [in India] a week ago, and I couldn't go back to sleep [discussed my jet lag]. I turned on the TV, I caught a program on gender and discourse. I thought, this is interesting, and they were interviewing people about gender in the workplace. Do you find as a female manager that the way you might scold a male or a female does it differ, or no?

This Indian gender program that I watched was indeed a moment of serendipity, as it anticipated important gender dynamics that I encountered in my subsequent interviews. There was a panel of two women and one man, and the

topics discussed included: women balancing career and family responsibilities; female bosses; and the view that women approach work "with more emotion" than men; yet, the anger of male employees in response to difficult customers was not acknowledged similarly as "emotional". One of the female panellists commented that "Women have to work twice as hard to prove themselves", a stark work reality echoed by many Western women. The male panellist expressed his view that "women must learn from male bosses – they have 1000s years of experience". Through the haze of my jet lag and note-taking on the program, as a female professional I reacted very emotionally to this comment. What about the official and unofficial/unrecognised leadership roles of women throughout history? What about the benefits of men learning from women? His statement brings into sharp relief that the societal conditioning of female subordination and fantasies about women can shape the difficulties that men encounter when their superiors are female, as discussed in detail with the analysis of Rekha's discussion below.

Returning now to the transcript with Rekha, in response to my question above about gender and scolding, she replied:

R: It differs

E: It differs?

R: ...I don't know what *they* think about me, but I feel there's a difference, I mean it, it matters a lot. Because uh, when a male superior scolds the junior subordinate, male subordinate, maybe they after certain time they gel with each other, but women cannot compensate so easily.

E: OK

R: So it affects yes, because **male chauvinism, male ego is so high**, maybe it affects. I think it affects.

E: Does it affect you both with being a female manager, does it affect you with your seniors? And juniors?

R: No, it doesn't affect, it doesn't affect [overlap with end of my previous sentence]

E: Oh OK

R: Not.. it doesn't affect the other way around.

E: Oh the other way around ok, so more in terms of how you relate to your juniors

R: Yeah, Because of the **male ego.**

E: OK, OK... There's a perception of the US and gender, you know, equality and everything like that, but y- there's still very different, I mean even as a counsellor-

R: [interrupted] You won't believe I have heard of my friends who have left the job because of the female superior.

E: Female friends?

R: Fe--My male friends

E: Your male friends?

R: Yeah, **because he couldn't tolerate his female boss.**

E: Was it because maybe he couldn't think, you know who is she to be-

R: Hahn ["yes" in Hindi]

E: Bossing me like that kind of thing?

R: Yeah, yes

E: Oh that happens in the US too.

R: Acha? ["Oh really? / I see" in Hindi]

E: Yeah, oh, I mean not necessarily leaving jobs, but I mean I think that there's a double standard in some places in the US where, if a man scolds a junior, he's tough, he's doing his job. If a female scolds a male junior, she's a big jerk.

[Upon later reflection of my countertransference in earlier interviews, of which this was one, I realised that postcolonial anxieties were unconsciously affecting me as well, in my responses like this one! Drawing upon Nandy, colonial dynamics will always affect *both* sides of the colonial encounter; even though I am not a British person or otherwise

inheritor of British Empire activities, my presence represents the white intrusion, and the meanings of whiteness will be explored further with Rakesh in the final data chapter.

Here, I stress that I had anxieties about appearing like a Westerner who asserts cultural superiority in freedom, equality, and so on, and to counter such anxieties, I gave examples of similarities in gender tensions to bridge divides. At the time I was conscious of wanting to be perceived as an impartial, interested interviewer, not a presumptuous Westerner, but rather one who is open and can perhaps at times relate to the interviewee's experiences. Indeed, as a feminist I very much related to discussing this double standard dynamic. However, the examples that I inserted here about the US were driven unconsciously as well, by these colonial concerns about how my presence would be received – the white, Western outsider/occupier.

These reflections help to reinforce the emphasis by authors like Frosh and Young (2008) about the impact of the researcher on the interview: "... the person of the researcher is deeply implicated: if it is the case that psychological knowledge is constructed in the context of an interchange between 'researcher' and 'researched', then understanding ... what the researcher brings to it - is crucial for evaluating the significance of any research 'findings'. " (Frosh and Young, 2008: p. 113). These observations take on particular significance for the emotions experienced and shared in this postcolonial research space.

Looking back upon this extract with Rekha and reflecting upon my responses, I have felt that I missed opportunities for follow-up questions about her experiences. Nevertheless, there are crucial points here that contrast with Sonal's assertions about gender not being relevant at work].

In response to my above discussion about the US, Rekha stated:

R: Yeah, **it is the same here also.**

E: Is it here that way too?

R: Same way here

E: Yeah, and so you've had friends even leave because of that.

R: Mmm-hmm yeah.

E: Yeah is that something you see changing with time, with the Generation Y coming in, or-

R:... the male subordinate would be the better person to answer this

E: OK [laughter]

R: Because I don't know, I mean I can't exactly gauge {ki} what he feels.

E: Mmm-hmm, yeah but... from your friends' experience, you have some different point of view.

R: Yeah

E: About them leaving [and the topic shifted to another one].

In contrast to the presentation by Sonal, two significant, and likely related, gender tensions are indicated by Rekha – the difficulties of a female scolding a male subordinate in contrast to male-male superior-subordinate dynamics, and the negative emotions of male employees having a female boss. Wilson (2003) discussed a case study in 1998, conducted by the All India Management Association and the University of Ohio, about Indian female managers in the private sector, and results included the observation that "Few male managers felt comfortable working for women" (Wilson, 2003: p. 163). Indeed, Wilson's research reveals that gender is a feature of Indian diversity that may bear more strongly upon workplace dynamics than, for example, caste, which is commonly perceived by Westerners to be the central feature of Indian life. Rekha's account indicates that, at least in some work spaces, these gender dynamics discussed by Wilson continue.

What are social constructionist and psychoanalytic ways of making sense of these gender tensions, and what are the implications for emotions in the workplace? From a social constructionist standpoint, traditional social expectations about women in Indian society have manifested in long established discourses about ideal womanhood. Rekha's account suggests that alternative discourses

about Indian women in formal organisational roles have not adequately settled to generate emotions of comfort and satisfaction with the female boss.

The social constructionist framework offers the possibility that there are insufficient or perhaps ambiguous feeling rules about the relatively new "female Indian superior/boss/chairperson" phenomenon. While there have been historically powerful female Indian leaders, the immediacy of the female boss in the organisation has grown rapidly within the last several decades, associated with the liberalisation of the economy due to reforms beginning in 1991, and the increasing participation of women in the private sector. An emotion rule of obeying or listening to the orders and tasks of one's female work superior, clashes with longstanding socially constructed emotions about relating to the Indian woman traditionally, as the mother for instance.

Insufficient discursive resources for coming to terms with new emotions at work, and unclear emotion rules about women working in powerful positions and challenging traditional patriarchal roles, can unleash anxiety and emotions of threat. On the surface, new social changes should yield corresponding new social rules, but socialisation about highly emotional topics like gender may endure through internalisation, having unconscious effects that continue beyond cultural changes. Interweaving a psychoanalytic perspective into these social constructions, Nagpal, discussing Kakar's work, notes that "A **triad** of images of women populates the **inner world** of Hindu males: [see note in Introduction about use of the word "Hindu"] the mother, the wife as a partner-in-ritual, and the sexual woman or whore" (Nagpal, 2000: p. 300, my bold). This description resembles a Tamil story I was told, [Tamil as a word refers to the language and culture of Tamil Nadu state], in which a woman is perceived as seductive but unreliable, *or*

as reliable and homely, deserving of respect with folded hands [a deferential nonverbal Indian gesture]. These are sharp distinctions which preclude viewing the same woman as harbouring multiple, complex, possibly contrasting, features.

These depictions bear resemblance to the Madonna/Whore dichotomy of Western religions; indeed, "Freud, on several occasions, argued that men find it hard to view women beyond the stereotypes of mother-figures or temptresses" (Gabriel, 1998a: p. 1338). Social expectations about women become highly charged in fantasy, and, I argue, unconsciously conflict with new images of Indian female as work superior. An attempt to reduce these discomforting conflicts can occur by reinforcing female stereotypes to "support... male psychological needs", (Gabriel, 1998a: p. 1338), and here the needs are to keep women limited to familiar images that do not threaten the status quo or psychological standing of men in relation to women, especially in new work spaces.

Nagpal (2000) references the " 'sexually devouring' " (2000: p. 303) Indian bad mother in Kakar's work. This bad mother image may be unconsciously stimulated for the male worker, especially in periods of stress, intimidation or threat, as he is socialised in this image and not one of working deference to female bosses. He may transpose the bad mother expectation onto the Indian female supervisor, resulting in fear, uncertainty, and/or perhaps anger in not finding a familiar, comfortable space for relating to the woman in new and different ways.

Nandy highlights the "traditional Indian belief in the primacy of maternity over conjugality in feminine identity" (1982: p. 214). This powerful expectation of the woman as nurturer and life-giver, the woman who puts aside her own desires for the central duty of maternity, contrasts sharply, perhaps traumatically for some men, with woman as superior in the work environment, pursuing needs which are

not readily perceived as tied to motherhood. The woman is an object to desire, as the whore who satisfies sexual desires, or as the mother who provides protection and selfless love. When the working woman as superior emerges, not fitting into these other images of desire, intense ambivalence can result, and in some cases, as Rekha discloses, ultimately lead to departure as the intense emotions are not processed. The power of fantasies and associated defences can work alongside the absence of specific gender discourses, to make sense of work emotions of threat, intimidation, fear, and other possibilities.

I discussed in the Literature Review the association between arrival of the male child in India and the subsequent erotic satisfaction of the mother through status elevation, and this attention to and appreciation for the boy may at times be overwhelming in the form of this sexually devouring bad mother. As discussed by Kakar in Nagpal, the mother's traditionally erotically-charged love may result in unconscious male fears of sexually mature women (Nagpal, 2000). The sexually mature woman now also embodies power through work, which can lead to multiple threats to the Indian man's emotions. It should be noted here that these social influences and their internalisation are not to excuse or overlook the possibilities of individual personality features of sexism as manifested in mistreating or oppressing others. Rather, the emphasis is to probe possible explanations for the gender dynamics that affect work, interweaving social and unconscious influences.

Changes in social dynamics can lead to new sources of anxieties. Recent social transformations in women's lives may attenuate the importance of psychic satisfaction through the arrival of the male child, as women are finding sources of fulfilment in other spaces like work, a development discussed by Kakar (Sharma,

2000: p. 261). Consequently, male workers may be affected less by the bad mother fantasy, but may increasingly grapple with not being the centre of their mother's reason for existence. This realisation may be emotionally intensified further by changes in relating with women in the work space, where the woman is perceived to have power over the man, and may not need the man to achieve status. Thus, the increasing participation of Indian women in formal organisational structures, and the consequent "energy... dissipated in work" (Kakar in Sharma, 2000: p. 261), will have markedly different effects on the development of male children. These jarring changes will occur in the context of a long tradition of male child celebration, and these conflicts have potential to carry over into the workplace and generate new emotional meanings. This dynamic is in contrast to what would be expected from a strictly social constructionist application, where social changes may be expected to stimulate the formation of new emotion rules to institutionalise these changes; the interrelating of historical changes with *anxieties* yields a nuanced picture of the emotions of gender and work.

The research of Fotaki (2011) about sexuality in business and management schools, based upon interviews with female academics and diary reflections after meetings, has resonance here. Drawing upon feminist psychoanalytic writers, Fotaki demonstrates that the female body is sexualised at work, preventing an appreciation of the body's potential on its own terms, without relation to what it means to the reference point of man. "The body is equated with one sex only, the female, who cannot therefore occupy the neutral genderless academic persona" (2011: p. 47). Adapted to this Indian context, the body is equated with mother, or with a female who generates sexual fear or desire; the body is not to violate a boundary and take up a new working, ruling space beyond these sexualised

confines. The female Indian body is for sacrifice, not for the embodiment of triumph at work. Fotaki observes that "Gendered sexual norms are consciously and unconsciously performed by silencing and allowing certain behaviours, in ways that are often discriminatory and exclusionary towards those who deviate from the accepted norms of phallic masculinity" (2011: p. 50). The intensity of responses in Sonal's extract suggests an experience of similar reproduced gender inequalities, and in the exchange below, Rekha's authority is silenced through her male subordinate's persistent intransigence, which can be analysed in the context of Indian cultural expectations about women as outlined above.

Extract 2 of Rekha and gender

In this section, I will analyse Extract 2 of two extracts with Rekha about gender. In Extract 2, further gender tensions are unveiled through Rekha's reflection on her emotions in response to an intractable male subordinate. This extract highlights that cultural influences upon gender at work not only can stimulate intense emotional conflict in male subordinates, but they also can lead to "haunting" experiences for the female superior, as indicated by Rekha's experience with a male subordinate, which she shared 26 minutes into the interview. Her encounter suggests powerful emotions about gender dynamics and brings into sharp focus a formidable emotion rule in India: the prohibition against saying "no". At this point of the exchange, I asked Rekha if she had any dreams about her work, and I first offered my example of a recurring dream I have, especially at the start of a teaching semester, in which I go to a class and have forgotten my notes, and a hundred students are staring at me:

E: This is a dream that I have often... this fear like you know, I'm about to teach a class and so... Once one of my friends, we were in a stats, statistics class, we were all really suffering... She had a dream about these formulas chasing her down the street [laughs] things like that. Have you ever had anything like that here?

R: Yeah in my earlier organisation, I had a person as a subordinate who never used to work at one point, in the sense {ki} whenever I tell him to do something, the first reply I would get is "not now", or "no, I cannot do it now". So this is the, this "no" was so **depressing kind of, it was so haunting**, I used to get up late in the night {ki} [unclear]

I mean I don't want to hear his no [laughter], so **I mean I cannot hear no as a boss** reason being {ki}, I get a pressure from my boss to get this work done. **I cannot hear "no" from a junior.** So this is one **haunting** thing which, which fortunately it is not here, and now I have-

[At this point we were interrupted by my contact for this organisation who arrived from external work and wanted to check how we were doing. After a few minutes he departed, and we continued.]

E: So do you have few minutes or we're finished?

R: Sure, sure I feel interested talking to you.

E: What's that?

R: I feel interested talking to you.

E: Oh Ok. Um, so you had that more haunting thing, like was it, was it like you would dream of "no", or like you could hear the "no" or something?

R: Yeah **I cannot tolerate no** as a reply from a **junior**.

In Rekha's experience with this male subordinate, there are signs of the female superior - male subordinate gender tensions, situated within the Indian context discussed above. His repeated defiance with "no" occurs in a country where saying "no" or refusing to comply with a superior can be unacceptable and deeply disrespectful. Thus, disregarding this formidable emotion rule implies drawing upon some cultural assumptions to do so. In this instance, the assumption,

likely experienced unconsciously, is that the woman does not fit the appropriate cultural space for an Indian woman, and the resultant emotions of threat drive the violation of this rule. This dynamic of obedience to the superior, of not saying no, and its consequences will be demonstrated further in different stories across the subsequent data chapters, like work traumas and chain reactions due to not being able to say no.

Here, it is stressed that Rekha's subordinate, who repeatedly says "no", causes great emotional distress to her, reflected in her repeated "I cannot hear no". In other places where hierarchical roles are not clearly fixed or are more fluid, the response to work refusal may be more akin to annoyance, but in the Indian context, as reflected in Rekha's experience, the intersection of gender, emotion rules, cultural discourses and unconscious defences leads to an experience that is disturbing and "depressing". The striking metaphor of Rekha being haunted underscores the severe emotion rule transgression upon being told "no", and her subordinate appeared to have found a rare cultural space, where organisations have not fully processed or transmitted the authority of female leader for various reasons discussed above, where he contested the rule. With regard to the emotions of the male subordinate, the Indian woman as work boss in organisational space is not developed in myths and may not be elaborated sufficiently in gender discourses; a vacuum of meaning results, which is filled with anxieties and concomitant defences: *no; I won't do; I'll break the rules and dare to refuse; I'll even risk my livelihood and walk away*, a seemingly irrational response that has socially constructed and unconscious meanings.

My interview with "Deepa", a lecturer in her twenties at a Delhi area University, provides further context for the significance of cultural messages about

gender and images of the Indian female, and associated resistance and anxieties of male employees. In the context of discussing family life, this discussion occurred:

D: ...My mother used to say, **as a woman sometimes we have to sacrifice.** We have to take care of others. This is the prime responsibility of a woman... Of a girl, family is the prime responsibility. **These kinds of things are not acceptable to our generation.** Like I usually [offend?] his or her point of view.

E: I see. So this is a view with which you can feel free to disagree?

D: Yeah, not always agree with their point of view, why a woman always should always sacrifice? Always they should compromise?

E: So –

D: Why only males' career is important, why not females' career is important?

E: In your opinion what should be the expectation of a working woman in India now?

D: Expectation towards?

E: Or what should be the role, for example your mother said that a woman should sacrifice... When you respond to your mother, what's your point of view? Say, a woman should... _____? Or should not?

D: Equality should be there. Necessary for males, they should be [necessary?] for females also. Restrictions females are following, there should be restrictions for males also. Why society is so liberal for males not for females?

[I was having strong positive countertransference at this point, identifying strongly with her views].

They cannot accept females as an individual, as an independent individual.

E: Why do you think that acceptance is hard to achieve?

D: It's really difficult to achieve. Really because our society is not on that pattern. I feel psychologically I'm feeling this kind of thing, because I'm biased on that particular issue.

I'm biased because let me tell you frankly, I'm an adopted child. So **my real parents, they didn't accept me just because I was a female child.**

E: I'm sorry.

D: So, somewhere inside I have a feeling that why we are being biased for a male child, why I was not accepted. So that's why I'm so aggressive or thoughts I have. This may be the reason. But my now, who are my parents, they never feel this kind of things. They never grown me up like a daughter. They never put restrictions that you are a girl... They gave me full liberty, whatsoever you want to do you can go ahead.

E: Well I really admire your courage...

D: ...In India this is very difficult.

E: It sounds like, things are changing with your generation.

D: Yeah

Deepa's rejection as a girl child tragically underscores extreme manifestations of the elevation of the Indian male child, with ripple effects upon gender work relations. The emphasis by Deepa's mother and others on the female Indian as the embodiment of sacrifice highlights the social construction of gender relations, described by Ozbilgin (Personal Communication, 2011) as "men have rights, women have responsibilities". The consequent difficulties of accepting a change in these constructed relations trigger a number of tensions and defensive processes. Furthermore, external changes and challenges to prevailing traditional gender norms may not fully change internalised views of women, as indicated in Deepa's later discussion:

D: The environment, education, in initial times girls... were not allowed to study that much in India. Now they are studying, they are demanding they know their rights. And somewhere, law and order is also improving. All these things... are developing. But still the **basic psychology, the basic mentality of the people is not being changed.**

[Here is a stark indication of the endurance of assumptions, emotions, and expectations about women despite socio-cultural changes.]

Summary of extracts about gender

In this first part of this chapter contrasting the interviews of Sonal and Rekha, I highlighted differing views about the meanings of gender at work. With Sonal's responses, I stressed the possible anxieties embedded in postcolonial dynamics influencing our exchanges about gender. With Rekha, I discussed gender tensions in her experiences and proposed ways to draw upon both social constructionism and psychoanalysis for understanding more fully the emotions between genders at work. In the next section, I will continue to contrast Sonal and Rekha's experiences, this time on the topic of spirituality and its relation to work in India.

Extract 2 with Sonal: Spirituality

The following exchange occurred approximately 15 minutes into the interview with Sonal.

> **E:** You mentioned religion, that's something I'm very interested in. [in the context of Sonal mentioning different religions in India and being reluctant to define anything as an "Indian value".] Is religion and spirituality any part of your workplace?
>
> **S:** No [firm, quick answer]
>
> **E:** No? Ok
>
> **S:** No [laughter]
>
> **E**: In terms of any rituals, or expectations, or
>
> **S:** No no no [a firm repetition emphasising that religion/spirituality are not part of organisational life]
>
> **E:** Ok

S: We've got A, who is a Christian, and I am a Hindu... We don't have any Muslim I guess in Finance Department obviously in the company there are various, but I'm talking about Finance itself. We've got Sikh also... every religion is there.

E: [I took a breath to start a new question, then Sonal continued:]

S: Nobody sees the surname now...nobody...Nobody sees what the **gender**, nobody sees what's the **surname or the religion**, nobody sees that...[I started to ask a question, then was interrupted with a continuation of her thought with]: At least I don't see

E: OK. I visited a University several times before [a private University in India], and they have... a daily, is it Havan [religious ritual with fire], am I saying that properly? They have every day for the students somebody who is doing a proper ritual and prayer... is that something that happens here?

S: No no no, nothing, nothing at all, it's purely management [of a company?], You will not find any one person having majority state in the company. It's a **Western influence** the religion is not something, nobody who does that... And I am *sure* you will not find in *any of the* smallest of smallest company, if you take, **no way you will find anybody imposing any religion**. [tone change especially starting with previous sentence, conveying increased emphasis]

Analysis of the above Extract 2 with Sonal about spirituality, and contrast with Rekha

Sonal's responses to my questions reflect a growing pattern; similar to the discussion before about being a female manager, I was asking broadly about a feature at work, this time that of religion and spirituality. During a previous visit to India, I was exposed to the importance of spirituality in an organisation. As a result, in pursuing social constructionist inquiry, I wished to explore if, and how, religious and spiritual values, traditions, and rituals may shape people's emotional experiences in the workplace. Indeed, they may provide powerful meanings. This

question, like the one about gender, was therefore exploratory about spirituality and guided by curious interest rather than a probe for a specific issue or view. The example in this excerpt that I gave about prayer for students at a University did not indicate that the prayer was only for students of one background. Yet, the responses point to a defence against the idea that one religion would impose on an organisation. Consequently, there was an emotional mismatch between what I asked and Sonal's responses. As in the earlier example, Sonal appeared to be experiencing intense cultural pressure to present a flawless image of the organisation to a foreign visitor. She conveyed an excellent organisation as one in which no religious impositions apply, and people of all backgrounds are represented.

The social construction of spirituality in India helps to frame Sonal's emotional responses, which dissociate spiritual concerns from working life. In learning from Indian colleagues, there is not a sharp distinction made between religion and spirituality like in the West, where, as an example, one may state that she/he is spiritual in belief without being religious in performance of ritual. In contrast, for many in India, to attend rituals is to be spiritual.

In this context, Sonal likely felt that I was socially constructing spirituality on the basis of these impressions made upon a foreign visitor, and that I might have made assumptions about spirituality taking over all aspects of working life. The work of Sen (2005) is particularly illuminative of this point, as he demonstrates that India has been viewed by the West so much in spiritual terms to the neglect of understanding its extensive intellectual heritage. A source of this perception is the British Empire: "Magisterial critiques tend to blast the rationalist and humanist aspects of India with the greatest force" to suit the ruling agenda

(Sen, 2005: p. 154). Sen's observations on perceptions of secularism are significant here as well: "Western journalists often regard Indian secularism as essentially non-existent… recent pictures of politically militant Hindus demolishing an old mosque in Ayodhya have not helped to change these perceptions" (2005: p. 297). Thus, Sonal may have encountered me as one of these misguided Westerners who thinks that Indian workplaces cannot possibly be secular, based on these media images.

Indeed, publicity about tensions between religious groups in India may have guided markedly Sonal's responses, such as stressing that there are multiple religious groups represented at work. Communal tensions in India are often incited by sectarian groups with power (see for example Sen, 2005). Some of these tensions have roots in the tragic legacy of India's colonial past (e.g., see Wolpert, 2006), a past which can repeatedly haunt group relations at an unconscious level (see Nandy, 1982: p. 206) and remain areas of major social concern, heightening sensitivity to questions which are found to be awkward and intrusive. The publicity of tensions is defended against by unprompted talk about the fair representation of diverse groups in the organisation, and the separation of spiritual issues from daily work matters.

These social constructions are invaluable for interpreting the emotional qualities of this exchange. Indeed, from a social constructionist view, Sonal seeks to defend her construction against what is perceived as a challenge. However, her responses suggest that the challenge is not limited to a point of disagreement with the interviewer, but rather constitutes a serious psychological threat, leading to anxiety. Through analysis of the text, a weakening in the performance because of anxiety is revealed through: contradictions; assumptions about the agenda behind

asking these questions; and marked shifts in tone of voice. That the performance starts to come apart is particularly evident in repeated phrases like "no, no, no". The intensity of assertion in her expressions indicates the transgression of an emotion rule, but it also suggests that this transgression generates unconscious emotions, beyond what can be explained by feeling rule expectations of the organisation or wider culture.

In greater probing of the text, Sonal's un-prompted statement that "nobody" pays attention to surnames, gender or religion, is particularly telling. It is critical to note that in India, surnames may give away one's caste, community, and/or state origin, and thus one's local standing and any historically associated power statuses. I deliberately did not mention or ask about caste or one's surname in any of my interviews, as it can be a sensitive and often misunderstood concept. As demonstrated with Sonal, the importance of caste may become clear not through my questioning but the interviewee's broaching of the subject. Sonal raised the topic of nobody seeing surname, prompting a close examination of its meanings. Class and gender may shape work in some Indian sectors more centrally than caste (Wilson, 2003). However, the importance of caste or religion for work remains in at least some work spaces. My contact for doing fieldwork at a University was emphatic that his supervisor in a previous organisation was appointed in a high position "because he wears a turban", referring to the supervisor's Sikh religion and well-connected associations with the current Sikh Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh.

The relevance of surname and other religious markers for specific work environments and organisational dynamics can be debated, especially as working spaces become globalised and social trends change. What is crucial to stress here is

Sonal's emotions in response to my questions. The influence of social dynamics like caste on work for Sonal can constitute a source of anxiety, especially with regard to the impressions made upon outsiders about cultural preferences affecting organisational spaces.

From a social constructionist vantage, the assertion "nobody sees" recapitulates an organisational as well as social expectation that differences of religion, caste and social background do not affect work. In many workplaces, such an acknowledgment of the relevance of surname or caste may very well amount to a taboo. Consequently, Sonal's pre-emptive mention of 'surnames' can be seen as a warning to the interviewer that she is approaching controversial or taboo subjects. Thus, as the discourse drifted to a danger zone, Sonal halted it through pre-emptive silencing of a taboo subject.

The vehemence of her responses may result from exasperation with a clueless foreigner who still harbours old-fashioned views about India. Her negations may also be an outcome of resistance to being stereotyped by an interviewer who fails to appreciate the varieties of Indian culture, including secular working environments. There are clues to this dynamic of resistance to stereotypes in other parts of the interview. Before we discussed spirituality, Sonal said that she would not define something as an "Indian" value affecting her work life (though later she gave an example of such a value), and in response to questions about working in India, she stated that my topic was "very very individual specific", indicating reluctance to making any unwavering statements about Indian work culture and emotion. Furthermore, Sonal mentioned prior work in a company in which she received explicit training for interactions with foreign customers. As reported in studies of Indian workers (e.g. Sinha, Personal Communication, 2009),

and as relayed by an Indian male worker in my interview of executive MBA students, Indians suffer racial abuse from work with foreigners, and it is very likely that Sonal too experienced negative stereotypes and oppressive onslaughts.

The consequent anxieties associated with such injustices fuel defences, manifested in resistance to addressing topics that portray India to a foreigner in any way that hints of a stereotype or misunderstanding. The meaning, the driving motivation for the strength of the emotional labour, becomes lucid by bringing cultural considerations under a psychoanalytic eye. Psychoanalytic analyses take us further, as there is a marked disjunction between the innocence of the question about religion and the sensitivity with which it is met, particularly evident in the upset emotional tone, suggesting that some deeper emotional experiences may have a bearing on Sonal's resistance.

Painful emotions, therefore, may drive pre-emptive responding, particularly if Sonal has personally experienced and repressed tensions with regard to cultural biases or hierarchies at work. Assertions like "nobody sees" may very well suggest the exact opposite: that in fact some people at work, even if only a few individuals, do very much "see" characteristics like religion, social background, and indeed surname. The anxieties about taboo subjects can boil through one's efforts at conscious emotion management, through a variety of defences like negation, as well as dynamically through the interaction of researcher and respondent. Freud's "Constructions in Analysis" (1963), can be applied here as well. In Freud's work, a construction can be resisted, not necessarily about the material that has been presented, but through its association to other unconscious material that has yet to be addressed; as a result, pre-emptive defensive responding as with Sonal may be triggered. Freud argues that when a construction "is right or

gives an approximation to the truth, he reacts to it with an unmistakable aggravation of his symptoms" (1963: p. 282). Freud's focus here is on a patient's clinical progress; aggravation can be applied to Rekha to describe the emotions of her responding. What to me was a seemingly broad, curious question may have aggravated something in Rekha through association to a troubling dynamic.

Salman Akhtar, eminent Indian psychoanalyst and writer, reviewed Sonal's extract, which I shared during my interview of him. With regard to Sonal, he stated that "such vehement denials usually suggest that the mechanism of 'negation' - permitting something into consciousness only in its repudiated form - is active" (Personal Communication, 2011). Circling the "no/nobody" words, he noted that there were indications of trouble related to the topics discussed. However, Akhtar added that other factors might have contributed to these denials as well. Prominent among these are: a distinct Indian style of speaking, a vehemence that is reflected in *The Argumentative Indian* (Sen, 2005); a resurgence in Indian patriotism; and misunderstanding the intention of a question (Akhtar, Personal Communication, 2011). Misunderstanding a question takes on added significance in colonial encounters. Frenkel and Shenhav's discussion of the "(neo)colonial context within which [international management]... emerged" (2006: p. 868) is illustrative: "international managers and researchers... display binary thinking that represents the 'other' as exotic and inferior" (Frenkel and Shenhav, 2006: p. 868-869). Thus, Sonal's interpretation of a foreigner's questions can be reactions to repeated condescension and misrepresentations.

Reflecting on both extracts with Sonal, it is critical to bring back Kakar (1971a), as his research suggests unconscious work reproductions of colonial dynamics. Adapting Kakar here, vehement speaking and patriotism may be

heightened by a Western imposter who evokes colonial anxieties, in turn fortifying *unconscious* defences. Colonialism brings together both social constructionism and psychoanalysis, through awareness of the *interlocking* of social and linguistic factors *together with* unconscious ones: the anxieties of historical oppression, misrepresentation of the other, and so on can be unconsciously stimulated, finding expression in seemingly unpredictable work dynamics.

I will conclude my discussion of Sonal's extracts by reflecting on my own emotional experience in this interview. My countertransference can act as a further vital pointer to the underlying dynamics of the interview (Stein, 2004). I found myself feeling taken aback in response to absolute statements which appeared to allow no room for discussion, and this pattern led me to feel that I was not perceived fully as a fellow traveller in the interaction. I continued to search for a way of finding more equivocal, dialogical and nuanced positions, sharing several examples from my own working life. On reflection about the interview, I realised that these attempts were directly linked to my own emotions of hurt in not being allowed access in Sonal's emotional experiences at the workplace, and my failure to engage in a productive dialogue with her.

As illustrated by Stein (2004, 2006), our countertransference provides significant keys to making sense of the interview encounter, by brining into consciousness the many layers of meaning for the interviewer and respondent in interaction with one another. My own feelings of incredulity and even rejection provide clues that there was much more to Sonal's working life that was not being disclosed, especially evidenced in her manner of responding. I felt shut out from a more meaningful encounter with Sonal. I realised that I may have been naive in hoping to enter her complex organisational experience through a research

interview, and this realisation conflicted with my past experiences in which people like to share their experiences with me, even in times when I try to keep my distance from such disclosures. My emotions in the interview, therefore, are a valuable source of understanding, which can provide insights about social features of the organisation and wider cultural context. For instance, my emotions of feeling shut out helped to guide me to an appreciation of the postcolonial cultural dynamics influencing our positioning in the interview space.

Anxieties and defences often expose themselves through nonverbal behaviours or body language as well. In addition to sudden shifts in Sonal's tone of voice, I was aware of distancing as conveyed through the eyes. Though I sensed a relaxing of guardedness as the interview proceeded, with some moments of joking and shared laughter, a full connection of openness and sharing, such as I developed with other respondents, did not materialise, as evidenced by a curtain, behind which Sonal continued to labour under the pressures of a performance.

As with gender, Rekha provided an interesting contrast to Sonal about spirituality at work. Rekha detailed several examples of pujas, or prayer ceremonies, conducted to commemorate new developments in their organisation. Furthermore, when the company started losing money, Rekha revealed that the cash counter was shifted from the basement to a higher level. This change was linked to a *totka*, described by Rekha as a Hindu ritual and belief. In this example, sinister forces work underground, and by following this particular totka, the company should not keep important earnings in a symbolically troublesome area.

Rekha's descriptions, in contrast to those of Sonal, who painted a picture of an organisation devoid of spiritual activity, illustrate the importance of studying variability between and within accounts, as noted by Potter and Wetherell (1987).

With a social constructionist understanding, Rekha's candid, matter of fact embrace of spirituality as an important force in the organisation, as compared to the negation by Sonal, result from the interviewees differently constructing the research context and shaping their disclosures accordingly. One can look to unconscious processes underlying Sonal's emotional labour as well. Differences in personal biographies can also influence varied ways in engaging with the research process.

Final Extracts of this data chapter: Rekha's experience, unveiling emotions through story, fantasy, defence

The next excerpt with Rekha will delve further into these two ways of understanding emotion, and illustrate the deeper explanatory value offered by psychoanalysis for the *how* and *why* of contending with emotions in globalised cultural context.

