

Management in the Financial Services: Emotional Labour and Gender

by

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Abstract

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This thesis examines the development of management in financial services and its implications on managers' activities and socialisation. The thesis uses gender and emotional labour as the main themes for the discussion of management in the financial services.

The thesis reports on two ethnographic case studies within two UK retail banks. Analyses are based on data derived from interviews, observations and documents.

Both the literature and data suggest that management in the service sector centres around the management of organisational cultures. Managers must disseminate the organisational values in order to extract excellent customer service from the front-line staff. Managers themselves are acculturated into the organisation and its values, in order to more easily acculturate their staff.

The data indicates that although management appears to have been feminised, masculine values still dominate. Managers are socialised into organisational cultures in which human relations rhetoric looms large and both male and female managers employ 'feminine' management styles. Confusingly however, male managers' skills seem to be valued more and male-dominated business areas receive greater kudos. A disjunction between rhetoric and reality is thus evident.

In addition, both management and emotional labour are presented as gendered in sociological literature. The data indicates that although management styles and practices are perceived to be gendered, there is little evidence to support the stereotypes. Both men and women can be seen to be performing emotional labour too, but it is the expectations of others and their different life experiences that can lead to gender differences in the way that emotional labour is displayed.

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Introduction

In this thesis I explore the development of management in the financial services, both in sociological literature and through a piece of empirical research. The aim of this thesis is to reveal the implications this development has for what managers do and how they are socialised. In this introduction I shall present the central concepts of this thesis, explain the layout of the thesis and provide some contextual information on the financial services.

This thesis began as an exploration of management in the financial services, rather than from a pre-determined theoretical framework. The title does, however, indicate two important themes that were developed from a reading of management and sociological literature and during the data collection. One theme is that of management as a gendered occupation. Analysing the gendered nature of management helps to illustrate the direction and character of the development of financial services management. In addition, emotional labour is integral to management. The emotional labour literature seemed to be very relevant whilst making sense of the empirical data and the development of financial services management.

There has been an increasing recognition of the value and significance of the management of organisational cultures and HRM practices. There is also evidence to suggest that workforces and management styles have been 'feminised' and emotionalised. Service sector work requires workers to engage with the needs of customers. This involves not only providing the service, but providing the 'service

with a smile'. This can involve the performance of emotional labour. Emotional labour is performed by all service sector workers, as organisations direct them to manage their own emotional displays in order to influence the emotions of the customer. For example, the worker smiles in order to make the customer feel happy and relaxed.

Most research on emotional labour has focused on workers rather than managers. Managers employ many 'soft', or interpersonal, skills that could be referred to as 'leadership' skills. The deployment of these skills is related to the increasing emphasis on organisational culture; that is, managers are often leading teams of people to achieve organisational objectives and do so by encouraging their teams to identify with the organisational values and culture. Whilst providing the necessary encouragement, managers use emotional labour skills. This thesis incorporates an empirical study of managers in two financial service organisations to investigate how organisations direct their managers to perform their management duties through their training and working policies. This will illustrate the skills that managers require and the manner in which managers are directed to deploy their skills.

Service work and the emotional labour and 'soft' skills used therein are often perceived as women's work, and are actually performed mainly by women¹. However, managers are predominantly male² and management is masculine in nature. The need for managers to perform emotional labour in service organisations may

¹ In the UK, nearly 70% of sales and customer service workers are women (Labour Market Trends, 2001).

² Less than 40% of professional and managerial workers are women in the UK (Labour Market Trends, 2001).

therefore be in conflict with the normative model of management. This thesis examines the gendered nature of both management and emotional labour.

In the first chapter I examine the development of management theory, which indicates a trend towards an emphasis on organisational cultures. The 'managing through culture' approach of organisations is important not only for the control of the workforce but also for the work of middle and junior level managers, as they too are subject to organisational constraints and senior management demands. These constraints and demands influence managers' behaviour and activities. Therefore occupational and organisational socialisation are important concepts that are also examined in Chapter 1.

Organisations and management are inherently masculine, as their history is patriarchal and paternalistic (Witz, 1992; Halford et al, 1997). It is therefore difficult to present gender as a separate issue to management. Chapter 2 examines the gendered nature of management and emotional labour and the feminisation of management. Interestingly, feminine management styles are supposedly dichotomous with masculine management styles, and whilst management is inherently masculine, feminine styles now seem to be encouraged. 'Feminine' management styles are related to the management of organisational cultures and the increase in 'teamworking', as both demand more interpersonal skills than autocratic forms of organisation. In Chapter 2 I also explain the concept of emotional labour and detail empirical studies that apply emotional labour to occupations such as flight attending and nursing, in order to provide a basis for a study of managers' emotional labour.

Chapter 3 explains the research design of the thesis. The case study approach was deemed to be appropriate, using ethnographic techniques of data collection. An ethnography of an established and bounded social setting is a useful means of accessing evidence of management activities and socialisation processes. The study was conducted within two UK retail banks. In one bank I studied a cohort of graduate trainee managers, and in the other studied junior and middle-level managers in branches and administration centres. I observed training courses and managers at work; obtained bank documents; and interviewed thirty-four managers.

Chapter 4 is the first of three chapters describing the data collected. In this chapter I detail the socialisation processes that the managers experienced within the banks in order to ascertain how the managers were directed to perform their roles. I describe both the formal and informal training that managers experienced, and how they rationalised this training and put it to use. That is, did the managers religiously adhere to the techniques taught in training courses, or did they adapt it to their own 'style'?

Chapter 5 explores the management styles of the thirty-four managers in more detail. As the service organisations reported that their staff were their most important resource, I was particularly interested in their staff management styles and skills. For most of the managers too, their first priority was staff management and it was the largest part of their workload. I describe how the managers attempted to keep their staff happy and productive.

Chapter 6 examines the gendered nature of the two banks studied. The chapter investigates whether management in practice continues to display the characteristics of the normative, masculine model. I detail the managers' thoughts on whether men and women have different management styles and describe the expectations of gendered management styles and the tasks that men and women are expected to perform, and perform well. I also explore how different management styles and traits are valued according to their attributed gender and the gender of the manager. In attempts to 'fit in' and 'act the manager', the managers will be affected by the valuing of particular skills over others.

Chapter 7 discusses the findings of the study in relation to the research aims and related questions, as well as in relation to the theoretical debates about management. The issues of 'becoming a manager', 'being a manager' and 'doing gender' are brought together for the final analysis, as they are interrelated in practice. The central theme of the findings is that management involves many balancing acts. This theme relates to the issues of becoming and being a manager, as well as doing gender, and all are discussed in Chapter 7.

The nature of ethnography and case studies preclude generalisations to wider populations. Case studies allow generalisations of the analytical, theoretical and *moderatum* kind, as Chapter 3 explains. These are useful in illuminating the processes that managers experience in becoming managers and permit the description of the particulars of experiences, rather than statistical generalisations. In this thesis I aim to generate an understanding about the development of service sector management in two financial service organisations. Firstly, I shall provide an

overview of the changes that have occurred within the financial services, in order to contextualise the activities and behaviour within the two case study organisations.

The Changing Financial Services Sector

The service sector in general has experienced considerable growth over the last few decades and is undergoing extensive change affecting consumers and workers alike.

Between 1971 and 1994 the number of workers employed in financial services doubled to 2.7 million, thus accounting for 13% of all jobs in the UK (COI, 1995). During the 1980s new markets and products were developed within financial services. These developments were fuelled by government deregulation of the capital and credit markets, technological developments, and the greater volatility of exchange rates, interest rates and the value of money during the 1970s and 1980s (COI, 1995; Redman et al, 1997). Customer bases changed and technology centralised many processes, leading to staff movement to central processing centres from local branches.

This thesis focuses on retail banks, whose functions include depositing, lending and money transmission, as opposed to wholesale banks which take large deposits at higher rates of interest, deploy funds in money-market instruments and make large loans and investments (COI, 1995). Distinctions between banks and other financial institutions are becoming less clear-cut. Large commercial banks traditionally provided retail services, but banks now offer many additional services such as merchant banking, credit and debit cards, foreign exchange dealings, and pension, life assurance and insurance schemes (Baxter, 2000). Over the last decade, many banks

and building societies have merged, and building societies have demutualised to become banks in their own rights (allowed by the review of the 1986 Building Societies Act in 1994) (COI, 1995; Redman et al, 1997). Competition is no longer found simply within the separate types of institutions, but is increasingly also between these institutions, as they have diversified their products and services, leading to many overlaps. Deregulation has even opened up the competition in financial services to supermarkets and department stores, and to both domestic and international companies. These new entrants to the financial services market have increased the competition further.

Improvements in technology, such as, automatic teller machines (ATMs) and credit and debit cards, mean that traditional banking counter services are used much less. Internet and telephone banking will increase this reduction in branch services, which is already evident from the closure of many branches in both rural and urban areas. Technological advancements also mean that it is more difficult to distinguish between different types of financial institutions and the new delivery mechanisms mean that companies can make a low-cost entry into the UK financial services market (Baxter, 2000). The internal organisation of staff has also been affected, as fewer staff are required within the branch network for counter services. Management roles have correspondingly changed, as they are focused upon meeting targets of sales generation.

In the US during World War II, banks hired so many women that feminisation was said to take place, indicated also by the reduction of the salary and status of cashiers and loan officers (Alpern, 1993). The number of women employed in banks in the

UK also increased after World War II (Crompton, 1989). About 45% of all banking, insurance and finance workers are now women (Labour Market Trends, 2001). The largest increase is in the number of women cashiers. This is not proportionally matched by the increase in the number of women bank managers and a two-tier promotion system, divided by gender, is still evident (Crompton, 1989). Although women are not to be found in the same numbers as men in management, particularly senior management, there has been a rise in the numbers of women in management and 'feminine' management styles are encouraged in service sectors.

The various changes within the financial services market, and to the work of those within, are indicative of wider changes in the economy and Western society. Most important to this thesis is the shift to a focus on sales and customer service, as this has affected management roles and responsibilities. The findings of this thesis will be of interest not only to academics in sociology and management, but also to managers in the financial services and other service sector industries. The first chapter begins with a summary of the historical development of the management role.

Chapter 1: The management role

This chapter provides an overview of the recent salient trends in work organisation and management, in order to provide a historical context to the research. It argues that there has been an increasing emphasis on organisational cultures and their role in the management of staff. This chapter shows how the management of organisational cultures and the recent trends in work organisation affect the management role.

The service sector requires particular working practices and organisation, and therefore particular management styles. The more recent management theories and styles recognise and employ emotions and interpersonal skills, and this chapter charts the development of these skills and practice of management. It is argued that a 'new breed' of manager is being developed in response to the changing environment and that this is often achieved through the process of occupational socialisation.

The development of the management role

It is widely acknowledged (Collinson and Hearn, 1996; Grint, 1995; Kanter, 1977; Reed, 1992; Thompson, 1989) that the management function first developed during the 18th century when the first factories signalled the emergence of large-scale industry. The increase in the scale of production continued into the 19th and 20th centuries and both enabled and required direct control of the work performed, calling for professional managers who were separate from the owners of firms. Thompson (1989) explained that capitalists purchase the means of production (raw materials, tools, and technology) and labour power (this term is used, rather than work or workers, to show the relationship to capital, and includes both physical and mental capacities). Capitalists aim to increase profits by reducing costs through the division of labour, which leads to hierarchies and specialisation. Management of the divided

labour force is therefore required and Taylorist management styles replaced family dominated firms (Kanter, 1977; Warner and Witzel, 1998).

Thompson (1989) described Taylorism, also known as systematic or scientific management, as a method of direct control by employers in the early 20th century that developed in response to the production problems experienced as firm sizes increased. Thompson (1989) identified it as both a practice (the means of reorganising the labour process) and as an ideology (the legitimisation of that emerging practice of systematic management). Its implementation involved the appropriation of knowledge from workers by management, which was used to further divide and monitor work tasks, in order that the optimum level of productivity was achieved (Salaman, 1995; Grint, 1998). The resulting divisions of labour were thought to achieve optimum productivity, because they were designed according to the scientific principles of specification, classification and functionality (Warner and Witzel, 1998).