In the extract above with Rekha about gender, provided as a contrast to Sonal's interview, I discussed the "haunting no" that she experienced from a male subordinate. I was interested to learn if she had similar experiences, and after this "no" discussion I proceeded to ask:

> **E:** Did you have some other kind of nightmare or dream about, either, you know this company, or, good dream, bad dream...
>
> **R:** Hahn one more thing [spoken like preparing to share a secret], since it's the recession time, so, many people are being **kicked out**, to be honest in hard times, many people are being **kicked out**.
>
> Once I got a mail, I was talking to one of my colleague, she was Manager of Operations, another department at my level. At 2:30 it was 2:30 p.m., I

was talking to her, and 4 p.m., I got a mail from her saying "goodbye". You won't believe, I was **terrified**.

I mean it was, the same night, I couldn't sleep the whole night with the fear of losing job, for quite some time... **Then I realised I do important work in the organisation, it cannot be done with me also**....I mean it took me days to settle with this...

E: Oh my goodness

R: Because it used to happen at the senior manager level, at the GM level, it didn't affect me, but when the person at my level was **kicked out**, **I was terrified.**

E: Mm-hmm, I can imagine

R: You won't believe, then it took me some days to settle down. **This is the only nightmare.**

It is notable that the prompt about dreams or nightmares elicited from Rekha a story about a work incident that generated powerful emotions captured in the metaphor of nightmare. In this story, Rekha's friend is a victim of a cold system that does not have concern for the unexpected and shocking nature of her dismissal. Rekha is also a character in this tragic story, in that the sudden firing had a profoundly unsettling effect upon her as well, raising anxieties about what might happen to her job. The story's direct meaning was an ominous warning that her job may end at any moment, and that the company does not care for the personal well-being of its employees. As discussed in the Methodology chapter, a storytelling perspective emphasises meaning as a route to understanding emotions rather than testing the factual accuracy of the narrative (e.g. Gabriel, 1991b; Gabriel, Personal Communications, 2008). Thus, I probed the meaning of the story further by inviting Rekha to reflect on it.

E: How do you settle down in a situation like that? When there's a very difficult situation [I reflected back using her own words "settle down", to

help connect with her experience and explore how her anxiety was processed. She replied that she then calculates and examines the value of herself in the company, and she said:]

R: ...if I feel after all the introspection that I do a value addition, I do not waste my time in the organisation, then I feel I can't be **kicked out** just like that...

Analysis of the final extracts of this data chapter: Rekha's experience above

This response above can be approached from social constructionist and psychoanalytic perspectives woven together. The meaning of Rekha's fears becomes lucid through mindfulness of the context in which they occurred – the backdrop of the recession and cold, unexpected dismissals within her organisation. Applying social constructionist understanding, her fears materialise due to her place and that of her colleagues within the work hierarchy. A study of workers in a Further Education college (Coupland et al., 2008), using social constructionist insights about emotions, reveals that employees upgrade or downgrade their emotions according to work role and hierarchical level. As an example, there is substantial difference between the greater emotional disclosure of teachers compared to managers, the latter distancing themselves from emotion. We can adapt this research about roles and hierarchical position, which shape employees' emotional sensemaking and expression, to Rekha's situation of cross-level hierarchical comparisons. The proximity of job threat grew when an employee the same level as Rekha was dismissed, resulting in a corresponding change of emotional response from not being affected by firings at other levels, to being terrified.

Rekha's story, presented as a nightmare, brings us to the importance of exploring how these socially-shaped threats are unconsciously processed. Rekha's fear about her friend's dismissal, and her subsequent fantasy about being protected in her job in an environment where others are not, are reminiscent of the Uncle Josef dream shared by Freud (as described in Gabriel, 1999b). Freud interpreted his own dream content to uncover the hidden messages in the dream: the wish that he would be appointed in his professorship, even though his colleagues were not. His colleagues were denied due to being Jewish, and though Freud faced the same prejudice, his dream cast his colleagues as undeserving due to other reasons that did not apply to Freud. Gabriel illustrates the intertwining of Freud's unconscious processing with his environment, as "some of the details of the Uncle Josef dream are drawn from the broader picture of social life, organizations and culture" (Gabriel, 1999b: p. 10).

Rekha's fantasy occurred in waking life, but unconscious mechanisms underlie her belief about protection, similar to how unconscious wishes for selection formed the basis of Freud's dream. These mechanisms are connected to her role and social context, just as Freud's dream unveils important social dynamics affecting him. The similarity in themes also illustrates some cross-culturally shared dream content and anxieties - It can't happen to me/I'm different/The rules don't apply. I will stress in this thesis the possibilities of shared emotional experiences, not only different ones, across organisational and national boundaries.

Rekha contended with the "terrifying" situation of job loss and the fantasy that she may be the next manager to be "kicked out" by employing several defences. One is intellectualisation, a defence mechanism described by Anna Freud

(1966), in which essentially cognitive activities, like calculation as described above ("value addition"), ward off unpleasant emotions. The second, reflected in both Freud and Rekha's accounts, is the defence of "specialness", as intellectualisation may not be enough, given the magnitude of the anxiety. Yalom, in the context of anxieties about death, refers to the literature of Tolstoy to formulate this specialness defence: "We all know that in the basic boundaries of existence we are no different from others. No one denies that at a **conscious** level. Yet deep, deep down each of us believes... that the rule of mortality applies to others but certainly not to ourselves" (Yalom, 1998: p. 210, my emphasis).

These anxieties were addressed in the Indian epics as well, as discussed by Kakar: " 'We mask our denial of death in our anxious fear of it. For in the individual unconscious the death does not exist. As Yudhishthira in the Indian epic *Mahabharata* expressed it: 'The strangest thing in the world is that each man, seeing others die around him, is still convinced that he himself is immortal.' (Kakar, 1978, p. 35)" (Nagpal, 2000: p. 291). Here with Rekha we are not facing physical mortality, but it is in the nature of the nightmare to equate violent job loss and exclusion - "kicked out" mentioned *four times* in the above extract - with symbolic death (Stein, 1997, 2001). Thus, Rekha reports a conscious, logical, cognitively "worked-through" response to the "terrifying" prospect of dismissal, but behind this intellectualisation there may loom an appeal to "specialness" in an unconscious way.

How does Rekha's experience indicate a specialness defence? She mentioned higher-level employees losing their jobs; were they all expendable? Did they and her same-level colleague deserve to be fired due to not adding value or wasting time? These possibilities are not likely or logical when considered

consciously. Yet, the "specialness" defence, adapted from Yalom's framework of mortality to the context of workplace survival, provides a resource for contending with the unpleasant emotions of being at work in times of uncertainty and traumatic upheavals.

Further evidence of Rekha's appeal to specialness can be found in her comment "...and moreover if per se the situation comes [being removed from work], I would request my boss to give me at least one month notice". It is important to juxtapose this planned request with the story of her colleague who was dismissed and told to leave on the same day; this contradiction is likely not consciously realised. With this request Rekha applies her belief in her own specialness: she is different and will be afforded special consideration compared to others who are unceremoniously dismissed. Intellectualisation is found in this request as well: it is a response seemingly devoid of emotion, to the anxious, "frightening" possibility of dismissal. Finally, the request, even in the unlikely event of being granted, would not ward off the unpleasant event. It does not prevent dismissal; it merely delays or exorcises it.

My countertransference in response to this exchange signalled to me that Rekha's request for protection was not one of consciously-felt superiority over less-deserving peers. Indeed, she evidenced examples of caring for colleagues. Her view of specialness can be explained as an unconscious mechanism to contend with her terror. The destructive forces at work are present, but she can remain immune to them through her specialness.

For Rekha potential job loss is also a threat to her dreams about work. Rekha mentioned that she "always had a **childhood dream** of working in an airlines company. Just because of the charm of flying...", and her current job

fulfilled one of her important work-related dreams. Thus, the power of future dreams formed in childhood has a significant impact upon the extent of hurt from losing her job, as it would sever an intimate connection to cherished formative times.

Conclusion of this first data chapter

To summarise this chapter, I contrasted the experiences of Sonal and Rekha on the cultural dynamics of gender and spirituality, and I explored a story of Rekha in detail, to demonstrate important socially constructed and unconscious features of emotion at work and their interrelatedness. Rekha's account brought out the critical emotion rule of not saying no in the Indian working context, and their experiences revealed important social dynamics that may be processed unconsciously.

I will conclude this chapter by emphasising how these theoretical approaches can be brought together more closely, through linking the verbal and non-verbal communications with what they signal in unconscious dynamics. With regard to verbal signs, we can scrutinise, for example, the meanings of repetitions, such as Sonal's "no no no" and Rekha's "kicked out". They may indicate vehemence about a point in the interview or may constitute a performance to satisfy emotion rules. They may also point to unconscious concerns, as supported by Makari and Shapiro's observation (1993) about unconscious clues provided by repetitions.

Repetition in themes was found, for example, with Rekha, in which she mentioned on several occasions the importance of being professional rather than friendly with seniors. This point was emphasised in response to a variety of

questions that I asked. Her focus on this point can be performative, *and* indicative of tensions related to working with seniors, particularly in an organisational space where rules about age, seniority and respect are heavily embedded.

Nonverbal data is crucial for probing the meanings of emotions and intertwining these perspectives. For instance, I asked Sonal and Rekha about family influences; while they both outlined ways in which family life has an influence upon work, the *ways* in which they did so were markedly different, with great resistance or candour, respectively. Sonal began to give some examples of family impact, then she appeared to falter and her tone markedly changed; she then stated "your topic is very very individual specific", the fifth time she stated this phrase, which brings to bear the possible meanings of repetition as noted above. Rekha, in contrast, readily cited examples of family attitudes affecting children's working lives, stating on multiple occasions without hesitation that the family "matters a lot". These varied nonverbal and verbal patterns can point to emotional differences in unconscious responding. Self-presentation is both emotional labour and the key to underlying conflicts.

This chapter highlighted important emotion themes for Indian work spaces, and the next chapter will develop the analyses of these themes further with stories shared by Indian employees in different sectors and hierarchical levels. The third data chapter will address work traumas. The last data chapter focuses on the specific trauma of colonial history, and its lingering impact upon today's emotional work spaces.

Chapter 5

Data Chapter 2

Cultural Features of India Important for Understanding Workplace Emotions,

as Revealed in Indian Employees' Stories and Family Lives

In Data Chapter 1, I highlighted significant Indian cultural rules, reflected in Rekha being emotionally affected, "haunted", by a junior saying no. In my interview with Sonal, she indicated the adjustment of emotional relating to other workers based upon age, which was the one dynamic that she would specify as an important Indian value, in the context of otherwise resisting the specification of a value as "Indian". The Indian emotional features that will be explored in greater depth in this chapter are relations to authority figures, and the varied influences of religion and spirituality upon working.

I will first address authority, especially emotion rules in superior-subordinate relations encouraging submission. A powerful source of this emotion rule is the family, as indicated by "Jaspreet", the instructor of an executive MBA class that I visited in the Delhi area in 2009. I interviewed this class of approximately 50 students, sitting at a desk in the front of the lecture hall, and Jaspreet was in the back row. I was initially very doubtful about whether this layout could yield an enriching interaction, but I was pleasantly surprised that questions about emotions at work elicited energetic responding and unique group dynamics. Part of our discussion included answers to my questions about familial influences upon working. As the interview progressed to the 43rd minute, Jaspreet contributed the following:

J : I... give one example of childhood experiences.

E: Okay.

J: My father was in police, so he was very.. controlling type of person. What happened that, you cannot argue, one value you have learned, that please don't argue with the seniors, or with your bosses... you're not assertive to say that you don't agree with him.

E: Okay.

J: So that way your personality, your value of acceptance is very high.. **You have to keep this thing within. [suppression/repression]** Somewhere the acceptance is high, and assertiveness is low, and sometimes it moves to somewhere around submission.

E: Okay.

J: Submission to authority is very high.

Jaspreet shared the influence of a "controlling" father against the backdrop of cultural values about submission. His statement about "keep[ing] this thing within" has powerful meanings for both social consequences and unconscious processes, reflected in my next example with "Giri", a male worker in his late forties, and boss of his own sales organisation in Chennai. Giri's discussion of obeying is reinforced by his story about an employee who did not say no to his superior, in the form of accepting work that exceeded his capacity – resulting in a chain reaction of negative consequences. Giri was forthright and candid in the interview, and the topics that we discussed included: masking fear when scolded by a boss; differences among Indian cities in working cultures; pressures in the sales sector; and gender differences in working.

The exchange below occurred approximately 7 minutes into the interview. Giri was discussing the laidback culture of Chennai, and he continued with the following:

G: I've worked with American companies out here, and uh when I've also uh dealt with companies... abroad, **one problem they have coming and working out here is understanding our emotions out here**... this is not necessarily a Chennai problem, this is an India problem. But very specific out here, is that **we never say no. We would never say no to anything.** Somebody says anything, it's it's it's it's - **Because that's the way we're brought up here,** [we don't want to?] hurt other people.

I know it's wrong because uh there are some guys will not understand that, that is how it is over here, **you don't want to hurt people**. For example someone says I want something, **we don't say no, we're brought up that way [repeated], and** *that* **is something that is portrayed down the line even, even when that person becomes a professional**, when this guy can't, this person cannot say no.

Uh... for example you know somebody says "I want this to be done in 7 days time", I know it's, it's impossible, that work is let's say 10 days... [without even thinking?] twice say yes. And later on **worry about how he's going to do that...** so if you were to work here, you have to understand that one particular quality of people that are here.

It is not out of spite it is not out of anything else, that is how they are. That is how they are. [repeated] ... **I keep thinking of this thing about American thing because I work with them, and uh what I notice with them is: A no is a no, yes is a yes. Here a yes can be a no, and no can be a yes.**

E: I see...

E: Is there an example from your own upbringing that you can uh share about the message of, you're not supposed to say no?

G: Mmm yeah. Uh what happens is it's ok when you're a smaller community, it doesn't really matter, this particular habit. But as you keep growing as a person, as you keep growing as an individual and keep meeting a cross-section of people, from across the world, you, you realise that that is not the right thing to do.

... you're not spiteful anything like that, but there are times when that particular action of yours could affect another person's life, another person's career can be in jeopardy because of that. Right, you don't realise that. You're being nice to this person by saying yes, but then...

I'll give you an example. I, let's say I'm a software engineer, and I have this uh little thing that I have to get done, let's say by Sunday. And I say "yes, I'll do it". Now my project manager says "Ok fine I've got a...who says he can finish this by Sunday." And he in turn goes and talks to the PM

or project manager sitting in the US, who in turn tells the client, that yes you're on... because my guy is going to finish it by Sunday... and Monday morning let's go live.

Now, just by this small action of this, this guy here, there's a **chain of uh events** that happens and, and a whole load of people get affected, right? And tomorrow that guy there [in US] can lose his job, because the client will not be happy, again the client will have a million other reasons why he wants it on Monday. Now if that's not going to happen on that particular day, a lot of heads are going to roll. Right? And this person doesn't know that, does not realise the implication of what he has said or done.

E: Was there any lessons from your parents or your elders about this kind of tendency to not say no, or anything like that?

G: Can you be more uh, what uh

E: You said that it's part of life, you know not saying no, so, how does that play out in terms of your own upbringing, or in school, or your parents? Did they, did they say these kinds of things to you when you were growing up?

G: Yes yeah, to an extent yes. Uh there's nothing that has uh that has affected me so much that I remember... But personally it's not something that's really affected me, but I've seen that happening... this action has had some severe uh problems.

Like I mentioned a case to you now, **this is a real life uh case... that guy there in the US lost the job. Because of this man's action or inaction.**

E: Why is it difficult in this culture to say no?

[Here I made an exception to my rule of not asking "why" questions, because in this instance, it was not a personal question but rather one seeking the respondent's assessment of a specific cultural dynamic].

G: Like I said you know you're brought up that way, it's because of uh community family, you see right now we are a little different now.., generation but otherwise until let's say my, my grandfather's time and all that, you will have 40-50 people living in one house... the **family comes first,** right it starts there. **We never say no to an elder...** I guess it starts in that. That is reason for why this is.

With Giri's examples, we find a clear illustration of the impact that specific emotional dynamics can have upon cross-cultural communication and working

across organisational boundaries, such that a strongly internalised emotion rule in one individual has a wave of effects upon multiple aspects of working, like project delays and employee dismissal. From a social constructionist perspective, this rule is transmitted through cultural socialisation in the family setting. A psychoanalytic view stresses the unconscious internalisation of, and emotional conflicts associated with, this rule. Saying no to a work superior thus not only constitutes a cultural violation, but also entails objecting against significant family members, in that the emotional impact of trying to say no at work can re-enact earlier relations to authority. The pain and distress of objecting to a superior may supersede concern about the risks of work incompletion, due to the unconscious associations of the superior to earlier intimate family encounters.

The barriers to saying no to a superior, or similar dynamics like exerting emotion work to hide distress experienced in the boss's presence, can exert strong emotional effects upon the employee. Earlier in the interview Giri shared a story that provides clues to these emotional experiences. Giri brought up the topic of "masking emotions", and he said that "you learn to do it more in your organisation than at your home". I asked him for an example of masking emotions at work, and he responded:

> **G :** When.. I first joined my work and I goofed up... it's nothing serious but uh, I was asked certain questions which made me quite uneasy. **But I couldn't shout out, and I thought at that point of time that it would be taken as a sign of weakness if I show that I am scared** or so, I had to mask emotions and I had to put up a brave front...
>
> **E:** And later after that experience, do you find that those emotions stay with you for some time?
>
> **G :** Um, not quite not quite, uh that is on till uh you corrected that particular uh thing...we goofed up on a particular sale, right? So... we just joined in, **we felt that maybe our seniors could have done it**, but in

hindsight these things happen. You know, you're raw, you're young... you really look back at it now, you're not bothered.

But at that point of time you're really **disappointed**, and **you don't want to show your fear when your boss is shouting at you...** I was not sure how I was going to correct that particular action of mine. But now I know it's, it's no big deal. [laugh] You know because after so many years, you see so many pluses and minuses, **so many failures and successes it doesn't matter.**

Here it is suggested that there was a desire to say no, to request that the work be passed on to senior workers who would have been more experienced for handling it. Giri's story underscores the obstacles to objecting or making alternate suggestions to a superior, and it also indicates the profound difficulties with contesting the boss when she/he is scolding, even "shouting at you". In this story there is no room for argument or for challenging the boss's assessment, which is highly emotional, generating fear in his subordinates. Giri's last sentence about seeing many successes and failures is important for the social construction of success in Indian work spaces, which in turn can affect one's workplace emotions. Here the sales sector is constructed as one in which there will be many ups and downs, implying that one failure should not affect him very much emotionally as it did in earlier years.

We can also approach this social construction as a defence. Fears of failure, anxieties about being reproached harshly by others at work, and so on can function to drive a defensive response to failure: It is only one incident after all, and I have many more models of success. Indeed, Fineman brings together the social constructions with their unconscious motivations by noting, "people are constructing realities in response to unconscious concerns, and building those realities into a protective way of working" (1993b: p. 28). Here, Giri can protect

himself from painful recollections of past scolding or from current struggles at work by constructing defences: That was only in the past and in the long view of things it doesn't matter/I've had many successes/This particular occasion of failure is not important.

Giri on several occasions in the extract above notes his change in perspective on these highly charged admonishments by seniors, referencing younger age and lack of experience. However, Giri's disclosure of his emotions as boss when his own subordinates do not toe his line, indicated in the next extract, reveals the endurance of this emotion rule, in that now there may be an unconscious expectation on his part, about respect, obedience and perhaps submission by his subordinates to him as work boss. In the first extract with Giri above, where he concludes by saying "We never say no to an elder"... I asked:

> **E:** In your own workplace, can you describe an example in the past where you had to hide how you were feeling, and you had to express maybe something the opposite?
>
> **G:** Oh yeah [laughs] Lots of times. [chuckles].. Mm yeah, [pause] see like for example there are times when, when your personal thing gets, gets in the way... for example I'm a boss in my organisation, I head my own organisation, so I have my project managers and team members who uh, who have particular job to do, who have a particular job to do [repeated].
>
> And I tell them how to do it also. Now sometimes it just so happens that they will do it in a different way, and they are successful, they would finish it. But I might not like the way that it has been done. Because to my knowledge, that particular, the way that they did that particular job is **fraught with danger**. They could have failed, they could have failed, [repeated] ... from my experience, and it just so happens that they have somehow managed to get that through.
>
> Right and that is something which I really can't really scream or shout at them, because they've actually done the job. But I have **got to like you know hold back my anger,** because I have specifically asked them not to do it in a particular way, and they have gone and done it in a particular way. But they're successful. So at that time **I can't anger out**, I've got to be.. I've got to smile, I've got be nice, but at the same time uh I'm not happy. **I was not happy.**

Here Giri has not shouted at his workers like his previous boss and in fact has quietly accepted their method. Yet, their refusal to complete the task according to his guidance leads to clear emotional effects, such as anger and unhappiness, alongside emotion work to hide these emotions. The juniors have defied the boss, in a context where saying no, or more broadly not acting against the wishes of elders or people higher on the hierarchy, are cultural violations. The transgression of these cultural expectations lead to emotional consequences for Giri as the boss, and it is notable here that this rule, "I am the senior, you do not refuse/rebel/act otherwise", appears to have unconsciously continued for Giri as a central Indian working expectation, now with him as the senior.

It is important to note historical roots of these emotional dynamics, in addition to Giri's statement about the prohibition against saying no to elders during family socialisation. Education in India is a source of transmitting the importance of not challenging authority (Singh, 1990a). Kakar's study of Indian stories in school textbooks indicates patterns of submission to authority figures, especially in families; this submission is secured in emotional ways, like arousal of guilt and emotional rewards (1971b). Education thus reinforces the messages about authority in the family setting. Tripathi (1990) notes that British colonialism has influenced Indian education as well. Gopal, Willis and Gopal (2003) reference the goals of British education: "As Symonds (1966: 17) notes, for Lord Macaulay... [the intention was] ' "to form a class of interpreters between us and the natives we govern", a class of persons Indian in blood and color but English in tastes...' " (Gopal et al., 2003: p. 235), an approach which suggests grooming obedience to the colonial masters and thus ensuring their hold on power. Both of these sources of obedience to authority, the colonial and the familial/social, can have marked

effects in various interactive ways upon the emotion rules enacted or resisted in Indian superior-subordinate relations.

The expectation of submission and its emotional consequences are demonstrated also in Rohit's account; he depicts hierarchical rules as blocking progress and generating strong emotions. Rohit was one of the students in Jaspreet's class, and he shared his experience 11 minutes into the progress of the class interview:

> **R**: I'm now working with an Indian multi-national company; earlier I worked with the government with public sector companies. I was there for about [4?] years. The difference I found that uh the public sector things are very **hierarchy conscious**. Uh, like uh I just uh narrate one incident, like we're working on a project...

> [and Rohit continued by describing a situation in which his immediate boss would take his input to the chairman, and then the boss would return to Rohit and ask him:]

> **R:** ...to do something which was not practical at all. So... for months a project which should have been completed in two or three months, it continued for about a year.

> And I told him "Sir, I mean why you don't take me along [to the chairman], I'll go explain it... I know the subject"... the fact of the matter was he [the immediate boss] didn't know the subject... so, it was very **frustrating** at times, you know where you know there is a communication gap... because of the hierarchy thing, you can't go directly and approach [the chairman] and even he will not bother directly...

> **E:** I see.

> **R:** ... I'm working in an Indian company now. It's private company, here chairman has an issue, he'll go to anybody. Directly he can come to the desk of the person and say that, "OK explain me this"…

Rohit was constrained by the hierarchical rules, such that he could not defy or overstep his immediate superior to approach the chairman, and the resultant frustration is situated in the context of the "carry-over of feudal familial culture

into the public sector more than into the private sector" (Ganesh and Rangarajan, 1983: p. 363). While there may be instances of this private-public sector difference, Giri's example about the greater initiative of his juniors in the private sector and their refusal to obey indicates that emotional tensions continue to occur, based upon this familial emotion rule. Giri's discussion and Rohit's example suggest that there may be more flexibility or acceptance of junior initiative in the private sector, but the expectations and emotional conflicts experienced by Giri as a senior illustrate the manifestation of hierarchy emotion rules in non-public sector working spaces. Moreover, the legacy of rigidity and authoritarianism of British bureaucracy, as outlined previously in my discussion of Kakar's work, may powerfully continue to affect unconsciously the re-enactment of hierarchy and submission dynamics.

The familial basis for these rules about submission is outlined in Chattopadhyay (1975). In the Literature Review I referred to this article, specifically the importance of the father never being in the wrong, with parallels to later working life: "just as the Indian father expects to lay down the rules and to see the children unquestioningly (and unthinkingly) follow them, so also some managers appear to expect obedience from their subordinates" (1975: p. M-33). Chattopadhyay also references caste traditions in terms of the teaching of an occupation through parental transmission, and he notes the "sanctified teacher-disciple (*guru-shishya*) relationship... [which] underlines the obedience-dependence cult and reinforces it for the growing youth" (Chattopadhyay, 1975: p. M-33). These societal expectations may then lead to conflict in the workplace, particularly when juniors do not wish this relationship to be reproduced and seniors expect it to be so. Indeed, this expectation of dependence may result in "managers'

efforts to retain the role of the thinker and decision- maker, even in situations where the subordinates - particularly the workers - have the necessary information and skill to take the decisions" (1975: p. M-33), a dynamic that is brought into sharp relief in Rohit's account.

Chattopadhyay (1975) illustrates examples about people in positions of authority who deny requests by subordinates for scholarly projects. Applying a psychoanalytic perspective to these examples and to Rohit's description enriches the meanings of cultural expectations about submission, as the invoking of authority-dependence dynamics may occur unconsciously due to envy. For instance, a superior envious of a subordinate's achievement blocks future success, and this behaviour may be a manifestation of contending with this envy.

Reflecting on Chattopadhyay's examples (1975) of not granting requests and on the refusal of Rohit's superior to take him to the chairman, I was struck with this possibility of envy. The enforcement of social rules about submission can create obstacles for a subordinate's potential to succeed, to achieve beyond what the superior her/himself is capable of doing. Thus emotions like envy can fortify hierarchical rules like submission and decisions like request denial, and emotions are generated as an outcome of these rules as well. Envy cross-culturally is a threatening emotion to accept consciously, not least because it is socially unacceptable and/or may bring to the forefront one's own shortcomings (Jalan, 2011, Personal Communication); consequently, envy as motivation for creating difficulties in the workplace is likely unconscious. The inheritance of these work rules from familial and social expectations, and their reinforcement through unconscious envy, can be explored by considering both social constructionist and

psychoanalytic resources. I will return to this dynamic of envy as a stimulus for emphasising cultural rules in Harish's story below.

One of the most revealing ways to uncover the strength of important socially constructed emotion rules is to examine the emotions that are unleashed, like Giri's unhappiness, when these rules are defied. The story below probes these emotional tensions further and comes from the interview that I conducted with Jaspreet's MBA class mentioned above. It was an un-elicited story shared by a male employee, "Harish", about his ill one-month old daughter. Harish's story was shared directly after Jaspreet's reference to his father, as noted earlier. The story, as well as another participant's response to the story, uncover useful insights about workplace emotion by applying both social constructionist and psychoanalytic systems of conceptualisation.

> **H:** One incident I can relate, it is very you know personal kind of incident, it relates to your very first question of the session, uh, uh you know uh, the moods and emotions, how it has affected supervisor and all. I have a one-month baby some time back... She was hospitalised two days, she just came back from hospital, and she was again, you know, falling sick. So the doctor said that she should be hospitalised again.
>
> ...I was working... on an international [sales] proposal...I had a commitment from my colleagues that they can help me out....my work in my absence. They were very...[helpful?]
>
> But my boss, when I you know I told him I cannot come...., his reaction was, "You can actually admit your child, and doctors can take care of the child, and you can come to office... [someone laughed, or maybe it was a snicker?] ...They can take care of the child, complete your work and go back as soon as possible"... **He was waiting for me to say yes only, there was no option of saying no...**
>
> There was [silence?] from both sides from the phone for a very very long time. …
>
> [A crucial part of the story here is that in spite of the authority's demand, he resisted:]
>
> **E:** And was that the option you had to take then? You had to?

H: Yeah, actually I scooted actually, I told [him] "I just want to come [go to hospital], whatever will happen is acceptable to me." It was like that, so.

E: Oh my goodness.

H: So that is one extreme example of emotions at workplace.

E: Yeah, and your daughter is healthy now?

H: Sorry?

E: She's okay now?

H: Yeah yeah. She's good.

[At this point someone in the class asked if he had the same job, and laughter broke out.]

E: Same job?

H: Same job.

E: Okay, good. Do you think there are times that that kind of assertiveness, even though it's usually not acceptable, that maybe that takes someone by surprise and they think, "oh that was kind of bold of that person." They almost like they decide-

Male classmate: It wouldn't be appreciated.

E: They would not appreciate that ever? No.

Male classmate: ....but uh they're not so much forthcoming on issues which are conflicting.

E: I see.

Reflecting on this exchange, the laughter appeared to be a discharge of tension when thinking about similar workplace anxieties, and perhaps there was private, uncomfortable reflection of moments when people *did* have to make these personal sacrifices in the interest of the organisation. My question above about assertiveness was motivated by my emotional response to this story. I felt admiration for taking care of family and resisting what in my private view was an unreasonable demand by Harish's boss. At this point, the class started to become

noisy, and I do not know if it was due to nearing the end of the interview hour or students becoming hungry and restless close to lunch time; perhaps they were resisting the full implications of the story through distracting talk. In fact, one participant appeared to defend clearly against anxieties evoked this story by bluntly saying to the child's father:

You have won the battle, not the war, be careful...

[then unclear if the same or another participant added]:

Boss will get back to you some time or another

From a social constructionist perspective, this warning is a stinging attempt to remind the colleague that he should not show emotions of defiance and should instead follow the cultural rules of the organisation, as well as remember his own culture's emphasis upon the significance of respecting and obeying superiors. This admonition reflects discomfort expressed earlier in the class interview by several students on tensions between childhood upbringing and adult work life demands, which may require renunciation of earlier cultural teachings. In the Indian context, as shown with Rekha, Sonal, and the stories above and in later chapters, this early life socialisation very strongly stresses showing emotions of deference to people in positions higher on the hierarchy by age and/or status.

The use of a potent war metaphor is telling as well. Here, the relationship between employee and boss is depicted as an ongoing fight, a battleground, where the worker must watch his step... or the boss will return for destruction. For the participant who put forth this warning, the war metaphor may have hidden meanings about his own relations with authority.

With a psychoanalytic application, it may be that this caution by the classmate was a defence against envy, similar to the previous analysis of Chattopadhyay's examples and Rohit's account. Harish's classmate may have unconsciously wished that he too could be so bold and emphatic, putting everything on the line through defiance for the sake of his loved one, and succeeding. He may not have emerged triumphant in a similar battle, or may not have had the courage to enter this battle; these anxieties may subsequently transform into envy, as consciously manifested in trying to teach a lesson. The psychoanalytic perspective stresses the ways in which our outward, expressed emotions may be transformations of private emotion through anxiety. It is greatly discomforting to accept consciously that we are envious of another's qualities or achievements, and that which causes anxiety can be altered and find its expression in a different, culturally sanctioned, external form. My own reactions of awe to this story, through connecting with my countertransference, add support to the dynamic of envy driving the vehemence of this emotional scolding.

It is important to note that envy should not be viewed interchangeably with jealousy, as they are distinct emotions. Envy involves two people; it arises when a person desires something in another (Parrott and Smith, 1993; Vecchio, 2000). In contrast, jealousy occurs when there are three people; the key dynamic for jealousy is that there is a threat to one's current *relationship*, as a result of the presence of the third person, a rival. Jealousy is often accompanied by envy, as someone may desire a superior quality in the rival who threatens the person's relationship, while envy can exist without elements of jealousy (Parrott and Smith, 1993; Vecchio, 2000).

In the data extract above, there is evidence of the classmate's envy as a "response to a referent other's obtainment of outcomes that one strongly desires" (Vecchio, 2000: p. 162). The harsh tone in which this warning was made reflects qualities of envy like "longing, resentment of the circumstances, and ill will toward the envied person... (Parrott, 1991)" (Parrott and Smith, 1993: p. 906). The ill will is especially revealed in the classmate's expression that the boss is waiting to exact revenge.

The rich meanings of Harish's story indicate the significance of studying both individual and collective emotional responses to organisational incidents. His account helps to address Domagalski's concern that the "treatment of rule breakers" (1999: p. 849) is understudied, and "We should want to know something about the contexts in which individuals push at the margins of emotion norms... and what types of outcomes ensue" (Domagalski, 1999: p. 849). Harish's defiance and the emotional responses of his classmates illustrate the importance of attendance to cultural context, and to the unconscious effects of breaking the rules.

The study of envy elicited by Harish's story is thus incomplete when only a psychoanalytic, or only a social constructionist, framework is applied. In the literature review I noted Hochschild's insights (1975) about envy as a social emotion, pointing to the importance of history and norms. Focussing on the centrality of obeying elders or those in authority positions, deeply embedded in Indian history, is crucial for the interpretation of envy. It is familiarity with this cultural context that lends support to analysing emotional troubles, like the discomforts of envy that arise when such cultural expectations are successfully defied. The unconscious mobility and transformation of emotions, probed well by psychoanalysis but unaddressed with social constructionist resources alone,

provide a new window of meaning to collective emotional responses, uncovering defences at work and the subsequent presentation of more socially acceptable emotions. Consequently, the use of psychoanalysis amplifies understanding of important socially constructed emotions in working spaces.

Hochschild (1975) also references competition in relation to envy, and competition is particularly salient for envy triggered by Harish's account, in the Indian context of intense pressures to find and succeed at jobs where many qualified individuals apply for few spaces (Jalan, Personal Communication, 2011). In the next chapter, I will elaborate further upon the significance of competition in historical context for shaping workplace emotions. Here, I stress that competition further intensifies the unconscious stimulation of envy and subsequent ill will toward Harish; not only has he secured a job, but also he has kept it after triumphing over his boss and breaking formidable emotion rules, in a situation where many other applicants would have been ready to take his place.

We can take the analysis of Harish's story further by considering the possibility of unspoken gender tensions. Would Harish's boss have been more flexible if Harish were a female employee, and/or if his sick child was a boy? Consciously, rationally, the answers to these questions would be no: employees are treated equally at work (see Sonal); in the boss's view, he has provided Harish with a fair option to balance his work and personal responsibilities; boys and girls of employees are perceived equally; and similar responses could be made. What if we consider the intertwining of socially constructed ideals of gender with unconscious processes? I have discussed the historically important primacy of motherhood for Indian women and the traditional elevation of the male child. A male Indian professor working in the Delhi area related to me that hundreds of his current and

former students arrived at his home to wish him congratulations on the birth of his male child, but a similar ceremony did not occur when his first child, a daughter, was born. The internalisation of emotions about appropriate gender roles and the meanings of having a girl or boy child can persist unconsciously.

It may violate important organisational rules to relate to employees and their personal problems differently on the basis of their gender, yet unconscious motivations steeped in centuries of gender socialisation may drive these decisions. As vividly illustrated by Fotaki, gender dynamics and expectations can unconsciously be reproduced in work spaces, with outcomes in differential treatment toward "those who deviate from the accepted norms of phallic masculinity" (Fotaki, 2011: p. 50). I referred to this insight earlier in the context of discussing gender dynamics evoked by Rekha. Applying Fotaki's observation to the Indian context here, men, as well as women, who do not act according to societal gender norms may stimulate threat in others, in turn leading to inflexible or punitive work practices.

Could it also be possible that Harish's boss and/or his colleagues are threatened by his embracing what might be considered the role of a female employee? Harish left his job to do what can be perceived as the ultimate female act – to sacrifice and put at risk the interests of one's self for the wellbeing of her child. In the literature review I referenced Sinha (1966) who discusses Bose's analysis of castration anxiety in Indian men as being connected to a desire to be female. Akhtar (2005a) references Bose's work on this desire as well, noting "a deep, early maternal identification from which the boy had only reluctantly emerged and that continued to exert its pressure from within" (2005a: p. 5). Is Harish perceived as embodying a moment of femaleness in his actions, and if so,

does it trigger envy connected to this desire in the Indian male to be female? This desire, and the defences and anxieties it triggers, are unconscious phenomena that make sense only in connection to the traditional Indian male child upbringing, illustrating possibilities for emotion analysis which can be explored further through the use of both framework's resources. Contradictions, like tensions among patriarchal Indian society, male child worship, and wishes to be female, can be explored by probing the interconnected processes of socialisation and defences.

In this section of Data Chapter 2, I have highlighted accounts from Giri, Jaspreet, Rohit, and Harish to underscore socially constructed and unconscious meanings revolving around the expectation to obey or submit to seniors at work. Protesting or defying carries risks, as indicated by Harish, but acquiescence has its own emotional dangers, as revealed in Giri's story. Indeed, not being able to say no can lead to trauma, as will be explored with Ghazala's story in the next chapter on childhood and workplace traumas.

Emotion rules about authority and hierarchy emerged as a strong theme across geographic locations and sectors. Another formidable theme that arose in different locations was that of the influence of religion and spirituality upon work spaces. While the significance of spiritual dynamics was emphasised on multiple occasions through the candid sharing of specific examples (Rekha) or through its negation (Sonal), the meanings of religion and spirituality were constructed in varied ways. In the examples below, I will highlight: private spirituality and its effects upon work; the significance of organisational spirituality; work with colleagues or clients that involves spiritual dynamics; and varied meanings of caste at work.

Private spiritual practices may provide powerful meanings for the emotions of Indians in their work spaces. When I asked Rekha, following a discussion of her role models, "Do you have any heroes or models from your spiritual life that shape your ambition [a word she previously used]?", she answered without hesitation:

> **R**: Yeah I, I have done Reiki also.
>
> **E**: Oh OK
>
> **R**: And I have done the Landmark Curriculum also.
>
> **E**: What is that?
>
> **R**: Uh, Landmark is the, how you see your life and everything. It's a... 3 level course basically.
>
> **E**: Oh ok
>
> **R**: So self uh, self-motivation kind of, uh done the Landmark, Reiki and uh.. so these courses have also helped me pursuing the career

Later I asked Rekha if religion or spirituality were any part of her work life, and she returned to the importance of Reiki:

> **R**: Yeah reiki, when I did reiki it has helped me a lot. You won't believe, I always dreamed of getting a job uh of internal audit, I'll tell you a very interesting thing, I **dreamed** of a job of internal audit... I applied in many companies... but didn't get it so quickly.
>
> Then I had uh, I always had a **childhood dream** of working in an airlines company. Just because of the charm of flying... when I was working in the previous organisation, I had the particular figure in mind for my salary... in my next job.
>
> You will not believe, I did my reiki... and all my **dreams...** were fulfilled and in one line, I got internal audit job, in an airline industry and at the figure I quoted.
>
> **E**: Wow
>
> **R**: So

E: That's fascinating

R:... You won't believe one more thing, my boss asked me how much salary do you expect, I said this much XYZ and he said {ki} why this much... And I said "Sir, I have a calculation in mind, and I want this much salary only "... within no time he agreed to it, I was so happy, **all my dreams came true...**

E: That's wonderful

R: So the first time I realised{ki} reiki has really helped me. So one more thing in my, when I was doing my CA [Chartered Accountant exam] also, in one paper I was very weak... I gave the reiki power to my paper, and I got cleared on that paper also, though I wrote everything obviously, but I was scared {ki} I should not flunk in this paper. I gave reiki to my paper, and I got cleared. Two times I believed in reiki.

The fluidity with Rekha between working life and a private activity, constructed as a spiritual one in response to my question, is similar to the spiritual dynamics reflected in my exchanges with: "Aasha"; a contact in Delhi; NICU nurses in Chennai; and Banhi. I will discuss each of these examples and return to Rekha with regard to organisational spiritual rituals. Aasha is a female in her fifties who works as Head of Donor Relations at a Delhi charity hospital. Aasha was discussing how she processes her emotions when she cannot show them at the workplace, like anger when she is cheated by a colleague. She concluded by stating that "you can.. you know **give it back**, or make that colleague understand that 'see you were wrong at that time'... God is always there to give you opportunities, and do the justice. Sometimes justice is not in your hands, but I'm a firm believer in God". I then took the opportunity to ask, "Does your belief in God influence your working life?", and Aasha responded, "It influences me as a person, my personality, so how can I de-link my personality with my work?" My contact for interviewing at a Delhi area University asked me if I minded that he pray to his

idol of a Hindu god upon arrival at his office. These examples indicate that for some Indian employees, matters of spirituality cross into the organisation and become a powerful source of approaching work matters.

In my interview of a group of NICU nurses in Chennai, caring for patients was presented as service to god. "Mitra", a senior nurse in her fifties, shared a story of a very premature baby, responding to my question about what they remember very strongly in working with the babies. Mitra said that "now if you see this baby coming to our [clinic], **we feel really happy. We are really proud of ourselves.** Without any infection, baby's absolutely normal now. After seeing all this you know, we feel that **we are blessed to do this job. Happy."** I asked if there were other kinds of emotions when first seeing that baby after recovery, and Mitra replied, "Not only that baby, many babies, if you see emotionally we are touched.. **we are praying only for them".** Kavisha, a junior nurse, added, "**We are giving care to God.. because they cannot verbalize no?**... even if the baby fuss, even also they cannot tell. We have to find out. **You are doing something for the God.**"

"Banhi", a female charity worker at a Delhi hospital in her fifties, shared the importance of her spirituality for working life as well. Banhi volunteered at the beginning of the interview that she is "100% visually impaired". I was informed about her "disability" (Banhi's words) by her colleague before the interview. My approach is not to bring up a person's disability unless the respondent wishes to do so, for two reasons. First and foremost, I do not want the interviewee to think I'm approaching her/him as being defined by a disability, and second, I find it more meaningful for the participant to volunteer the emotions associated with the

disability's impact upon work experiences, if it is important for her/him to do so, not because I probed for it, which in any case would be insensitive.

We had a very meaningful interview in which Banhi shared stories related to her disability, including envy from a colleague, among other work experiences. We also generated a new story in the course of our encounter; while we were in the interview, a male colleague stopped by and walked off without saying anything, and I relayed to Banhi that I saw a gentleman but he quickly left. Banhi then commented, **"**So you see... it's amazing you know, this is what happens... I mean you've come to the door, you know I can't see you, just pop in and say 'ok sorry, you know I wanted you, but ok you're busy, so I'll come back'. But they just vanish, the people go away. So I just you know have to smile about it... it's just great fun".

With Banhi, interestingly my question about stories yielded crucial information about the significance of spirituality:

> **E:** Were there any other stories that you remember from your childhood that has stuck with you today, maybe stories that your parents told you, or you learned um from elders?
>
> **B : [interrupted]** Ah yes, yes absolutely you know, because um, my parents, uh always had, especially my father, you know, my mom did the practical with me, and um also I think both put together... a lot of my values are based **on our old Indian cultural values.** You know maybe um, say one thing that has influenced my life a lot as I said, this practice whatever you preach...
>
> The other thing that has stuck with me, is um there is a couplet, a siir [verse], that's um, it's in **Urdu**. Let me say it in Urdu, [speaks in Urdu] I will explain this... make yourself so capable that god comes to you, and says you know, "tell me what you want". You know.. it's a very very famous couplet, my father used to just, not say it to me, but recite it like for fun, when walking around the house...
>
> And... I belong to the Sikh religion, so there's a lot of stuff in the Granth Sahib, because uh our Holy Book, it just says... what's the good way to live life. You know, **so a lot of stories have come from there, you know my**

integrity, my commitment, and um I've literally... followed the age old sayings.

Similar to responses from other interviewees, for Banhi her personal teachings helped to guide her own meanings in the workplace, but she expressed the view that religion as something institutionalised at work is not appropriate. She noted that if religion were part of her organisation, it "would be very conflicting [referencing that India is 'a secular country']. You know, so many people following so many religions, and then uh we just have holidays on certain, Christmas holiday or some... but that's about it, nothing else."

Later Banhi shared that "But yes sometimes, **as you now ask**, now uh you know when we open a new department..., we do a little bit of puja [prayer], we get somebody from the temple, and he does bit of ritual, so that's about as far as religion is concerned in the organisation". Her discussion brings together the perspectives of both Sonal and Rekha, respectively; religion is not to impose on the multiplicity of beliefs and the secular nature of working environments, but religious traditions can enrich the symbolism and meanings of new developments in the organisation, and can exist quite effectively in a secular environment of people from different backgrounds. These examples reinforce the landscape of India as one in which seemingly contradictory practices can exist alongside one another without generating bewilderment or confusion.

Banhi's comment in the previous paragraph, "as you now ask", suggests that the coexistence of secular working alongside the incorporation of spiritual activities occurs in a very taken for granted manner, such that questions about "spirituality at work" do not immediately bring examples to mind. The different ways in which people socially construct spirituality at work, from possible private

meanings to wider cultural symbols, may be unconsciously internalised as the usual ways of working. Indeed, Rekha, describing pujas for the opening of a new office at her organisation, noted that workers are "excited to see the new office... I mean nobody needs to participate [in the office inauguration/puja ceremony] actually, **it is so damn settled in their mind"**, that involvement in the new office ritual is an unquestioning part of the working day that generates positive emotions.

Rekha shared another example similar to Banhi about the significance of organisational ritual with spiritual influences:

> **R:** We had a bash kind of thing, when we converted our systems from an old software to a new software.
>
> **E**: OK
>
> **R**: SAP [the software system], So, another puja kind of thing we did when we converted our systems also.
>
> **E**: Oh OK, and what is the meaning of having the puja for that specific event?
>
> **R**: Just a new beginning just uh, just to pray to Lord that everything goes well.
>
> **E**: Oh OK that's really, that's really interesting.
>
> **R**: Hahn ["yes"], That is actually an **attitude of gratitude.**
>
> **E**: Attitude of gratitude, OK, can you say more about that? That's really interesting.
>
> **R**: Uh, like you can work our systems to be from a different software to another software, so which was more tough also and more integrated also, and **we had no idea** of how to work on it. So when we go live... into SAP, **we did a puja** {ki} God everything should be ok with.. all this. The owner of the company, he came here to do the first entry into the system... Then all the sweets were distributed.

Rekha expressed that these types of rituals can help the employees to "feel great". Organisations across cultures have rituals, and they are influenced by the

specific culture's traditions and values. Rituals can reinforce emotion rules and social expectations, and they may also function unconsciously to ease anxieties during times of transition and new beginnings. It is important to note that these rituals are not constructed in the same way by Indian workers. Sometimes they are tied to spiritual traditions, and at other times they are presented in a different manner. When I asked Giri if he had pujas in his current or previous work, he replied, "**We don't have pujas and all that, we have celebrations.** We have celebrations [repeated], example is Diwali [major Indian festival that marks the New Year for Hindus. Diwali is celebrated by Jains and Sikhs also, and acknowledged by some Christian communities but not religiously worshipped, as shared by my contacts.]... apart from bonuses, sweets are given to people". The festivity, rather than any prayer or religious ritual, is emphasised. These differences in presentation about work rituals can result from different social constructions of spirituality at work, or from interview performances in response to varied constructions about how I may perceive ideal working environments. For instance, if Giri constructed me as a foreigner likely to come from sterile, non-spiritual work spaces, accordingly he would downplay religious aspects of working life.

Religion and spiritual matters find expression through personal experiences or organisational rituals, and they may arise as well when Indian workers interact with their patients or clients. The latter process was laid bare in my exchange with Aasha, who illustrated that religious and spiritual beliefs may constitute a central part of one's working in her organisation, which is a hospital that does not have a religious affiliation. Aasha noted that religion is part of the organisation only to the extent of celebrating holidays like Diwali and Christmas and having an occasional

puja. The religious beliefs of some Indian patients at her hospital, however, can

constitute one of the formidable challenges in offering help to these patients,

alongside the struggles of poverty, as illustrated in her story below. Overcoming

these obstacles, by working within the patients' beliefs, leads to powerful

emotional results. Aasha's account was offered in response to me asking her to

share an example of being very "satisfied" [her prior emotion word] in her work.

> **A:** Yeah there are so many stories which come to my mind, because my job is such. You know?.. every time I go out for a donation for that appeal **is a story in itself.**
>
> But yes, uh I was particularly **very happy** when I went once to follow up a case in a rural background in Rajasthan... it's a family which has uh 4-5 children, out of which 2 children are adolescents, and both of them suffer from congenital cataract.
>
> ... They didn't know where to go, because there was no eye care hospital or primary health care centre around the village. And the father was a farmer, and the mother was a housewife, tending to the cattle and the house and everything. So nowhere to go. And the mother also had cataract in both her eyes.
>
> So these children were just happily coming along... while the cataract was developing, so they could hardly see anything, so they stopped going to school or whatever. Uh, but the parents still did not bother.
>
> And then my hospital had um a camp, near their village... and they came down to the camp, and they realised that uh there was a solution to their cataract problem. So the mother brought the son and daughter to our hospital, and they were operated for one eye, one eye each, because we can only operate one eye at a time. And the second eye still needed surgery...
>
> But many months passed... So I remember this was the 3rd or 4th time when I accompanied the team, and I went to their village. Firstly the journey of that 80-90 km in the rough village scenario, up the hill... going there and then meeting the family, meeting these two kids. Uh and explaining to the father and mother that they must come down for the second surgery... otherwise the child, that eye would go blind...
>
> But can you imagine the parents were still making lame excuses. The father said, "I can't leave my farms, and who will look after my farms if I go",

and the mother said, "I can't leave my cattle, and I can't leave my household work. It's ok now, they can see with one eye, so it's ok" they said. "**God will do something and they will get ok the second eye also.**" [second eye will heal without needing surgery]

But we, I remember motivating them, telling them that they must come down for the second eye operation also...

E: How do you help individuals in that situation, when they may not realise why they have to come back for a second surgery for example?

A: See we can motivate them... the parents uh **have to be told sometimes in very plain words**, that they are not going to be around all the time for their children... if God forbid something happens to the, the better eye, then you know at least two, **God has given us two eyes**, something goes wrong one eye, the other is there, you know? So one has to tell them all these things...

And our going to this particular family, has been an **emotional journey of the hospital.** Not only me, many of us have gone there, I don't know why, but we got some attachment with this family, because *three* of them were suffering from cataract in *both* their eyes.

E: What were the kinds of emotions that you had during the journey with this family?

A: I was, **I can't tell you**, I was very excited. *Very excited* to make the journey, to make the effort of meeting these people and motivating them. So it was **exhilarating... very emotional**, because one doesn't uh undertake such journeys very often, we don't follow up... for every case. So because I was going right up to their houses, I was **very excited.**

It was striking to me that Aasha worked with the Indian family's beliefs in God, by constructing the meaning in a new way. She did not challenge their core belief which would inevitably lead to alienation. She acknowledged the importance of God for them by providing a different perspective: being granted two eyes by God is a gift that will help the family. Rather than forego the operation on the expectation that the other eye will be taken care of, undertaking the operation is constructed as following the belief in God and what has been provided. The results

of travelling to a remote area, helping a very disadvantaged family with multiple health problems, and working with their beliefs in a different way, are indeed "exhilarating".

Aasha's skill in balancing the sensitive concerns of religion with the desire to help others emerged again at a later point in the discussion, when I asked if there are similar examples to this family story of beliefs being important for treatment. She responded:

A : [interrupted] Yes, all the time [encountering challenges with patients and beliefs]... we are doing 50% of our work for the poor and underprivileged... **even the paid patients who come**, they do sometimes have myths, and some religious beliefs...

For example in India, it's very famous that surgeries should not be conducted on a Tuesday or a Saturday... Many people believe that eye surgery should not be done in uh months of July and August, which are the rainy days... when it is raining, then the healing gets slow.

Uh, then.. eye donation... if you donate the eye of your relative or dead relative, friend, then that person in the next uh life will be born without eyes... so people bring their misconceptions... and religious beliefs here too. [We] counsel them, [try] to put reasoning into their minds

E: If I'm someone and you're trying to counsel me, and I say, "But if I do this then you know, I'm not believing in my religion properly", or something like that, what's the most uh, useful way to, you know, counsel that person on those terms?

A : That's a very difficult question, I must tell you firstly... religion is very sensitive for people... **you see I have to talk to the person, in a very general fashion before I approach the topic of religion**... I would like to *know* how open is that person to any suggestions... if I feel that person has that kind of a personality [closed], I'll not even try to counsel.

But if I feel that a person is open... then I will try and counsel. And if he, if he [pause] feels what I'm talking is sense, and he can modify his thoughts, then good for him... some people can be... very open-minded, *but* they can be very fixed on their ideas ... Uh I don't think we should force ourselves on anybody... we are hospital, we are dealing with the medical problems, so religion is something which is very personal.

Aasha is very much aware of the sensitive and personal meanings of religion for the patients. She has found ways to perceive the extent to which she can work within a patient's beliefs, without exerting endless energy trying to change beliefs in an imposing or unproductive way, keeping in perspective the goals of her hospital in improving health. Her experience reveals that there can be flexibility in one's social construction of religion when co-constructed in a different context with a senior guide. It is also useful to note here the possibility that anxieties about mortality, death, and future lives can lead to defences which are fortified through religious traditions.

In the examples above, we find a variety of ways in which spiritual matters affect workers, in turn shaping their emotions and interactions. Private spiritual teachings may provide a source of motivation or comfort when encountering difficult work encounters like "cheating" colleagues. Spirituality on the organisational level may provide a powerful sense of belonging and meaning, help to reinforce important cultural values, and alleviate anxieties about new developments that often require learning new skills. These spiritual matters not only may shape the experiences of employees, but also they may figure prominently in what their clients bring to the organisation, as indicated in Aasha's accounts.

Spirituality can be drawn upon to comfort one's clients or patients, as revealed in my NICU interview. Near the end of the interview, I asked, "In the Indian culture what is the uh way that's good to console somebody?" Mitra responded, "It's God's decision. **Man proposes, god disposes so everything you have to take in the right sense,** maybe might have done this is for your good, you have to take in that sense. Don't worry, you'll be alright, pray to him...". Kavisha

added "you can have another child..."   For these workers, spirituality may provide

a considerable resource for helping the nurses to work with their clients in a space

continually marked by frequent illness and loss of newborns.

In this chapter I have addressed two major areas to explore in more depth

important Indian cultural aspects of workplace emotions: authority relations, and

different manifestations of religion and spirituality at work. In this discussion of

religious matters, it is important to return to the question of caste, which was

addressed in the Literature Review and previous chapter with Sonal regarding the

possible meanings of surname, which can indicate caste. Caste in itself is socially

constructed in different ways, and the extent to which it continues to affect

working life is highly variable. I noted previously Wilson's study (2003) of

multiple features of diversity in Indian organisations, including caste, but gender

dynamics and location may be more salient in some organisational spaces.

I purposely did not ask explicitly about caste in my interviews, as I have

been aware that it is a highly charged topic and frequently viewed negatively in the

West. Consequently, direct questioning by a Westerner may have resulted in

alienating the interviewees, and I thought it was more meaningful to let caste

matters arise directly or indirectly in the natural progression of the interviews.

In addition to the clues provided by Sonal, contradictions about caste arose

in other interactions. I learned from my interview with "Udita", a specialist doctor

in her forties from Chennai, that there is variability in how Indians socially

construct caste. Its most prominent historical meaning has been the familial

transmission of family name and occupation for Hindus (Personal

Communications with Indian students, 2007), but Udita uses the term more

broadly to be synonymous with religion. Udita's different construction emerged

when I asked, **"**Do your patients ever bring up uh, in their treatment, do they bring up issues about religion or their spirituality?"**,** and Udita replied:

> **U :** In religion it won't come, but suppose uh a **caste, caste difference**, but it's not between the doctors and the patients' caste... it will be because you have **patient is depressed**... Patient may say, my son went and got married uh, a Christian girl, I think probably he may be Hindu... or a Muslim girl... **such caste difference with that they get stressed, and because of that sugar goes up.**
>
> ...Otherwise, uh when they come to see us, they know he's going to see such and such a doctor, ok Dr. [Udita's surname] she's a Hindu, everybody knows it, that way I don't think there's any difference in the treatment at all.
>
> Probably when you deal with caste different patient... like suppose you see a Christian patient, and you say, it may be nearing Christmas or something, then probably "Oh because of Christmas your sugar went up". The topic will be like that, that's it...

Because Udita brought up the issue of caste, I later returned to it in the interview, asking if a patient ever feels concern about her as a doctor being from a different caste. Udita said that it would not be so in the hospital context, but she mentioned that caste can be significant for textile businesses and politicians, in which people choose others from their own caste as a matter of trust and comfort.

This dynamic of preference for the same may extend more broadly to religion, in that workers may prefer working closely from colleagues in the same religion. I interviewed two male employees together, one an administrator and one an IT worker, at Aasha's charity hospital. When I asked if "religion or spirituality has been something important for your organisational life", "Kanaan", the administrator, replied that religion is irrelevant when taking care of patients. It is their purpose to help others regardless of their background. However, Kanaan

expressed that "at my personal level, naturally I'll be more comfortable working with the peoples who belongs to my religion, because the kind of thinking... you know, lot of things are matched".

"Phoolendu", the IT worker, started conversing with Kanaan, appearing to try to express his understanding of the meaning of my question. He said to Kanaan, "Spiritual activity while you work in the organisation or, like, question is something related to this", and I perceived that Phoolendu was having discomfort with Kanaan sharing this religious preference. Phoolendu commented, "I personally do not uh feel any difference working with different religions", and it was unclear whether it was his sentiment or a defensive attempt to counter the impression created by Kanaan. Kanaan returned to this topic by discussing openly his greater comfort with people of his own religion, to which Phoolendu apparently belonged, although it was not specified which religion or caste, and I did not pursue the topic as the interview progressed in a different direction.

Caste and religious dynamics were not acknowledged readily as important work features in some of my interview settings. In my discussion with a group of employees in a telecommunications company, one of the respondents stated that there are "two different Indias", the rural and urban. He depicted caste as being less relevant in urban areas, and he conveyed the view that it should not matter at work. In this example, it appears that the troublesome or oppressive aspects of caste are split off and projected onto rural India as a dynamic affecting the isolated or poor Indians, not the international, urban educated ones. I will address this splitting dynamic again with Rakesh in the final Data Chapter on colonial trauma, as another instance when undesirable, threatening aspects of a cultural issue are placed outward and distanced from one's own immediate experience.

As I discussed in the Methodology chapter, this doctoral research was conducted in an inductive, free-association manner, allowing participants to share the most salient features for them in workplaces, rather than imposing preconceived ideas of what workplace dynamics most significantly shape emotions. Caste concerns did not dominate the interviews, which can itself be analysed through social constructionist and psychoanalytic means. As historical and social changes markedly affect Indian organisations, the meanings of caste and its salience too change, and thus become less powerful in some settings for making sense of workplace emotions. Gender, social class, and geographic location may take on greater prominence relative to caste. In particular, caste was traditionally associated with occupation, but now people are taking up careers which are not directly tied to their historical caste tradition.

Continuing with a social constructionist standpoint, the infrequent volunteering of caste dynamics can also be viewed as part of an emotional performance, as suggested by Sonal's pre-emptive surname – labouring to the Western visitor who may be constructed as having very stereotyped and limited ideas about the meanings of caste. Thus, one emotional strategy is to avoid its discussion altogether and focus on other emotions at work, which are less taboo for the respondent to share. Alternatively, or indeed complementarily, the relatively minor discussion of caste concerns compared to other topics may result from unconscious repression of the anxieties that lingering caste dynamics evoke.

In this chapter I highlighted cultural meanings about authority and religion to develop further significant emotion themes provided by Rekha and Sonal, in order to provide more in-depth context for the workplace emotions of Indian workers. Dynamics like submission to authority and preference for the same can

lead to traumatic work experiences, and trauma will be addressed in the next data chapter.

Asking broad questions about emotion at work in my interviews, I was struck by how many stories about trauma resulted. Many respondents constructed the interview space as one in which these traumatic experiences could be discussed. Because of the intensity and depth of traumas shared, I will devote the remaining two data chapters to this topic. The next chapter focuses on childhood and workplace traumas, and the fourth and final data chapter extends the importance of historical context in social constructionist inquiry by analysing colonial trauma.

Chapter 6

Data Chapter 3

Childhood Trauma and Work Traumas:

Powerful Sources of Meanings for Workplace Emotions

In this doctoral journey, I encountered a rich variety of topics about

workplace emotions, and each by itself could have constituted a full thesis. In

composing my data chapters, I found that interviewees' disclosures of traumas

spoke to me intensely in ways that resulted in generating significant space for their

emotional experiences. Therefore, this chapter and the following one about the

legacy of colonial relations are devoted to stories of trauma to honour these voices.

The prominence of trauma stories in my field work occurred for a variety of

reasons. The interview context provided a space for offloading painful experiences,

and my presence as a white, unknown outsider may have facilitated this offloading.

In the Methodology chapter, I discussed the possible meanings of difference

between interviewer and interviewee, and difference may raise or lower defences

in an interview. I referred to Jalan's observation (Personal Communication, 2009)

that my *not* being a fellow Indian could have triggered a depth of disclosure that

may not have occurred in some instances with an Indian interviewer. I was a

stranger to the Indian worker and would not see the individual again, which may

have provided a sense of safety for offloading. My previous training in

counselling, which involved providing empathic space in ways like acknowledging

the respondent's own emotion words and nonverbally conveying care, found

expression at appropriate points in the interview and supported for some

participants an inclination to disclose hurtful, disturbing or conflicted experiences.

As I finalised these chapters about trauma, I realised that an unconscious motivation may have influenced my focus on this topic as well. In previous chapters I outlined my anxieties about being a foreign researcher in postcolonial space, which influenced my earlier interview techniques of self-disclosure about work experiences. These anxieties, against the backdrop of scholarly criticisms about speaking on behalf of the Other, likely unconsciously influenced my commitment to honour voice, by giving space to troublesome experiences that are not readily shared. Prioritising mundane or positive experiences in the finite thesis space over very sensitive ones marked by wounds must have felt unacceptable and even irresponsible to me.

Discussions about the emotions of race and working across national boundaries forcefully brought to the forefront the enduring meanings of colonial historical traumas for current work spaces. The emotions of colonialism at work demanded a chapter of its own, and engagement with *explicit* colonial dynamics in the data evoked new ways for me to make sense of *implicit* colonial processes in the other chapters, such as probing the implications of the postcolonial interview space for the data generated. This historical legacy of colonialism provided a rich resource for interweaving social constructionist considerations about the historical context of emotion with psychoanalytic ones, particularly with regard to the unconscious re-enactments of colonial encounters.

In this chapter, the defining influences of childhood and workplace traumas upon work spaces will be discussed, beginning with Aasha's story which centres on a painful family experience. The next part of the chapter focuses on trauma encountered at work, with examples from Ojayit, Virochan, and Bhavesh. The chapter concludes with a group interview, which began with an extended

disclosure by Ghazala; the sharing of her experience in turn stimulated insightful meanings added by her colleagues in the group.

Childhood trauma: Aasha's story

In the previous chapter I introduced Aasha, Head of Donor Relations in her fifties, working at a Delhi charity hospital, and she shared spiritual dynamics shaping the nature of her work. Aasha's interview led to sensitive discussions about the importance of family upon working life. I will focus on her childhood experiences in the first part of this chapter, to underscore the significance of attending to individual biography when analysing the shaping of emotions at work.

Aasha described both her parents as formidable influences upon her life. When I asked about any messages that were passed on to her about working life from elders, she provided this background information:

> **A:** My father and my mother, they've been a role model for me, uh my mother was a housewife, my father was a businessman... made his business from scratch. Because he was on the other side of uh the Partition, Partition India-Pakistan were made... So he came to India with nothing.
>
> [Colonial trauma]
>
> And he had a wife and 5 children and a mother and a sister. So there were 8 of us, and he was the only one who had to [was able to] work.
>
> So he has been a role model, he's now 87 years old, but still goes to office... Very humble man, [pause] and my mother, lost [pause] 11 years back [crying] But she uh.. She's seen bad days when they had nothing, and they came here. And she had to look after 5 kids and her sister and mother-in-law, do all the household work and then get us to study and you know uh, do well in life. So then she saw good days when my father was doing well...
>
> But she never lost touch with humanity. She was a *very very* kind soul... she would always give more importance to her poor relatives than the rich ones. **So that has stuck with me.** She would give them as much dignity

and importance in her house as any rich relative of hers. And she would always very quietly go and give to that family. Whatever she could.

[Aasha's current occupation in charity work and her upbringing of devoting care for the poor brought to mind "Jalpa", a Delhi community worker in her fifties who has helped children in slums. Jalpa recalled, "My grandmother, my mother go and help the servants at home... in my house the servants had never food alone. They had to sit with us [during] the food time. So this helping to weak, helping to poor was grown with us."]

E: That's very beautiful. Very beautiful.

A: She's [her mother was] very nice... I always said that she lived like a queen... **And her kingdom was just her house, the kids, and her relatives.**

Aasha's upbringing was marked by parents who experienced trauma and retained their care and concern for family members and others who suffer. Aasha referred to her parents also in her list of heroes. The significance of her upbringing is reflected in: Aasha's degree in social work; her past as a school counsellor; her departure from a University where "every professor, every lecturer is trying to make his bucks outside also"; and her current work for a charity hospital. Her investment in these pursuits particularly takes on powerful meanings upon consideration of a specific traumatic incident in her past: that of her father's depression. This experience emerged through the following exchange, 40 minutes into the interview:

> **E:** Is there any story from in your life, that's been really, that you still remember, that's been helpful to you in your workplace? Maybe it's a story from your religion, or from school, or from your family?
>
> **A: ...**My father... in the [19]70s I think, ..he was uh in his 50s... he was doing *very well* for himself, and we all knew... he was one of the top 5 in India in his business...
>
> He was working primarily in North India, but that year he started work in South India also...

He knew that he was number one in Delhi, and maybe 1 in 5 in India... my brothers also had joined him in business. In spite of all that, **a single comment from a business man in South India sent him into a depression.** That fellow told him... "Mr. [her father's name], uh, you are spent, you are finished, because you are not good. And uh, you will lose all your name, fame, and all that. I don't like your business ethics", or whatever he said something to him.

[The possibility of envy towards Aasha's father and its destructive effects (Jalan, 2011, Personal Communication) come through strongly here.]

Because probably he [the South Indian businessman] was not benefitting from the business, or whatever his reasons were, but my father, that one comment, you know, uh **broke him.** He just, he just went into his **psyche**, and he couldn't get rid of it, and he went into such a bad depression.

That was 6 to 8 months he was out, he would not go to his office. He would sit near the telephone, he would pick up the telephone, and not dial the number, and tears coming down. And we had never seen our father cry, and it was so terrible for the family to see him like that.

And then uh finally after 6 months... he was going deeper into depression, that we had to take him to a psychiatrist. And the psychiatrist then managed to get him out of the depression, another 6 months went by, so one more year of his life, he was like that, but then he bounced back. And uh, he, he realised that it was just one offhand comment, and it didn't mean the end of his business or end of his name, you know? So that has had a very deep impact on the whole family and myself.