Taylorism, although involving technological improvements, was also about organisational and psychological changes, to show workers that they too would benefit from the changes in the work system - materially rather than socially (Grint, 1998). Labour was divided and deskilled as far as possible in order that the cheapest labour could be used, yet workers were paid for their increased effort (Grint, 1998). The direct control strategies of Taylorism are not suitable for many organisations, particularly in the service sector, and were actually not implemented by many companies when the approach was at its most popular (Thompson and McHugh, 1990). This is not to say that Taylorist principles are completely redundant, as recent studies of call centres, for example, show the level of direct control and division of

labour present (Burnett and Warhurst, 1999; Jones, 1999; Knights et al, 1999; Mulholland, 1999).

While the management role clearly emerged during the industrial expansion, Warner and Witzel (1998) have questioned whether there was actually a 'managerial revolution' in the late 19th century, instead suggesting that the work of managers at this time was very similar to that done by their predecessors. Nevertheless they agree that Taylorism was the important development in terms of recognising management as discipline in its own right.

From the 1930s onwards, studies were conducted in factories in order to understand workplace behaviour. These studies led to a reaction against Taylorism and a transition occurred towards social management, or human relations. Human relations management views the organisation as a social system, examining management styles and the relationships between informal and formal aspects of social organisation, rather than the fundamentals of labour processes (Thompson, 1989). The human relations approach to management developed by Mayo, Barnard and from the much-cited Hawthorne studies, recognised the emotional aspects within firms that contributed to an 'informal organisation'. Drucker (1954) argued for a less functional, more intuitive, management style and that managers should be the driving force of, rather than simply another cog in, the organisational machine, as they were 'both socially accountable and culturally embedded' (cited by Warner and Witzel, 1998, p.5). The studies still supported the image of the rational manager though, as they only accepted that workers, not managers, were emotional beings (Kanter, 1977).

Therefore, managers continued to be seen as self-controlled and controlling individuals.

Human relations 'became influential on the basis of its claim to train supervisors (and later managers) in interpersonal skills in order to promote worker co-operation, which in turn would get workers to regulate themselves' (Hollway, 1996, p.36). That is, to meet increased competition and because it is difficult to change the mode of production, the relationship of labour to the mode of production was altered, through 'social-psychological paradigms'. Hollway (1996, p.37) argued that 'by the 1960s, in the continuing search for methods to produce self-regulating workers, the manager was required to be authentic and even the executive should have sentiments.' Although this may have been the popular rhetoric, it was not evident in practice, as 'the impression of autonomy [was] fostered by the interpersonal relations typical of a "democratic" leadership style (listening, empathy, consultation), while impersonal rules and technology governed the actual control one could exercise over the job' (Hollway, 1996, p.37). Therefore, scientific management was still evident despite the human relations discourse being dominant since, for managers, 'the expectation that that they should know themselves as sentimental beings – indeed as anything other than rational (inviolable) – provided a direct challenge to the legitimacy of management' (Hollway, 1996, p.38).

The human relations idea of individuals belonging to an organisation, requiring managers to extract workers' commitment to the organisation and its goals, was not supported by Whyte (1956), who provided suggestions for individuals 'to fight a rearguard battle against the organisation, with the aid of some useful advice such as

“how to cheat at personality tests” (Thompson and McHugh, 1990, p.221). This signalled a new development and later the resurgence of Marxist theory continued this more critical view of management control strategies.

Braverman (1974) argued that Taylorist principles systematically deskilled workers through the division of labour (Grint, 1998). His labour process approach was favoured by Marxists and showed how managers' positions were strengthened and stratified, as new roles were created by the displacement of knowledge and skill (Grint, 1998). There have been many criticisms of his study, for example: the difficulties in defining 'skill' and 'deskilling' and the homogeneity implied therein; the assumption that the pre-industrial worker was skilled; and the association of employee control with class strategies of control (Grint, 1998). Despite the shortcomings of Braverman's study, he and other labour process theorists have made a large contribution to the debate about the development of work organisation.

Marx understood the labour process as capitalist-driven and provided the economic and historical context to deskilling, fragmentation and hierarchical control, which underpins much of the labour process theories (Thompson, 1989). Burawoy (1979, p.7) explained that 'the essential feature of the capitalist labour process [is] the transformation of nature or raw materials into useful things, on the one hand, and into profit, on the other.' In addition, he explained that the labour process has two components – relational and practical. The first concerns production relations, both between workers themselves and between management and workers, that shape the form and development of the labour process. The latter refers to the labour and effort involved in actually changing the raw materials into useful objects (Burawoy, 1979).

The original labour process studies were conducted within the manufacturing sector and this definition seems to have little relevance to the service sector, where 'useful objects' are not made. The outputs of the service sector are less tangible and measurable (Heskett, 1986; Kerfoot and Knights, 1996; MacDonald and Sirianni, 1996) but as the employment of control strategies by management are not restricted to the manufacturing sector, labour process theories are certainly still applicable. Kerfoot and Knights (1996, p.78) argued that the demands on service sector management 'are greater because the service sector is far more labour intensive than manufacturing, thus increasing the responsibilities of management to provide the requisite levels of co-ordination and control.' Taylorism is a direct form of control that was formulated with reference to factory-like production systems, but can be seen in office work too, where labour has been divided and knowledge is securely in the hands of management (Reed, 1992).

Grint (1998) argued that labour process theorists are over-concerned with control strategies, and that direct control will only be utilised by employers if it generates profit. Labour process theorists, however, do recognise that management control strategies are not restricted to structural factors, as:

'advanced capitalist societies depend on a range of economic, administrative, ideological and cultural resources [...] Consequently, more recent research on the dynamics of organizational control within the labour process group has focused on the ideological and cultural practices in which managers secure the commitment of workers to corporate goals and their translation into profitable production activities' (Reed, 1992, p.161).

So one could apply the labour process approach to any management strategy, it does not have to entail a class, economic or structural analysis.

A recent resurgence of interest in the cultural practices of organisations has led to a re-packaged human relations approach. Human Resources Management (HRM) is a phrase that was used interchangeably with ‘personnel management’ and ‘people management’ until the 1980s, when it came to denote a different philosophy and approach to the management of people at work (Legge, 1989). Eldridge and Crombie (1974) argued that while scientific management had a mechanistic conception of organisations and treated people as rational, economically driven beings, human relations over-compensated by understanding people in terms of sentiments and personal values within informal groups. They argued that each neglects the other, but HRM combines their essential features:

‘In the human relations model, the manager is exhorted to share information, discuss departmental decisions, to encourage self-direction and self-control in order to improve subordinate satisfaction and morale. Improved satisfaction is regarded as an intervening variable ultimately responsible for improved performance. The human resources model on the other hand proposes the more open and democratic style of management as a direct means to the improvement of decision-making and overall efficiency’ (Eldridge and Crombie, 1974, p.112-113).

The increasing economic importance of the service sector coincides with a shift in emphasis from ‘industrial’ to ‘employee’ relations (Legge, 1989) and HRM came to the forefront as the importance of staff management and issues such as training and development increased (Storey, 1989). HRM is still quite a loose term though, as it can be restricted or extended in its application, or can be related to issues which are ‘hard’ (statistical) or ‘soft’ (communication, motivation, leadership) (Storey, 1989). This era saw a shift back to the ‘organisation man’ and an emphasis on organisational culture re-emerged with an attempt by Western companies to emulate the Japanese experience of ‘strong cultures’ (Thompson and McHugh, 1990). This has led to the development of Total Quality Management (TQM), which, unlike Taylorism, assumes

that workers have the impulse to do a good job, and emphasises enriched jobs with knowledgeable and company-identified workers who share a common vision (Hochschild, 1997).

Most organisations now pay serious attention to their HRM policies and there is a commonly held belief that staff happiness leads to higher productivity (Storey, 1989), although Grint (1998) argued that many studies fail to establish this causal link. It has been translated into the service sector though, and it is believed that ‘customers are far more likely to receive good service if the staff delivering the service are happy in their work’ (Mudie and Cottam, 1993, p.126-7). In a Burger King newsletter, managers were told that a good manager can make workers happy and satisfied with their job, and that managers can solve any worker discontent through adequate communication, leading to worker loyalty and pride in Burger King (Reiter, 1996). Burger King believes that staff loyalty and morale keeps productivity high, and therefore charges its managers with HRM responsibilities.

HRM policies on recruitment, selection, training, development, rewards and communication convey organisations’ core values and ‘most HRM models emphasize the management of the organization’s culture as the central activity for senior management’ (Legge, 1989, p.28). An important practice for HRM is direct communication with the workforce, through briefings, videos, company literature and consultations (Thompson and McHugh, 1990). HRM stresses the need for a strong corporate culture, which can achieve a cohesive workforce without dysfunctional solidarity, by uniting staff through a

‘shared set of managerially sanctioned values (“quality”, “service”, “innovation”, etc.), that assume an identification of employee and employer

interests. Such co-optation – through cultural management, of course – reinforces the intention that autonomy will be exercised “responsibly”, i.e., in management’s interests’ (Legge, 1989, p.38).

The interest in corporate culture stems from the human relations approach, in which the individual was thought to have a social need to belong, so the informal organisation should be managed to enable this and the leaders of organisations must disseminate values and goals (Thompson and McHugh, 1990). Mayo echoed Durkheim’s belief that work acts as social control and cohesion, which organisational ‘strong cultures’ try to achieve (Thompson and McHugh, 1990). Of course, the cohesive workforce cannot be guaranteed and many studies demonstrate a resistant workforce, but the shift to HRM practices denotes an important development for senior and line management – that staff management is at the crux of the organisation.

Managing through culture does not mean a complete disregard of control and formal structures, but is simply a shift in focus and rhetoric towards the more informal means of control through values and emotional management. As the competition in service provision has increased, there has been a ‘need for cultural change within the company towards increased emphasis on “customer care”, this in turn influences management style’ (Tomlinson et al, 1997, p.221).

The developments outlined above demonstrate a widespread recognition of the benefits of the emotional engagement of workers and the need for managers to be symbolic leaders rather than simply ‘rational’ managers. This has continued through the 1990s, with middle and junior managers being charged with leadership responsibilities too. I shall return to the links between leadership and management after a discussion of management activities.

The activities of management

The above description of the development of the management role implies that managers began as purely rational beings focused solely upon profit-making, and have developed into emotional people who are concerned with the welfare of others. However, in order to understand the role, and theorising, of management, we require a consideration of management activities, to discover whether this change from rational to emotional has occurred in practice.

There is a long-established strand in the management literature that views management as anything but the epitome of rationality. Mintzberg (1973) observed that management work is varied, fragmented, spontaneous and interpersonal. Salaman (1995) suggested that the fragmentation of work could be due to circumstances or that managers design work to meet their personal preferences, that is, they like being interrupted even though this leads to inefficiency. Both Grint (1998) and Salaman (1995) criticised managers and management theories as they found that managers are reactive and unanalytical, as opposed to the common ideas and ideals of management as the epitome of instrumental rationality. Salaman (1995) found that managers' work is performed within the context of different interests, each with different priorities and resources, whether these are personal, departmental or organisational, so managers bargain and bully. Stewart (1983, cited in Salaman, 1995) suggested that the fragmented nature of managers' work may be due to this need, or liking, for interpersonal politicking and networking and also the inappropriate application of habits formed as junior managers. As management

training is mainly informal, particularly in the UK, that is, by example or on-the-job. these habits are sustained across generations of managers.

Grint (1995) argued that British managers have had a mimetic approach to knowledge, that is, they rely on apprenticeship for knowledge transmission, which leads to a simple replication of information rather than knowledge development. By the 1920s in Japan, Germany and USA most executives were graduates. Grint implied that this is why their industries have been more successful than British firms, who have short-term plans and have traditionally shunned formal training and education. The acceptance of formal training and education by management seems to be increasing in the UK, indicated by the number of management journals of both a descriptive and prescriptive nature, and the increasing number of students on business and management courses, MBA courses and even the development of a DBA programme. The prescriptive journals and literature are most indicative of the need for managers to be told how to do their job better, or for new managers to learn techniques or 'best practices'. The demand for this literature, whether this is from managers, consultants or trainers of managers, demonstrates that the business world is embracing some of academia's ideas.