Because as a teenager I saw, I used to see him you know, tears just falling from his eyes, and that phone in his hand, that, **that visual scene, I can't forget.** And uh, as a **girl, teenager girl, to see your father like that, it was very distressing.**

So the message that I got from that was, that ok, people say odd things about you. You should not get bogged down by what people say about you. So I... also pass it onto my children... And if you're honest to yourself, if you're doing well, you are an honest person, **God-fearing person,** then don't bother about what people say. Don't bother... so that's it.

Aasha recounted an intensely painful trauma of her father, which

traumatised her and the family as well. This incident may even have been related to

their earlier colonial trauma, when considering the possibility of delayed-onset post

traumatic stress illnesses. Specifically, the depth of her father's response to the insult may be explained by its elicitation of earlier repressed or incompletely worked through traumas of colonial upheaval and loss. This possibility is proposed to underscore the ways in which traumas may be linked and amplify one another, in ways that defy logical or socially constructed accounts of specific traumas. Gabriel's work (1998a) on the meanings of insults, and the unconscious distress that they can trigger through attacks on ego ideals, as discussed in the Literature Review, has resonance here. The businessman's insult may have been incompletely shared or insufficiently conveyed in words to Aasha or in the recounting to me, and the insult may have targeted important ego-ideals of Aasha's father, triggering psychic pain at an intensity that cannot be captured by studying only, for example, the content of the insult itself.

The binding of one's personal traumas with collectively experienced family and historical trauma, like colonial-induced relocation and violence, can have multiple conscious and unconscious effects, which in turn can influence the emotions of descendants in later generations. With Aasha's example, we can probe how her family traumas may carry over into work spaces through career choices and patterns of relating with colleagues. Aasha worked as a school counsellor "30 years back, when counsellor was not even heard of. I started this department in the particular school where I was working", which was a formidable challenge in the time and historical context of India where Aasha noted that "stigma was attached to students who were going to a counsellor."

Initiating this endeavour therefore required violation of central Indian emotion rules, like working through problems within the family's resources, not with a stranger. Aasha's current duties in raising funds for charity illustrate her

commitment to helping others beyond what would be expected by the role requirements; not only does she successfully find donors, but also she personally makes trips under difficult conditions to reach out to help others affected by the traumas of poverty. Gabriel's research about the pursuit of work to fulfil unconscious needs, such as those arising from trauma (1999b), provides new depth to Aasha's work meanings. We can engage with the possibility that workers heal formidable, formative psychic pain through service to others who suffer, even when doing so requires undermining deeply ingrained societal emotion rules.

Aasha's painful experience of observing her father's deterioration, and her subsequent embrace of the importance of not getting "bogged down" by others, bring out with new richness some of the experiences she recounted in the interview before sharing this trauma. Her father's depression points to the extent to which her emotion rule, about not being bothered by others, has been deeply internalised and re-enacted in different work encounters. In the previous chapter, I referred to Aasha processing her emotions about negative colleagues in the context of spirituality. This discussion evolved when I asked if she ever had to hide emotions at work, and I was struck by the calm and confidence with which she described how to handle emotions related to a "colleague [who] is talking behind your back, a colleague [who] is uh trying to **cut you**". Reflecting on my countertransference, I felt deep admiration for her equanimity, and I thought about and contrasted my own emotions of hurt and anger when I am in a similar situation of a colleague trying to undermine me. She discussed her approach, "I'm **not going to just suppress it, but I'm going to deal with it**", in the context of justice and her belief in God. In later reflections, when I analysed different parts of Aasha's interview, a connection emerged between the family's trauma of her father's depression, and

her effective responses to "cutting" colleagues. She does not allow herself to get "cut down", through her spiritual beliefs, and through an emotion understanding from trauma that formidably shaped her approach to people like the South Indian businessman who insulted her father.

I emphasise that the unconscious internalisation of highly charged family experiences, particularly at a sensitive time of transition in adolescence as for Aasha, may shape work encounters and relations in ways that contradict or defy cultural socialisation. My Indian colleagues have spoken about the centrality of "what other people think" in Indian culture, reinforced by the importance of family name as discussed in the Literature Review. In my interview with the telecommunications group, one respondent said that "*Everyone* tries to give you advice [including neighbours, uncles, aunts, and so on]", indicating a cultural conditioning to being concerned about the evaluations of others. Thus, there are limited cultural resources in the traditional Indian context for socially constructing a work encounter in a way that one is not emotionally affected by the judgments or statements of others. I stress that Aasha did not specify her father's trauma earlier in the interview when discussing her approach to cutting and cheating colleagues, but the later emergence in our exchange of her father's experience indicates strong unconscious meanings from this trauma that underlie her emotional interchanges with colleagues.

I started this chapter by focussing on Aasha to illustrate ways in which personal and familial experiences in historical context affect workplace emotions. I focussed on a childhood trauma, the depression of Aasha's father. Through my other interviews, I learned about examples of traumas arising through the process of working itself, and I will focus on the experiences of Ojayit, Virochan, Bhavesh,

and Ghazala to analyse the meanings of these traumas through both theoretical frameworks.

Work traumas

Ojayit

I met with "Ojayit", a Marketing Team Member in his mid-twenties, at a Real Estate Agency in Chennai. My contact in Chennai arranged for me to visit this agency through her colleague, who in turn set up my interviews with Ojayit and Vikas, referenced later in this chapter. We discussed topics like: differences between Chennai and Bangalore, the IT hub in Karnataka state; his curiosity about the "subconscious mind"; and taking care not to "transfer that emotion to the customer" after an "exchange of words" with colleagues in the office (quotes refer to Ojayit's words). Twenty-six minutes into the interview, I was asking Ojayit about heroes and villains in working life. In response to villains, he shared these experiences.

> **O:** [small laugh] Yes, you can say across your, your work and some other organisation you can always see people [soft chuckle] whom you should not be like that.
>
> **E:** Can you recall a specific story of somebody who you thought, ok this is, you know this behaviour is not the way I'm going to be?
>
> **O:** Uh, first is, first is I've seen so many people. Without any courtesy... somehow they want to get the credit... but trying to enjoying... some other's effort... that behaviour I *hate***.** Something I really don't like.
>
> [This was the only interview in which a participant explicitly used the word "hate" in relation to a work experience; I was struck by the intensity with which he said this word].
>
> And I've seen in so many people... **aggressive behaviour**, they used to enjoy all that. Like uh, they used to uh **grab others' credit**, whatever others' do, **they used to uh grab others' credit** [repeated] and they used to-

Cause some people uh they'll not willingly.. tell you or to the boss, like I've done this... Uh but they'll do the work sincerely. [work without making one's accomplishments known].

But uh some people, they will not do that job, somehow they'll get into that credit... [they'll say] "Ok I have also done so many things, because of that... whole work got completed, otherwise... might have collapsed", all that. **I really hate.** That's one thing.

And uh... they'll feel always a **resistance** to that kind of new noble things [new organisational initiatives]... they'll come to conclusions, "...Let's not do it"... because they have to put little extra effort. So that also I really don't like...

E: Why don't you like these things?

[Here I asked a "why" question, to learn if there was a specific incident to which Ojayit was alluding.]

O: [pause] Because it... has affected my work... so many times. That's... the main reason.

E: Was there a time when someone took your credit away?

[Here I was more direct than usual in my style of questioning, sensing that Ojayit was connecting to a notable experience but not wanting to draw it out immediately. I also sensed in some of my interviews during field work that respondents waited to be asked a question before elaborating further; for example, in the last chapter with Harish, I had to ask him what the outcome was of his boss's demand.]

O: Was there.

E: Was there. And what was the story of that situation?

Ojayit described suggesting an e-mail sales campaign to his senior, who I'll call "Yash", to reach people in Mumbai, and Ojayit noted that it was successful through the number of bookings obtained. Yet, someone else "grabbed that credit".

From my field notes, I noted my impression of Ojayit as very forthright as well as sensitive. During this part of the interview, tears were welling up as he discussed the credit being taken from him.

E: And what happened after that, were you recognised?

O: No

E: But the senior [Yash], he was aware of

O: Yeah he was aware, but... he was not able to help too much.

E: I see, and what was your reaction to the situation?

O: Nothing

E: Nothing. What did you feel inside when this happened?

O: Feel bad. I thought ok, **these kinds of things will happen** in organisations. So ok, go ahead, look for next opportunity.

At this point, I sensed a tension between Ojayit wanting to share his experience, and wanting to move on to another topic; with the appearance of his tears and our limited time, I thought it would be helpful to discuss other positive topics to create a balanced interview space. We began to discuss high points in his working life, like his happiness with using Internet tools effectively to pursue sales. He later returned to this topic of stealing credit, however, approximately forty-five minutes into the interview. I asked if there were any differences between his upbringing and current working life, and he responded that " parents used to teach me that **ideal side**, ideal side of working, but... so many people used to be flexible in so many things... as I told, people used to grab others' credit". Referring back to his previous example may indicate an interest and perhaps desire for engaging with this experience of stolen credit in a new space, and making sense of his emotions through the telling of the trauma. Our interview was almost an hour long and was interrupted at the end by Ojayit being summoned back into work. He offered to return if there were more questions, but I thanked him and expressed my appreciation of his work responsibilities.

Ojayit's last response in the above extract, about these things happening and needing to look for the next opportunity, recalls an intellectualisation defence (Freud, 1966), utilised to ward off psychic pain through cognitive strategies. We

saw the use of this defence by Rekha in the first Data Chapter, in response to the terror of potential job loss. Here Ojayit offers a rational way to move forward: these things happen. Yet, there is emotional tension in that he recounted several times his **hate** for these occurrences.

Gabriel, Gray and Goregaokar's research (2010) on the stories of unemployed managers illuminates important connections between story lines and emotions. In their study, managers' emotional sensemaking was associated with their stories of unemployment trauma as open-ended or close-ended. With Ojayit, his trauma is not resolved. The story is not closed, and the lack of resolution shows through Ojayit's spoken words, tone, and facial expression as pain.

Ojayit's unresolved story has important implications for my anxiety, with regard to my positioning as researcher when relating to the data. Ojayit's story was for me one of the most challenging ones in this thesis to work through, and I realised it was because of my desire to experience closure and justice for what he encountered. In the Methodology chapter, I referenced Stein's work (2008) on countertransference and his illustration of the defences of projection and projective identification. Have I projected my desire for fairness and healing onto Ojayit's story? Is my own anxiety amplified by not finding a positive result from this projection, by not being able to create work conditions that would foster healing from this experience? Have I experienced projective identification, in that Ojayit's concerns have now become mine? I raise these questions to refer back to the dance of transference-countertransference that can shape the data generated and meanings derived from engaging with it.

Frank's work on different illness narratives (1995) spoke to me, regarding my struggles with Ojayit's story. Frank discusses illness as an interruption;

referring to authors like Mairs, he notes that "Interruptions divert the narrative from such ends... The stories are uncomfortable, and their uncomfortable quality is all the more reason they have to be told. Otherwise, the interrupted voice remains silenced" (Frank, 1995: p. 58). This insight about voice connects back to the Introduction of this chapter, where I described trauma stories as voices to be heard in the space of this doctoral work.

Adapting Frank's observations to Ojayit, I experienced new meaning with his story. A firm closure, though something I desired, was not a part of the story in our interview space. Yet, the story asks to be heard and can offer a number of important insights, like the current state of play in work spaces, and the meanings of emotions I exchanged in relation with Ojayit for analysing the story. More broadly the story speaks to the methodological importance of discussing openly socially constructed and unconscious meanings about the role of an academic interviewer. How is this role constructed? What are the attendant anxieties, particularly when faced with a difficult story as an interviewer and writer?

I found that this discomfort about interruption that Frank describes connects to his later references to the imposition by interviewers of Holocaust survivors to reach a firm ending, when in fact such a closure did not capture some of their experiences. In the context of discussing chaos illness narratives, Frank (1995) shares that the "interviewers [of Holocaust survivors] described by Langer seek to impose liberation as, if not a goal, then at least a definite end to the stories they hear and the horrors these stories tell" (1995: p. 107-108). Ojayit's trauma is much different from the ones described in Frank, but the same framework can be applied, in terms of the tensions experienced by an interviewer in working with an open, not closed, story.

I reflect on the significance of Ojayit's story for bringing out important methodological points about analysis. Some of the questions that I pose here are not answered, but they generate new stories that ask for further probing, like the stories of our journeys as academics when learning from the sensitive emotional disclosures of remarkable individuals.

Virochan

The story of "Virochan" is similar to Ojayit, in that there is no clear healing as a result of his experience. Virochan was one of the executive MBA students of Jaspreet whom I interviewed in the Delhi area in 2009. Approximately thirty minutes into the interview, I was asking the students about messages that they received from elders, parents or siblings about school or working life. A male student, "Nikhil", talked about a "**contradiction**": between education about moral values, truth and ethics, and starting a job, where "we see... the world is not as good as we have been taught", referring to this first job exposure as a "shock". "Nidhi", a female student, shared her example of an individual visiting her home and trying to bribe her government judge mother, who rebuked this attempt and subsequently left a lasting "mark" on Nidhi about the importance of honesty and values. Virochan then disclosed the following.

> **Virochan:** [In education] we are just taught about morals, ethics honesty, and once we enter the corporate life, so we do find out that the things are really not good as... picture which we got in the colleges [various places of education].
>
> Like I can give you.. an example... I was a part of an uh, a **top-notch IT company**... So what happened was, like I was just **new**... into their company and I was like uh, heading the new recruitment process... So... whoever clear[ed] the [written] test will go into second rota, [face to face] interviewing...
>
> So there was one uh girl who actually was, her physical appearance was like, it was having some **spots on her body**... though she had cleared the tests... Decision was taken at the higher level was that, "We cannot allow that girl to go for the next level of the selection process", just because of the fact that she was having some **light patches on her skin, which were uh visible to anybody.**
>
> ...**The reason told to us was that**, "Clients would not accept her" uh, as an employee to work over there... we uh were forced to uh... fail her in that test...

I was heading the recruitment process, so I... used to uh communicate the decisions...to the uh candidates.

So... results were declared for that day, that girl came to me explained, "Sir I cleared, I am very confident that I should have cleared the test, you please recheck... that I should have cleared the test."

So actually uh like I was heading the interview 5-10 guys who were working on this process, so actually all of us were **feeling very bad.**

And although we... went to the HR person centre higher management that, "We should not do something like this to a girl who is deserving". So actually what happened was **we were just very junior to them**, but... {we said to them it was?} unethical way to discourage the girl... we {suggested?} "You can just keep it at offshore level [her assignments]", but that was also suppressed...

Virochan then noted that at the next recruitment event, his team members did not turn up, because they "found out...the company is not doing the right thing in the recruitment process." I asked how Virochan deals with this kind of tension, the conflict between what he feels is moral and what is demanded at the top, and he described a "heated argument" where they unsuccessfully attempted to persuade senior management to not proceed with their decision. As a result, they had to communicate to the candidate and parents that their child did not clear the test. Virochan commented that "already in the **back of mind not very happy with the organisation and, but in the front of the people we have to change the outlook...**"

E: So you have to kind of change the emotions that you can show to the candidates, because actually you have to tell them something.

V: You have to tell them something.

E: But you don't feel that that's the right decision.

V: Yeah that's not the right decision.

The discussion then shifted to "Gautam", a male student who noted the problem of competition for work and its conflict with the teaching of morals. This competition may have had strong bearing upon Virochan staying in his position as head of recruitment, despite the emotional distress experienced. I will return to Gautam's comments again in relation to competition and Ghazala's trauma below.

I was immediately struck by the implied trauma of Virochan's experience, driven by tension between a strong ethical upbringing, and corporate prejudice fuelling candidate exclusion to benefit ostensibly the bottom line. Like Ojayit, there is no evident resolution to this negative experience. Virochan's story implies guilt in the workplace, as he shared intense discomfort about using inaccurate information to dismiss the female candidate, who I'll call "Ansuya" (which means 'learned woman'), but he did not resign from the recruitment event as his colleagues did, who appeared similarly disturbed by the demands made by senior management.

It is important to consider this conflict between childhood ethical teachings and corporate indifference or cruelty within Indian's postcolonial context. The impersonal relations with authority in Indian organisations inherited from British administration (Kakar, 1971a) can be reproduced and re-enacted in current Indian organisations, even after the departure of formal British rule. These roles can become unconsciously internalised (Nandy, 1982), and the resultant aloof behaviour stands in stark contrast to the more affective, personal nature of relating with authority in traditional Indian socialisation (Kakar, 1971b). Roland analyses authority relations in India, noting that "It is only when there is complete disappointment in the **expected nurturance and responsibility** of those higher in the hierarchy that there may be the rare case of open rebellion and antagonism by the junior member" (1982: p. 240, my bold). The disappointment of Virochan is conveyed by the emotions emerging from his story, and by his attempts with colleagues to help the deserving candidate secure her job. Virochan's colleagues went further with their rebellion by making their protest known through subsequent absence, an act which points to the extent of their emotions of betrayal.

The legacy of the impersonal British organisation casts a shadow on unconscious emotional expectations of support and guidance from superiors, as nurtured through one's upbringing.

To analyse Virochan's experience and other stories of conflict and resultant anxieties, Sinha and Tripathi's observation (2003) about substantial contradictions encountered by Indians is crucial: "It is this coexistence of opposites all through Indians' lives and culture that is considered to be the cultural and psychological root of their anxiety" (2003: p. 197). They explain the historical development of these contradictions; people of varied groups and cultures have lived alongside one another, retaining their distinct values rather than fully becoming absorbed into other groups; contradictions have their roots in the characters and events of Indian epics as well (Sinha and Tripathi, 2003). Sahay and Walsham's observation (1997) about conflicts within the IT sector have particular relevance for Virochan in his work setting:

> Managerial thinking in India is characterised by a clash of cultures... internalize two sets of values: those drawn from the traditional moorings of the family and community, particularly values related to **affiliation**... and those drawn from modern education, professional training and the imperatives of modern technology... This conflict [referring to that between Western cognitive maps and the Indian ethos] often creates a fragmented identity... with the **emotive element** straining with other rational considerations, creating confusion in roles and task structures (1997: p. 424, my emphasis).

Virochan is affected by multiple conflicts occurring at different levels of consciousness, like the struggle between explicit moral teachings learned in childhood and the current unconscious re-enactment of authoritarian colonial organisational roles by superiors. He also experiences tensions between his personal discomfort and the emotional labour in which he engages when interacting with candidates. He reveals being deeply troubled and angry ("heated argument") by his seniors' overtly unethical behaviour as contrasted to his ethics, but he suppresses his emotions and performs the communication of a rational, professional decision – that Ansuya simply did not gain sufficient marks.

Chattopadhyay (1975), discussing parallels between Indian family upbringing and working life, indicates that seniors expect dependence from subordinates. This dependence appears to be connected to the provision of personal, affective care as noted above with Roland. Indeed, Sinha and Sinha (1990) depict a balance between patronage and submission in the Indian superior-subordinate relationship, as discussed in the Literature Review. The expectation that affiliation is provided by the superior in delicate balance with the subordinate's obedience may be unspoken, perhaps unconsciously internalised, with implications for work spaces when upset to this balance occurs. With Virochan's example, impersonal distancing or lack of affective care is particularly striking in the expectation that the new recruits should execute extensive emotional labour, based upon false information on the senior managers' behalf. In this story senior managers lack the traditional care of authority yet expect dependence, as managers ignore Virochan's suggestions for a different solution and enforce a decision to give a candidate wrong information.

Dramatic social changes stimulated by market reforms and globalisation have led to a greater variety of authority relations enacted in Indian spaces; my former Indian student, for example, shared working for a team-based NGO in which the boss established that there would be no formal titles in address ("Shreeya", rather than "Shreeya Ma'am", for example), and thus no recognition of hierarchical differences. Each person could contribute and challenge at a level playing field. Yet, Virochan's account, like Rohit's frustration with his superior discussed in the previous chapter, recalls the dependency dynamics that Chattopadhyay (1975) outlined; their examples demonstrate the fortitude of traditional patterns of relating to authority which continue to shape some work spaces and the emotions that they elicit. We can look to two potential sources of anxiety and conflict for Indian workers that result from rigid authority – the impersonality and authoritarianism of working relations historically induced from colonialism, and the ambivalence of highly-charged emotional encounters that recall earlier dynamics of Indian affective care intertwined with obedience. I will return in the Conclusion to highlight how the interrelatedness of these sources need further study, to highlight the tensions between them and their enduring impact.

Virochan's senior managers present a seemingly rational decision to exclude Ansuya – she has spots on her body and will not be accepted by clients. What are the sources underlying this choice? Banhi, who I introduced in the previous chapter, provided crucial contextual information about the meaning of disability in India. For Ansuya, her skin patches may not be considered disability in the way that visual impairment was defined as disability by Banhi. However, we can expand Banhi's discussion to bring into sharp relief social and organisational perceptions on the hiring of people who are viewed as different,

eliciting assumptions about effort that may be required for individuals with disability at work. Banhi shared that "**our culture says**, that um people with disabilities are also taught from Day 1, that... they must have rights, they must have uh things... any organisation wants a productive person... disability is a very uh **thing to be ashamed of, and to feel sorry about**... a disabled person is never taught to be a contributor... you know there's a lot of uh **negativity attached.** So I think uh, that's one of the reasons why uh people do not want to employ uh you know... persons with disabilities."

Banhi's points provide important cultural background to how "spots", marks of difference, may create threat and anxiety in the workplace. Is this threat to Virochan's managers rooted in concerns about how Ansuya might fit in with clients, and about whether she may have a condition that requires some provision of support? On what basis do the managers justify that clients would not relate to her due to her appearance? Are the prejudices rooted in Indian ideas intertwined with Western ones of apparent rationality/expediency? We can consider this flow of anxieties: spots on a body in this country – people in work encounters will not engage with visible blemishes – our projects will suffer; hence, ancient prejudice may amplify the application of Western profit-driven business practice.

It is important to probe the meanings of the spots for unconscious anxieties that they may trigger for the managers, apart from the ostensible managerial view that they would alienate clients. To do so, let us consider Ansuya's gender. Do her spots violate the socially-ingrained images of the Indian woman as discussed in Data Chapter 1, in regard to Rekha's disclosure about males threatened by a female superior? We can question whether the managerial response would have been the same if the candidate with spots in question were male. Fotaki's work (2011) has

great importance for analysing these dynamics. With regard specifically to academe, Fotaki observes that in work spaces, the female employee is related to on patriarchal terms; she is perceived or evaluated as a body through phallic-centric frameworks. Fotaki's work has far-reaching implications for apprehension of the female body in other work spaces, where a woman who does not fit into traditional male-centred cultural images can unleash threat, anxiety and defence. In the Indian context, do the spots violate for some male managers the fantasy of reunion with the "smooth maternal body" (Tang and Smith, 1996: p. 574) as depicted in the Ganesha myth? Any perceived blemish of Ansuya constitutes threat along gendered lines, with sources in socially constructed and unconsciously experienced views about gender.

The story of Ansuya's rejection illustrates Fotaki's point that "different bodies do matter *differently* over and above their linguistic *and* discursive significations" (2011: p. 43). I noted in the Literature Review Cromby and Nightingale's criticism (1999) about the insufficient attention to embodiment in social constructionist analyses. Ansuya's spots are a physical presence which triggers threat and anxieties, beyond any signification about the interruptions perceived on her skin. These anxieties are rooted in socially constructed ideas about difference and in unconsciously internalised fantasies about the Indian woman.

What do these spots symbolically mean to Virochan? Is he now blemished by the trauma of engaging in dishonest practice, enacting a professional front to Ansuya and her parents, alongside experiencing deep internal discomfort? Are Ansuya's spots now his unresolved marks of emotional conflict? With Virochan's story, we have a workplace moment of trauma through knowingly inflicting

injustice, resulting in emotional labour against the backdrop of unconsciously internalised and historically shaped authority relations. Virochan's trauma may be amplified by an understanding that he in turn may have triggered trauma in Ansuya, who was faced with a rejection that did not make sense given awareness of her skills and her instinct that she cleared the test. Ansuya's spots mark Virochan with deep ambivalence, staying in a job for reasons not disclosed (competition is likely to be a strong factor), alongside experiencing great tension in remaining with the company for the next recruitment event.

Ojayit and Virochan's stories illustrate how the study of "emotion draws attention to the psychological injuries of working" (Fineman, 2004: p. 721). These injuries may remain incompletely addressed or leave enduring scars, or they may be worked through in a variety of ways. With the next example of workplace trauma, I will analyse through Bhavesh's story the use of social constructions as defence, as one of the ways to work through and overcome a painful work experience.

Bhavesh

"Bhavesh", age mid-twenties, is the founder and head of his NGO, which I'll call "Outreach". It is devoted to bringing quality education to deprived children in remote villages of the state Uttar Pradesh. I interviewed Bhavesh at his office in the Delhi area. I began by asking him to share the first emotion word that comes to his mind about his work, and after some pauses, he said "fear", because "you have a **responsibility of 102 kids on your head**... every time I go to school I see there's a huge expectation which the kids have **in their eyes** you know... so there's always a fear of whether you'll match those expectations or not..." We continued by discussing topics like the management of fear through talking with colleagues, and frustration with explaining the importance of a charity's 7-day working week to friends or family who demand more personal time.

At nine minutes into the interview, I asked if there was any story that Bhavesh remembered as really special with his work so far, and he contributed his experience with an internship in Uttarakhand state in 2006, where he lived in a village of 50 people for approximately 2 months. The objective was to understand "the whole scenario" of their lives. He described cleaning the village weekly, and one morning upon arriving for work, he learned that a villager, who had 4 children, was dead. He shared the effects of this trauma in the following account:

> **Bhavesh:** ... I was just startled, I didn't know how to react on it, and I **started crying**...
>
> So the reason [for her death] was... This husband was making love with her on the floor, and uh suddenly a snake came and bit her, and she's saying you know "snake has bitten me", and the husband thought that uh, she's giving an excuse because she's not interested. So he continued and uh she died.

And... I just was lost... there was [a thought to] to kill that man. Then you think more maturely, and you say that uh **he's also not at fault with the sector that he comes from** ....

And it was already dark, there was no exiting the village... he can't see the snake, and he was in different you know frame of mind to be reacting on it, he has no space to work on it...

[Here, I interpret intellectualisation, in that a rational point is proposed – even if they tried to get medical care, it would not have been feasible to access it at the time].

Bhavesh described being "lost" for two hours, "standing and staring at the body". In addition to the death, what particularly shook him was her children, "because there's no escape for them". He proceeded to describe the tradition in India where remarriage does not occur for a year. The family is already poor, and if more children result from another eventual marriage, Bhavesh questioned how the father would take care of that many children? Bhavesh's desire to help the children was blocked by these stark realities. The depth of distress emerged in his account:

B: You cannot do anything about it. You know? And I think the feeling of **helplessness** is the, is the, is the [repeated], *worst* feeling when you get stuck on you know.

You want to do a lot of things, you can't do *anything* about it. And it, it, it took me more than I think 10 days to, just to cope up with it.

Bhavesh expressed that his mentor, who was heading the camp, was helpful guiding him during this time, knowing that he was "very emotionally disturbed". He spoke with his mother, father, and friends about this tragedy. He stated that he has not been able to do something with the kids despite his wishes and plans to do so, and he concluded by sharing that "... **till the last breath I'm going to**

remember it...".   I asked what was helpful about his mentor in guiding him, and

Bhavesh responded that his mentor provided a new perspective "of the way things

happen... We all have our own personal spaces to react". Bhavesh continued with

a disclosure which was strikingly telling of the intense impact of this event upon

his emotions:

> **B:** And... I think the biggest feeling which has come to my mind which I
> was trying to suppress was a huge, huge **anger** for the guy. You know, and
> [laughs] there was a time I wanted to kill him kind of thing you know, like
> that held him responsible for it.
>
> And that is the time that I think, **the major thing helped me out** was to
> understand the fact, that he is responsible for it no doubt, but maybe he's
> not a murderer, and he's not totally responsible for it, **it is the system that
> is coming up that way. You know it is the poverty which is coming
> out...**
>
> And... if you want to fight back, you know then **you have to fight back the
> system not the individual**, because that does not make an impact...
>
> ...It was only after I came back from that internship that I started
> "Outreach"... the encouragement was that you know the **passion** came from
> was that I have to do something with the system...

As I reflected upon Bhavesh's potent account, I considered with increasing

interest one of the ways in which to bring social constructionist and psychoanalytic

accounts closer together, through their interweaving, for enriched analyses of

workplace emotions: the use of social constructions *as* defences to contend with

work trauma. In the previous Data chapter, with regard to Giri's social construction

of success, I noted Fineman's sharp observation about constructions which are

used to address "unconscious concerns" (1993b: p. 28), and these constructions

then enable "a protective way of working" (1993b: p. 28). This protective function

of a construction is particularly salient for coping with a specific, powerful

experience of workplace trauma, and it emerges through Bhavesh's story. The pain of learning about a sudden, unexpected death, concern and helplessness about the mother's children, and "huge, huge anger" upon learning of the snake bite and husband's neglect, are all emotions with the potential to overwhelm and "disturb". Indeed, Bhavesh shared that the potency of this trauma affected him over days, and the remembrance continues to shape him.

He began to discuss "poverty", "the sector where he is coming from", as the reasons for the woman's death. He sought help from his mentor and solace from family and friends, but it is his social construction of this village tragedy as a result of deprivation that helped him significantly to work through this trauma. The insertion of "the sector" placed an emotional distance between him and the affected family. In doing so, he could ease his emotions for the children and anger toward the husband, and subsequently emerge from the experience with a focus on targeting systemic problems of underprivileged villages through his NGO. Bhavesh's story remarkably conveys how social constructions may be created or invoked unconsciously for the purpose of alleviating anxieties, by defending against deeply troubling, personally witnessed tragedy.

To probe the meanings of this story in a related way, we can draw upon Frosh's analysis (1999) of discourse as defence, highlighted in the literature review. Frosh, following his account of a trainee psychologist's difficult session, argues that psychoanalysis helps to make sense of "events [that] **exceed the accounts which can be given of them**... to speak about something - to make it discursive - is at times a retroaction; at the time of its bursting forth, it is something else..." (Frosh, 1999: p. 386, my bold). At the time of Bhavesh's trauma, he felt "startled", "lost", and he freely disclosed to me that he cried. He encountered an

immediate intensity of experience, of misery, which was not formulated as a narrative about village problems at the time of its occurrence. In the telling, in the reflecting and working through of his trauma, Bhavesh adopted a specific discourse: that the trials and personal hardships of deprivation are an outcome of individuals' geographic and economic location. This narrative line defends against the excess of the event, of the emotional struggles viscerally conveyed by Bhavesh. Social constructions are shaped through specific discourses, and Bhavesh's account points to the rich possibilities opened up by probing how narratives can serve as defences, to ease the effects of emotional traumas in working spaces.

At the conclusion of his story, Bhavesh implies that this anguish led him to start an NGO explicitly designed to address problems at a system-level. With a psychoanalytic framework, Bhavesh sublimated an aggressive impulse, that of a desire underpinned by great anger to attack the villager, into a socially beneficial aim. He contends with the formidable anxiety of helplessness through his outreach work, where his passion is directed to fighting the system – thus to minimising the occurrence of such devastating incidents.

Gough's analysis of a father-son relationship (2009) has a striking parallel to Bhavesh's story, with regard to the invoking of broader social patterns to rationalise and counterbalance painful emotions. Specifically, in Gough's study "accounts of the father's faults are quickly followed by repairs which locate the father's actions in wider contexts and so mitigate his particular failings" (2009: p. 537). Bhavesh repairs his wounds, his hurt upon experiencing death and learning the reason for it, through a reference to the context of poverty. The sharing of this trauma through story in the interview space may have also provided a mode for

engaging further with the meanings of this event and its implications for his goals and aspirations.

Relating to and working through one's workplace trauma may also occur through the sharing of the experience in a collective space. The story of "Ghazala", the last example in this chapter, highlights an intense period of sharing with me and several colleagues her trauma in a previous workplace. With Ghazala, we observe workplace emotions resulting from tensions between lived experience in work space and unconscious expectations from superiors.

Ghazala

The following extract is from a group interview that I conducted at a private University in the Delhi area with three employees: "Ghazala" (female), "Priya" (female), and "Faarooq" (male), all in their twenties. Ghazala is a professional communication trainer, teaching spoken English to the students. Priya is a soft skills trainer, and Faarooq is a senior soft skills trainer. After introductions, I asked the following question:

> **E:** OK, and in your work either here or any kind of previous work, is, is there ever a time where you had to manage your emotions? In the sense that-
>
> **Gh: [interrupted]** I, I think I'm, I'm sorry to interrupt you
>
> **Start time of Ghazala (Gh) speaking beginning with this first response: 2:15 minutes into the interview. I note that Ghazala spoke uninterrupted, except for brief, occasional acknowledgments like "yes" on my part, for 14 minutes, 15 seconds. Below I will review this monologue as it unfolded, through direct quotes and summaries of Ghazala's disclosures.**
>
> **E:** Yeah
>
> **Gh:** I'm getting you, I will say what I have to do, because I have to leave...
>
> **E:** Oh sure
>
> **Gh:** Yeah see um, since you're talking about emotions I, I have a little bit to say, that's why I am the first to contribute. The thing is that I uh, uh I am a PhD in English, and I always wanted to be in uh the, in the job in which I am presently.
>
> **E:** Oh that's good

Ghazala continued by sharing that her family encouraged her to do school level teaching (pre-University education), but she was always determined to be at a University teaching English literature, which she is not doing in her present job, "but whatever". Although the University was her goal, she thought that it would not be a good idea to start immediately in this setting and that she should start in a school first, so that the "classroom feeling should come naturally". While doing her PhD research, Ghazala interviewed at a "very recognised institution" and shared the following:

> **Gh:** ...The principal... we hit it off instantly, and she liked me. In spite of the fact that I was not having a [school level teaching?] degree. OK? ... I was selected, and I was really very enthusiastic about my work, because that was my first lifetime opportunity to be in the teaching position, which I had always been **dreaming of.**
>
> ...She [the principal] said that: "It will be a lot of work, you're doing your research, so how will you manage?"
>
> I said, "Ma'am.. this is my dream come true... teaching is my passion. I always like to uh take classes" ["take classes" in India means to teach classes] and uh let students learn new thing or whatever.
>
> The **family members** younger brothers, this is why I always like to speak and tell them new things, and uh uh explain to them... So it's always a privileged position for me, so I like doing it, so I want to do it.

Ghazala expressed that the principal found her English accent not to be affected by her native language, compared to other English teachers; consequently, the principal favoured her to influence children's spoken English and improve their accents. Ghazala stated that in India, the different regions from which people come influence their accent when speaking English. [There might have been very subtle postcolonial dynamics in the research space with this discussion about accent. In the past, I've listened to comments made by some Indian friends about the

inadequate or poor English accent of other region Indians. This stress on accent

likely served several purposes for Ghazala. Noting her own strong qualifications

provides a contrast to her later treatment in the school, as noted below.

Furthermore, her reference to accent, perhaps unconsciously, reflects the ability to

absorb the English skills of the former power-holding coloniser, in the postcolonial

interview context of speaking with me, another native, albeit non-British, English

speaker. This reference to accent has implications for the next chapter's account

with "Rakesh", who discussed the continuing power of native British accents for

commanding business deals in international spaces, a dynamic which recalls

colonial domination].

> Next, Ghazala shared:
>
> **Gh:** ...I started my work very **enthusiastically.**
>
> And I tried to put in maximum effort, but as time passed you know I, I
> started feeling that my, I was being **exploited over** there...
>
> [Ghazala also indicated that she experienced tension between school
> responsibilities and her work as a PhD scholar, and that she indicated
> clearly to the school the importance of her PhD responsibilities].
>
> But uh in spite of the fact that uh **I was new, I was young**, I, I was being
> uh **burdened** over there... When there was a work to be done... the senior
> teachers they could just say no... So my employer, she knew that I was new
> and **I wouldn't say no, and I was being overburdened.** And uh, you can
> say that uh **they knew that this is my weakness, and uh they started
> using it, OK.**

Ghazala relayed that she had to carry her own work load, as well as that of

the senior teachers. She gave examples of heavy workload stress, such as

completing report cards for 200 students in less than 24 hours, and bringing

presentations to teacher orientation classes, though earlier she was told it was not

expected, as she was not working on a permanent basis. In the process of sharing

these examples, she said, "OK **I was not the only one in that situation, there were other teachers also who were suffering**, but I **was managing** to cope up." After giving the presentation example, she stated, "So there were so many things that were happening around me, and **I was not able to manage it**" [a contrast to her previous declaration of being able to manage]. Because of her hectic schedule, she experienced "a problem at my... **home** also. You know they also need, need my time."

["Nandita", a female lecturer whom I interviewed separately at this same University, also indicated similar challenges with work and home. She said, "Once I got IIT {prestigious University}... **though I could not utilise it properly because of uh my uh I got married**... So I had responsibilities - **here, after marriage**, if you're also uh you know, doing something like PhD, or you, you can't ignore your family. That is it... if people are supportive then fine, if they are not so much, then you have to struggle through, the two sides, two aspects."]

> Ghazala recounted that "it was becoming very difficult... one and a half months passed in this you know you can say, uh I would rather say, call it a **trauma**. Because **I was not able to handle my situation."**

Next, she illustrated a tension between the principal and the teachers; the principal said that Ghazala should talk with her for any problem and not her fellow teachers, who will "misguide" her. Her colleagues, however, did not express any positive views about the organisation or the principal, viewing the latter as "the **oppressor"**. Ghazala shared an example of this oppressive behaviour, noting that the principal would "**howl at us"** for making mistakes, in the presence of students in the corridor and classrooms. Ghazala expressed in a distressed manner, "You know no teacher would like to be uh, uh screamed at by her senior in front of her students. It's **dehumanising** don't you think?" I responded, "Mm-hmm, yes".

[My contact for doing interviews at this University also had a similar confrontation, being criticised by a superior in the presence of his class; he talked back and experienced great discomfort later about this situation. These experiences suggest that scolding juniors in the presence of others stimulates strong emotional experiences and internal conflicts in some work spaces. In particular, the emotion of betrayal, in response to assault on the ego ideal, may occur, as detailed below].

Ghazala stated that the school's turnover rate was very high, with teachers coming and going within 20 days. Despite the stress that she experienced, Ghazala expressed that the students were fond of her, because she could connect to them in her teaching, through telling stories, discussing music, or engaging with a topic of their interest. She said that students would want her to take the next period of class as they were so fond of her. Students' responsiveness to her provided a "boost of energy... So it made me hold... gave me power to hold".

After completing two months at the school in this manner, the principal called Ghazala into the office, and asked how she was able to manage. Ghazala noted that the 7th and 8th levels were ok, but the students of the 6th level were challenging, as they "are neither too young nor are their grownups", and they made many spelling mistakes. Ghazala expressed concern that too many students were in the classroom, and she didn't know how to cater to and correct each student.

Ghazala continued by describing assessments of teachers at the school, in which the principal or chancellor would review the student notebooks; if there was a mistake in the teacher's marking of students' work, it was noted in the teacher report that "she is not doing her work properly". Ghazala was observed during her teaching at the end of each month, by the principal or another colleague [this part in the audio file about who exactly observed her was not clear], and the assessment of Ghazala was overall fine, but comments were made that "she needs to learn a

lot". Ghazala had to sign the report about her teaching, and the emotions

experienced in doing so are captured in her response:

>**Gh:** OK it was **not a problem** [signing the report], I was very practical
>that, it's my new exp-I'm not at all experienced my first time, so I have to
>learn these things. So that was **not a problem at all**. [repetition; negation?]

I will convey the next part of Ghazala's story through an extract which, in
her words, illustrates the intensification of her trauma:

>**Gh:** Then later... the principal called me and she asked me, um, uh how
>were the 6th standard, and I said "Ma'am, I think they need special
>attention, the classes are huge... And uh, they, they roam about, and it
>becomes- the class management becomes very difficult. So how can one
>teacher handle", so what I was suggesting is "you shuffle them".... So uh,
>she said "OK" so, uh,
>
>That very day as soon as I left the office I, I got a circular in which it was
>written that... I was assigned the uh, uh weak coaching classes for all the
>division of 6th standards after all the working hour of the school.
>
>And [then] she [the principal?] gave me the uh, bright coaching class for 8th
>standard, OK? So that is two days that I'll be staying back after the
>working hours.
>
>Then... she had written that "You will also be taking 9th and 10th classes".
>So uh, I was, I was really very much **demotivated**... I had a research which
>was pending... I just wanted to do this uh, uh school teaching for the sake
>of fun, for my own experience, and I was literally **hurt**.
>
>Then, the very same day my [not clear who, inaudible part] called me, and
>she said that "The principal is uh, wants to know whether... you are willing
>to shift to the campus [quarters]... we have come to know that it's only **you
>and your husband, you don't have any children**... So probably you'll be
>having a lot of spare time after the school... even after the extra classes after
>5 when you're free... you can uh go to the hostel and take special spoken
>English classes for the uh, 11th and 12th students."
>
>So that was the day I completely broke down, you know? [small laugh]...
>maybe all the teachers undergo this, and **I am the only one uh you know
>who's not able to cope up things.** Who is not able to put things in the

right place. And so obviously I was, I was into **tears,** I thought I was a **complete failure**.

She spoke with her husband and father-in-law about these experiences, and they helped her by observing that she was being used, because the school learned that she did not have children, and the management noticed that she was dedicated and focussed for the improvement of students. Her husband and father-in-law said that she could just stop if she did not think she could continue, as they noted that she was not working for the sake of money.

The next day after this consultation with her family, she went with her husband to the school, giving up all responsibilities, submitting attendance sheets, and so on. She went to the principal's office, and the principal was busy in a meeting. She asked the receptionist to pass on her resignation letter, at which point she [the receptionist] "really misbehaved with me in front of my husband.... my husband he said, 'You just throw the [student] notebooks down... Throw the resignation letter on her face and let's walk, walk away. You need not enter into these kinds of formalities. They don't deserve it' ". The receptionist said, "How can you, you cannot do this, I'm not going to accept your letter, you have to meet the principal." Ghazala replied that she was in a hurry and the principal was busy; the receptionist insisted that she was not going to pass on the letter, declaring "I don't care if you're busy".

Ghazala shared that this event was "pretty humiliating" to experience in the presence of her husband. Her friend resigned at the same time as her, and they had "more or less the same story". This trauma was her first work experience, which influenced her wish to share it during our interview. Ghazala concluded by referring to the current University where I conducted the interview, which was her

2nd work place. She joined 3-4 days prior to the interview, and she expressed

having job satisfaction with this new work, experiencing the new setting as more

organised. She acknowledged that "it's too early for me to speak about this

situation in *any sense*, OK?", but that it had been a good experience to date. She

reported that her PhD was finished, and I congratulated her. Ghazala expressed

that she always wanted to be at a University setting, and she was "fulfilled" as she

achieved what she wanted. Her final sentence for this account was: "So this is

what I wanted to say".

**Ghazala's monologue ended here at 16 minutes and 30 seconds into the
interview and it is 14 minutes, 15 seconds in length.**

Ghazala's comments, such as: "I was not able to manage it"; "I was not

able to handle my situation"; and "Maybe all the teachers undergo this, and I am

the only one uh you know who's not able to **cope** up things", taken in isolation,

may suggest that she is overwhelmed by her emotions and not capable of socially

constructing a different understanding. The dangers of such an interpretation bring

to mind Fineman's criticism of managerial approaches to stress: "It is the

individual's coping that has to improve. But the partiality of this position can be

contested, reinforcing the view that stress can be culturally embedded and

politically driven" (1996: p. 553). Fineman emphasises shifting the frame of

emotion burden from the individual to the context, which is often politicised

through hierarchy and different mechanisms of control (Fineman, 2010). Thus,

"emotion doesn't just belong to you" (Fineman, Personal Communication, 2011).

Applied to the Indian context, emotion rules shape the politicising of

Ghazala, in particular the rules of not saying no, especially as a new, young recruit,

and not protesting against being scolded in public. Moreover, Ghazala's work context is influenced by larger cultural assumptions and expectations about her womanhood. Her struggles, therefore, in contending with the trauma and escalating demands are not located solely within her and her various coping abilities. The emotions unleashed by these experiences do not, indeed, "only belong to her".

Ghazala's work emotions are powerfully shaped by the social construction of Indian femininity, which influences perceptions of her at work, notably with regard to her non-mother status. Family and cultural expectations about women overlay their experiences at work, as highlighted in a review of persistent problems encountered by Indian women, like being assigned gender-stereotyped work (Wilson, 2003). Drawing upon this research, for Ghazala, societal expectations about the domestic responsibilities of Indian women have a formidable impact upon how they are perceived in the workplace. In fact, motherhood is a defining expectation for Indian women; it is not something optional but indeed is central to who they are (Haq, Personal Communication, 2009), so much so that, as conveyed by Nandy, maternity is more important than "conjugality in feminine identity" (1982: p. 214). Ghazala, not having children, is viewed as an insufficiently occupied, perhaps not even fully formed, woman; consequently, increasing work loads are justified.

The historical context is crucial to stress here; while Indian women have always worked, it is in the past few decades that they have increasingly occupied formal organisational work roles, leading to challenges in coming to terms with new images of Indian women in work spaces. As noted by Rekha in Data Chapter 1, some Indian men report an inability to work subordinate to an Indian woman, as

the image of female Indian boss is a relatively new arrival alongside traditional images, like the maternal woman or temptress. Ghazala's example demonstrates that gender role dynamics do not only influence male workers; some female employees have also internalised and enacted a view that additional work demands can be made of non-mothers.

These *family expectations* interact with the influence of *organisational impersonality*; this interrelationship is a dynamic I noted above with Virochan as well. The importance of these family and impersonal dynamics emerged when I opened up the discussion to Ghazala's colleagues for comments. It is significant to note here that Priya [Pr] first picked up on the gender expectation of Ghazala's story, that of the impositions made upon her on the grounds that she did not have children, while Faarooq [Fa] pursued the organisational dynamics, a difference in focus along gendered lines.

> **E:** Do you have any comments? [I asked after the conclusion of Ghazala's monologue]
>
> **Fa:** Comments on what she
>
> **E:** Yeah
>
> **Pr**: Well it's not like that you don't have children you have ample amount of time. Come on you have other responsibilities also.
>
> **Pr:** ...Yeah, probably they felt that, you are result-oriented, and they wanted to take the maximum out of you.
>
> **Gh**: Yeah
>
> **Pr:** That was the reason they were giving more and more of responsibilities. And they wanted you to move into that staff quarter.
>
> **Gh**: Staff, yes
>
> **Fa**: In fact what I think is {ki}, **two sort of psychologies exist in the corporate organisation.** Educational sector, whichever sector. One is that they just try to, it's like uh the cash cow concept if you-

Pr: Absolutely

Fa: They just try to **milk out** as much as they can, because you know exploiting as much as they can till the last drop of **blood** uh

Pr: [overlap] They just forget the humanity side

Fa: Hahn (yes).. [comment overlap with Pr]...

Fa: When people start treating you like any other

Pr: **Machine** [said by both Fa and Pr?]

Fa: That is one psychology. The other psychology is they want to make you feel empowered, and want to, I think the characteristic approach to motivation works here.

Pr: Absolutely

Fa: You must be knowing the concept [addressed to me] **there's a theory called carrot and stick approach** to motivation. It's a management theory... it says one way of getting things done and uh getting the best of people, is that you uh share a carrot with them...maybe you're uh, bugs bunny or maybe a rabbit. If you show a carrot...

[Many overlaps began to occur as an outcome of high energy and engagement with the unfolding discussion.]

Fa: You do something good, you motivate

Pr: [overlaps] It's not that you're shouting, yelling at them, but motivating and encouraging them, so that they work for you.

Fa: Through positive things...by sharing encouragement, or recognition... So this is one approach, other approach is they enjoy using the stick. {Ki}, why won't you do it?

Pr: So the deadlines and all the way she [Ghazala] was talking about the deadlines

Fa: So I think she ended up in a stick organisation
[laughter in the group]

[Giri, to whom I referred in Data Chapter 2, head of his own small organisation in Chennai, also referred to the metaphor "ruling with a stick" in reference to his first work experience, where numbers were all that mattered.]

The group discussion continued with Ghazala's contribution:

Gh: [The job was] good in the sense that it taught me many new lessons, you know, it, it like you can say it **properly prepared me for a better professional life**...

[the group members are talking over each other]

Gh:...what I realized my mistake was that, **they say that a firm "No" is better than a hesitating yes. Isn't it?**

Fa: Mm-hmm

Gh: So I went on saying several hesitating yes's, and I had no uh, you know [shared laughter] "No, ma'am, I cannot do", like the other employees used to say.

They used to say, "No I cannot do it", I don't know how, they used to fight with principal. **I, I used to take her as my senior, and you know I thought maybe it's not the right way to behave with her.**

So but one thing I would like to say, that I was really appreciated for my work.

...The principal used to say, "I speak really highly about you to the management. And if you stay, you will really work wonders for this institution, we don't want you, you to go".

That is the, mm one of the reasons they didn't want to accept my resignation also you know.

Pr: ...This is why, you were competent, so that's why they want to get the maximum out of you.

Fa: I think ma'am

[I note the respectful address of "ma'am" to me; it is critical to address foreign visitors to India formally, even if there is perceived similarity in age]

You'll progress meeting other people also [with my interviews], this is something which you can clearly establish: Two sets of organisations, two sets of work cultures.

When one is, that which is holding the carrot and...that is holding the stick...especially in India, uh, we have most of, you can say...small time companies, maybe the uh companies which are start ups...

Pr: [interrupted] You know when you work for a start-up company most of the organisation they-

Fa: [interrupted] End up taking-

Pr: End up taking the stick

Fa: More out of you... In fact so much feeling as you're drained. It's like **blowing the balloon till it bursts.**

[specific organisational approach and metaphor of emotional collapse]

In responding to Ghazala's trauma, Faarooq drew upon a Western theory of motivation, carrot and stick, with illustrative metaphors. He elaborated upon his views by sharing his friend's work experience, shortly after this balloon comment. His friend, who I'll refer to as "Rohit", was working at one of the largest software companies of India. Faarooq described him as a "workaholic, by the true sense of the word, enjoys doing work", a single man who would work 10-12 hours nonstop, which was "not a problem for him". At one point one of Rohit's colleagues resigned, and the company wanted to hire somebody else. Rohit, because he was new and wished to make a name for himself, saw this resignation as an opportunity for him to prove that he was special, and said that "we don't need to hire that person because I can manage his work also". As a result, he began working 14-16 hour days in the office, completing the work of two people for the same salary.

Rohit continued this schedule for approximately two months, until, as Faarooq recounted, "he couldn't do something which uh, he had to. Because as it is human problems are always there, he could not justify both responsibilities. [allusion to a personal problem which was not elaborated that affected work]. So some uh major issue happened and then uh because of that **he was almost fired**... **Nobody said 'Maybe it happened because he was doing so much work'.** Nobody said at that particular point of time..."

Faarooq responded to Rohit's predicament by discussing with him, **"{Ki}, as long as you'll keep on doing the good work, that will be there. But then the moment uh, something bad happens – everything backfires**, it comes back to you". Faarooq said to Rohit that when he meets deadlines, he may be rewarded with some form of appreciation like a card, a pat, or some cash award. But "the moment... **one thing uh goes amiss -"**

Priya joined in: One thing goes haywire, and **you are like on fire.**

In Faarooq's story about Rohit, and in Ghazala's story, we encounter new, eager recruits desiring to do well in organisations; their supervisors are indifferent to the sacrifices made and heavy workloads undertaken, yet are quick to punish severely when mistakes or perceived inadequacies occur. There is an impersonality, rather than the strongly emotional superior-subordinate relationship that is reflective of traditional Indian culture, as discussed above with reference for example to Kakar and Roland.

The trauma caused by this organisational approach of impersonality spoke to Priya as well, as she connected to Rohit's story with the metaphor of "fire". She later disclosed in our interview that her brother worked for a sales company as a campus recruitment job, leaving home at 7:30-8 a.m. and at times not returning until midnight or staying with a friend. At one point Priya's brother said, "I want to commit suicide." Priya described her brother's work experience as a "mental trauma", and he later moved on to a different job. Priya referred to overwhelming work pressures and "*REAL* bad abusive language" by some team leaders of organisations, noting that these oppressive processes are particularly common in sales, insurance and finance sectors.

We can analyse Rohit's experience and Ghazala's emotions of hurt as produced by social and organisational impositions. Their superiors implemented a style of "sucking blood" out of the worker. This approach was evidenced not only by Ghazala's experience, but also by the high turnover rate as a whole in her former organisation. The principal's approach, aggressively applied using Ghazala's status as a non-mother, contributed to an escalation of workload and subsequent disenchantment, emotional pain, and ultimately exit.

At times Ghazala depicted herself as a victim in the story, but at other moments she engaged in self-blame, as revealed above when she criticised herself for the "hesitating yes". Without knowledge of significant Indian emotion rules, Ghazala may be perceived as creating her own problems by not saying "no". Drawing upon Fineman and emotion contexts (Personal Communication, 2011), and Hochschild's emotion work and the importance of rules, it becomes clear that the intensification of her work traumas is deeply connected to Indian prohibitions against saying no. In Ghazala's experience, the "hesitating yes" relentlessly leads to oppressive expectations, spiralling emotions of demotivation, and implied loss of confidence in her abilities.

This theme of not saying "no" to the superior has emerged across several interview locations. We saw with Rekha that she was intensely haunted by her junior telling her "no"; the violation of an emotional rule through the "no" response does not merely elicit irritation, but rather causes deep disturbance, manifested in loss of sleep for Rekha. Sonal, resistant to defining any "Indian values", later did so readily in naming deference to elder employees as an important value. Giri shared the story of a project collapsing due to an engineer not clearly saying "no, a deadline cannot be met". The teacher of the MBA class,

"Jaspreet", discussed his policeman father and lessons on submission. The strength of rules about seniority and obeying are starkly revealed in the envy elicited when they are successfully resisted, as shown by Harish's experience. These examples, shared in Chennai and Delhi, two very different cities, point to an important traditional Indian cultural value that can cross states and sectors. Thus, Ghazala's behaviours and consequent emotional distress are not due to lack of assertiveness, as may be perceived in the Western context, but rather are outcomes of these emotion rules. These rules may be so strongly ingrained that they become unconsciously internalised in work situations, and reinforced through public scolding as reminders of hierarchical superiority.

Ghazala does show moments of objection to her superior, such as voicing concerns about 6th standard classes, and her expressed concerns may reflect changing ideas of authority in quickly transforming urban Indian work environments. However, the unconscious strength of these traditional rules contributes significantly to her trauma, as she does not report resisting consistently and criticises herself for "hesitating yes". In Ghazala's account, the possibility emerges that her proposed ideas for making improvements were swiftly followed by the assignment of coaching classes. A cause-effect link is not clearly established in the transcript, but it may be that a punishment of increasing coaching assignments resulted, as a consequence of raising her voice and suggesting that she may know better than her seniors about how to manage classroom affairs.

In fact, later on in this group interview, the dynamic of obedience and not rebelling surfaced, and its strength is shown to derive from competition as well, as indicated in the extract below. Following an analysis of this extract, I will link it to

comments from other interviews about competition, and I will then return to the themes of trauma and further discussion of Ghazala's experiences.

The following occurred approximately 32 minutes into the group interview. I was asking why some organisations invest in caring for people while others do not appear to do so, and Faarooq discussed the importance of who is occupying the top management positions. He stated his view that with globalisation, multinational companies have arrived, which has changed work life "quite a lot". At this point, Priya discussed the context of working in a corporate office or a branch office, and she observed there may be "one-man rule" in branch offices where the directors are not frequently seen. The ensuing discussion revealed upbringing and competition as two prominent sources for the prohibition against saying no. After Priya's one-man rule comment, Faarooq said:

> **Fa**: A lot depends on the managers [related to my above question about different organisational approaches to employees]... If the leader is fine... get performance out of you maybe without using abusive language.. .maybe without getting pressures and deadlines on you...
>
> What I was telling... don't uh, commit things which you feel {ki}, today maybe somehow you managed to do, but become difficult
>
> **Pr**: Yeah, yeah
>
> **Fa**: ...So don't set standards and expectations at such a high level, which are you know, not very practical...We are in the habit, **Indians, in the habit of-**
>
> **Pr**: Committing
>
> **Fa**: Hahn, Overpromising and under-delivering.
>
> **Gh**: ... Yes that's what I'd say.
>
> [laughter]
>
> **Fa**: Overpromise, overpromise, under-deliver. Looks bad. Better you under-promise and over-deliver...

[This exchange brings to mind Giri's story about the chain reaction of saying no which culminated in loss of a job].

Pr: [interrupted] And moreover **right from the beginning,** we are taught like you have to be **"yes boss"** for everything.

E: Mmm

Pr: Why? When you cannot do something, you cannot meet the deadline, why can't you say, or why can't this person has this much of guts to say, "We won't be able to do this much. Probably we want next 2 days or something more, then only we can deliver." But then

Fa: [interrupted] Expectation management has to be set right at the right time.

Pr: Absolutely, expectation should be set right, right from the beginning.

E: Where does that come from, that message that you should say "yes boss" or you know "yes ma'am"?

Pr: I think... I wouldn't say about other countries but uh in India it is like, all of us nurture this kind of **fear of rejection** from the very beginning, isn't it.

Gh: Uh, it is like this, but when this employee joins in... he sees people around, and "ok, everyone's accepting, I also should accept".

Fa: [interrupting] Actually it comes from the top only, for me, it's below to almost all levels and all. So over a period of time a certain culture prevails.

Fa: Plus the managers and the seniors also feel ok this is fine, this is what the employees [do], then good for us...

[overlaps occurring in their talk]

Fa: Plus I think one more reason which is pretty significant would be the abundance of uh, you know, **labour...** They [management] have a lot of choices. One vacancy and ten different people coming. So what they'll say is, "Ki this is what has to be done", if he's not doing, then somebody else will do it.

Pr: Very willingly

Fa: Somebody else will it do it very willingly at a lesser package, the person will do a better job, "you want to take it or want to move out?" **Beggars are not choosers** sort of a situation... they're very good at identifying such people also. Who are [laughing] in need of work.

Gh: Yeah

[shared laughter and overlaps]

Pr: ...In fact what happens, you're not working and you go to sit in the chair as an interviewee... the person sitting across the table knows that this person is desperate for a job, and he definitely listen to me and commit whatever I'll ask, would be "yes boss".

E: Mmm

Pr: That's also the-

Fa: But then I think uh this was maybe the **darker side** of the industry, but, this is everywhere, you have good companies also, good culture

Pr: This is what I shared ...

[Priya mentioned in an earlier part of the interview a very positive working environment that she experienced in the aviation and hospitality sector]

Fa: Hahn, hahn because I was also working at the staffing company that I just mentioned. The culture was uh, uh so **fantastic**, I think the best work culture that you could ever have... my uh junior most employees sitting with me, and he needs water, I will fetch water for him. OK, I won't even ask the sweeper to come and clean my desk... If I have to fill my water bottle, I'll do it on my own. So everybody is equal.

[Faarooq describes activities in this workplace which go against ingrained Indian expectations about each person having a clear assigned place and duty, with historical roots in the Hindu caste system and rules about hierarchical relations. A senior doing an errand for a junior, and an employee cleaning rather than calling for a cleaner: these are examples cited to exemplify the unique culture that Faarooq experienced.]

Analysing this exchange, the lessons of "yes boss" become fortified not only through family and cultural upbringing, but also through the current work environment of very high competition. In such a scenario, then, organisations which may otherwise be influenced by changing social values in metro areas, where workers like Priya are questioning traditional upbringing about submission,

may instead *reinforce* these dynamics of superior control and subordinate acceptance, because of the high demand for limited work spaces.

The intensity of competition was underscored across organisational settings during several interviews in Chennai and Delhi. I will link now to a few extracts from other interviews to illustrate that these competitive pressures have begun with education. I asked a group at a nonprofit organisation in Delhi about childhood memories, and "Akshay", a manager there, offered the following views.

> **A:** One thing is **very, very bad** nowadays which is the **competition.** Competition among the students, the markings.
>
> You know I still remember my elder brother who is a senior director of [Akshay's organisation's branch] in the US. Florida, Tampa. He got 33% marks. And now he's heading his IT group for [the organisation].
>
> Nowadays, everybody wants to have more than 80 or 90% [marks]. So that's also why the kids, the children don't have time for other things. Every time studies, studies studies. So that is **very bad** thing.

These new pressures are occurring across states in India, as indicated by "Vikas", the Marketing Head of Ojayit's real estate company in Chennai. In response to my question asking him to recall his earliest childhood memory, he shared:

> **V:** Childhood memory at that time, you have no responsibility, nothing, always try to be playful and uh good friends... You will never be able to forget, college professor used to say, enjoy as much as you can, because once you enter real life, you will not get anything like this [laughing].
>
> So I mean, I had a very good uh school and college life. So, and those days you know, not much of pressure and tension like now.
>
> See now, if you see the students here... even my son so I can say this, too much of homework, and pressure, putting lot of pressure. Because of **competition and things like that**, mine those days, not like that.

So we used to go to school, enjoy our school hours, and then come back... we play and then we do some homework, sleep that's all. So now it's different, entirely different.

Aspirations are being built formidably early in education, which can influence later work competition and intense emotions, especially when non-studying time is sacrificed with an eye to striding ahead of future job applicants. The weight of this competition can bear upon Indian workers so strongly that the problems of saying no are intensified, to the point of possible emotional exhaustion, disaffection, and collective emotional tensions. I will now link to several other interviews, to emphasise the significance of competition for Indian working life as referred to in Ghazala's group extract, and to demonstrate different ways that competition itself can elicit trauma. I will then return to a discussion of Ghazala's trauma.

I briefly referred above, in the context of work-home tensions, to Nandita, a female lecturer in her late twenties/early thirties whom I interviewed individually at the same University as Ghazala. She disclosed the following.

> **N:** I aspired to become a doctor. But uh since I told you the **competition** is very stiff here. I could not get through MBBS [Medical college admissions]... I had to choose... BHMS, Bachelor of Homeopathy...
>
> But then **I quite did not like**, **because my father said that** there's hardly any scope of homeopathy, so you must prepare again for next year competitive exam.
>
> So I enrolled myself... And then I, like, then I had to dump my uh, this aspiration of becoming a doctor, **it was very traumatic experience**, for until I got through in IIT, I was uh, I was really uh **sad** about that. But once I got IIT [highly prestigious Indian Institute of Technology]... what I wanted in life was some not exactly any material gains or anything, **some recognition yes, that uh yeah, I... exist**.

In Nandita's account, competition comes through as central for workplace emotions, creating trauma when barring people from entering their desired profession or organisation. She later succeeded in beating another highly competitive game through IIT admission, standing out from the crowds and demonstrating that "yes, I exist". Competition thus can lead to trauma through cutting the aspirations of many qualified individuals short, or through justification of "yes boss" dynamics, as indicated by Faarooq and Priya. These dynamics, competition fortifying submission, subsequently may lead to "overpromising and under delivering", as reflected in Giri's story as well.

Competition may also induce trauma by demanding values contrary to one's own ethical Indian upbringing. On the heels of Virochan's story, shared previously, his MBA classmate, Gautam, contributed these points.

> **G:** No I just wanted to say that... we have strong ethical moorings, that's reflected in our upbringing and also in our teaching... But uh, at the moment because the **competition, and since the number**, the opportunities are very less... you are looking into doing a job. So then, all along the line you tend to make **compromises** if you have to go up in this, if you have to [want to] be successful.
>
> **E:** I see.
>
> **G**: And sometimes the compromises that you have to make... [are] **completely contrary to what you stand for.** So these kind of compromises you got to make if you have to be successful, because **this is a competition.**

One of these compromises may be sacrificing the family sanctity of obeying elders, by acting against their teachings provided during upbringing about ethical behaviour. Sinha and Tripathi (2003) indicate some Indian endorsement of competition, but their analysis does not explore associated conflicts and anxieties

that may be evoked by participation in competitive processes. Ramanujam's
observations on "sociopsychological changes taking place in India" (1975: p. 492)
have increasing relevance for the post-1991 liberalised economy and postcolonial
context of India, with growing multinational presence, Indians working abroad,
and so on:

> From a protected, non-competitive, secure social structure, people in the urban
> areas are confronted with the task of moving ahead through their own initiative
> and efforts. **Competitiveness has increased without the psychological readiness**
> **for it**... Traditionally, however, **a child is supposed to learn to give in, which at**
> **times amounts to yielding.** This quality of "giving in" is considered a desirable
> one. If this is so, to develop healthy competitive attitudes as soon as one reaches a
> certain age is unrealistic. **Consequently, when one has to compete,** the issue
> becomes **highly emotionally charged** and creates all sorts of **conflicts**
> (Ramanujam, 1975: p. 492, my bold).

Such conflicts include Giri's story of the employee yielding to high
pressure expectations but not delivering, and Virochan's distress about
manipulating the competitive game to exclude a qualified applicant. Nikhil's
comments about the first job shock, in the discussion of Virochan's story, suggest
a rude awareness that the rules of corporate games do not always flow along the
lines of educational and familial stress upon honesty and ethical behaviour. These
conflicts arise from tensions between social changes on a global scale, and highly
charged, historically ingrained and internalised family emotion rules.

The depth of these tensions can be understood by analysing the emotional wounds arising from unexpected work encounters, which clash with the unconscious absorption of family norms. We can be consciously aware of clashes in values, but the depth of meanings about hurt or confusion can be explained by a violation to our ego ideals (Gabriel, 1998a) – the family that we treasure so highly and internalise unconsciously as a model is encountered as no longer the most powerful source of authority and direction. The cherished lessons of elders may now be ignored, perhaps scornfully dismissed by seniors in working spaces – a deep blow to ideals cultivated in childhood.

As indicated by several respondents like Aasha, parent(s) remain one's most significant heroes well *after* adolescence into adulthood. To cross into the work terrain, and face demands counter to the expectations of one's parents or other elders, constitute a significant assault on one's psychic space, triggering a variety of uncomfortable work emotions, the intensity of which spring from injury to unconscious ideals. From a psychoanalytic view, to question one's supervisor is to rebel against one's parent. In the Western context, rebelling may constitute an adolescent developmental norm. In the Indian context, however, traditionally such stages of rebellion or separation are not expected parts of development (for a related discussion, see Roland (1991), highlighted in the Literature Review as well). Instead, such subversion of parental authority amounts to inflicting emotional wounds of betrayal.