Salaman (1995) boldly stated that managers are skilled at using their time inappropriately, and identified three potential reasons: a problem of knowledge (they do not know how to manage), a problem of skill (they know how, but lack the capacity to apply the knowledge), or a problem of motivation or choice (they know how and could do it, but choose to act differently as this may provide other benefits). Salaman (1995) suggested that as managers work inappropriately we should not

model future behaviour on their current actions, instead we need a theoretically driven model. This will be of little practical use, however, if managers prefer experience and practice over training and theory. Stewart and Barsoux (1994, p.172) argued that

‘[m]anagement is a complex label for an activity, a subject and an idea. [...] Hence the large number of adjectives that can be used to describe the qualities needed by a good manager [...] many people would agree that managers cannot be produced by teaching. This view rests on two premisses. The first is the implicit view that management is a somewhat intangible activity, therefore a talent for it can only be developed through practical experience. The second is that it requires a natural talent so that not everyone can become a manager.’

Grint (1998) explained that the actions of managers are similar to what many of us do (liaising, monitoring, planning), so it is the context that defines who is a manager. He found that much of managers’ work is talk-oriented, making orders and requests, yet the traditional assumption is that managers are task-oriented, solving problems whilst keeping production going. The ‘firefighting’ style of British managers has continued because of tradition more than purpose, as this has been constructed as a rational approach to management (Grint, 1995). There are alternatives to firefighting management, but the discourse of good management in the UK has been that of firefighting, as evidenced through findings of the fragmented, reactive nature of management work.

Stewart and Barsoux (1994) argued that the common functions of management, identified by Fayol in 1916 (planning, organising, commanding¹, co-ordinating and controlling), were useful in showing the underlying similarities of managerial jobs, but do not describe the nature of managerial jobs as they are too general for the whole diversity of management². Traditional management theory, led by Taylorism,

¹ More recently softened to ‘motivating’.

² This differs from Mintzberg’s (1973) proposition that all managers’ jobs are very alike.

separates the manager from others in the workplace and portrays managers as rational (Kanter, 1977), which leads to the social and emotional isolation of managers. However, managers must manage themselves as well as others, as they have the same human anxieties and need for meanings as the 'irrational' workers. Watson (1994, p.15) stated that management can be split into its functions (what it is for in terms of directing the organisation) and its activities (what managers do to direct the organisation). The functions can be seen in rational terms, but the activities have been found to be less than rational (Grint, 1995; Salaman, 1995; and Kanter, 1977). As a result the traditional, rational models of management do not coincide with what managers do in practice.

Watson found that most managers became managers by circumstance, so they did not 'see themselves as entering a team charged with directing the business as a whole...' (1994, p.57), which leads to their focus on local and short-term matters. He also found that an 'individual's expression of what management is [is related] to what they wish to say about themselves as a person' (Watson, 1994, p.44). To understand managerial work Watson (1994) argued that we must relate the 'strategic exchange processes' of the organisation to the managers' personal strategic exchange processes, that is, the shaping of the organisation is related to the shaping of themselves. 'Reference to constructs of good and bad managers - some based on current colleagues, some based on semi-mythical figures of the past - are resources used in the process of managing to manage' (Watson, 1994, p.177). Yet, many managers did not live up to their espoused ideals and Watson (1994) explained this in terms of their isolation, that they are supposed to be rational, whilst it is recognised that workers have a need for meaning and can be insecure. 'Competent managers are thus people

who can appropriately influence the performance of those upon whom they depend for the fulfilling of the specific tasks associated with their post' (Watson, 1994, p.221-222). So, competence and the organisational culture are linked - the structural and cultural contexts are important, as well as personal qualities. This introduction to the role of management serves to highlight the link between management activity and organisational culture, which will be explored further later in this chapter.

The essence of management is to enhance the quality of subordinates' work as it 'involves getting things done *with and through others*' (Salaman, 1995, p.60, original emphasis). The manager's role is one of empowerment - by giving workers the information, training, authority and responsibility to excel - and of monitoring performance. Managers are responsible for the quality of others' work and the skills of managing performance and improvement are social skills. Therefore, a good or successful manager is one who achieves a high level or high quality output from the workers, they do not necessarily have to generate output themselves. Adkins's (1995) study of the tourist industry supports this, as managers described their success as dependant upon the quality of their workers and described the importance of 'people skills', connecting profit with skills. Adkins also noticed that in the organisational handbooks, people skills had a greater importance than physical operations, as the worker is part of the product in service industries. Workers must use their skills to make the customer happy enough to return to the business. Workers must be 'caring, courteous and smiling' and put 'that little bit extra' into their performance (Adkins, 1995, p.96). Management roles also, therefore, require people skills as they entail staff management and eliciting commitment and enhanced productivity or service quality. This means that managers often require leadership qualities. In practice, it

seems that managers must balance both 'emotional' activities with their 'rational' function. This indicates that the management role has not evolved from rational profit-making to emotional care-taking, as developments in management theory might suggest, but is a combination of both. The emotional and rational aspects of the management role are actually difficult to separate, as a manager can employ emotional skills to meet rational ends and employ rational skills to meet emotional ends. Additionally, it should be noted that emotionality is not equal to irrationality; emotions can be rational.

Leadership and management

Management has been redefined, in terms of skills, role and practice over the last century, and its leadership function has been given a greater importance in relation to other aspects of managers' work. Salaman (1995) argued that, due to increasing competition, organisations place increasing responsibilities on their managers and an increasing emphasis on their management skills. In practice, management skills have become more difficult to perform, train and measure, because of the increasing focus on the leadership aspects and managers' reduced bureaucratic power. For example, in the financial services, the development of the sales culture, improved technology and the centralisation of many tasks means that managers within branches have little control over the bank's administration processes. Branch managers' power now lies in their discretionary power over their staff, requiring them to lead sales teams.

One interesting aspect of the management literature is that it often suggests that management and leadership are synonymous, if only by implying that leadership is a part of management, or that to be a leader one must be in a management position. For

example, one of Mintzberg's ten management roles is that 'of "leader", responsible for the motivation and activation of subordinates' (Stewart and Barsoux, 1994, p.167). In addition, three of the eight schools of management thought identified by Mintzberg (1973) focus on leadership. Yet in some texts these concepts are clearly differentiated. For example, Grint (1995) showed how management and leadership have been constructed as different - management is about exercising authority, and leadership is about influencing commitment, with both of them having to do 'the right things'. He questioned this construction though, asking how authority can be exercised without influencing commitment. Managers are expected to implement the leader's vision and so both managers and leaders are required within any organisation. Social distance is often used by leaders to foster awe, as this mystifies them and enables them to gain respect (Goffman, 1959). The leadership functions performed by managers are more likely to involve less social distance, as they need to also know how to motivate their staff. They are never fully one of the team however, and therefore some social distance is maintained.

Democratic leadership is common in Western societies, for which the critical issue is 'not the behaviour of the individual but the functions that the leader fulfils' (Grint, 1997, p.149). These functions include the distribution of responsibility to include the participation of all; empowerment of others to ensure all have some level of competence and leadership; and the assistance of democracy 'by encouraging discussion, and by ensuring that the norms of behaviour and debate are followed' (Grint, 1997, p.150). It is a form of leadership that has a long tradition, and the functions are applicable to managers' attempts at securing commitment and motivation from their workforce through their empowerment (Grint, 1997).

‘Transactional’ and ‘transformational’ are terms used to denote two styles of leadership, which have also been applied as descriptions of management styles. Transactional leadership involves ‘coalition-building, setting priorities, listening and encouraging ... Transformational leadership is, essentially, about instilling a sense of purpose in those who are led, and of course encouraging emotional identity with the organization and its goals for their own sake’ (Brown, 1994, pp.1-2). Transformational leaders mould the psychology and behaviour of those around them, by shaping ‘the values, beliefs and assumptions that employees have about their tasks, their colleagues and their organization ... [and create] social situations which dramatically and powerfully communicate significant messages to others’ (Brown, 1994, p.2). This is related to the fairly recent trend of managing the organisational culture in order to affect change and success.

Peters and Waterman showed that it was the work of one or two leaders that made companies ‘excellent’³ and found that leaders’ values survive in the organisational cultures after they leave, and current leaders must ‘manage the *values* of the organisation’ (1982, p. 26, original emphasis). They concluded that there was no single definition of leadership, but that transformational leadership played a large part in developing appropriate organisational cultures. A transforming leader is concerned

³ Peters and Waterman’s highly popular book *In Search of Excellence* (1982), found eight attributes of ‘excellent’ companies (defined as ‘continuously innovative big companies’ (Watson, 1994, p.13)), which are: a bias for action; being close to the customer; autonomy and entrepreneurship (they have ‘champions’ who are allowed to take risks); productivity through people and respect the lower levels of staff; hands-on and value driven (senior managers ‘walk the floors’); they ‘stick to the knitting’ (doing what they know best); they have a simple form and a lean staff, even at top levels; and loose-tight properties (they are centralised and de-centralised, with autonomy at the floor whilst maintaining their core values). These attributes were found with a certain intensity in the 75 excellent companies they studied, although not all were found in each and not all to the same intensity in each.

with different details to the transactional leader, that is, they want to shape values and be a 'pathfinder', rather than being task-centred (Peters and Waterman, 1982).

Rajan and van Eupen (1997, p.26) argued that the top five leadership skills of this new century are: '(t)he ability to inspire trust and motivation ... visioning came second, listening skills third, strategic thinking fourth and communication skills fifth', demonstrating that a leader must be transformational and that people skills are central. The Industrial Society (Caulkin, 1998) also argued that the definition of leadership has changed, as leaders now encourage followers to lead themselves, rather than simply leading these followers. These 'liberating' leaders:

'manage [*sic*] by using a combination of direction, delegation and good listening skills ... they customise their style to individuals and to situations ... [and] not surprisingly these liberating leaders tend to have a strong positive belief in themselves, in others and in fairness - values which correspond closely to the idea that people are naturally motivated to do a good job and need encouragement and help in doing that, rather than crude stick or carrots' (Caulkin, 1998).

This corresponds with the current organisational demands, as the increasing importance of teamwork in a fast-changing environment means that close supervision must be reduced (Caulkin, 1998). Kusy and McBain (1997) noted the increasing focus on the 'human side' of leadership, which is newer to the management literature than to organisations and their leaders themselves. The need to look after, and empower, lower level staff, alongside the emphasis on values and organisational culture, is recognised as a way that leaders can achieve gains for the organisation (Kusy and McBain, 1997). Organisational leaders emphasise empowerment and need to inculcate a strong organisational culture, which is passed through to staff via managers at all levels, in particular those managers in direct contact with staff who meet customers.

Managing Organisational Cultures

This section continues to examine managers' roles and activities, and shows how they are related to the organisational setting, that is, how organisational cultures are affected by managers and also how organisational cultures affect managers' activities and behaviour. Salaman (1995, p.58) argued that managers, as well as leaders, must empower and 'make people capable of joint performance by giving them common goals, common values, the right structure, and the ongoing training and development they need to perform and to respond to change'. By integrating people into a common venture, a manager's activities are embedded in culture. Salaman (1995) argued that, to be competitive, managers need to unleash the energy, intelligence, creativity and enthusiasm of the staff, by giving them the responsibility to do their jobs to the best of their abilities.

Watson (1994, p.111, original emphasis) stated that '(w)e can define an organisational culture as *a set of meanings to be shared by all members of the organisation which will define what is good and bad, right and wrong and what are the appropriate ways for members of the organisation to think and behave*'. Each organisation's culture is distinctive because of its history, past decisions and past leaders and 'through the more or less constant exercise of *choice*, in all sections and levels' (Eldridge and Crombie, 1974, p.89, original emphasis). That is, organisations must choose their goals and methods of combining personnel, technologies and raw materials, and the solutions each arrives at 'reflect a certain organisational "style"' (Eldridge and Crombie, 1974, p.90).