The force of competition, therefore, may interestingly serve to uphold the dynamic of saying yes to one's superior, a strong cultural value, but in doing so may unleash internal conflicts when struggling to meet external work demands. Competition may undermine important cultural values about ethical behaviour

through creation of a different set of rules for getting ahead. The protection of the family may not be replicated in the Indian organisation, as revealed in my interview with "Hina", a female Associate Manager of Corporate Finance in her twenties, at an Indian steel company in the Delhi area. Hina signalled the potent effect of competition through relating that demand for labour is less, because supply is high – as a result of which "you are expendable... Indian organisations care less for employees". Hina added that in family itself there is competition, a point which was not elaborated. This lack of emotional engagement, of the organisation not caring, can be attributed to a dynamic intertwining of multiple factors, like internal competition, alongside impersonality inherited from the British bureaucratic organisational structure. Hina's sentiment was in stark contrast to an HR manager in his forties at the same steel company, "Ashutosh", who stressed that Indian companies, as compared to US ones, have a "human touch"; as an example, he cited his organisation helping employees whose families were affected by flooding.

This contrast in views between Hina and Ashutosh, about employees as expendable, in contrast to employees as cared for with a human touch, respectively, may result from different emotion rules and perspectives according to work roles. As HR manager, Ashutosh presented his company to a foreign visitor in a highly positive manner. Hina may have encountered more immediate experiences or observations of dismissal, and she may have constructed me as a nonthreatening person to whom this view could be shared – especially as the HR manager did not permit audio recording of these interviews. Another possible explanation for the difference in accounts is that the human touch may be retained for those who break through the competition, and who manage to stay on by

following the emotion rules and playing other political games effectively. Yet, the stark current state of affairs, that many talented individuals are waiting in the wings, underscores the potential for traumatic dismissal or overwork – hence spaces lacking in the human touch.

Returning to the above account about "yes boss" with Priya, Faarooq, and Ghazala, after these comments about yes boss and competition, the discussion progressed to citing positive, more egalitarian work environments, bringing into sharp focus the fluidity and unpredictable diversity of Indian working life. The earlier mention of multinational companies in this group interview suggests that non-Indian values are mingling with and shaping working life in new ways, some of which may differ from the impersonality inherited from British bureaucracy. In an Indian organisation in which these "yes boss" rules are considerably present, however, the traumas of the worker cannot be fully understood without awareness of the pressure of these rules. For Ghazala, these rules about how to relate to seniors are further shaped by social constructions about the freedoms and responsibilities of mothers and non-mothers, which derive their fortitude from deep-rooted cultural values.

From a psychoanalytic perspective, the insertion into the group interview discussion of "fantastic" (Faarooq's word), more collegial and flat organisations, may be conceived in part as a defence, invoked against the anxieties generated by the foregoing talk about powerful forces of competition and *fear of rejection*. Priya introduced this latter dynamic, with the implication that it develops in childhood as part of the teachings on obedience. Engaging with this possibility of defensive diversion from sensitive discussions more broadly points to the importance of

analysing the research interview process, alongside the narrative reports, to expand the analysis and understanding of workplace emotions.

With Bhavesh, his story illustrated the use of social constructions as one way in which to defend against the emotional impact of his trauma, and with Ghazala, the telling of the trauma in a collective can be another way in which to work through the trauma. There is a healing process through the sharing of one's story, of one's wounds (see Frank, 1995: in the illness context). Ghazala was open with the details and pains of her experiences in the company of two colleagues and a stranger; the intensity of her experience and depth of ambivalence (the dynamic of both "my fault", and "not my fault", for example) overrode emotion rules about presenting rosy pictures to "white" foreigners and behaving more formally with new colleagues. Instead, she broke multiple boundaries to share her experiences; perhaps her unconscious motivation for doing so was indeed the need to re-experience, re-evaluate and make new meanings for healing.

The violation of this first work experience to Ghazala's *dreams* of teaching, developed through important moments in childhood, is crucial for understanding the depth of her emotional trauma. We can conceptualise being a teacher as central to Ghazala's work goals, to the extent that it has become a significant part of her psychic structure, her ego-ideal. We can rely upon Gabriel's work (1998a) on insults to the ego ideal to make sense of the intensity of Ghazala's shock and disappointment with her first teaching post; because ego ideals are deeply emotional sources of identifying with heroic goals, their injury can arouse great disillusionment and shame.

Referring to Roland for the significance of the ego-ideal, we find that for Indians, "the need for sustaining a high level of self-regard through the ego-ideal[25]

is central...[such that one] is extremely vulnerable to shaming behavior by others as well as punishment" (1982: p. 243-244). This observation provides an enriched analysis to the meaning of Ghazala's humiliation on being "howled at" by the principal in public, and being subject to other work aggressions. The impact of her trauma can also be analysed by connecting ego-ideal injury to the lack of any emotional support or warmth from her supervisor; this absence of emotional care is contrary to the traditional Indian expectation of highly affectively charged, supportive hierarchical relations with roots in childhood (see Roland and Kakar). Indeed, in "Indian relationships... if the superior does not respond with the expected nurturance and care, there is profound hurt and anger" (Roland, 1982: p. 250), and Ghazala's upset is amplified by a seemingly endless assignment of duties without empathic engagement: she was "literally hurt" (her words in the earlier extract). The hurt is so much, that it ultimately results in exit. Roland (1982) depicts Indian superior-subordinate relations as *mutually* affectively dependent, and in Ghazala's situation, her principal and other superiors have not upheld their part of this relationship, triggering Ghazala's departure; she will no longer commit.

Kakar's work (1971a) indicates that these highly emotional bonds and expectations from the family do not readily transpose onto work spaces, as there is a powerful intervening cultural blockade: the colonial import of emotionally distant working relations. Thus, we have another manifestation of colonial trauma – the nurturance from authority cultivated in Indian childhood, internalised and projected onto others in later relationships, is disrupted by the historical legacy of an imported, impersonal, potentially dehumanising pattern of subordination. In the next chapter with "Rakesh", I will probe the implications of these colonial dynamics further for understanding workplace emotions, through engagement with

both frameworks' resources. I will also highlight *agency* through Abhinav's story – healing from colonial trauma may occur powerfully through subversions and triumphs that overthrow colonial roles.

I began this chapter with Aasha's story, to illustrate the effects of childhood trauma upon workplace emotions. I continued with examples of traumas that occurred at work, with the experiences of Ojayit, Virochan, and Bhavesh. Ojayit's story in particular brought out the importance of reflecting on our expectations and anxieties as interviewers. Virochan's trauma involved emotional labour and distress, and Bhavesh's experience formidably conveyed interrelations between the use of discourse and defensive processes. The last story of this chapter centred on Ghazala and her colleagues' emotional reactions. The analysis of each of these stories is enriched through interweaving social, cultural and political dynamics with considerations of defences and unconscious processes. I would like to conclude this chapter by sharing my overall experience working with the stories shared by these respondents. I have experienced a very empathic response to each of these individuals. Their courage, their strength in the face of many challenging, at times to me overwhelming, circumstances continue to teach me.

Chapter 7

Data Chapter 4

Colonial Trauma:

Ambivalence and Subversions in the Stories of Rakesh and Abhinav[3]

The colonial traumas of India occurred through physical occupation, and through psychological impositions, as discussed in the Literature Review. The enduring significance of colonial trauma for workplace emotions emerged in several interviews, in the absence of any questions on colonialism or the British. After completing the fieldwork and reflecting on the interviews, I became more fully aware of the significance of Indian's postcolonial context for engaging meaningfully at multiple levels with the exploration of emotion. Before and during my fieldwork, I was acutely aware of my foreign status. However, the greater historical meanings and depth of understanding about the tensions of whiteness surfaced after reflecting on my fieldwork, including the excerpts below. The salience of whiteness in postcolonial space also emerged through analysis of my interview dynamics with Sonal, discussed in the first Data Chapter, in which constructions about me as a white person introduced colonial layers to the meanings of our emotional exchanges. In this chapter, the data focus will be on the reported cross-cultural experiences of workers in response to questions about emotions, which brought into sharp relief the continued relevance of colonial dynamics for work encounters. Indeed, the interviews provide support for the importance of postcolonial theory in describing today's power

[3]This chapter is based upon an article that is currently under review by *Organization* , titled "Emotions in Postcolonial Work Spaces: Enduring Legacies, Ambivalence, and Subversion"

relations in organisations, which reflect "older patterns of imperialist exploitation" (Banerjee et al., 2009: p. 12).

Before proceeding to the data, I will first review key points about the use of postcolonial theory for studying work spaces. As noted in the Literature Review, resistance among British academics to addressing the effects of the British Empire is one possible reason for the slowness of applying postcolonial resources to organisations (Prasad and Prasad, 2003: p. 287). In particular, a psychoanalytic perspective and the significance of trauma are understudied in the postcolonial context of organisational and management research (Jack et al., 2011). The concept of colonisation has been used as a metaphor in management research (e.g. Prasad and Prasad, 2003), but there has been insufficient examination of the actual processes and effects of colonialism upon work. This chapter explores these inadequately addressed areas by focussing attention on the psychological impact of colonialism, especially by engaging with the lingering effects of the legacy and traumas of the British Empire upon emotions in today's globalised spaces.

Understanding working relations in diverse settings through the use of postcolonial theory can be enhanced by addressing its limitations. Postcolonial theory has not probed in depth the "emancipation resulting from such engagements [with the Other]", (Gabriel, 2008: p. 227). Encountering the other can have wide implications that are not narrowly defined by negative, predetermined outcomes. The possibilities for new understandings move us beyond the boundaries of Spivak's writings in literary criticism. Ozbilgin notes that this focus on literary references in postcolonial studies eclipses learning about people's current lived experiences through empirical work. In particular, there is inadequate attention to

the agency that people living in places of past or present colonial domination may exercise (Ozbilgin, 2010, Personal Communication).

Postcolonial dynamics may restrict or oppress one's working space, as demonstrated in a postcolonial analysis of enacted identities in Indian call centres (Das and Dharwadkar, 2009). Alternatively, workers may use their space to subvert old colonial power relations. The analysis of the stories below illustrates such varied paths that are taken when colonial history is reproduced, or altered, at work. I have chosen to focus on two interview extracts which uncover dynamics of oppression, ambivalence and subversion. The first is an interview with "Rakesh", a CEO in Chennai in his thirties, which will be juxtaposed to an interview with "Abhinav", an executive MBA student in Delhi in his twenties. With Rakesh I will emphasise the ambivalence arising from lingering colonial shadows, and with Abhinav I will stress the dynamics of colonial role reversals and anti-colonial resistance. Abhinav's extract illustrates ambivalence as well, on the part of British workers' emotions in response to shared space with the former colonised Indians.

Both extracts illustrate that "Organizations are not race-neutral entities" (Nkomo, 1992: p. 501), and they help to address "Silenced Research Questions" (Nkomo, 1992: p. 506) such as "How are societal race relations reproduced in the workplace?" (Nkomo, 1992: p. 506). In particular, the exchanges with Rakesh and Abhinav indicate both the endurance of colonialism's effects upon diverse work spaces, particularly through white privilege, as well as subversions of traditional authority and changing power relations. The exploration of postcolonial organisational dynamics thus reveals a range of outcomes from historically embedded geographical and racial work encounters. The use of both social

constructionist and psychoanalytic resources makes possible a meaningful analysis of these different effects of postcolonial working.

Rakesh's story

For this doctoral work, I preferred to learn from women and men at middle and lower levels of the hierarchy, as indicated in the Methodology chapter. I made an exception to this preference with my interview of Rakesh, CEO of his investment company at the time of our meeting. In Chennai one of my contacts strongly recommended that I speak with him, as a highly successful person who worked in several countries and managed lucrative financial deals. In fact, she arranged my appointment to ensure I would meet him. She described Rakesh as greatly admired for the feats accomplished and great wealth accumulated at a relatively younger age.

I became intrigued as I talked with Rakesh, learning that he was orphaned in childhood and did not inherit any family wealth to help start business ventures. Indeed, he began his working life with many debts. Our interview exchange was a rich one, as Rakesh was very interested in engaging with the questions and sharing his experiences. Rakesh's answers to questions about emotions influenced the topics discussed, which included fear and pressure as motivating factors for completing work, and cultural values affecting entrepreneurship in different countries.

I chose to focus on an extract from Rakesh for this chapter, because a broad question about emotion surprisingly led to an extensive account about the emotions of postcolonial experiences. Rakesh's disclosure offers a demonstration of the

significance of whiteness in organisations, which manifests as re-enactments of colonial authority. The following exchange occurred 13 minutes into the interview.

> **E:** In the work that you've done in any of your organisations, was there any time that you had a certain emotion but you had to hide it, or you couldn't show it at the moment, either with your colleagues, juniors, seniors, anything like that?

Rakesh replied that when working in Head Sales in the US, he repeatedly encountered preference given to whites to set up business meetings. The emotional impact of this preference is revealed in his comments:

> **R**: What I was uh quite uh **puzzled** about, was the fact that irrespective of where they work,... for an opportunity to be opened... predominantly there was a **preferential treatment** ... given to Americans, Australians, British, especially **whites.**
>
> In fact when I opened my office in Middle East, I hired a lady by name Patricia [name changed] who was a **British**, who was a **white**. I made her as my Sales Head. She knew *nothing* about the business that I was managing, she was there **only because she could speak English like a British.** Irrespective of the fact whether a Sheikh could understand what she was speaking, she was able to [starts snapping fingers] get appointments like this [stops snapping].
>
> She was not qualified. She had no domain expertise, she was *absolutely* fresh. She was meant to open gate of opportunities. And she did *just that*. Which was uh **puzzling**, and uh **quite disturbing also** about the fact that even after 20th and 21st century, you still have uh lot of people placed uh, various positions in these *big* companies. **The moment they hear British accent**, or American accent, or an Australian accent, they want to meet the person and give, give an appointment to be with you... had to be **white with an accent** to open the initial opportunity.

Rakesh then noted that the whites in these positions "started commanding a lot of Asians... do this, do that, do this, do that, [tapping hand several times on desk]". He and his non-white colleagues "had to toe that line, and uh, and **they were right in what they did**, because uh they were opening opportunities". This

statement is contrasted with his next one in which he describes this process as "quite **disturbing, distressing and uh puzzling".**

Privately reflecting on my own disturbed emotions upon learning of this white preference in Rakesh's work spaces, I became interested to learn more about why these dynamics are continuing. I asked Rakesh for his assessment, and he responded:

> **R:** It's still not got over this **colonialism** uh by and large... You will still find that prevalent uh in this country because, uh because of the influence of 400 years of **British Raj** in this country...

My next question was meant to probe how Rakesh interacted with Patricia, given the preference for race and accent without considering qualifications, and his response revealed how white privilege emotionally affects workers at different levels of the hierarchy. Rakesh expressed that top management was "never unhappy", because deals were being generated, but "**middle management and people *below* them were unhappy** about the fact that, *here* is a woman who has no domain knowledge, but who is *doing* what she's doing *only* because she happens to have an accent that we don't have, and she happens to have uh, uh, **she belongs to a race that we don't belong to."**

As the interview progressed, the depth of emotional conflict in this postcolonial space continued to emerge. In asking questions, I was very careful to reflect Rakesh's own words if I referred to any specific emotions, like "distressing, puzzling". Although I did not suggest that Rakesh would feel bad, he stated in an unprompted way, "**If I felt so bad**, I should not have appointed Patricia... I went with the **winning formula,** because it was *my* company, I had to protect the interest of my, my company is greater than me. **So I never felt bad for it, I was in fact happy**". There are also contradictions in Rakesh's reported interactions with

colleagues. His distress about Patricia's racial advantage is in contrast to his remarks about enjoyment being in her company.

Rakesh expressed that some emotions about working have changed over time. He was excited in his early twenties when acknowledged by an American supervisor's interest in his work. Now in his thirties, however, his responses have changed to "Who are you", and he stated that he sees people equally. Yet, the reproduction of racial advantage in his current work appears to yield ambivalent emotions that are influenced by the shadows of these first encounters with racial others.

In the course of this exchange, I became curious to learn whether workers like Patricia openly acknowledged how their skin colour was advancing company interests, and Rakesh replied that yes, they were very much aware that "What god has given them was what was guiding them forward." Having established that both whites and non-whites were cognisant of these racial privileges, I wanted to learn what could happen for change, so that people would not automatically reward the presence of a white person. On this point, Rakesh replied that "Once uh education and poverty is knocked off, and people become uh self reliant... I think this will change, but it's going to take time".

Rakesh's assessment that "It's still not got over this colonial thing by and large", is a "disturbingly" [Rakesh's emotion word] accurate diagnosis of the continued influence of preference for whites/Westerners in positions of power. Kakar indicates the prevalence of colonial managers: "As late as 1895, 42.4 percent of the managers and mechanical engineers in the Bombay cotton mills were European, although only 6 out of 70 mills were under European managing agencies (Rungta, 1970: 50)" (Kakar, 1971a: p. 300-301). This preference for the

European "white" manager continues today, as Rakesh appointed a white female in his own company, indicating that it guaranteed a "winning formula".

The insidious persistence of white privilege for ensuring these successful "formulas" unleashes ambivalence, which can be explored through attention to unconscious dynamics. Nandy addresses the psychological impact of colonialism, arguing that:

> More dangerous and permanent [than outer changes and overt punishments] are the inner rewards and punishments, the secondary psychological gains and losses from suffering and submission under colonialism. They are almost always **unconscious** and almost always ignored. Particularly strong is the **inner resistance to recognizing the ultimate violence which colonialism does to its victims -** namely, the creation of a culture in which the oppressed are constantly tempted to fight their oppressors **within the psychological limits set by the latter** (Nandy, 1982: p. 198, my bold).

The fight against formal colonial structures has ceased, but the fight becomes internalised as one of deeply unsettling emotions about the limits to destabilising racial hierarchies, as Rakesh's internal conflicts arise from ensuring a winning formula through the use of those power structures - limits - laid down previously. Rakesh's account suggests that a sense of superiority in the white colleague, effected by advancing business through I-have-what-you-don't-have-and-you-need-my whiteness, creates an emotionally charged space in which he is confined. His success comes from working within the boundaries reinforced by

repeated preference for the white person. The British colonial ruler's assumptions of psychological superiority, alongside frequent denigration of the Indian (Hartnack, 2001; Kakar, 1971a), become emotional impositions resettled in the working environment.

Nandy's observation about the internalisation of colonial roles has implications for the use of defences in response to colonial domination. Specifically, Nandy refers to "**identification with the aggressor**... often used by a normal child in an environment of childhood dependency to confront inescapable dominance by physically more powerful adults enjoying total legitimacy... **Many Indians in turn saw their salvation in becoming more like the British, in friendship or in enmity**" (1982: p. 199, my bold). Nandy discusses this process in reference to Indians relying on Indian martial ideologies, in response to British occupation. Adapted to the specific, individual ambivalence of Rakesh, his account provides support for contending with his "puzzlement" and "distress" through this powerful, unconscious defence.

Examining unconscious processes in Rakesh's experiences, we can adapt the dynamic of splitting objects into good and bad from Klein. Fotaki describes the work of Klein, who "believed that, in periods of stress, adults might regress to the state of splitting and project bad objects to the outside" (Fotaki, 2006: p. 1717). Applied to Rakesh's story, he has split off the negative impact of colonialism; all that is bad about it is projected outwards as affecting the poor and the uneducated. They are the ones who harbour the ill effects. Rakesh, in contrast to the underprivileged victims, reports *not* being "unhappy", juxtaposed with his earlier reports of being disturbed. His ambivalence can be seen as driving this splitting, so that the unsettling aspects of colonial dynamics are split off from one's own

emotional space and projected outwards as problems of poverty, not as processes perpetuating unearned white privileges in his work space. These defences of splitting and projection help to guard against the anxieties of being an educated, successful, *male* CEO who nevertheless is caught in the web of colonial games, which fortify racial inequalities.

Gough's analysis of splitting in sexuality provides a further layer of meaning to Rakesh's story. Discussing changing social roles for women and men, Gough outlines a possible response when traditional masculinity is under threat: "The tendency of the heterosexual male subject to split off 'feminine' attributes (e.g. nurturance) and locate these in women and gay men, where they can be safely rebuked and contained, may well be exacerbated where uncertainty about masculine identity is acute (see Hollway, 1989)" (Gough, 2004: p. 250). For Rakesh, the projecting outward of undesirable social dynamics similarly occurs onto subordinated others, in this instance the poor. Relating these defences to Nandy's observation about colonialism and its *emasculating* effects (1982), splitting and projecting can occur unconsciously to ward off the discomforts of reproduced colonialism at work, where the usual privileges of maleness are altered racially.

In Rakesh's account, the defence of rationalisation is implicated as well for contending with the discomforts of ambivalence, notably when he states that "I went with the **winning formula,** because it was *my* company... my company is greater than me", and this part was expressed with increasing stress and speed. The need to embrace the "winning formula" is rationalised as a crucial strategy for the sake of his business, to defend against the anxieties of working within a colonial formula which perpetuates subordination and racial hierarchies. The use of

rationalisation as a social defence in response to colonialism was articulated in the

psychoanalytic writings of Indian scholar Datta, published in 1948, who noted that

"... the repression of one culture by another produces psychopathological

phenomena found in individuals, such as dissociation, distortion, projection,

rationalization..." (as described in Hartnack, 2001: p. 176). Datta emphasised the

relationship between individual conflicts and cultural conflicts, and their associated

manifestations and defences. With Rakesh, his experience points to the use of

rationalisation on an individual level to contend with the emotional tensions of

colonialism as an ongoing "winning formula" in work spaces.

Rakesh's story starkly illustrates the insidious persistence of white

privilege in work spaces and the powerful emotions that result. Ambivalence can

occur not only for Indian workers like Rakesh, but also for British workers, as will

be demonstrated below in Abhinav's story. The shared postcolonial space can

generate conflicting emotions of the British toward Indian colleagues, manifesting

in stereotypes. Abhinav's responses to such stereotypes reveal emotional

interactions on the ground, and indicate the changing nature of power relations in

organisations.

Abhinav's story

Abhinav was one of Jaspreet's executive MBA students. I have chosen to

focus on Abhinav's story in juxtaposition to Rakesh's account, to illustrate with

both individuals the depth of experience shared about colonial dynamics in

response to a question about emotions, and the varied emotional outcomes of

postcolonial working. Six minutes into the interview with the class, following a

colleague's discussion of a frustrating experience, Abhinav contributed the

following:

> **Ab:** Uh I work for a UK-based company, and the company has got its office over there in India… I frequent the UK quite often every 2 months probably, but I feel that people are slightly uh **scary** of the Indian people coming over to UK and probably taking you know their jobs.
>
> So they often **keep coming** with the certain **sarcastic** remark about India. And I feel that, you know, we feel comfortable giving it back to them immediately. For example uh [some laughter from classmates starts] I was there last week in the UK and it started snowing.
>
> Those people gathered around the window, and they said "India is a very hot country. I don't think that you guys get any snow over there." So I just, I simply explained to them very politely that the size of Britain, the area the size of Britain is almost partially covered in India every time it snows!
>
> [Robust laughter erupted from his classmates along with hearty applause.]
>
> But I feel comfortable giving it back to them, and they come, some other remark… that [how long] you haven't had any blast in India? I mean, sometimes we, we have to give. But then I…give it back to them.
>
> **E:** Okay, so you have a natural humour that you can - so is that a way to deal with the stress of the situation then?
>
> **Ab:** Uh I don't take any stress, I mean.. if I have to point, like I do that.
>
> **E:** ... How do those uh British colleagues react when, you know, you say something very witty like that? Do they understand then, you know that they need to be a little bit more aware or?
>
> **Ab:** I mean I've seen it… where there is a group of people who is particularly **averse** to the fact that they know their management tasks, their routine tasks, or their financial tasks have been **outsourced to India**. So you know they have got that kind of a feeling, that why these guys are coming over to UK and taking our jobs, we are in a recession.
>
> You know, so there's a group of people who come with these **offensive** things. But then you can't bother that… **globalisation is not something which India had initiated, this is the product of those guys**…

In Abhinav's story, there is an enactment of sharp, culturally-charged

exchanges: The first is the British employee's attempt at a disparaging joke or

insult through asserting "no snow in India", an attempted stereotype cloaked in

sarcasm, followed by Abhinav's riposte. Interestingly, Hartnack discussed Indian scholar Matthew's "references to the impact of the social and political situation of British India on jokes" (Hartnack, 2001: p. 169) in his 1944 publication, "*Depth Psychology and Education*" (Hartnack, 2001: p. 169). Referring to an example of a specific joke in a science class about sea water, with reference to the current political climate about the British regulation of salt access, Matthew illustrated "the mechanisms of condensation, displacement and symbolic representation" (Hartnack, 2001: p. 169). This observation in pre-Independence India has enduring impact, as it illuminates the use of specific defences through the outlet of humour to subvert the socially constructed order.

To analyse the psychoanalytic and socially constructed points thrown up by Abhinav's example, I will first examine the meanings of the *telling* of the story itself, which conveys the deeply emotional aspects of colonial interactions. In sharing the story, Abhinav enacted an emotional performance which achieves satisfaction for him as storyteller to an audience that included classmates, the instructor Jaspreet, and me as the interviewer. Freud observed the importance of the performative aspect of telling jokes, noting that "no one can be content with having made a joke for himself alone... telling it to someone else produces enjoyment" (1960b: p. 175). In Freud's conceptualisation, the social function of jokes is linked to the unconscious, through the satisfaction of instinctual impulses by the outlet of sharing the joke, such as the "urge to show one's cleverness, to display oneself" (1960b: p. 175). For Abhinav, the social sharing of the joke indicates emotions of pride, in demonstrating to his colleagues his swift ability to reverse old historical roles and emerge successfully.

Abhinav's story influences the emotions of his audience as well. Through his calm, triumphant storytelling, he repositions the former colonial rulers in a manner that unleashes admiration in his classmates. This example demonstrates that the sharing of this story is in itself an emotional experience; indeed, "stories do more than represent individual emotions, they actually *constitute* the emotional form of work life" (Fineman, 2003: p. 17).

We can also engage with the *unconscious* spread of emotion in the collective response, as the intensity of laughter by the classmates may signal the release of anxieties experienced in relation to stereotyping and ignorance under the veil of "jokes" at work, like "you have no snow". Gabriel's discussion of stories as potential wish-fulfilments (1999a) helps us to make sense of the audience response; an outlet for emotions like relief and pride is provided through fantasies, which can be unconsciously generated about achieving similar acts to put others in their place. Stories provide a psychic outlet for, and symbolic recovery from, past work injuries (Gabriel, 1995), and Abhinav's story provides an opportunity for overcoming vicariously attempts at organisational undercutting through cultural insults.

Fineman notes that a story "symbolizes a gathering of power and voice which cannot be achieved within the normal constraints of hierarchy" (Fineman, 1993b: p. 22), and Abhinav's story indeed provides a strong voice against overt and subtle racially charged hierarchies. Fineman's observations on these symbolic functions of subversion have significant postcolonial implications, as he states that "In small but significant ways, they **reverse** the conventional expectations of **who should be in awe of whom"** (Fineman, 1993b: p. 22, my bold). Applying these dynamics to Abhinav's interactions, the symbol of snow can be presented as an

attempt at British cultural superiority: We have snow/we are cool/we are white; you don't have snow/you are full of heat/you don't have our whiteness-power-greatness. Abhinav then turns upside down these assumptions through not only challenging the factual information about snow, but also by going further through symbolically placing Britain as a space within the geography of India, recalling the "symbolic representation" within a joke mentioned earlier with Matthew's analysis (in Hartnack, 2001: p. 169). Abhinav thus generates a new set of assertions: We have more snow/white/power than the whole of your body; I see you who try to threaten as small compared to the white/power that we indeed do have. Does the former colonial subject now become the new subject of "awe"?

As Abhinav's experience illuminates, and as Nandy has discussed, colonialism is not something which only affects the colonised, but it also powerfully shapes the people who occupy or inherit former colonial role status. Nandy argues,

> As folk wisdom would have it... Colonialism, according to this view, is the name
> of a political economy which ensures a one-way flow of benefits, the subjects
> being the perpetual losers in a zero-sum game and the rulers the beneficiaries. This
> is a view of human mind and history promoted by colonialism itself. This world
> view has a vested interested in **denying** that the colonizers are at least as much
> affected by the ideology of colonialism: their degradation, too, can sometimes be
> terrifying (1982: p. 208, my bold).

One of Nandy's examples about this degradation is that "[as] Wurgaft and.. Hutchins have so convincingly argued in the context of India, colonialism encouraged the colonizers to impute to themselves **magical feelings of omnipotence and permanence"** (1982: p. 209, my bold). In the current global context, we can adapt Nandy's observation, and refer to Bhabha and hybrid spaces in terms of new dynamics that defy binary oppositions of ruler-ruled, to analyse the depiction of Abhinav's British colleagues. The fears experienced, when the British workers face situations in which they do not embody the same roles of power in relation to Indians, create an unsettling new space which can unleash longing for status and security that are now perceived in the other.

Bhabha describes "strategies of subversion that **turn the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power.** For the colonial hybrid is the articulation of the ambivalent space where the rite of **power** is enacted on the site of **desire"** (2004: p. 160, my bold). Together with Fineman's observation that "people who cannot obtain the formal positions they **desire** will create their own distinctions between **themselves and their neighbours – to help them look, and feel, better"** (Fineman, 1993b: p. 22, my bold), we can bring into sharp relief this emotional impact of desire upon the former colonisers. Through the *threat* of job loss in the wake of recession and the arrival of the former subjugated Indians, the British employees create such distinctions from the other through disparaging jokes, which also help to distance themselves from emotions of *desire*, wanting what the other embodies. These attempts at humour often function unconsciously to overcome anxieties, like concerns about livelihood, as jobs are perceived to be taken away, and by the former oppressed subjects, no less.

When fantasies of omnipotence break down, especially by the jarring presence of successful, self-assured Indian workers, who were the once ruled and are now transgressing the boundary of the rulers' land, threat and uncertainty about one's new position in shifting historical dynamics create anxieties, which may be addressed through the use of stereotypes. Bhabha's writings are central here:

> An important feature of colonial discourse is its dependence on the concept of 'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness... the stereotype, which is its major discursive strategy, is a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is already 'in place', already known, and **something that must be anxiously repeated**... it is the force of ambivalence that gives the colonial stereotype its currency (Bhabha, 2004: p. 94-95, my bold).

We can find this need to repeat the stereotype in Abhinav's account, where he points out that "they often **keep** coming with the certain **sarcastic** remark about India". This word "keep" provides powerful empirical data to support Bhabha's observations about the habitual need to articulate and preserve stereotypes, which revolve around similar themes: India hot/not white; India as the other place of danger (earlier reference to blasts); and so on. Ambivalence toward Indian colleagues drives these repetitions and results from encounters with "that 'otherness' which is at once an object of **desire and derision**" (2004: p. 96, my bold): I have snow/white/superiority... yet I want your ability to thrive in the face of our economic deterioration... I am white and better.... yet you are in my white land and succeeding... I know about your land... yet you calmly deflect my

assertions... This analysis of Abhinav's story is particularly significant for contributing empirical insights about the emotions of *lived experience* in postcolonial spaces (Ozbilgin, Personal Communication, 2010). This doctoral work therefore takes the postcolonial writings of Bhabha further by moving beyond literary analysis and descriptions, and connecting observations about colonial dynamics explicitly to the emotions reported and experienced on the ground.

These dynamics of conflicted desire, shown through the repetition of stereotypes and their symbolic meanings, point to the potential for envy as prominent in the emotions that arise when workers meet in postcolonial spaces. Clarke (2003, 2004) depicts racism as a process of purging envy; applying Klein, the want for the strengths in others manifests in strategies of destroying the good. Indeed, "we may perceive others as possessing something good that has been **stolen from us: jobs**...We try to take it back, but we cannot have it all (greed), so we destroy it (envy)... The racist, unable to enjoy cultural difference, [in this context, in part due to ongoing entrapment in colonial fantasies of omnipotence] is a manifestation of envy, making bad and spoiling what is good and destroying what he cannot have" (Clarke, 2004: p. 111, my emphasis). In the interaction of British workers with Abhinav, these attempts at destruction take the form of stereotypes to eclipse any consciousness of strengths in the racially different; envy of the Indian colleague is emotionally compounded by her/his former subordinated historical status. Clarke's elaboration of envy evokes the ambivalence of Bhabha's "desire and derision" (2004: p. 96). Clarke refers to Dalal's comment that " 'the hated racialised Other is more often than not the more deprived of the two' (Dalal, 2002, p 44)" (2004: p. 112); analysing this observation, Clarke argues that "the

racialized Other is attacked in envy because of its phantasized goodness, potential, potency and fullness" (2004: p. 113).

Colonial ambivalence thus generates a powerful source of envy that manifests in specific cultural work tensions. Hochschild's analysis (1975) of the impact of socialisation upon the experience of envy, noted in the Literature Review, links well in this postcolonial context with Clarke's psychoanalytic conceptualisation of envy. The socialisation of colonial binary relations, strengthened through historical conditioning, provides a crucial framework to make sense of the resultant intensity of envy when roles are blurred and ambivalence emerges.

We can find traces of desire, envy and repetition in a study by Cohen and El-Sawad (2007), revealing the lingering effects of colonial dynamics in UK and Indian workers' accounts of each other. The authors draw upon Gopal, Willis and Gopal's discussion of conditioning effects (2003), or hegemonic practices of ingraining a social process as something taken for granted, to analyse the data. To illustrate, UK workers refer to Indians completing work which the UK workers will not do, invoking the Indian work ethic. A seemingly positive stereotype about hard work serves to perpetuate new exploitation in a globalised environment that retains earlier patronising forms of colonial rule.