The interest in corporate cultures increased because of the success of Japanese organisations, and globalisation more generally led to a focus on different management styles and practices (Parker, 2000). Parker (2000, p.22) argued that it also has a longer historical context, as ‘ideas about team spirit, healthy cultures and the working through of conflict are all formulations that were common amongst humanist organizational psychologists in the 1960s.’ The emphasis on the management of organisational cultures shifts the concern from control to commitment. Parker (2000) pointed out that weakened bureaucratic control does not equate to no control nor increased freedom, just as Burawoy (1979) argued that organisational control can be despotic or hegemonic (which is intended to give the appearance that no control is being exercised). So, as close supervision is costly and therefore self-surveillance is preferable, it could be argued that ‘cultural engineering is another version of attitudinal control, an attempt to govern the soul’ (Parker, 2000), for the purposes of increased profits. Through the management of culture managers are more able to solicit the responsible autonomy of the workforce (Parker, 2000), which Legge (1989) had suggested HRM achieves.

Managing through culture attempts to make the unofficial (actual) and official (management-espoused) cultures similar or, ideally, the same⁴. Watson (1994) found that official cultures spoke of empowerment, skills and growth, but unofficial cultures were about control, jobs and costs. He stated that if managers are to shape the organisational culture, they need to develop an understanding of human nature; recognise the limits of rationality; see the culture itself and the role of storytelling; and recognise the part that language plays in communication and decision-making.

⁴ Formal (official) and informal (unofficial) cultures are usually presented as a dualism, respectively representing structure and agency (Parker, 2000). Parker (2000) questioned this construction.

For example, 'The service-through-people theme at Disney starts, as it does in many of the excellent companies, with a special language' (Peters and Waterman, 1982, p.167). That is, *all* staff are called 'cast members', being at work is 'on stage', and customers are 'Guests' (with an important capital G). All cast members must go through Disney University to learn about the company and their part in the bigger picture, which makes 'the service orientation become tangible for all hands' (Peters and Waterman, 1982, p.171). This is important because,

'profit objectives, while very necessary, are internally focused and certainly do not inspire people by the thousands way down the line. Service objectives, on the other hand, are almost without fail meaningful to down-the-line employees. A strong sense of personal accountability among down-the-line employees is crucial' (Peters and Waterman, 1982, p.166).

So, whilst some studies (Grint, 1997; Salaman, 1995; Watson, 1994) found that some managers cannot see the bigger picture, or the organisation as a whole, Disney tries to instil this way of thinking into all of their employees. Peters and Waterman (1984) demonstrated that this is achieved through managing the organisational culture, indicating that, to be successful, service organisations must ensure that their managers are able to manage through culture.

In the service sector in particular, there is a need to disseminate a message of service excellence and managers play a key role in communicating the company values as the messages passed between a company and their staff ultimately reach the customer (Tomlinson et al, 1997). Reiter (1996) studied Burger King⁵, whose training manual emphasises smiling, as the management and crew's attitudes are said to create the atmosphere and personality of each restaurant. A Burger King sign tells employees that if their attitude is indifferent towards customers, they will not want to return. 'In

⁵ Customers are also called 'guests' in Burger King.

training workers, management must ensure that the informal working relationships are pleasant enough so that a friendly atmosphere will be created' (Reiter, 1996, p.108). Managers need to keep the workers smiling, but ensure that 'they don't have too good a time'. All discretion is removed from the workers' jobs, but workers are told that they are important to the company, which demonstrates the contradictions of marrying HRM principles with the scientific management of the division of labour (Reiter, 1996).

Heskett (1986) argued that controlling quality is particularly difficult in service industries, although it can be performed by peers and customers, but 'among the most effective forms of quality control are those that tap an individual's inner desire to provide good service – as opposed to those solutions that merely throw more supervision at a problem' (p.40). He provided the examples of Delta Airlines and Marriott Corporation, who have excellent internal communication and build employee pride in delivering high service standards. They have developed a particular organisational culture, which is disseminated through managers, who must 'sincerely believe in them and care for the people they are managing' (Heskett, 1986, p.40). It is difficult to measure the sincerity of managers and workers, therefore it is questionable whether all managers do sincerely believe in the organisational culture, but Heskett (1986, p.133) stated they 'must believe strongly in the value of what their firms do. The challenge is to communicate their conviction and enthusiasm to others...'. As Reiter (1996) found in Burger King, Heskett (1986, p.123) also argued that 'the concept of "family" pervades many of the most successful service companies.' The service sector managers Heskett (1986, p.133) referred to 'like people, and they make sure that they have fun in their jobs, often injecting variety and excitement. [...] to

maintain their own enthusiasm and that of others in the firm.’ He suggested that they were able to motivate workers ‘on the firing line’ through projecting their own enthusiasm and sincerity.

This demonstrates that the presentation of self is an important consideration for managers, both in terms of maintaining their own self-presentation and in eliciting the required presentations from their staff. Tomlinson et al (1997, p.221) confirm this in their study of retail managers, who they found are ‘perceived by customers and staff as embodying the organization, and her / his behaviour is taken to be representative of company attitudes.’

The dissemination of the organisational culture is, of course, not always straightforward, and ‘of key importance is recognizing that members can and do employ a huge range of interpretive resources in order to classify people, concepts and materials – to make meanings’ (Parker, 2000, p.82). Parker (2000) argued that organisations are both unitary and divided, with many possible ‘cultures of’ within an organisation. Ogbanna and Harris’s (1998) study also indicates the complex nature of organisational culture and the difficulty in aligning the unofficial and official cultures due to the different interest groups involved. Parker’s (2000) case study of a building society detailed tensions between, and the different assumptions and expectations of, Head Office and branches. Eldridge and Crombie (1974, p.88-89) argued that:

‘organisational cultures do not have the same all-inclusiveness and self-containment that distinguish societal cultures, and assimilation into them is never so complete. It is as well to note however, as studies such as Goffman’s analysis of “total institutions” and Whyte’s diagnosis of “organisation man” indicate, that under certain conditions organisational cultures may in fact come to dominate member’s existence.’

One can choose to feel membership of an organisational culture, which may depend upon one's values and their relationship to the organisational culture (Anthony, 1994).

The increasing branding of product lines, promoting identification and loyalty to the company brands amongst customers and workers, also requires attention to organisational cultures. Parker (2000) argued that the cultures of his case study organisations echoed the assumptions held by wider society – of a capitalist labour process, new management strategies, gender, age, ethnicity and professional identities, 'so organizations are social constructions that are reproduced within generalizable contexts...' (p.231). Therefore, organisational cultures are not entirely unique, but are local phenomena. 'Giddens (1984) amongst others has continued to remind us of this point – people make structures and structures make people – structuration' (Parker, 2000, p.231).

There is a long-term debate in psychology between the view that attitudes precede actions, and its opposite, that one acts oneself into feeling (Casey, 1995; Leary, 1995) and it is the latter theory that Peters and Waterman's research supported: '*The language in people-oriented institutions has a common flavor. In many respects, form precedes substance ... Once they start talking the philosophy, they may start living it, even if, initially, the words have no meaning*' (Peters and Waterman, 1982, p.260, original emphasis). In particular, words that upgrade the status of employees are important and imply they have a central place, for example, 'cast' or 'crew' members (Disney and McDonalds respectively), or 'family' and 'team' environments.

Peters and Waterman (1982, p.29) emphasised the importance of organisational culture and found that '[p]rofessionalism in management is regularly equated with hard-headed rationality' and that 'rational has come to have a very narrow definition in business analysis. It is the "right" answer, but it's missing all of that messy human stuff...' (ibid. p.31), yet 'so much of excellence in performance has to do with people being motivated by compelling, simple - even beautiful - values' (ibid. p.37). They believed that the 'old rationality', based on scientific management is no longer useful, as its cost-reduction emphasis led to a lack of innovation and quality enhancement. They identified that a problem with the view of rational organisations is that people are not always rational. In contrast, the excellent companies 'allow for - and take advantage of - the emotional, more primitive side (good and bad) of human nature ... They offer support - more, celebration; they use small, intimate units ...; and they provide within protected setting opportunities to stand out ...' (Peters and Waterman, 1982, p. 60). They found that the superior/subordinate relationship is central to management, and positive reinforcement shapes and teaches behaviour, and enhances self-image. Indeed, interactions express the nature of the relationship between actors, which includes power and emotions; they are not just instrumental and rational, and 'a great deal of interaction which occurs in organizations is expressive, constituting objectification of feelings rather than anything else' (Mangham and Overington, 1987, p.107).

Values are often diffused by the 'soft' media of stories, myths, legends, and metaphors, rather than through written rules. Some rules are usually necessary but can be altered to fit the organisational culture, for example, Peters and Waterman (1982, p.321) found that '(t)he "rules" in the excellent companies have a positive cast.

They deal with quality, service, innovation, and experimentation.’ These companies recognise that employees may have different motivations for working, and ‘(b)y offering meaning as well as money, they give their employees a mission as well as a sense of feeling great. Every man [*sic*] becomes a pioneer, an experimenter, a leader’ (Peters and Waterman, 1982, p.323). Lyotard (1986, p.62, cited by McKinlay and Starkey, 1998, p.3) also argued that organisations work well when they ‘make individuals “want” what the system needs in order to perform well.’

McGregor’s (1984, cited by Grint, 1998) Theory X of traditional firms assumed that people disliked work, needed coercion to make them comply to work rules and that they actually preferred this control to having autonomy. Theory Y was identified by McGregor through a different set of assumptions:

‘first, work is not disliked by everyone; second, coercion is not the only motivator; third, it is possible to provide organizational goals that fulfil the highest motivator - self-actualization; fourth, responsible behaviour is a result of trust, and the avoidance of responsibility is a reaction to experiences that dent responsibility; fifth, creativity is widely dispersed throughout the population, even if few jobs require it’ (Grint, 1998, p.124).

Grint (1998) argued that Theory Y is still technocratic, as managers set the goals that they gear workers to realise themselves through. Many large organisations pay attention to their culture and attempt to instil appropriate values in their staff and this is also demonstrated by the amount of literature on the subject. There is a widely held belief that productivity can be increased or enhanced by paying attention to staff morale, attitudes and values and this is the basis of most HRM policies (Storey, 1989).

Casey (1995) and Reiter (1996) both conducted studies on organisations which promoted forms of 'family' and 'team' to encourage identification with the companies. Casey explained that family metaphors mean employees assume family-like roles, which remove the need for direct supervisory control; and the team metaphor evokes images of loyalty and dedication. In both studies, a 'fun' time was promoted, with connections being made between fun, high productivity and presentation of self. For example, in Burger King workers were encouraged to look as good as they would if they were going out with friends, and that this would ensure they had fun at work (and it also presents the clean, wholesome image that Burger King desired) (Reiter, 1996). Casey (1995, p.135) argued that 'a culture of feeling good at work by having apparently meaningful and energized team and family relations generates a simulated sociality that ensures the necessary human effort in production continues.' A combination of the workplace layout, the immediacy of the team culture and the close proximity of the team to their manager, seems to reduce practices of resistance or counter-cultures (Casey, 1995). Without the designed culture, production would continue, but the sharing of knowledge and 'the passion necessary to "delight the customer" would fail' (Casey, 1995, p.136).

Mayo proposed that there are links between an individual's emotions and organisational needs for solidarity, and Handy (1985) argued that, '(c)ulture then becomes the glue holding an organization together; it is the Durkheimian social cement without which no social group can exist' (Grint, 1998, p.127). Conversely, Grint (1998) suggested that culture can be viewed as originating from individuals who have defined some actions as their culture, rather than the culture causing them to act

a certain way. This highlights the uncertainty over which is most influential and dominant – the official or unofficial culture.

In most texts, it is the leader or top management that are believed to have the power to effect organisational change (Grint, 1998; Helgesen, 1990; Schein, 1985), however, middle and lower level managers also play an important part in culture change. Brubakk and Wilkinson (1995) stated that this is particularly true in the service sector, as it is the middle managers and supervisors who are closest to the service interaction and provide the reward and support for this service. They found that as the banks they studied became more concerned with sales, the behaviour of the staff had to change, and that ‘leadership and strategic responsibility should be an inherent part of middle-management jobs’ (1995, p.24). The fragmented structure of the branches meant that branch managers are the most influential figures, because of their proximity to the staff. In their survey, none of the employees perceived the CEO as the main change agent, instead it was their branch manager. A branch manager commented that if he had been negative about the centralised changes, their implementation would not have been as rapid (Brubakk and Wilkinson, 1995).

Bank management is an excellent example of the link between organisational culture and the management role. The change in the branch manager’s role from one of lender to that of sales manager has led to the shift from ‘a distant operator to part of the team, performing leadership with the responsibility of creating results through the employees’ (Brubakk and Wilkinson, 1996, p.40). So although branch managers may have lost some of their status, because their work is similar to that of the staff, they can still affect cultural change, by influencing and reinforcing the behaviour of staff.

Redman et al (1997) studied a cross-section of managers in their case study building society in two phases, 1985 and 1990. The second phase included managers who were better qualified, younger, and more women, which 'reflects the changing nature of the management population' (ibid. p.105). They found that managers had lost some of their autonomy, as the Head Office made many of their lending decisions and resolved customer queries. The sphere of influence of the Head Office also included staffing decisions, that is, cost controlling operations included monitoring and controlling staffing levels, so branch managers no longer had this control. However, branch managers still felt that they had some autonomy, simply because they were geographically distant from their supervisors, even though they recognised that their entrepreneurial activities had reduced and that they were increasingly employed in administration tasks and staff training in new product lines (Redman et al, 1997).

The combination of these changes means that there is 'a greater emphasis on business development, sales, decentralisation, and individual performance' (Redman et al, 1997, p.103), which correlates with the shift to branch manager as sales manager. A Barclays Bank communications director stated 'In the past 300 years we've managed this business to suit ourselves. Now we are managing the business to suit our customers' (cited by Fay, 1999, p.59). The changes in the sector mean that '...bankers are not quite sure what they are there for. "Banking is a mixture between a utility, a business and profession, and they're never quite sure on which level they ought to be operating," says an investment banker' (Fay, 1999, p.58).

Ezzamel et al (1994) argued that the traditional highly bureaucratic control of financial services has transformed into control based upon the ideals of increased empowerment and accountability, where both staff and managers are 'multiskilled to facilitate organisational flexibility in the pursuit of "quality"' (p.22). The increased market competition has led to 'a series of changes in management practices that, despite a humanistic veneer of variable depth, seek to bring about an intensification of work to yield productivity improvements and hence increased profitability' (Ezzamel et al, 1994, p.22). They argued that although managers see the benefits in terms of economics, they 'play up the humanism and professional responsibility that are seen to underlie the changes' (p. 24). Some managers think the change is due to younger managers who have been trained in a particular style of management, and those uncomfortable with new ways of working have been made redundant, although their study showed that 'there are many wedded to aspects of the "old style" at the very top' (Ezzamel et al, 1994, p. 28). But control has not been removed, it has been displaced into personal development activities and the design of systems, and they found that it was the managers, rather than workers, who were empowered and accountable, as increased workloads meant that staff needed to be controlled more. This study supports Grint's (1998) argument that Taylorism is still prevalent, as although it seems that HRM philosophies drive management practices and rhetoric, they are still concerned with control and profit.

The literature on management in general, and particularly management of organisational cultures, demonstrates that the attitude and behaviour of the manager is thought to affect the attitude and behaviour of the staff. In general, this pattern of attitude and behaviour moulding is part of the socialisation process and socialisation

in the workplace is an important part of working life. This thesis is not a study of organisational cultures, which are problematic in large organisations, not least because the size of the organisation means that the sub-cultures can be conflicting and there will be a multiplicity of meanings. Yet an appreciation of organisational cultures and their management is required to understand the organisational socialisation processes (Reed, 1992) and how the practice of management has developed into its present day form.

Becoming a Manager

As this chapter will proceed to demonstrate, occupational socialisation is an important process to gain workers' commitment to the organisational culture and practices, particularly when responsible autonomy, rather than direct control, is the management strategy. The management of the organisational culture enables 'attitudinal restructuring' as a control strategy to align the workers' attitudes and values to those of the organisation (Reed, 1992). With the increasing emphasis placed on managing through culture and the rise of the transformational manager, both managers and workers are expected to have internalised the organisation's values. Managers' values and attitudes especially need to be aligned with the organisational value structure, as they must train their workers and lead by example (Osterman, 1996). Organisations, therefore, have an instrumental interest in the occupational socialisation of its managers in particular. Companies have both formal and informal rites of passage that recruits pass through, so they become aware of the customs of the organisation, especially in organisations with 'strong' cultures such as IBM or McDonalds (Gabriel et al, 2000). These rites help the recruits 'fall into line' quickly, otherwise their

progress will be delayed (Gabriel et al, 2000). All workers must learn their organisational role and its requirements.

‘An organisational role designates the tasks, duties and responsibilities that are expected of the occupants of particular positions, and usually includes some specification of relations with the product, the technology, and other roles that are entailed’ (Eldridge and Crombie, 1974, p.114). They argued that in all situations ‘people respond to one another in terms of expectations associated with sex and age roles, and the collective definitions of kinship roles such as son or wife. Organisational roles are characterised by a much higher degree of specificity’ (1974, p.114). They suggested that organisational role holders are also expected to behave in a particular way towards other members of the organisation and non-members that they may come into contact with as an organisational member. They found that managers tend to experience more freedom than workers because ‘[i]t is as though we have thought it appropriate for managers, executives, directors and so on to be able to satisfy their need for self-actualisation but have found it more convenient to persevere with the economic man or social man images in relation to rank and file members’ (Eldridge and Crombie, 1974, p.115). This suggests that managers are allowed to be more emotional beings, when managers are more likely to be tied to the expected ways of behaving for longer periods of time, as managers are expected to present the organisational image more than workers. Mangham and Overington (1987) argued that many workers present a performance that others expect from them, in order to elicit others’ approval. They noted the similarities between the theatre and the workplace and suggested that just as good actors are able to act and think about their performance simultaneously, ‘[l]ikewise for the good manager; one part of him [*sic*]

solves, suggests and steers as another part of him acts: the sum is the performance' (Mangham and Overington, 1987, p.115).

Coffey and Atkinson (1994, p. 2) explained that occupational socialisation is 'how knowledge and culture are transmitted to new recruits in an occupational setting.' They emphasise the importance of knowledge and occupational culture and the local, situated character of occupational life and socialisation. Occupational socialisation is not limited to new recruits, as the training of existing workers is important too, particularly as organisations must adapt themselves to increased competition. Organisations must re-train their managers and workers to a working style that better suits that competitive environment. It seems that the process should be called organisational socialisation, as employees must be loyal to the company, rather than their role, which is likely to be in constant flux. Many managers, however, move companies for promotions and development, as positions tend to be limited at the top of organisational ladders, indicating that not all of them are actually committed to one company.

Managers do not have to be indoctrinated by the workplace socialisation, they can also be instrumental in their actions and 'surface act' (Hochschild, 1983). For example, working long hours provides a display function of dedication to the company (Casey, 1995; Landers et al, 1996; Hochschild, 1997). This relates to Foucault's concept of 'dressage' (Jackson and Carter, 1998), as one of the functions of labour, and is the public display of compliance and obedience to discipline. One part of dressage is 'taming', where workers submit to the discipline and modify their behaviour to that required by those in control, 'and some organisations specify in

minute detail, including requirements such as eye contact and sincerity, how employees should interact with customers' (Jackson and Carter, 1998, p.57). Another part of dressage is 'performance', where workers must perform tasks in a particular way to show compliance with demands in front of a particular audience. Any work not needed in terms of production falls into the category of dressage (Jackson and Carter, 1998).

The socialisation process is particularly evident amongst professional occupations. Denzin (1968, cited by Jackson, 1970) noted that professions recruit certain people, develop elaborate ideologies and supra-individual values, attempt to convert new members to their beliefs and have their own mechanisms of socialisation. Is management, however, a profession? Jackson (1970) suggested that we should actually ask: to what extent does management exhibit characteristics of professionalisation? This is a trait approach, and we could also adopt a process approach, by identifying what management has done to turn itself into a profession. Professionals can be viewed as those who have a monopoly over certain resources, or knowledge, that are appropriate to certain social needs (Jackson, 1970). Jackson (1970, p.8) stated that any occupation is capable of professionalisation, as 'all occupations develop a culture, a terminology, a set of rules of craft, learning modes and dispositions.' Witz (1992) detailed others' definitions of professions, including those who state that professions are occupations who have gained the right to control their own work; and that professions adopt exclusionary closure to limit the supply of entrants to increase their market value.

There are many indicators that management is becoming professionalised, for example, there are academic qualifications such as MBAs, and indeed, managers are increasingly better qualified than their predecessors; managers can become members of associations or professional bodies (either linked to their function, for example, IPD, or to their general status, for example, IM); read their own journals of either an academic or more journalistic nature; and, certainly since Taylorism, have a monopoly over certain knowledge. Financial services' managers also have their own specific qualifications, associations, journals and knowledge, as well as being part of the wider management community. Parker (2000, p.201) argued that 'the professionalization of management is a process that has gained considerable momentum over the last 20 years' and involves making claims that management has expertise that other groups do not. The development of a management identity is evident in 'management development' initiatives within organisations; criticisms of rule-bound administrators; and the ability to use contemporary management thought proactively to develop a shared culture and vision (Parker, 2000). As with other identity claims, there are claims of 'them' and 'us', that 'we understand but they do not', where comments are made on others' inabilities and one's own expertise (Parker, 2000).

Professionals tend to have a service-directed view of their work, rather than a business-oriented one (Oleson and Whittaker, 1970; Jackson, 1970), which is where management may fall outside the definition. Management's move to humanistic ideals and styles may indicate its attempt at professionalisation, but managers use humanistic styles to improve profit.

Much of the power and status of professionals is acquired from their academic training and occupational socialisation, as the ‘indoctrination into the professional mystique is a combination of experience, apprenticeship and most importantly sets of attitudes appropriate to the different audiences of laymen and other professionals, assistants and competitors’ (Jackson, 1970, p.9). Professionalisation builds boundaries through the use of socialisation. Oleson and Whittaker (1970) stated that the conceptualisation of professions is linked to larger questions of social and technological change and of occupational structures, as professions and occupations are involved in a process of change affected from within and by external factors. They observed that socialisation is often thought to be a process for producing a standard product that ensures social interactions run smoothly, but socialisation involves learning deviant behaviours too.

Acculturation, which is the process of culture change where one culture takes over another, is a concept rarely used in professional socialisation literature. It emphasises though the personal and cultural reformation processes, especially in relation to students who are shown to be assimilated and take on the role skills, norms, values and ethics of the profession they study (Oleson and Whittaker, 1970). This is not to say that they are simply moulded, and professional socialisation is more than just assimilation. Acculturation shows the reciprocity involved within socialisation processes – students affect the professional culture just as they are affected by it (Oleson and Whittaker, 1970). A program of acculturation attempts to achieve an appropriate fit between the individual and the requirements of the organisational culture, and ‘[a]ppropriately acculturated, self-censored employees will know automatically the difference between welcome speaking up and troublemaking

speaking out' (Casey, 1995, p.141). Therefore, organisations may encourage the reciprocity involved in organisational socialisation, as acculturation encourages the internalisation of organisational values and means that less direct control is required.

The concept of 'divestiture' is also useful for studies of occupational socialisation, because it implies that socialisation involves '...stripping away prior inadequacies or weaknesses of the individual, reinvesting the person with the special concerns or goals of the institution...' (Oleson and Whittaker, 1970, p.194). However, it does tend to ignore the exchange or reciprocity between students and organisations.