Yet the accounts do not only reveal these binary ruler-ruled perpetuations. There is ambivalence about the Indian colleagues that Cohen and El-Sawad (2007) emphasise by significantly relying upon Bhabha and their interview extracts, which indicate that UK workers experience *threats* from their Indian counterparts. This data resonates with Abhinav's story, which indicates perceived threat from, and anxiety about, the former Indian subject, embodied by Abhinav who is now

colleague. In Cohen and El-Sawad's study, the threat has multiple potential sources; for example, the Indian group overall was more highly educated than the UK group. Envy was not specified by the authors but emerges through analysis of the UK workers' accounts, in which awareness of such differences elicits a variety of distancing responses. The authors noted that the "British **habitually** infantilize their Indian colleagues, and question their competence" (Cohen and El-Sawad, 2007: p. 1251, my bold), and they highlight that UK workers "talked about how India was often blamed for whatever went wrong, and used words like 'safety valve' and '**emotional release**' to describe this function... using Mumbai as a safety valve appeared to reduce tension amongst UK employees, and make them feel more positive about their own abilities and status" (Cohen and El-Sawad, 2007: p. 1252, my bold).

The authors' analysis of the data (2007) could have been taken further with application of a psychoanalytic perspective, by explicitly discussing fantasies, desires, and unconscious reactions to threat, like the use of defences in response to envy about Indians' educational and other achievements. Psychoanalytic resources also help to probe further the possible meanings of repetition in the Indian workers' accounts. One worker, for example, noted that " 'If you look at anyone over here [in India, compared to more rigid work schedule adherence in the UK], people **happily** stretch the hours they have, **happily** knowing they're not going to get anything out of it. In spite of that, they're **happily** doing this.' " (Cohen and El-Sawad, 2007: p. 1248, my emphasis). A layer of meaning is added when interpreting this repetition by the Indian worker as a defence against the anxieties of work exploitation, which are refashioned from colonial times to current globalised spaces. Emotions of distress about the burden of work placed by the

UK upon Indian colleagues, which evokes earlier colonial domination, can be alleviated by embracing the discourse of the positive, committed Indian work ethic. This possibility recalls the use of discourse *as* defence, discussed in the previous chapter as one of the ways to cope with trauma.

Like the analysis of Rakesh's story, a consideration of both socially constructed and unconscious features of colonialism helps to enhance understanding. McKenna, referencing the insights of Banerjee, notes that "Postcolonial theory offers ways of answering questions that privilege both the socially constructed aspect of globalization, emphasizing that it is not natural or neutral and, the historical connectedness of the colonial past with the globalized present" (2011: p. 390). We find this socially-constructed, non-inevitable aspect of globalisation in Abhinav's pronouncement that it is a "product of those guys".

The depth of understanding about responses to these social developments is enriched through engaging with unconscious possibilities. The fullness of enjoyment with Abhinav's story may satisfy significant psychic needs for the listeners. For the part of the British colleagues, the motivations for their stereotypes and other significations of difference may occur unconsciously, in response to changes in historical roles and associated anxieties.

I will conclude this analysis of Abhinav's story by discussing the work of Gabriel on insults, which has significance for probing in greater depth the meanings of workplace emotions in postcolonial spaces, particularly when stereotypes are invoked. Gabriel observes that "the **political and the psychodynamic** approaches seem to ground **stereotypes** in the political and psychological realities of organizations. The former views stereotypes as forms of discrimination and oppression, and, the second, as **wish fulfillments,** especially as

manifestations of unconscious aggressive **fantasies** and **desires**" (1998a: p. 1338, my bold). A postcolonial analysis of workplace emotions brings these two approaches to stereotypes and insults together, intertwining the politicised nature of stereotypes as an outcome of historical conditions, with unconscious motivations like wish-fulfilments and fantasies for the qualities of the Indian other. The ambivalence for the other in postcolonial space, clothed in the use of stereotype as captured by Bhabha's "desire and derision" (2004: p. 96), comes into sharp relief through the interweaving of these political and psychoanalytic resources.

Gabriel illustrates that the psychoanalytic conceptualisation "of stereotypes as wish-fulfillments, reinforces the feminist contention that sexist stereotypes not only support material male privilege but also **male psychological needs**" (Gabriel, 1998a: p. 1338, my bold). I noted this reference to male psychological needs earlier with the analysis of Rekha and the male subordinate. Adapting this analysis about stereotypes to Abhinav's experience, the cultural stereotyping of India as hot, as the other place of danger, supports psychological needs for the former colonised. In particular, the stereotype provides a defence against the discomforts of envy about the status and skills of Indian colleagues, who are crossing boundaries in a new postcolonial space. The reference to *male* psychological needs also has resonance with Nandy's discussion of the emasculating effects of colonialism, which now may be reversed; the former colonisers, exposed to Indian colleagues' work triumphs, may now find themselves the subject of emasculation. Consequently, male psychological anxieties around emasculation can be repressed through the unconscious invoking of a stereotype which functions to assert superiority and strength. Gabriel's insights (1998a) about the multi-faceted nature

of insults and their psychological consequences provide a rich resource for analysing the meanings of Bhabha's writings on stereotypes, and bring into sharp relief the benefits of drawing upon more than one theoretical source for probing sensitive, highly-charged emotional work encounters.

One of the most striking surprises in my doctoral fieldwork was encountering how extensively the study of emotions provided rich opportunities for analysing postcolonial work spaces, and the divergent paths and possibilities that they elicit. Analysis of the interviews with Rakesh and Abhinav demonstrates that postcolonialism at work is not just a mindset; it is also a set of deep *emotional* experiences, sometimes unsettling and oppressive, at other times triumphant and performative. These extracts have increasing relevance for globalised working, particularly in a context of India's growing influence. Powerful emotions, particularly in the form of ambivalence, can markedly shape postcolonial work encounters across organisational and national boundaries.

Scrutiny of the relations between social and unconscious dynamics provides a nuanced, more developed understanding of the impact of colonialism upon contemporary work spaces, as demonstrated through the above extracts with a number of implications. The centrality of history for understanding work roles and their attendant emotions takes on more layered meanings, when considering both the *immutability* of these roles to change despite historical transformations, alongside the development of *new* colonial spaces. The meanings of ongoing colonial oppressions in globalised environments after the formal end of colonial rule become enriched when probing unconscious dynamics, such as: the internalisation of roles and subsequent defences, like identification with the aggressor; splitting as an outcome of anxiety around emasculation; and

rationalisation. Social constructionist and psychoanalytic accounts are also brought together well through studying the meanings of words and their repetitions, interlocked with the motivations for their usage. Abhinav's use of "they keep" brings clarity to Bhabha's reference to the habitual repetition of stereotypes, and a psychoanalytic consultation in particular uncovers the functions and alleviations of anxiety achieved by this repetition.

Through a juxtaposition of Rakesh and Abhinav's stories, with the theoretical benefits provided by social constructionist and psychoanalytic frameworks, we face a paradox of enduring white privilege, alongside new spaces for subversion and changing power dynamics. The enduring impact of colonial assumptions of occupation and superiority influence today's working relations when unqualified people use their race to advance, and lingering colonial oppressions are found, for example, in Cohen and El-Sawad's study (2007), in which workers continue to blame India even when it's Britain's mistake. For these processes in particular, the seminal work of Said is useful for making sense of the UK workers discursively invoking binary oppositions to blame and deal with threat (us white, you not white; us purity of snow, you don't have our whiteness). Some new dynamics, however, are surfacing. Taking us further with Bhabha's hybridity applied to Abhinav's experience, the once ruled are finding ways, against the backdrop of changing financial and historical conditions, of subverting these binary categories of oppressor and oppressed and creating new, unpredictable spaces for work engagements.

Studying the emotions of lived working experiences generates new stories that strengthen the analysis of colonial trauma and its legacies. One of these new stories concerns agency, which addresses Ozbilgin's concern that this possibility

within postcolonial studies continues to be neglected. Abhinav's story clearly illustrates and even celebrates agency; even when it is not possible to dismantle fully racial hierarchies and white privileges, workers may create unmanaged spaces (Gabriel, 1995) in which to resist and redefine historically shaped roles.

These observations, however, should not obscure the new ways in which postcolonial dynamics embed themselves in today's workplaces. Das and Dharwadkar, for example, describe the training of Indian call centre workers, which includes adopting a Western name and learning new accents. They argue that the effectiveness of such training "partly rests on a continuing desire for 'Westernization' in the postcolonial Indian subjects (Fanon, 1967). This desire is predicated on the elite status and continuing centrality of English as a language of power and upward mobility in postcolonial India in general (Viswanathan, 1989)" (Das and Dharwadkar, 2009: p. 189). Language is emphasised in their study; for Rakesh, the power accompanying white skin and accent is central, enabling him to carry his business forward.

The far reaching individual and collective emotional effects of these racially-influenced policies to ensure a "winning formula", and their implications for organisational dynamics like diversity management, remain to be studied in depth. The changing colonial and racial dynamics opened out in this chapter, and their long term potential for challenging white hegemony, call for greater exploration as well. The contradictions between the enduring legacy of white racial privilege and an increasingly globalised and multi-cultural business environment await more in-depth examination.

In this chapter I focussed on the stories of Abhinav and Rakesh, and I note that there were signs of colonial shadows in several other interviews as well. In

my interview with "Ashutosh", HR Manager of a steel company in the Delhi area, I asked if he had any villains in his life, a common question in my interviews about heroes and villains; this interview was one of the few in which I was not granted permission to audio record. Ashutosh gave "The British" as his example of villains, noting Partition and describing them as "hypocrites". I later interpreted this response as reference to an imperial history of divide and rule strategies and colonial exploitation, enacted alongside moral pronouncements to justify colonialism, like Bishop Congreve's statement quoted in the Literature Review.

Colonial signs also materialised with "Prabhu", a classmate of Abhinav in the executive MBA group. I asked about ways "in your organisations that you've kind of coped with unmanageable things that have happened?" In response, Prabhu contributed his experience of working in India for a US multinational, and management decisions were made in the US office; there was implied frustration with executing these decisions, as Prabhu did not believe that they were in harmony with the realities of the work on the ground in India. The lack of consultation by the US of the Indian teams contradicted the stated policy about equal say in the work of the company. His teams responded to this tension in this way: "If the decision [made in the US] is bad you kind of you know **play with each other** [the interaction of teams in response to this decision] so that, they realise that this was not the ideal way to go... Once they realise that this was not the [right] decision and because of that they have to go through that **pain** of extra hours, extra billings... making them realise that uh you know there are certain other people who need to be involved". Prabhu's example evokes Gabriel's unmanaged spaces (1995) through his resistance to being ignored and subordinated. The postcolonial context provides a further layer of understanding. Here the example is

not a company in the UK; however, the US as a country of the West, with its own history of occupation and exploitation, throws up similar West-East, occupier-occupied dynamics with role reversals, where now the Indian colleagues contend with the emotions of work frustration by subversion and the implementation of new games.

The experiences of "Ikshu", a male manager of a Chennai international shipping company in his forties, point to colonial dynamics underlying the emotions of work encounters across national boundaries. With reference to UK customers, he indicated that "we are here till 9 o'clock, till UK is open, so we give the, we are able to give the information, immediately as soon as they want, so they're very hap-, satisfied." Ikshu's account brought out a contradiction; at times the UK office was described as "automatically" paying on time, at others as being late - "sometimes they may forget, just remind them". There appeared to be an acceptance or lack of overt protest about these occasions of UK lateness, in contrast to his story about an African company in Congo, in which payment was delayed and "the trust was gone". Probing between the words of Ikshu's narrative with postcolonial resources, the possibility emerges that explicit negative emotion and protest against the former British colonisers are not common, while discontent is more freely expressed to places which were also formerly colonised. Ikshu's discussion recalls the dynamics of Rakesh's extract, in which colonial roles and expectations persist, yet Prabhu's example recalls the paradox that subversions and new hybrid spaces are emerging as well.

This chapter concludes the Data Chapters of this thesis. I began the first data chapter with a juxtaposition of Rekha and Sonal's accounts, to bring out socially constructed and psychoanalytic analyses of workplace emotions in the

Indian context, through the analysis of themes which often emerged in later chapters. In the second data chapter I focussed in greater detail on important social features of India affecting workplace emotions. The previous chapter and this chapter centred on the effects of trauma in various forms upon working. The writing of the Data Chapters was for me a very emotional, at times intense, often inspiring, deeply meaningful part of the thesis. I thank each of the interviewees for the privilege of speaking with them. It strikes me how much I continue to learn from the participants and their experiences, and how much more has been opened up through this doctoral work. I will explore further these new questions and possibilities in the next chapter, the Conclusion.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

"Social constructionism and psychodynamic theory each has a key role to play in the humanizing and emotionalizing of our understanding of organizational behaviour"

(Fineman, 1993b: p. 30)

In my doctoral journey, I have addressed the important roles of both social constructionism and psychoanalysis, by expanding the analysis of workplace emotion through their rapprochement. As observed by Gabriel, emotions "lie at the intersection between individual and culture" (1999b: p. 230). Hence, the use of both theoretical resources to study the interplay of individual and cultural experiences strengthens the study of emotion. In this final chapter I review my contributions and my learning, and indicate how the destination of my study can be the point of emergence for new stories.

I will first review my contributions by summarising how I have addressed the research question. I analysed, both theoretically and methodologically, how a rapprochement provides a strengthened, enriched interpretation of data. I provided support for this enrichment through bringing out similarities and spaces for complementarity, illustrating that the benefits of one approach help to address the limitations of the other. These opportunities for rapprochement are detailed in the Literature Review and Methodology chapters. I also provided support for the importance of rapprochement by analysing, theoretically and empirically, how socially constructed and unconscious dynamics are intimately *intertwined*. For

instance, the emotion rules of hierarchy, as enacted in work spaces, can lead to anxiety, which is then repressed and re-enacted with different emotional guises.

I will review some of the meanings and moments of the four Data Chapters, and in doing so will summarise ways in which a rapprochement is possible and fortifies interpretations about workplace emotions. In Data Chapter 1, I contrasted the accounts of Sonal and Rekha, with the supporting voice of Deepa with regard to gender. Through these contrasts, I discussed how deploying both perspectives provides an enrichment of analysis about workplace emotions. For instance, my interview exchanges with Sonal embodied the use of emotional labour *as* defence, where the social construction of the interview's emotion rules occurred as a response to the anxieties generated by the topics discussed, for example gender. This dynamic with Sonal supports Fineman's observation that masks can defend against "any private feelings of pain" (Fineman, 1993: p. 19). Furthermore, the importance of historically-contingent emotional performances in a social constructionist perspective interweaves well with the meanings of defence, as supported in Sonal's account. The postcolonial interview space may increase the anxieties of performing to a western outsider. Hence, defence is intimately linked not only with the moment of the present, the current topics discussed which can evoke anxieties, but also with the broader historical and cultural location that provides crucial context for the analysis of defence; with the application of only a psychoanalytic perspective, the analysis of the interview exchanges is impoverished in what it offers about the study of emotions.

In Data Chapter 2, I devoted space to explore in further detail the socially constructed meanings of Indian spaces introduced in Data Chapter 1, such as the emotion rule of not saying no. I began with the eMBA lecturer's account of his

father and continued with disclosures by Giri to probe further this emotion rule,

with implications for the emotions of globalised work spaces. Giri's account also

uncovers unconscious implications for his emotions with his own subordinates,

and I interweaved the supporting voice of Rohit to explore these dynamics further.

I then stressed in this chapter, through Harish's story, that responses to the defiance

of emotion rules unveil illuminating dynamics about the fortitude and meanings of

these rules. Harish's storytelling and the classmate's response indicate that socially

constructed cultural values shape how and why emotions transform, hence

providing another example of the more expanded interpretation when working with

both perspectives. In the Indian context, emotion rules about not saying no provide

a socially acceptable outlet of showing admonishment, which is transformed from

the discomforting experience of envy (Jalan, Personal Communication, 2011); in

this instance, it was envy of Harish's successful defiance, and the cultural context

influences how this anxiety-provoking emotion will manifest in emotions that can

be displayed. This envy of Harish was analysed further by linking unconscious

anxieties with socially constructed ideals of women.

I continued with Data Chapter 2 by exploring religion and spirituality,

important shapers of workplace emotions, through the experiences of Rekha,

Aasha, NICU nurses, Banhi, Giri, Udita, and Kanaan and Phoolendu. These were

stressed in order to analyse how the social constructions of spiritual experiences

markedly affect workplace emotions for Indian employees in a variety of ways.

Data Chapters 3 and 4 focussed on trauma, for conscious and unconscious reasons

noted earlier in the Introduction and in the outline of the Data Chapters in the

Methodology. These stories underline the pain and struggles that may occur in

work spaces, demonstrating that they are not neutral even in seemingly rational

jobs, and the trauma stories also illuminate resilience, subversion, growth, and hope. In addition to this summary, there are further details in the remainder of this Conclusion chapter about empirical points from the Data Chapters which review the importance of rapprochement.

As my thesis was a research journey, I will reflect on what I have learned in exploring a rapprochement. In working with my data, I have developed an understanding that both theoretical perspectives are crucial for engaging in a comprehensive manner with emotions, and psychoanalytic resources take us further to a depth of meaning that is not possible with social constructionist accounts alone. Indeed, "As no less a constructionist authority on emotion than Fineman has recognized, this approach has a total blind spot when it comes to identifying where emotions come from and how they fit into the overall biographies of organizations or individuals (Fineman, 1993: 23). This is where psychoanalytic theory can substantially enhance our understanding" (Gabriel, 1999b: p. 215).

Craib argues, "Emotions 'happen' in a social context and as an important part of microsocial processes, but they are not 'produced' by society... they are best seen as having a life of their own which is framed and deployed by the social" (1998: p. 107). Craib's argument about emotions "having a life of their own" (1998: p. 107) found expression in my field work experiences. I discussed in the Methodology chapter my growing sense that the encounters of the interviews have taken on lives of their own, shaping my learning about emotions in an ongoing, dynamic manner. With respect to the importance of the social, the frame metaphor has been instructive to me in working with these resources and making sense of my data. Without a frame, there is no support or structure for the picture of emotions.

It was crucial for me to learn about Indian cultural dynamics, including hierarchy, competition, and changing gender roles, in order to construct a solid supporting frame, within which I could work with the deeply personal and intense meanings of workplace emotion. Attempting to do so without addressing the socially constructed aspects of emotions would have resulted in a poverty of analysis, a weak, unsupported picture with no holding support.

Engagement with personal biography, including possible unconscious dynamics, provides the colours, layers, and contrasts of emotion to fill in and complete the frame. The frame provided by social context surrounds a lifeless, colourless space if unique personal meanings, shaped by family history and development, are not addressed. Social context is central for analysing emotion, but social and linguistic factors are not fully *constitutive* of emotion.

The meanings of emotion at work can be probed with intensity and depth through the use of psychoanalytic resources, which provide windows into workplace experiences beyond their social constructions. Adapting in brackets Craib's work on gender stereotypes and emotions, "...whatever stereotype [emotion rule, cultural expectation] an individual might appear to meet - [might be compelled to meet based upon cultural demands/requirements]… - he or she will be engaged in intense emotional work" (1998: p. 113). For instance, learning about the Indian cultural expectations about emotions of deference was vital for Ghazala's story, yet knowledge of these expectations do not speak to her actual experience of emotional tensions with superiors. *How* people respond and contend with their cultural environment may happen in contradictory, dynamic, ambivalent, and ultimately unconscious ways; therefore, interpretations offered by psychoanalysis take us further in making sense of emotional movements in the

wider culture. Returning to the Introduction of this thesis and Craib's 1997 reference to Adorno (1974) about individual pain as a window into society (Craib, 1997: p. 12), studying an individual's emotion work not only offers possibilities for enhancing the study of personal work meanings and their implications, but also provides crucial insights about how socially constructed, historically contingent rules are absorbed, resisted, or apprehended ambivalently.

Social constructionist and psychoanalytic resources both have important insights to offer, and they are useful when deployed together, particularly for studying *interrelated* processes between the individual and wider social dynamics. I discussed examples of such interrelated dynamics from previous studies in the Literature Review, and through my data, I have learned about a range of ways in which socially constructed features of work may be intertwined with unconscious processes. Extending the social constructionist emotion research of Coupland et al. (2008) to psychoanalytic conceptualisations, many of the defences that we deploy are shaped by our occupational roles within the organisational hierarchy. With Rekha in Data Chapter 1, her emotions of terror and subsequent defences occurred when her same-level colleague was fired, while she was not affected by the dismissal of employees in other roles. The use of a specific cultural discourse *as* a defence emerged powerfully in my data as well to support the interlocking of social constructions and defences. Through the stories of Bhavesh in Data Chapter 3, the discourse about poverty was utilised to work through the emotional trauma of a villager's death during his internship. Social constructions about success and failure, as with Giri in Data Chapter 2, may serve important defensive functions, particularly in highly changing and uncertain contexts like the sales sector. These empirical findings reflect the observations of Frosh (1999) and Hollway and

Jefferson (2000) about contending with emotional pain through the use of words. It is important to note that this defensive use of cultural discourses and constructions against threatening emotions may occur unconsciously.

The salience and strength of social constructions themselves, such as emotion rules, can be uncovered through engagement with psychoanalytic resources, like probing the unconscious transformation of emotions. Harish's story in Data Chapter 2 about defying his work superior's demands, in order to be at the hospital with his baby girl, unleashed an intensity of emotional response from a colleague, underscoring the strength of the Indian emotion rule about obedience to a work superior. The classmate publicly admonished Harish, an outcome of the transformation of envy to a more socially acceptable emotion.

Cultural features intertwine with unconscious dynamics, by providing important context for the meanings of processes like resistance. The postcolonial context of my interviews was critical for uncovering meanings in the interview process itself, like Sonal's resistance to my questions about Indian values and culture. Not only may resistance have resulted from views that I as the interviewer was an inappropriate trespasser, as detailed in Data Chapter 1, but also the interview performance likely arose from resistance to being stereotyped as the Indian "other". The intensity of this resistance cannot be comprehensively interpreted without sensitive engagement with colonial spaces.

Cultural constructions about the female body, couched in wider myths like the Ganesha one, have implications for contextualising anxieties about the female in Indian working spaces. I discussed Fotaki's research (2011) in Data Chapter 3, which is paramount for engaging with patriarchal meanings about the body. This patriarchal context emerged in Virochan's story, where a candidate was falsely told

that she did not qualify to interview. The anxieties that arose about the candidate demonstrate that gender and body have meanings beyond their "linguistic *and* discursive significations" (Fotaki, 2011: p. 43). Cultural myths and socially constructed views of the female, *and* anxieties and the materiality of the actual body, are vital resources to consult in order to engage in depth with work dynamics like candidate exclusion and subsequent trauma experienced by Virochan.

Completing my field work in India has instructed me immensely about workplace emotions in ways that working within my own familiar spaces could not have offered, including pointing to directions that await further study. Through my journey with India, I was particularly struck by cultural differences *and* similarities in workplace emotion across cultural boundaries. Many of the experiences shared by Indian respondents can be found readily within Western spaces, such as fear of dismissal, gender tensions overlaid by cultural rules, ambivalence about authority, and betrayal.

Differences can be pronounced *within* cultures, which is an insight that I gained in previous advising and counselling training, and that struck me powerfully in this doctoral work as well. In any one organisational space, the emotions are shaped by multiple cultural features. Occupational status and geographic location, for example, may affect workplace emotions more formidably than caste concerns, as shown with Chanchal's daughter Rani who experienced serious isolation when she moved from Delhi to work in the Western Maharashtra state. Her distress had a marked effect on her father, who wrote a "very nasty resignation letter" which he wanted her to submit and return to Delhi; she did return, but not through the use of her father's letter. As noted in Wilson, "caste is not always predominant in the [Indian] workplace; region, **language**, religion and

friendship may work against it (Panini, 1996)" (Wilson, 2003: p. 163, my emphasis), and with Rani it was language and the political context of Maharashtra's current government, not wanting North Indian migrants, that shaped her emotions, with trauma implied. Wilson's reference to Monappa has significance here as well: "Within the private sector affiliations and cliques can emerge based on linguistic differences, which are in many cases tied to different states of origin (Monappa, 1997)" (Wilson, 2003: p. 163).

Rani's experience helps to demonstrate the layers of diversity and complexity in India, and it counters Western assumptions that caste is the defining characteristic of all Indian working life, an assumption that Sonal may have perceived me to have, constructing me as a foreign stereotyping person with limited understanding. I have increasingly absorbed the meanings of concerns about Western stereotyping of Indian working during my presentations at various conferences and in conversations about my research; for example, several British academics diverted my discussion of the importance of colonialism to, "Why didn't you focus on caste instead?"

It is important to bring together more meaningfully studies in diversity scholarship (e.g. Ozbilgin, Personal Communication, 2009, 2010) with workplace emotions, to explore in a more expansive manner social constructions and their varied emotional manifestations according to, for example, gender intersecting uniquely with social class and state of origin in producing and interpreting these constructions. The study of within-group diversity may also provide nuanced understandings of individualism and collectivism. India, for example, is commonly characterised as collectivist, as I discussed in the Literature Review. Yet, cultural classifications of regions or countries as individualist or collectivist are

problematic, potentially resulting in simplistic stereotypes which eclipse engagement with more complex phenomena at work. Mascolo and Bhatia (2002) review problems of individualism-collectivism dichotomies, which are increasingly misleading in a globalised context.

The significance of expanding and updating the study of individualist and collectivist dynamics for the exploration of workplace emotions is manifold. What does it mean to construct socially a work space and other workers as collectivist? What potential misunderstandings and anxieties may result from this construction, given the likelihood of individual *and* collective priorities at play that vary by social grouping? How do one's own individualist and collectivist tendencies, perhaps conflicts, affect her/his social constructions of work, in turn shaping the experience of emotion? What is the layer of collectivity that is meaningful for a worker? Is it collectivity within an immediate family and certain social groupings, and/or is it collectivity with colleagues? Such questions are posed to map out some of the uncharted but vital areas for study in workplace emotions, through the use of both frameworks which can uncover meaningfully the lived, sometimes unconscious, emotional experiences situated within constructions of these varied collectives.

Through engaging with workplace emotions in India, I have made contributions to the use of postcolonial theory in organisation studies. Jack et al. (2011) note that "few articles as yet have really exploited Bhabha's central insights about hybridity: that it produces ambivalence, is disordering, and offers spaces for the disruption of asymmetrical authority relations and power and that culture is always hybridized" (2011: p. 282). In the previous chapter, I shared data from Rakesh and Abhinav that illustrated these disordering, bewildering, highly

emotional work spaces, pointing to the paradox of both unchanging *and* changing racially-charged authority dynamics. New, hybrid spaces are emerging, particularly so in greater cross-boundary working; new stories result, such as colonial subversions and their associated emotions. There is a need for postcolonial approaches in the study of organisations to engage more closely with people's lived experiences, and I demonstrated through my work that the study of emotion provides rich opportunities to do so. Postcolonial studies are enhanced through the use of both psychoanalytic and social constructionist models, intertwining the historical shaping of emotion with its conscious and unconscious emotional enactments.

To take forward the study of postcolonial emotion dynamics in the Indian context, it is imperative to study the interactive influences of traditional Indian culture, including caste concerns, *with* colonial influences upon emotion. In this thesis I have brought out the meanings of studying both, but benefits will result from more in-depth, explicit engagement of the intricate ways in which pre and postcolonial aspects of India interact and influence working. Caste, moreover, is a concept that has changed in meaning over time; hence, caste itself needs to be carefully worked through in exploring its social construction and consequent influences upon the emotions of working. These points have implications beyond the Indian context; focussing more explicit attention on intersecting cultural and historical dynamics results in a more informed appreciation of workplace emotions in Eastern and Western spaces.

Hartnack illustrates that it is inadequate to approach a cultural grouping's internal tensions and divisions through one approach alone. She argues, "Although the colonial impact on India lasted for generations, it is evident that the various

layers of pre-British Indian cultures are older and thus more deeply rooted.[1]",
(2001: p. 87). However, the colonial impact upon India and other former colonies
cannot be brushed aside through an exclusive focus on native culture, as if it were
untouched by outside occupying forces. The importance of colonialism has been
underemphasised, and I add perhaps defended against, in the study of
organisations. Yet, the legacy of colonialism for the development of management
practice and its academic study is stark, as indicated by factors such as the use of
bureaucracy to advance colonial aims, and the discomforting record of othering the
East by Western management scholars (Frenkel and Shenhav, 2006).

Gender is particularly important for studying the impact of colonial
occupation *and* pre-colonial cultural values upon work. For instance, Nandy
emphasises hypermasculinity in the context of colonial emasculation, yet Kakar
emphasises traditional Indian patriarchal gender roles. More field work needs to be
completed to study how *both* influences upon gender shape workplace emotions.
When and how is one more primary than the other? Do they mutually reinforce
each other, or contradict each other, and under what conditions? Analysing both
pre and post-colonial India demonstrates the importance of contending with
multiple historical and cultural influences and avoiding the "this one, not that one
(for example 'focus on caste, not colonialism')" approach that I encountered at
moments in my journey.

Hartnack (2001) outlines some intersecting spaces of gender and
colonialism in Bengali households, and it this type of analysis that can elucidate
more clearly these multiple cultural influences on emotion, and how they are
gendered. There is a need for greater interrogation of the specific mechanisms used
by women in contending with postcolonial anxieties. Greedharry (2008) argues

that the concerns of women and the associated need for new theoretical formulations are overlooked by both Nandy and Bhabha. These limitations and the need more broadly to devote research to women's work experiences can be addressed with the rapprochement of resources and the uncovering of new stories.

Taking forward the use of psychoanalytic resources, it is also instructive to analyse how these interrelated cultural and historical factors shape people's emotions not through their apprehension of objective facts, but through *fantasies* about one's culture, which shape workers' constructions of past and present. Rushdie's writing about the myth of a collective India in *Midnight's Children* struck me intensely, and it is one which I return to on occasion:

> ...a nation which had never previously existed was about to win its freedom... a country which would never exist except by the efforts of a **phenomenal collective will -** except in a **dream** we all agreed to dream; it was a **mass fantasy** shared in varying degrees by Bengali and Punjabi, Madrasi and Jat, and would periodically need the sanctification and renewal which can only be provided by rituals of blood. India, the **new myth** - a collective fiction in which anything was possible, a fable rivalled only by the two other mighty fantasies: money and God (Rushdie, 2006: p. 150, my emphasis).

What are the ramifications of this fantasy for intersecting cultural influences at work? How does a "unity in diversity" mantra, noted in the Introduction and commonly assigned as a school essay (Chakravarti, 2009, Personal Communication), materialise at work in light of history and its traumas?

What anxieties may intertwine with the emotional labour of this fantasy? More broadly, how do fantasies shape our constructions of history and present, in turn shaping our emotional responses in work spaces, such as our relations with those who are othered or included in fantasy?

In concluding this chapter and the thesis, I would like to highlight how the rapprochement of two powerful theoretical frameworks opens up avenues for interpreting the meanings of workplace emotions in a variety of work spaces, within and beyond the chosen Indian context. Drawing upon both traditions, for instance, has enabled me to understand resistance to a superior, which can be a reflection of resistance to cultural prohibitions against questioning elders, as well as an outcome of rebellion against a father, immersed in ambivalence about this authority figure, and a questioning of authority relations rooted in a colonial past.

Analysing the interview space itself, where I carried out my search for understanding emotion, is immensely enriched when drawing on the possibilities of both social constructionist and psychoanalytic accounts. In an interview, dynamics like silences and omissions in accounts may be the result of active resistance to taboo topics through conscious emotional labour, or products of unconscious repression. Considering both possibilities unveils crucial insights about what is or is not active in workplace emotion. The potential influence of transference dynamics upon the language used in, and social constructions about, the interview context is another important area for rapprochement. Transference dynamics, in turn, are vitally shaped by historical context, as demonstrated by East-West, foreigner/invader-respondent/occupied, and similar constructions that surfaced in my interviews. The rapprochement of psychoanalytic and social constructionist traditions, therefore, is supported by studies that set out explicitly to

examine relations among social constructions, personal history, and language use.

We can also study in more detail the emotional impact of family of origin

dynamics upon people's adult emotional patterns, including how they interpret and

enact feeling rules at work. More extensive research is particularly needed for the

unique developmental experiences of women and their subsequent effects upon

working. Through pursuing these avenues of inquiry outlined in this chapter and

stimulated by this field work, new journeys and new stories will emerge.

References

Adler, J. (2006). Freud in our midst. http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2006/03/26/freud-in-our-midst.html

Akhtar S. (2005a) *Freud along the Ganges: Psychoanalytic Reflections on the People and Culture of India*, New York: Other Press.

Akhtar S and Tummala-Narra P. (2005b) Psychoanalysis in India. In: Akhtar S (ed) *Freud Along the Ganges: Psychoanalytic Reflections on the People and Culture of India.* New York: Other Press, 3-25.

Allcorn S. (2004) The psyche at work. *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice and Research* 56: 88-103.

Antonacopoulou EP and Gabriel Y. (2001) Emotion, learning and organizational change - Towards an integration of psychoanalytic and other perspectives. *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 14: 435-451.

Banerjee SB, Chio VCM and Mir R. (2009) The imperial formations of globalization. In: Banerjee SB, Chio VCM and Mir R (eds) *Organizations, Markets and Imperial Formations: Towards an Anthropology of Globalization.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 3–14.

Berger PL and Luckmann T. (1967) *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge,* London: Penguin Press.

Bhabha HK. (2004) *The Location of Culture,* Oxon: Routledge.

Billig M. (1997) The dialogic unconscious: Psychoanalysis, discursive psychology and the nature of repression. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 36: 139-159.

Billig M. (1998) Dialogic repression and the Oedipus complex: Reinterpreting the little Hans case. *Culture & Psychology* 4: 11-47.

Boje DM. (1991) The storytelling organization - A study of story performance in an office-supply firm. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 36: 106-126.

Boje DM. (1995) Stories of the storytelling organization - A postmodern analysis of Disney as "*Tamara*-Land". *Academy of Management Journal* 38: 997-1035.

Boje DM, Luhman JT and Baack DE. (1999) Hegemonic stories and encounters between storytelling organizations. *Journal of Management Inquiry* 8: 340-360.

Bolton SC and Boyd C. (2003) Trolley dolly or skilled emotion manager? Moving on from Hochschild's Managed Heart. *Work, Employment & Society* 17: 289-308.

Boyce ME. (1996) Organizational story and storytelling: A critical review. *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 9: 5-26.

Briner RB. (1999) The neglect and importance of emotion at work. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology* 8: 323-346.

Brown AD. (2006) A narrative approach to collective identities. *Journal of Management Studies* 43: 731-753.

Brown AD, Gabriel Y and Gherardi S. (2009) Storytelling and change: An unfolding story. *Organization* 16: 323.

Budhwar PS and Sparrow PR. (2002) Strategic HRM through the cultural looking glass: Mapping the cognition of British and Indian managers. *Organization Studies* 23: 599-638.

Chattopadhyay GP. (1975) Dependence in Indian culture: From mud huts to company board rooms. *Economic and Political weekly* 10: 30-39.

Clarke S. (2003) Psychoanalytic sociology and the interpretation of emotion. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 33: 145-163.

Clarke S. (2004) The concept of envy: Primitive drives, social encounters and *ressentiment*. *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society* 9: 105-117.

Clarke S. (2006) Theory and practice: Psychoanalytic sociology as psycho-social studies. *Sociology-the Journal of the British Sociological Association* 40: 1153-1169.

Cohen L and El-Sawad A. (2007) Lived experiences of offshoring: An examination of UK and Indian financial service employees' accounts of themselves and one another. *Human Relations* 60: 1235-1262.

Coupland C, Brown AD, Daniels K and Humphreys M. (2008) Saying it with feeling: Analysing speakable emotions. *Human Relations* 61: 327-353.

Craib I. (1995) Some comments on the sociology of the emotions. *Sociology* 29: 151-158.

Craib I. (1997) Social constructionism as a social psychosis. *Sociology-the Journal of the British Sociological Association* 31: 1-15.

Craib I. (1998) *Experiencing Identity,* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Cromby J. (2004) Between constructionism and neuroscience - The societal co-constitution of embodied subjectivity. *Theory & Psychology* 14: 797-821.

Cromby J and Nightingale DJ. (1999) What's wrong with social constructionism? In: Nightingale DJ and Cromby J (eds) *Social Constructionist Psychology: A Critical Analysis of Theory and Practice.* Buckingham: Open University Press, 1–13.

Crossley ML. (2000) *Introducing Narrative Psychology: Self, Trauma, and the Construction of Meaning,* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Crossley ML. (2003) Formulating narrative psychology: The limitations of contemporary social constructionism. *Narrative Inquiry* 13: 287-300.

Crossley ML. (2004) Making sense of 'barebacking': Gay men's narratives, unsafe sex and the 'resistance habitus'. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 43: 225-244.

Czander WM. (1993) *The Psychodynamics of Work and Organizations: Theory and Application,* New York: Guilford Press.

Czarniawska B. (2000) *The Uses of Narrative in Organization Research*, Citeseer.

Czarniawska B. (2003) 4b Social constructionism and organization studies. In: Westwood R and Clegg S (eds) *Debating Organization: Point-counterpoint in Organization Studies.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 128-139.

Czarniawska B. (2004) *Narratives in Social Science Research,* London Sage Publications.

Dalrymple W. (2010) *Nine Lives: In Search of the Sacred in Modern India,* London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Das D and Dharwadkar R. (2009) Cultural mimicry and hybridity: On the work of identity in international call centers in India. In: Banerjee SB, Chio VCM and Mir R (eds) *Organizations, Markets and Imperial Formations: Towards an Anthropology of Globalization.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 181–197.

Davies B and Harre R. (1990) Positioning - The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 20: 43-63.

De Board R. (1978) *The Psychoanalysis of Organizations: A Psychoanalytic Approach to Behaviour in Groups and Organizations,* London: Tavistock Publications.

Denzin NK and Lincoln YS. (2005) Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In: Denzin NK and Lincoln YS (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research.* 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1-32.

Dick P. (2004) Discourse analysis. In: Cassell C and Symon G (eds) *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research.* London: SAGE, 203-213.

Domagalski TA. (1999) Emotion in organizations: Main currents. *Human Relations* 52: 833-852.

Edley N. (2006) Never the twain shall meet: A critical appraisal of the combination of discourse and psychoanalytic theory in studies of men and masculinity. *Sex Roles* 55: 601-608.

Erikson EK. (1965) Psychoanalysis and ongoing history: Problems of identity, hatred and nonviolence. *American Journal of Psychiatry* 122: 241-253.

Fineman S. (1993a) *Emotion in Organizations,* London: Sage Publications.

Fineman S. (1993b) Organizations as emotional arenas. In: Fineman S (ed) *Emotion in Organizations.* London: Sage Publications, 9-35.

Fineman S. (1996) Emotion and organizing. In: Clegg SR, Hardy C and Nord WR (eds) *Handbook of Organization Studies.* London: Sage Publications, 543-564.

Fineman S. (2000a) *Emotion in Organizations* (2nd ed.), London: Sage Publications.

Fineman S. (2000b) Emotional arenas revisited. In: Fineman S (ed) *Emotion in Organizations.* (2nd ed.), London: Sage Publications, 1-24.

Fineman S. (2003) *Understanding Emotion at Work,* London: SAGE Publications.

Fineman S. (2004) Getting the measure of emotion - and the cautionary tale of emotional intelligence. *Human Relations* 57: 719-740.

Fineman S. (2005) Appreciating emotion at work: Paradigm tensions. *International Journal of Work Organisation and Emotion* 1: 4-19.

Fineman S. (2010) Emotion in organizations - A critical turn. In: Sieben B and Wettergren A (eds) *Emotionalizing Organizations and Organizing Emotions.* Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 23-41.

Fineman S, Gabriel Y and Sims D. (2010) *Organizing & Organizations,* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Fotaki M. (2006) Choice is yours: A psychodynamic exploration of health policymaking and its consequences for the English National Health Service. *Human Relations* 59: 1711-1744.

Fotaki M. (2011) The sublime object of desire (for knowledge): Sexuality at work in business and management schools in England. *British Journal of Management* 22: 42-53.

Frank AW. (1995) *The Wounded Storyteller: Body, Illness, and Ethics,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Frenkel M and Shenhav Y. (2006) From binarism back to hybridity: A postcolonial reading of management and organization studies. *Organization Studies* 27: 855-876.

Freud A. (1966) *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense,* New York: International Universities Press, Inc.

Freud S. (1955) Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego. In: Strachey J (translator and ed) *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud.* London: the Hogarth Press, 65-143.

Freud S. (1960a) *The Ego and the Id,* New York, London: W.W. Norton & Company.

Freud S. (1960b) *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious,* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.

Freud S. (1961) *Civilization and its Discontents,* New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Freud S. (1963) Constructions in Analysis (1937). In: Rieff P (ed) *Freud: Therapy and Technique*. New York: Collier Books, 273-286.

Frosh S. (1999) What is outside discourse? *Psychoanalytic Studies* 1: 381-390.

Frosh S. (2001) On reason, discourse, and fantasy. Reasons (to be thankful). *American Imago* 58: 627-647.

Frosh S and Baraitser L. (2008) Psychoanalysis and psychosocial studies. *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society* 13: 346-365.

Frosh S and Emerson PD. (2005) Interpretation and over-interpretation: Disputing the meaning of texts. *Qualitative Research* 5: 307-324.

Frosh S, Phoenix A and Pattman R. (2003) Taking a stand: Using psychoanalysis to explore the positioning of subjects in discourse. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 42: 39-53.

Frosh S and Young LS. (2008) Psychoanalytic approaches to qualitative psychology. In: Willig C and Stainton-Rogers W (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research in Psychology.* London: SAGE, 109–126.

Gabriel Y. (1991a) Organizations and their discontents: A psychoanalytic contribution to the study of organizational culture. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 27: 318-336.

Gabriel Y. (1991b) Turning facts into stories and stories into facts - A hermeneutic exploration of organizational folklore. *Human Relations* 44: 857-875.

Gabriel Y. (1995) The unmanaged organization - Stories, fantasies and subjectivity. *Organization Studies* 16: 477-501.

Gabriel Y. (1997) Meeting God: When organizational members come face to face with the supreme leader. *Human Relations* 50: 315-342.

Gabriel Y. (1998a) An introduction to the social psychology of insults in organizations. *Human Relations* 51: 1329-1354.

Gabriel Y. (1998b) Psychoanalytic contributions to the study of the emotional life of organizations. *Administration & Society* 30: 291-314.

Gabriel Y. (1999a) Beyond happy families: A critical reevaluation of the control-resistance-identity triangle. *Human Relations* 52: 179-203.

Gabriel Y. (1999b) *Organizations in Depth: The Psychoanalysis of Organizations,* London: Sage Publications.

Gabriel Y. (2004a) The knowledge narratives: Experience, learning, and truth. In: Gabriel Y (ed) *Myths, Stories, and Organizations: Premodern Narratives for our Times.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 11-15.

Gabriel Y. (2004b) *Myths, Stories, and Organizations: Premodern Narratives for Our Times,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gabriel Y. (2004c) The narrative veil: Truth and untruths in storytelling. In: Gabriel Y (ed) *Myths, Stories, and Organizations: Premodern Narratives for Our Times.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 17-31.

Gabriel Y. (2008) *Organizing Words: A Critical Thesaurus for Social and Organization Studies,* Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Gabriel Y. (2009) Conclusion - Latte capitalism and late capitalism: Reflections on fantasy and care as part of the service triangle. In: Korczynski M and Macdonald C (eds) *Service Work: Critical Perspectives.* New York, NY: Routledge, 175-189.

Gabriel Y, Gray DE and Goregaokar H. (2010) Temporary derailment or the end of the line? Managers coping with unemployment at 50. *Organization Studies* 31: 1687-1712.

Gabriel Y and Griffiths DS. (2002) Emotion, learning and organizing. *The Learning Organization* 9: 214-221.

Ganesh SR and Rangarajan T. (1983) Research review - Organization behavior research in India - A Critique of the last decade. *Organization Studies* 4: 357-374.

Gavin B. (2003) Out of the chaos: Progression and regression in the workplace. *Psychodynamic Practice* 9: 43-60.

Gergen KJ. (1985) The social constructionist movement in modern psychology. *American Psychologist* 40: 266-275.

Goffman, E. (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, London: Penguin Books.

Gopal A, Willis R and Gopal Y. (2003) From the colonial enterprise to enterprise systems: Parallels between colonization and globalization. In: Prasad A (ed) *Postcolonial Theory and Organizational Analysis: A Critical Engagement.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 233-254.

Gough B. (2004) Psychoanalysis as a resource for understanding emotional ruptures in the text: The case of defensive masculinities. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 43: 245-267.

Gough B. (2009) A psycho-discursive approach to analysing qualitative interview data, with reference to a father-son relationship. *Qualitative Research* 9: 527-545.

Greedharry M. (2008) *Postcolonial Theory and Psychoanalysis: From Uneasy Engagements to Effective Critique,* Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hartnack C. (2001) *Psychoanalysis in Colonial India,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Hirschhorn L. (1988) *The Workplace Within: Psychodynamics of Organizational Life,* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Hochschild AR. (1975) Sociology of feeling and emotion - Selected possibilities. *Sociological Inquiry* 45: 280-307.

Hochschild AR. (1979) Emotion work, feeling rules, and social-structure. *American Journal of Sociology* 85: 551-575.

Hochschild AR. (2003) *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling,* Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

Hollway W and Jefferson T. (2000) *Doing Qualitative Research Differently: Free Association, Narrative and the Interview Method,* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Hook D. (2008) Postcolonial psychoanalysis. *Theory & Psychology* 18: 269-283.

Jack G, Westwood R, Srinivas N, et al. (2011) Deepening, broadening and re-asserting a postcolonial interrogative space in organization studies. *Organization* 18: 275-302.

Jackson S. (1993) Even sociologists fall in love - An exploration in the sociology of emotions. *Sociology-the Journal of the British Sociological Association* 27: 201-220.

Kakar S. (1971a) Authority patterns and subordinate behavior in Indian organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 16: 298-307.

Kakar S. (1971b) Theme of authority in social relations in India. *Journal of Social Psychology* 84: 93-101.

Kakar S. (1982) Reflections on psychoanalysis, Indian culture and mysticism. *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 10: 289-297.

Kakar S. (1985) Psychoanalysis and non-Western cultures. *International Review of Psychoanalysis* 12: 441-448.

Kakar S. (1989) The Maternal-Feminine in Indian psychoanalysis. *International Review of Psycho-Analysis* 16: 355-362.

Kakar S. (1995) Clinical-work and cultural imagination. *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 64: 265-281.

Kakar S. (2008) *Culture and Psyche: Selected Essays,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Krone KJ and Morgan JM. (2000) Emotion metaphors in management: The Chinese experience. In: Fineman S (ed) *Emotion in Organizations.* 2nd ed. London: Sage Publications, 83-100.

Kvale S. (1999) The psychoanalytic interview as qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry* 5: 87-113.

Litowitz BE. (1998) An expanded developmental line for negation: Rejection, refusal, denial. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 46: 121-148.

Lynch OM. (1990) *Divine Passions: The Social Construction of Emotion in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Makari G and Shapiro T. (1993) On psychoanalytic listening: Language and unconscious communication. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 41: 991-1020.

Marcuse H. (1962) *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud,* New York: Vintage Books.

Martin J, Feldman MS, Hatch MJ and Sitkin SB. (1983) The uniqueness paradox in organizational stories. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 28: 438-453.

Mascolo MF and Bhatia S. (2002) The dynamic construction of culture, self and social relations. *Psychology and Developing Societies* 14: 55-89.

McKenna S. (2011) A critical analysis of North American business leaders' neocolonial discourse: Global fears and local consequences. *Organization* 18: 387-406.

Meissner WW. (2008) The role of language in the development of the self II - Thoughts and words. *Psychoanalytic Psychology* 25: 220-241.

Menon U. (2000) Analyzing emotions as culturally constructed scripts. *Culture & Psychology* 6: 40-50.

Mezey JH. (2006) Neocolonial narcissism and postcolonial paranoia. *Interventions* 8: 178-192.

Midgley N. (2006) Psychoanalysis and qualitative psychology: Complementary or contradictory paradigms? *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3: 213-231.

Mitroff, II and Kilmann RH. (1975) Stories managers tell: A new tool for organizational problem solving. *Management Review* 64: 18-28.

Morgan G. (2006) *Images of Organization,* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Nagpal A. (2000) Cultural continuity and change in Kakar's works: Some reflections. *International Journal of Group Tensions* 29: 285-321.

Nandy A. (1982) The psychology of colonialism - Sex, age, and ideology in British India. *Psychiatry-Interpersonal and Biological Processes* 45: 197-218.

Nandy A. (1995) The savage Freud: The first non-western psychoanalyst and the politics of secret selves in colonial India. In Nandy A *The Savage Freud and Other Essays on Possible and Retrievable Selves.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 81-144.

Nghe LT and Mahalik JR. (2001) Examining racial identity statuses as predictors of psychological defenses in African American college students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 48: 10-16.

Nkomo SM. (1992) The emperor has no clothes - Rewriting race in organizations. *Academy of Management Review* 17: 487-513.

Parker I. (1997) Discourse analysis and psychoanalysis. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 36: 479-495.

Parker I. (2008) Psychoanalytic theory and psychology - Conditions of possibility for clinical and cultural practice. *Theory & Psychology* 18: 147-165.

Parrott WG and Smith RH. (1993) Distinguishing the experiences of envy and jealousy. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 64: 906-920.

Potter J and Wetherell M. (1987) *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour,* London: Sage Publications.

Prasad A. (2003) The gaze of the Other: Postcolonial theory and organizational analysis. In: Prasad A (ed) *Postcolonial Theory and Organizational Analysis: A Critical Engagement.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 3-43.

Prasad A and Prasad P. (2003) The postcolonial imagination. In: Prasad A (ed) *Postcolonial Theory and Organizational Analysis: A Critical Engagement.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 283-295.

Ramana CV. (1964) On the early history and development of psychoanalysis in India. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 12: 110-134.

Ramanujam BK. (1975) Psychiatric problems of children seen in an urban center of Western India. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 45: 490-496.

Rhodes C and Brown AD. (2005) Narrative, organizations and research. *International Journal of Management Reviews* 7: 167-188.

Rizzuto AM. (2002) Speech events, language development and the clinical situation. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 83: 1325-1343.

Roland A. (1982) Toward a psychoanalytical psychology of hierarchical relationships in Hindu India. *Ethos* 10: 232-253.

Roland A. (1991) Psychoanalysis in India and Japan: Toward a comparative psychoanalysis. *The American Journal of Psychoanalysis* 51: 1-10.

Rushdie S. (2006) *Midnight's Children,* London: Vintage.

Sahay S and Walsham G. (1997) Social structure and managerial agency in India. *Organization Studies* 18: 415-444.

Said EW. (2003) *Orientalism,* London: Penguin.

Scheff TJ. (2000) Shame and the social bond: A sociological theory. *Sociological Theory* 18: 84-99.

Schmidt VH. (2001) Oversocialised epistemology: A critical appraisal of constructivism. *Sociology* 35: 135-157.

Sen A. (2005) *The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian History, Culture and Identity,* London: Penguin Books.

Sharma D. (1998) The discursive voice of psychoanalysis: A case for culturally constituted defenses. *Culture & Psychology* 4: 49-64.

Sharma D. (2000) Psychoanalysis and sociocultural change in India: A conversation with Sudhir Kakar. *International Journal of Group Tensions* 29: 253-283.

Sievers B. (2008) 'Perhaps it is the role of pictures to get in contact with the uncanny': The Social Photo Matrix as a method to promote the understanding of the unconscious in organizations. *Organisational and Social Dynamics: An International Journal of Psychoanalytic, Systemic and Group Relations Perspectives* 8: 234-254.

Singh JP. (1990a) Managerial culture and work-related values in India. *Organization Studies* 11: 75-101.

Singh K. (1990b) *India: An Introduction,* New Delhi: Vision Books.

Sinha D and Tripathi RC. (2003) Individualism in a collectivist culture: A case of coexistence of opposites. In: Saraswathi TS (ed) *Cross-Cultural Perspectives in Human Development: Theory, Research and Applications.* New Delhi: Sage Publications, 192-210.

Sinha JBP and Sinha D. (1990) Role of social values in Indian organizations. *International Journal of Psychology* 25: 705-714.

Sinha TC. (1966) Development of psycho-analysis in India. *International Journal of Psycho-analysis* 47: 427-439.

Spence DP. (1990) The rhetorical voice of psychoanalysis. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 38: 579-603.

Spivak GC. (1993) Can the subaltern speak? In: Williams P and Chrisman L (eds) *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader.* New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 66-111.

Spivak GC. (2000) The new subaltern: A silent interview. In: Chaturvedi V (ed) *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial.* London: Verso, 324-340.

Sripada B. (2005) Psychic bisexuality, male homosexuality, plural Oedipus complex, and Hinduism. In: Akhtar S (ed) *Freud Along the Ganges: Psychoanalytic Reflections on the People and Culture of India.* New York: Other Press, 235-268.

Stein HF. (1997) Death imagery and the experience of organizational downsizing - Or, is your name on Schindler's List? *Administration & Society* 29: 222-247.

Stein HF. (2001) *Nothing Personal, Just Business: A Guided Journey into Organizational Darkness,* Westport, CT: Quorum Books.

Stein HF. (2004) Countertransference and organizational knowing: New frontiers and old truths. *Free Associations* 11: 325-337.

Stein HF. (2006) Letting go of who we were: The triad of change-loss-grief in organizational and wider cultural life: A case study and its broader implications. *Organisational and Social Dynamics: An International Journal of Psychoanalytic, Systemic and Group Relations Perspectives* 6: 204-223.

Stein HF. (2008) From organizational meaning through splitting to organizational meaning through integration: Healing the great divide. *Organisational & Social Dynamics* 8: 298-321.

Tang NM and Smith BL. (1996) The eternal triangle across cultures. Oedipus, Hsueh, and Ganesa. *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 51: 562-579.

Theodosius C. (2008) *Emotional Labour in Health Care: The Unmanaged Heart of Nursing,* Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Tori CD and Bilmes M. (2002) Multiculturalism and psychoanalytic psychology: The validation of a defense mechanisms measure in an Asian population. *Psychoanalytic Psychology* 19: 701-721.

Tripathi RC. (1990) Interplay of values in the functioning of Indian organizations. *International Journal of Psychology* 25: 715-734.

Trunnell EE and Holt WE. (1974) Concept of denial or disavowal. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 22: 769-784.

Vecchio RP. (2000) Negative emotion in the workplace: Employee jealousy and envy. *International Journal of Stress Management* 7: 161-179.

Vince R. (2006) Being taken over: Managers' emotions and rationalizations during a company takeover. *Journal of Management Studies* 43: 343-365.

Vince R and Gabriel Y. (2011) Organizations, learning, and emotion. In: Easterby-Smith M and Lyles MA (eds) *Handbook of Organizational Learning & Knowledge Management.* 2nd ed. Chichester: Wiley, 331-348.

Vogler C. (2000) Social identity and emotion: The meeting of psychoanalysis and sociology. *Sociological Review* 48: 19-42.

Wetherell M. (2003) Paranoia, ambivalence and discursive practices: Concepts of position and positioning in psychoanalysis and discursive psychology. In: Harre R and Moghaddam F (eds) *The Self and Others: Positioning Individuals and Groups in Personal, Political, and Cultural Contexts.* Westport, CT: Praeger, 99–120.

Williams SJ. (1998) Modernity and the emotions: Corporeal reflections on the (ir)rational. *Sociology-the Journal of the British Sociological Association* 32: 747-769.

Williams SJ and Bendelow GA. (1996) Emotions and 'sociological imperialism': A rejoinder. *Sociology-the Journal of the British Sociological Association* 30: 145-153.

Wilson EM. (2003) Managing diversity: Caste and gender issues in organizations in India. In: Davidson MJ and Fielden SL (eds) *Individual Diversity and Psychology in Organizations.* Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 149-169.

Wolpert S. (2006) *Shameful Flight: The Last Years of the British Empire in India,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Yalom ID. (1998) *The Yalom Reader: Selections from the Work of a Master Therapist and Storyteller,* New York, NY: BasicBooks.

Appendix 1 – List of Questions

The below list is a broad one that I developed at the start of my field work
to ask questions in the interviews. Follow-up questions were asked appropriate to
the responses to these initial questions.

- It is important to stress that, as noted in the Methodology chapter, questions were drawn upon flexibly, and new questions were added unique to each interview encounter according to the meanings shared by the participant.

- As this doctoral journey was an open-ended one of learning and emergent meanings, during the process of collecting data, I added new questions as possible openings to discussion. For instance, I later started some interviews by asking, "When you think about the work you do now, or any previous work, what is the first emotion word that comes to your mind?"

- The questions below are broadly organised into two groups, questions inspired by psychoanalytic or social constructionist tenets. It is significant, however, to emphasise that some questions could be located in both groups, as they may tap into workplace experiences that can be interpreted from either perspective.

Questions inspired by important tenets of Psychoanalytic approaches

What is your earliest childhood memory?

What messages or lessons did your elders (parents, older siblings, grandparents etc.) pass along to you about schoolwork?

> ...about work life?

> [This question may tap into both the unconscious effects of childhood and socially constructed ideals].

Who are your models for work life?

- What do you like about their approach to work?

Have you experienced someone at work who is the exact opposite of how you would like to be in the workplace?

- What's an example showing this person as a bad role model for work life?

Who are the **heroes** in your life?

- What have they done to be heroes? (May elicit a story to learn)

- May probe for personal, professional or spiritual ones

Who are the villains/bad people that you've experienced in life?

- Similar follow-up questions as above

Have you ever had a **dream** about work? About your colleague, supervisor etc.?

What kind of daydreams do you have at work?

Are there any lessons from the stories of your childhood that have influenced your working life?

Questions inspired by important tenets of Social Constructionist approaches

Now or in your previous work place, did your managers expect you to act or show your emotions in a certain way?

Is there ever a time in your work life, at your organization, when you felt one way inside, but you couldn't show what you were feeling to others?

How do you describe the culture of your organisation (past and/or present)?

Has religion and spirituality been a part of the culture of your past work organisations or the one now?

 What are the Indian values that influence your daily work environment?

What are acceptable emotions to show in your organisation?

What emotions do you expect your leaders etc. to show?

If someone outside of India wanted to learn about how to describe an "Indian work ethic", what would you say?

Would you describe your work place as like a family, or an individual competition, or other metaphor?

If there is one folk tale or myth from your childhood or religion that most closely resembles what you have gone through at work so far, what would it be?

Appendix 2

Pictures taken during field work and learning, India and UK

I included these pictures as examples of photographs that helped me to access the emotions of my countertransference, one of the sources of my data analysis. I also included these pictures to share with the reader moments from my doctoral journey, in particular my field work travels which I highly treasure and which continue to teach me immensely.

I also have further details in the Methodology section about the importance of pictures for studying emotions.


I took this picture in Chennai. It shows the Hindu elephant god Ganeshaji, who is the god of new beginnings and remover of obstacles. This god has been very meaningful for my doctoral research, in which I embarked upon many new beginnings, such as openness to new ways of conducting research and exploring emotions. As with any PhD work, I indeed encountered obstacles to overcome, like resistance to rapprochement or to engaging with the meanings of colonialism for the emotions of working.

I referred to Ganeshji in my literature review, in the context of the Ganesha myth. I linked again to this myth in my analysis of Virochan's story in Data Chapter 3.

This picture also symbolised for me the intricate dynamics of globalisation, as one sees in this picture an advertisement for London. Hence, in the picture we have the traditional, the sacred of India, in globalised spaces, and this image, with the reference to London, especially evoked for me the longstanding importance of India's colonial past. This old and new

existing alongside one another, as represented visually in this picture, evokes interesting emotional dynamics, often contradictory ones. I made reference in the Introduction, for example, to the diversity of India, and to contradictions experienced by Indians, in the analysis for example of Virochan. One of the sources of contradictions is the tensions of old and new as overlaid by colonial history, which this image evoked for me and helped me to connect more fully with the emotions of this postcolonial space.
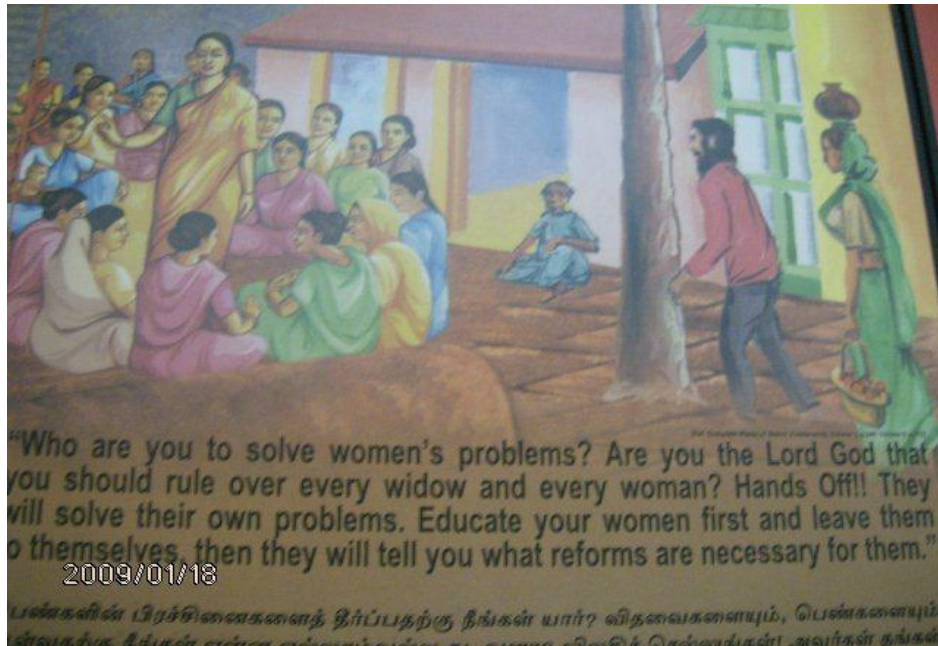
This is a picture from the museum dedicated to Swamiji Vivekananda in Chennai, which I visited. A website introducing this Indian thinker is: http://www.ramakrishna.org/sv.htm

I was particularly struck by this picture and quote, one of Vivekananda's sayings. I found this quote to be progressive and inspiring, particularly given the cultural and historical context. It is one which resonates for Western spaces as well, such as the United States where seemingly more liberal views about women are defied through ongoing attempts to legislate women's choices.

Viewing this picture at times during my thesis journey helped me to connect to the intensity of emotions about gender tensions and gender inequalities which arose during the interviews. As with all pictures, this one provides a powerful source of connecting to my own emotions about gender topics in the interviews, and to my own role as a female interviewer of workplace emotions.
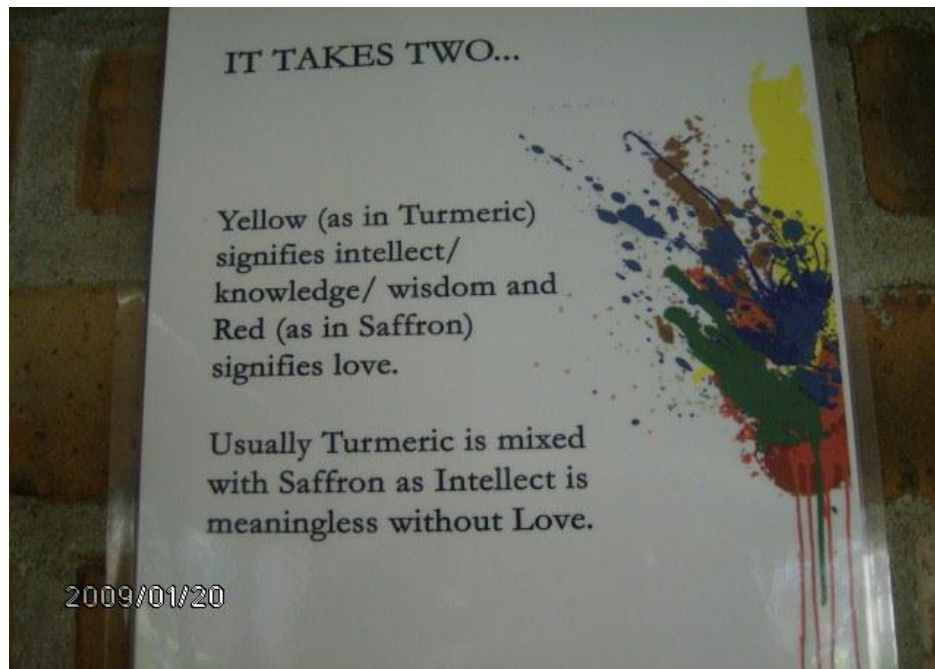
I took this picture during my field work travels in Chennai. This picture visually reflects for me what I learned about the traditional interrelation of emotion and cognition, as I discussed in the Literature Review. Reflecting on this picture helps me remember my emotions during my travels and facilitates my learning about tensions between ancient and new understandings and displays about emotion.

This image also helps me to share the importance of exploring workplace emotions, in that studying the daily intellectual activities of work is impoverished without consideration of the emotions that are intertwined with, supportive of, or challenging to these activities.

In addition, the title of this picture, "It Takes Two", stimulates for me emotions about my thesis, particularly my ongoing investment in exploring these two perspectives and the challenges and richness in doing so. The image captures how the dynamic, "one without the other", is incomplete. For example, exploring the importance of traditional Indian values without also considering Indian colonial history is incomplete.

I took this picture during my field work explorations in Delhi. The warmth of the
picture helps me make sense of the intimate disclosures in interview space.
The explicit visual reference to emotions in a Delhi subway struck me and
helped me with my countertransference as I was in the process of doing
work in Delhi.

This picture was taken when I was at the Delhi airport, preparing to fly to Chennai.
It symbolises for me the rapid changes of India. Yet, alongside these
changes, some traditional views and colonial shadows persist.

Hence, I came back to these pictures on occasion, which would evoke an emotion
or idea, and reflecting on it would then help me to connect to other
meaningful aspects of my field work and analysis.

This picture is from my visit to the London Book Fair at Earl's Court. Many aspects of this fair helped me with my research, including discussions by Indian authors. When I look at this image, I reflect on the meanings of India featured in Britain, and I remember the emotions I felt about the topics addressed at this conference, such as tensions between unity and diversity.

I am particularly proud and loving of this photograph. It is with Professor Sudhir Kakar, after I interviewed him at his office in Delhi. I was determined to seek as many opportunities as possible to learn about my topics, and arranging this interview was one of the crucial moments.

This photograph shows me with Professor Salman Akhtar. I learned that he was presenting at a conference in London, and I made arrangements to meet and interview him. The image reminds me of my excitement and my new learning after meeting with him.

I attended this concert in London of Rahatji Fateh Ali Khan, a renowned Pakistani singer of Sufi Qawalli music and a playback singer of Bollywood (one of the Indian film industries).
This picture connects to his music, which beautifully provided ways of accessing my countertransference and exploring my work.
An example of his music, which I find to illustrate the cherished guru-student dynamic, is here: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UgkEhwP5_Mc