Goffman argued that individuals do not passively accept rules (as in a normative consensus model), but 'lying behind the notions of "community and consensus are mixed motive games" (Goffman, 1997 [1983], p.241)' (Swingewood, 2000, p.175). So, social structures do not 'define or determine cultural practices and rituals, they "help select from the available repertoire of them" (Goffman, 1997, p.251)' (Swingewood, 2000, p.175). Goffman believed 'that the interaction order⁶ always involves a moral dimension, made up of trust and tact for supporting and maintaining the order based on both cognitive and normative "presuppositions and self-sustained restraints"' (Swingewood, 2000, p.174). Swingewood (2000) criticised Goffman's ignorance of the hierarchical nature of some interaction orders, for example, in bureaucracies, and for not recognising that there must be some internalisation of culture and values in order to play a role. Casey (1995, p.59) however, argued that symbolic interactionists do 'conceive of a transposition of interaction patterns into intrapsychic patterns of relations, which they call "internalisation" [...] rules are

⁶ Goffman argued that face to face interactions have their own order based on internal properties and clear boundaries (Swingewood, 2000).

internally transposed into schemes of thinking and comprehension, and become the mechanisms by which an individual learns to develop...’ Casey (1995) showed that although industrial psychologists assumed people choose an occupation according to their personality character and preferences, other studies show that ‘people become what they do’ (p.81). It is more likely that each is important, and Kohn (1990, cited by Casey, 1995) found that the relationship between work and personality is reciprocal – that the structural conditions of work (level of supervision, complexity and pressure of job) affects one’s personality (values, self-conceptions, orientations to social reality and cognitive functioning). Furthermore, Casey (1995) described studies that have found that those who move up the organisational hierarchy are more effectively moulded by the needs and structure of the organisation. Managers therefore tend to be more successfully acculturated into the organisational culture.

‘When people behave in a particular way, their self-concepts sometimes change in line with their behaviour [...] they have *internalized* their self-presentations’ (Leary, 1995, p.174-5). This internalisation is more likely to take place if the person feels that they had a choice; if the image could be true (if it is not highly discrepant from their self-concept); or if the self-descriptions are public rather than private (Leary, 1995). So in organisational socialisation, the worker will be more successfully socialised if reciprocal exchange is allowed by letting them have some input and put their own stamp or style on their work; and if they present themselves in line with the organisation’s culture in public.

Kanter (1977) argued that a critical issue for managers, and the way the role constrains them, was ‘why social conformity is such an important part of being a

manager' (p.5). She suggested that large organisations make face to face relationships impossible, leading to a reliance on social conformity. This social conformity is evident in the appearance of managers – mainly white males, clean-cut and dressed in suits. Kanter (1977) argued that conformity and exclusivity developed because of the uncertainty within management and organisations, which led to pressures for social certainty – that is, an homogenisation of the group. The need for accurate and speedy communication in large organisations means that a common language and understanding are important, so social and interpersonal skills are important characteristics of the 'effective manager', and are another force of homogenisation (Kanter, 1977).

Organisations and bureaucracies are renowned for their many rules and procedures, which may be formal, for example, one's legal contract or company manuals, or informal, otherwise known as a psychological contract, for example, that workers will maintain organisational secrecy and the company will provide promotion opportunities and training (Gabriel et al, 2000). Organisational rules are often obeyed because they are perceived and portrayed as being instrumentally rational, that is, they help to achieve the goals of the organisation (in the past, rules may have been obeyed because of the threat of punishment), and 'we take the rationality of many organisational rules and procedures for granted and do not question their legitimacy' (Gabriel et al, 2000, p.30). Through occupational, or organisational, socialisation, some rules become ingrained and will be mechanically followed (Gabriel et al, 2000) Foucault's work on asylums, prisons, the army and school showed how control can be 'pervasive enough to be absorbed into each and every individual's subjectivity ... because they create a pliant, self-controlled, disciplined population who are unable to

envisage themselves outside of these procedures' (Gabriel et al, 2000, p.37). This viewpoint may be a little extreme, particularly in light of the reciprocal or exchange relationship that can occur in socialisation.

This chapter has shown how the popular theories and practices of management today have increasingly recognised the value of emotions in the workplace, which has a history dating back to human relations and Theory Y, and has been expanded by the rising popularity of culture management and the growth of the service sector. Managers' main autonomy now lies with the management of staff, as centralisation and technology have removed many of their decision-making powers, so perhaps we should now theorise management 'as persuasion'. Staff management and this persuasive element involves managing one's own, and others', emotions, perhaps indicating that the purely rational image of managers is outdated (if it was ever applicable). Leadership is associated with persuasive techniques or managing through cultural values, and has been shown to be part of the service sector management role. Managers are socialised into the occupational role and organisational culture in order that their presentation of self is appropriate to their role and culture. The next chapter will further discuss the importance of presentation of self to managers' roles.

This chapter has shown that managers are increasingly focused upon the emotions of others and themselves, particularly as their work has shifted to managing the organisational culture. It is questionable though, whether managers have *become* emotionalised, as it appears that it is management rhetoric that is emotionalised and managers may have always been concerned with the emotions of themselves and their workers in practice. This supports Grint's (1995) suggestion that traditional

management models are not applicable to managers' roles in practice. The development of management, as presented above, suggests that we need alternative concepts to help us to analyse management activities and behaviour.

Chapter 2: The Role of Gender and Emotional Labour in Management

As the first chapter demonstrated, the development of management and management theory has led to an increasing recognition that management as an activity entails more than the application of rational means-end calculations. The activities of managers largely centre on getting things done through others, and communicating the organisational culture, in order that their staff behave appropriately. Managers actually have many leadership responsibilities, which is evident in their own and their staff's empowerment, and in the managing through culture trend. The way that management has developed therefore has affected management activities and also managers' socialisation. An important characteristic of the development of the management role is the recognition of the emotional nature of management skills and activities. Traditionally, management and its perceived highly rational nature have been considered masculine domains, with emotions being the domain of women. Gender is, therefore, another important factor to consider in a discussion of contemporary management.

Importantly, emotionality is not equal to irrationality; that is, 'rational' means-end calculations can be used when making 'emotional' decisions, in addition to being used to achieve what might be considered 'rational' objectives. For example, in service organisations, the need to enable staff to develop interpersonal and self-presentation skills is central to the production of profit and therefore greatly influences the actions, tasks and responsibilities of managers.

As this chapter will show, more specifically, service sector managers need to enable staff to perform emotional labour. This chapter examines the literature on emotional

labour and the sociology of emotions in order to assess the role of emotional labour in management and the gendered nature of its performance. Interpersonal skills are usually associated with women, and this chapter will begin by arguing that management is an occupation dominated by male values.

Gender and management

The increasing recognition of emotions in organisations, has been coupled with an increase in so-called ‘natural’ emotion workers – women. There are an increasing number of women in management and their management style is often generalised as being humanistic and caring, with an emphasis on interpersonal and ‘soft’ skills. Feminist writers have shown how the sexes are socialised differently and therefore have differing values and displays of feelings. In addition, emotions have gendered appropriateness and occupational stereotyping occurs, according to occupations’ perceived emotional and skill requirements (Gabriel et al, 2000). There are perceptions, therefore, of how men and women should behave both in general and in particular occupations. Management has its own gendered characteristics and expectations.

Bell and Nkomo (1992, p.241) explained that

‘...gender is a classification system denoting ways in which women and men differ [... it] includes the societal orientations, values, and roles distinguishing women from men and the interactions between them. [...] Gender is one of the major bases of domination in our society and a powerful determinant of one’s life opportunities.’

Much of the research on gender and management focuses on whether, and how, the management styles of men and women differ (for example, Adler et al, 1993; Cooper and Davidson, 1982, 1984; Goffee and Scase, 1985; Marshall, 1984). Male managers

are usually said to have a masculine management style, and women managers a feminine style. This is obvious but it is also significant, as it has traditionally been the masculine styles that have been valued. Management is a masculine activity, so men comfortably fit into the role (Adler et al, 1993; Alimo-Metcalfe, 1994; Grimwood and Popplestone, 1993; O'Leary and Ryan, 1994; Stead, 1978), yet the feminine approaches are becoming more popular.

Although the management activities described in the previous chapter could be considered gender-neutral, such as motivating, co-ordinating, planning and organising, management *styles* are often described in gender-laden terms. Masculine styles of management are described as competitive, authoritarian, and task-centred, qualities traditionally associated with management *per se* (Helgesen, 1990; Martin, 1993). Feminine styles of management are more flexible, empowering, multi-tasking, employee nurturing and communicative (Helgesen, 1990; Martin, 1993; Vinnicombe and Colwill, 1995), qualities associated with managing through culture.

Women in management are sometimes treated as 'potential men' and have to adopt masculine patterns of non-participation in the household (Wajcman, 1998, p.28). One reason that women may adopt a masculine style in the workplace is that they may feel they have to be the same as men. To overcome stereotypes some women are perceived as becoming 'over-concerned with production' to compensate for their 'human concerns' (Adler et al, 1993, p.11). Women in management are often regarded with suspicion (Mills, 1992) and adopting a masculine style may either demonstrate that the 'iron-lady' stereotype exists or that women consciously apply that strategy in the workplace (Wajcman, 1998). Tomlinson et al (1997) found that

both men and women considered that women adopting a masculine style was undesirable and that there were definite benefits of a feminine style, such as approachability and multi-tasking. They found that masculine terminology was used to depict a lack of interpersonal skills and to describe 'old style' management, such as 'task-masters' and 'barrow boys'.

Corporate cultures too, have long been identified as masculine, and often as patriarchal (Itzin, 1995; Newman, 1995). These exclude women generally, because women are perceived as lacking the ambition and commitment to succeed, or because of women's lack of self-confidence and self-esteem (Tomlinson et al, 1997). Many women may have adopted a masculine style to fit into the organisational culture. Tomlinson et al (1997) found that their interviewees stressed the need to game play and involve themselves in 'political manoeuvres' in order to progress. So it seems that the world of work is still a male world, particularly at management levels (Crompton, 1997). As Martin (1993, p.278) stated, 'male-associated norms, in combination with the dominance of male persons, give masculinity and men high status and influence.' She suggested that the 'normative masculinity' of management is reproduced in organisational cultures, as 'gender is used to make decisions about job content and activities, salaries and perks, the selection and advancement of employees, individually and collectively [...and] managers are *active gendering agents*' (Martin, 1993, p.281, original emphasis) because of their authority and control over resources.

Most managers are men, with a 'taken-for-granted association, even conflation, of men with organizational power, authority and prestige' (Collinson and Hearn, 1996,

p.1). Management has been linked with the military and warfare management, which are 'deeply imbued with masculine images and assumptions' (Collinson and Hearn, 1996, p.2). Managerial claims of teamworking and 'happy families' are informed by gendered imagery, that is, paternalistic management styles reflect and reinforce the patriarchal imagery of the happy family, in which management power is legitimised by the concern to 'protect' workers' best interests. Human relations management is associated with the masculine managerial strategy of paternalism, which encourages personal loyalty and identification with the organisation to ensure cohesion, stability, production and profit (Collinson and Hearn, 1996). All workers and managers are exposed to uncertainty, but 'men, especially, may try to manage this uncertainty by seeking, through "identity work" (Thompson and McHugh, 1990), to *control* social relations and particular notions of self' (Collinson and Hearn, 1996, p.14, original emphasis). That is, in order to establish a stable masculine identity they identify with some men and differentiate themselves from other men and from all women.

Grimwood and Popplestone (1993) argued that, from its two derivations, management comprises both control and caring, but that the control aspects have taken prominence and become associated with men, whereas the caring aspects have been undervalued and associated with the home and women. Caring is often talked about in terms of feelings or emotions for others, and 'in general, caring relations are those involving women' (Graham, 1983, p.15). Hollway (1996) suggested that managers' desire for control (of others and their own identity) is irrational, as the maintenance of control can override rational actions to increase profit, but that masculine superiority is (re)produced through its opposition to the feminised 'other'. It is very difficult to

establish a stable identity in a changing world, although the masculinity of management has persisted, despite the trend toward feminisation.

It is well documented that the economy on a global scale has undergone feminisation, in terms of both the numbers of women now employed and in terms of the types of jobs that dominate the economy. The most salient trend is the rise of the service sector (Boyd, 1997), which includes many jobs once performed by women in the domestic sphere and is based on 'feminine' traits such as caring and serving. Although 'feminization refers to the growing proportions of a population or category that are women [...] as an outcome, the term also frequently connotes economic disadvantage compared to men' (Boyd, 1997, p.50). Hagen and Jenson (1988) argued that there is no one-way cause and effect of feminisation. As women's participation in the labour market increased there were also structural changes, with the growth of the service sector and part-time work leading to more jobs where women were traditionally concentrated (Hagen and Jenson, 1988). The financial services exemplify many of the wider workplace trends, including feminisation.

Banks traditionally have a male image and were originally led by country banking families (Fay, 1999; Halford et al, 1997). The sector has become more sales and service-oriented and now employs a majority of women within the branch network, with more women entering management positions (Burton, 1996; Crompton, 1997). Men still dominate the management hierarchies however, especially above branch manager level (Crompton and Sanderson, 1994; Crompton, 1997; Halford et al, 1997; McDowell, 1997). Where women are in senior management positions, they are more likely to be found in specialist departments (particularly personnel), retail service and

processing centres (Crompton, 1997). Here they are managing other women mainly and are separate from the traditional career ladder or 'mainstream' management (Coyle, 1989; Crompton, 1997), which reflects the position of women in other retail companies (Ashburner, 1994; MacEwan Scott, 1994). So there is evidence of both horizontal and vertical segregation (Cooper and Davidson, 1984; Crompton, 1997; MacEwan Scott, 1994; Parker, 2000).

McDowell (1997) argued that there has been a feminisation of management structures, evident in the less hierarchical and increasingly co-operative styles, in London merchant banking. Tomlinson et al (1997) also argued that the changes in the service sector promote a model of management that is concerned with co-operation, caring and visionary leadership, rather than task orientation, and that this is associated with an enhanced valuing of feminine qualities. They asserted that where feminine qualities are valued, there is usually a significant representation of women in senior management positions. McDowell (1997) showed that from 1971 to 1991 women in banking increased their representation in management by 6% (11% of managers in banking are now women). Women have tended to enter new occupations though, rather than taking jobs from men, and only 2% of top level management are women (McDowell, 1997).

McDowell (1997 p.139) showed how 'women as a group are out of place in the workplace, marked by their gender and their bodies as "natural" and so unsuitable participants in the rational, cerebral world of work.' As Kanter (1977) and Witz (1992) have argued, work is presented as masculine and rational, and women are perceived as incompatible with the workplace because they are perceived as being

natural and emotional. Kanter (1977) explained that claims of efficiency and rationality legitimised managers as, unlike the bourgeoisie, they had no capital or land as their claim to power. Taylor's scientific management approach was the ultimate in rational management, as the centralisation of control led to a linear hierarchy, and bureaucracy and rationalisation dehumanised and reduced the emotionality of organisations and workers. This (re)produced the 'masculine ethic' of the workplace and of management in particular, because of these supposed rational, male characteristics and as all managers were male (as were most of the workforce) (Kanter, 1977). The masculine ethic was, and perhaps still is, used as an exclusionary principle against women workers (Witz, 1992) and potential women managers. However, the shift to interactive, service work has changed the relationship between embodiment, the self and the ideal worker and led to a feminisation of workers. The blurring of work and leisure (particularly with the emphasis on having fun and loving your work that has appeared in the popular management journals and press (Carroll, 1997; Francis, 1994)), has also increased the emphasis on the 'cultural capital' of workers, in their style and bodily forms (McDowell, 1997). Yet the social construction of women's bodies still places them as different and inferior to the male worker. Indeed, '(i)t may be that femininity in a self-evidently masculine body will become the most highly valorised workplace performance' (ibid, p.182). McDowell (1997) argued that men who demonstrate traditionally 'feminine' skills of an interpersonal nature will be valued more than women who do the same.

McDowell found that merchant banking was 'a world in which role-playing and drama, and embodied performance, is a key requirement for both men and women' (1997, p.157). For example, many of the men she interviewed spoke of the

requirement to conform to masculine (heterosexual) ideals. She also found multiple masculinities and femininities and, although there was still an image of older, white, stern-looking men occupying the higher echelons, there were also younger men challenging these disembodied images and 'doing gender' differently.

Kerfoot and Knights (1996) argued that the increasing numbers of women in management are not sufficient to dissolve the association of management with masculinity¹, because masculinity is not exclusive to men. They contend that 'the mark of the individual as distinctly masculine in modern cultures could be seen as a compulsive desire to be in control and, thereby, to act instrumentally with respect to everything, including the self' (Kerfoot and Knights, 1996, p.80). That everything is an object of control is reinforced in management practices. That is, 'strategic management coincides closely with those contemporary forms of masculinity that turn everything into an object of conquest [...involving a] disembodied and emotionally estranged conception of reason' (Kerfoot and Knights, 1996, p.83) to pursue strategic goals. Femininity is more engaged with the world, more embodied, associated with passivity and lack of direction. Masculinity is privileged in management because managers must co-ordinate and control for the instrumental goals of production and profit. Kerfoot and Knights (1996) argued that studies show that management is actually precarious because it lacks knowledge for precise outcomes and is not the systematic and rational process of planning and control claimed by classical management theory, but management deployment of knowledge 'in exercises of power often produces self-fulfilling effects that give it the appearance of

¹ They use this term, which may take a multiplicity of forms, to convey typical features of disembodiment, instrumental rationality and a preoccupation with control.

predictability' (Kerfoot and Knights, 1996, p.89). Managers have an air of confidence that aids their legitimisation of power and their appearance of being in control.

Management history reveals many prescriptive models that respond to the demand for solutions to uncertainty, but the solutions lead to change. The changes threaten routine securities and lead to increased anxiety. Kerfoot and Knights (1996) argued that instrumentality leaves managers estranged and socially disengaged, and unreflective of their estrangement, because they have no energy left for their emotions. This leads to individuals seeking significance through macho prowess, which devalues everything feminine. New management practices emphasise the productive value of social relationships, causing masculinity to be problematic.

The rise of the service sector and increasing competition and deregulation creates a need for increasing flexibility in goods and services, management processes and worker behaviour. Kerfoot and Knights (1996, p.94) argued that 'the success of the modern manager, to a degree at least, rests on the ability to manage and negotiate ever tighter groupings of employees by means of personal influence and interpersonal skills'. This leads to the increasing use of organisational cultures to get consent and commitment to the flexible demands of work and align personal and organisational values, as the previous chapter showed. So managers need to open up and get closer to their staff, which is associated with femininity. The traditional man is in danger of redundancy because the productive value of distanced forms of instrumental management control are questioned, which leads to greater insecurity and competitiveness amongst masculine subjects. Kerfoot and Knights (1996) suggested that the presentation of social skills could be produced instrumentally, with the risk of

appearing insincere. They seemed to assume a divide between masculinity and femininity and that these are inflexible – that people are *either* masculine or feminine, rather than being able to draw upon both masculine and feminine traits and skills.

Overall, although the structure and the nature of work in the financial services generally has changed with reduced hierarchies and more technology, the gender bias remains the same. McDowell's (1997, p.212) conclusion is that,

‘(w)hile difference, diversity and multiple gendered performances are increasingly valued in many workplaces, it is clear that the City is resistant to radical change in its gendered construction. “Fast” and serious money remains dominantly in the hands of men, and the love of money is a male affair.’

Stereotyped assumptions followed women into the workplace and the sex-role expectations that women should focus on the home undermine the permanent acceptance of women in the workplace (Alpern, 1993).

As Crompton (1997, p.20) stated, ‘women and men *are* different, but the argument that these “differences” correspond to some kind of essential “masculinity” or “femininity” is problematic’. Indeed, women are ‘as different from each other as they are from men’ and ‘some of the differences between men and women refer to values – not only personal and organisational values, but societal values’ (Tanton, 1994, p.8). This indicates the danger of essentialism and of stereotyping the capabilities of, and possibilities for, men and women (Tomlinson et al, 1997). An emphasis on the differences within categories of men and women however, may obscure women’s collective experience of disadvantage at work (Wajcman, 1998).

By seeing organisations as more than rational structures, we can see how bureaucracy generates masculinities and femininities, and how sexuality can be used as a

controlling tool. Recognising a diversity of discourses ‘enlarges our understandings of actual situations, and should make us careful of over-generalising about “all men” or “all women” [...] nevertheless there is also a world of institutional structure and constraints, and these have real effects’ (Crompton, 1997, p.111). Wajcman (1998) also pointed out that although feminists have been forced into debates on the status of the ‘woman’ category, men do not have to justify their privilege in the same way and ‘man’ remains the ‘unmarked standard’ in gender discussions, with women as the ‘other’.

Fagenson (1993) explained that studies of women managers originally adopted a ‘gender-centred approach’, examining how gender influences behaviour, attitudes and traits, and attributing gender differences to biology and/or socialisation. This approach ignores situational factors, which the ‘situation/organisation-structure approach’ focuses upon. This approach assumes that the perceptions, beliefs and behaviours of men and women managers are a function of the different organisational structures they experience and attributes differences to structural and situational factors (Fagenson, 1993). The ‘gender-organisation-system (GOS) perspective’ agrees with the above two approaches, but also assumes that individuals and organisations cannot be understood separately from their society; and that when individuals, an organisation or a system changes, all the other components change too. Systemic factors therefore cause gender differences, which influence individuals and organisations. Systemic factors include laws, policies, sex role stereotypes, expectations, ideologies, cultural values and histories (Fagenson, 1993). The recognition that there are various factors and influences on the behaviour of

individuals and the structures and practices of organisations is more helpful than attempting to explain behaviour and practices through gender or structure alone.

Gender differences in management styles have also been explained by the different definitions of power that men and women apparently hold. In general, men are believed to use power to dominate, whereas women prefer to employ it to enable them to use their own talents and control their own, rather than others', lives (Vinnicombe and Colwill, 1995). A discussion of power is relevant because, 'the exercise of power by women is rarely seen as legitimate. Yet power is what management is all about' (Wajcman, 1998, p.30).

Boyd (1997) suggested that feminisation, particularly referring to the service sector growth, has actually increased the employment of men in powerful positions. This is supported by others' findings that women tend to manage domestic affairs, for example, branch and staff management (MacEwen Scott, 1994; Halford et al, 1997) and are in 'female niches', such as personnel and lower level management (Crompton, 1997; O'Leary and Ryan, 1994). This 'suggests that women have not converted their numerical strength in service industries into power [and ...] the findings on the near absence of men being supervised by women suggests a very powerful "law of anti-matriarchy"' (Boyd, 1997, p.67).

Gender divisions both inside and outside the workplace are universal and are therefore assumed to be natural, and the 'gender division of labour has run in parallel with another universal historical fact, which is that men have occupied the dominant positions in society' (Crompton, 1997, p.6). It is well-known that 'the main

responsibility for household tasks still lies with women throughout Europe [and] managerial jobs have traditionally been structured to suit a man who has a wife at home providing him with a full-time support system' (Vinnicombe and Sturges, 1995, p.8). Men's domination of organisations, through ownership and control,

'is reinforced and maintained by a cultural system which associates women with "domestic" life – characterising them as "emotional, passionate, and intuitive, yet illogical and fickle," and which associates men with "public" life – characterising them as "rational, analytical and productive but also insensitive and impersonal" (Glennon, 1983:262)' (Mills, 1992, p.106).

It has been argued that ideologies of power - that men should not be subordinate to women - led to vertical segregation; while moral ideas that the sexes should be separate, led to horizontal segregation (Crompton, 1997). There has, therefore, been a cultural gendering of occupations that is also linked to direct and indirect masculine exclusionary practices and ideologies of appropriate work for men and women (Crompton, 1997; Witz, 1992). Mills (1992) also argued that organisational cultures affect gender discrimination because: cultural values favour male characteristics in many organisations; organisational socialisation affects gender identities; and organisational practices tend to conform to and reinforce sex-biased values.

'Banks are known to offer one of the most dramatic and clearest example of patriarchal exclusion of women' (Halford et al, 1997, p.42), as although there have been more female bank employees since the 1960s, they are in typically 'female' jobs such as typing and cashiering. Halford et al (1997) confirm Crompton's (1997) findings that restructuring led to changes in organisational cultures which redefined the qualities required by workers and led to a change in workers' behaviour and self-presentation. For instance, increased competition has led to the introduction of a 'sales culture'. Managerial tasks have been split as some tasks are centralised and

some decision-making is computerised, taking some status and responsibility away and thus attacking the traditional (male) branch managerial image (Halford et al, 1997). These, and other, changes have altered managerial relationships with staff. For example, more open plan work-spaces increases the accessibility to staff. The reduction of status and responsibility and the increased accessibility of managers indicate the feminisation of bank management (Halford et al, 1997).

Crompton (1997) argued that banking has reflected and reproduced patterns of gender relations over the years and for a bank manager, competitiveness has replaced stability and paternalism as ideal qualities. This is because the male paternal model of the bank manager has been replaced by the need for a competitive, sales-oriented manager, but this does not necessarily prevent paternalistic management styles. Her explanation is holistic, that ‘the *gender structuring* of paid employment has to be seen as an outcome of context, constraint, and choice. It is the outcome of what men and women, individually, as households, and collectively, do’ (Crompton, 1997, p.126, original emphasis).

Wajcman aimed to examine institutional power relations and rejected the sameness-difference dichotomy, to ‘focus instead on policies that challenge the norms of male work patterns’ (1998, p.7). As Halford et al (1997) pointed out, gender relations are embedded within organisations and their practices, and as this chapter has thus far shown, masculinity is embedded within management.

Wajcman (1998) argued that Taylorism, through simplifying and standardising tasks, fixed the ‘rational man’ at the centre of management and human relations theory

further marked off the managers, who controlled their own emotions, from the workers, who were governed by emotion and sentiment. This divides the sexes into gender-appropriate work too, as the

‘consciousness of gender is a constant dynamic of workplace interaction, where part of what men and women learn are scripts for gender-appropriate behaviour and attitudes. Scripts include things like language, clothing and presentation of self as a gendered member of an organization’ (Wajcman, 1998, p.50).

The scripts also differ with one’s work and position in the organisational hierarchy, so women in traditionally male roles are in conflict with the prevailing norms. So, she supports Mills’ (1992) argument that organisational socialisation affects gendered identities.

Wajcman (1998) found from her study that the women in senior management were very similar to the men, but gender stereotypes still existed and despite the trend to feminine management, women had to have a masculine style in order to succeed. Her ‘study shows that organizational constraints rather than individual personality traits determine management style’ (Wajcman, 1998, p.62), which may be because of organisational socialisation. Gender stereotypes remain influential in the workplace, with men seen as being more rational, but Wajcman suggested that we need to examine the context of emotions and ‘not whether men are necessarily less or more emotional than women, but how these feelings are *expressed, perceived* and *interpreted* within organizations’ (1998, p.61, original emphasis). This can mean that the same leadership or management behaviour is interpreted differently depending on the gender of the leader.

As an example, Sheppard (1992) found that men's and women's actions in management roles were interpreted differently – quick decision-making amongst women was interpreted as dogmatic and unprepared, but amongst men indicated decisiveness and a willingness to take risks. Her study found that the women managers felt isolated, because of a lack of support from male managers and no network of women managers, and that they experienced double standards, as there was differential treatment in promotions, travel opportunities and working overtime (see also Collinson and Hearn, 1996). In Martin's (1996) study too, female managers were openly criticised in front of colleagues and teams, but male managers were not (see also Coyle, 1989). It is no wonder that 'These women talk of a self-consciousness concerning self-presentation as organizational members that they do not perceive men as sharing' (Sheppard, 1992, p.158).

Wajcman's (1998) findings showed that where women and men managers are seen as different, women are described as being either rational or emotional, able to do more than one thing at once and that they looked at the bigger picture, whereas men are described as wanting status and not caring about other people and their feelings. Wajcman (1998) also found that women who were mothers placed an emphasis on the skills they had learned in the home. She also found that managers expressed a "soft rhetoric" but there is a "hard reality" (1998, p.71). The management literature often uses the terms 'hard' and 'soft', usually to denote technical or statistical skills, and interpersonal and communicative skills, respectively. Peters and Waterman (1982) argued that 'soft is hard' and 'excellent' managers not only manage the structure, procedures and strategy, but are also well-versed in attending to the staff, organisational values and their own management style. In practice however, soft

skills are associated with emotions and women, and tend to be valued less than hard skills, and women may find it difficult to escape the stereotype of being good at soft skills and not as effective at the hard skills.

Wajcman (1998, p.124) explained that ‘the problem for women in management is that the role of providing emotional support, like a mother or a wife, precludes effective job performance and confirms women’s subordination’. The contradiction for women managers is that they have to ‘do gender’ and ‘do management’ and as these are both performances involving impression management, they are both constructed in interaction. This contradiction is worsened because ‘women’s physical appearance is more closely regulated than men’s and demands a lot more effort’ (Wajcman, 1998, p.119) and it is also in the context of male-defined norms and expectations (see also Adkins, 1995; Coyle, 1993). The perception of women at work ‘means that most professional women have to fight against incursions on their time’ because it is ‘assume[d] too readily that women will be available to do a range of “emotional” work at work’ (McDowell, 1997, p.152). Consequently, the expectations of others on how one should do a job, and what women in particular should be giving to them, affects the worker’s performance.

Wajcman noted that women are seen as emotional and relational, stating:

‘arguably, it is precisely because the seeking and holding of power is inimical to the construction of femininity that women may have to be more consultative. This style of management could be the expression of a relative lack of power rather than a characteristic of womanhood *per se*’ (1998, p.165).

These texts show that an androcentric and patriarchal history provides a context which has led to particular work strategies and gender roles, making it difficult for individual

women to change and to gain full equality and the power, command and respect of the whole organisation. As maleness is embedded and taken for granted in the workplace, it is not seen as problematic but gender is seen as a problem for women. Women must cope with being 'feminine' and 'businesslike' in terms of dress, language, relationships and 'blending in' (Adler et al, 1993, pp.16-17), which relates particularly to Wajcman's notion of scripts. Others too have argued that because the dominant model of the professional manager excludes femininity, women managers 'have to reproduce a management self which is symbolized by the opposite of what they are supposed to be' (Swan, 1994, p.106). The words 'symbolized' and 'supposed to be' indicate that the definitions of management and femininity, and the idea that women are the 'other' to the male norm, are socially constructed. Swan (1994) also found that because management is gendered, or more specifically masculine, women can only be good women managers and not good managers *per se*. However, as our definitions are socially constructed, 'womanhood is not a universal, singular set of identities and experiences, and neither is "good" management' (Swan, 1994, p.107). Yet in practice, as these definitions are presented in general, universal terms it is difficult to overcome the gendered stereotypes. As Tomlinson et al (1997, p.228) argued:

'if management is inherently a social activity carried out by individual men and women within a system of social relationships with other men and women, it is questionable how far it can be conceived in gender neutral terms. In understanding our experience of this system of relationships and the effectiveness of people within it, we have difficulty in separating out their 'competence' from who they are, including whether they are male or female.'

Some have argued that 'the future is female' (Panorama, 1994) and that organisations and management styles are increasingly feminised. Alimo-Metcalfe (1995, p.107) stated that:

‘there is growing evidence that the modern style of leadership desperately required for organisations, namely that which embodies vision, individual consideration, strengthening of individual’s involvement in decision-making and nurturance of growth and self-esteem, is more likely to be found in women’.

This evidence can be found in some of the literature outlined in Chapter 1, for example, next century’s leadership skills (Rajan and van Eupen, 1997); and transformational skills are associated with women (Grint, 1997). Fagenson (1993, p.3) also explained that:

‘evidence suggesting that women managers have a transformational, democratic, and/or “web” rather than hierarchical style of leadership and more satisfied subordinates than men managers has raised questions about the appropriateness and effectiveness of a masculine military model of management in corporate settings.’

Vinnicombe and Colwill (1995) asserted that the restructuring of organisations into small teams that are more responsive to customers and more sensitive to people will lead to an increasing need for women managers. However, this does not take into account that men show evidence of being able to adapt their management style to suit the organisational needs. This is particularly true of younger managers who are being trained to manage in this way from the outset of their career. Vinnicombe and Colwill (1995) indicated that this management style is more natural for women though, as ‘women have always needed to take a more holistic approach to life, balancing work with family needs’ (p.xv). They argued that men may not be prepared for the work and family flexibilities of today and for interactive, customer-facing jobs, as since the 18th and 19th centuries, the

‘developments of masculine rationality and engagement with the outside world – as embodied in the captain of industry, the colonial expansionist, the frontier settler and so on – had the effect of making men learn to repress emotions and cut themselves off from their own feelings. “Real men” were taught to exercise emotional control, and the separation of [public and private] spheres left the emotional work to women’ (Crompton, 1997, p.135).

Alvesson and Due Billing (1997) suggested that one should be sceptical about organisational changes leading to an increasing requirement for female skills or managers, as '[b]ehind the rhetoric are perhaps only superficial changes' (p.136).

As this chapter has thus far shown, masculinity is still valued in management. That feminine management styles are being encouraged is part of the human relations rhetoric. The functions and perceptions of management are still rational and masculine. Some feminisation of management has occurred, but management is not a feminine occupation. The power and control of managers is still perceived as being masculine and women in management continue to be in particular management roles and their gender is contradictory to the masculine scripts of management.

The increasing demand for emotional skills in the workplace has been recognised by academic writers for some time. Emotions are central to organisations, as '(o)rganisational culture shapes and is shaped by emotion...' (Gabriel et al, 2000, p.173), and, '(a)s social glue, feelings will make or break organisational structures and gatherings' (Fineman, 1993, p.15). However, there is still little published regarding the emotional labour and emotion management performed by managers. This chapter will go on to argue that integral to managers' work is the performance of emotional labour.

Emotional Labour and Emotions at Work

This chapter will explore the emotional labour literature in order to define emotional labour and detail the previous studies of emotional labour. It will show that emotional

labour has been depicted as gendered and explore the relevance of analysing management using the concept of emotional labour. The terms 'emotional labour', 'emotion management' and 'emotion work' are widely used in the literature and have some overlapping characteristics which need clarifying for research purposes. Hochschild's (1983) seminal work on flight attendants' emotional labour provides the most useful definitions. Her definitions and assumptions need to be changed slightly when researching work roles other than those she studied, but their fundamental principles remain unaltered.

Emotion work and emotion management are parts of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983). *Emotion work* makes use of our 'emotion memories' to recall feelings, in order to induce the 'correct' display of emotions. For example, the flight attendants in Hochschild's study were asked to act as if the passengers were friends or guests in their own home, therefore used emotion memories of hospitality. *Emotion management* (or impression management) is the control of just your own emotions and takes place in all social and work situations. It does not explicitly use emotion memories, instead, only works on the emotions that you are feeling in order to display or suppress them in a socially acceptable manner. For example, at a wedding sad emotions must usually be suppressed and happiness displayed, and conversely at a funeral, laughter and joking is not expected, but tears and grief are welcomed.

Hochschild defined *emotional labour* as the management of feelings in the workplace to create a display 'that produces the proper state of mind in others' (1983, p.7). So, emotional labour only occurs when work involves contact with other people, rather than just objects, so customers can be made to feel, say, comfortable and happy

enough to continue using the business. Hochschild (1983) stated that emotional labour can be sold for a wage so must have exchange value, therefore it is only performed in paid work settings. Emotion work and management have use value and can potentially be performed during any social setting. Hochschild explained that emotional labour involves co-ordinating mind and feeling, and that it ‘draws on a source of self that we honor as deep and integral to our individuality’ (1983, p.7).²

Context-driven feeling rules govern the feelings that we display in each situation by indicating the emotions that are appropriate for that situation. Fineman (1995) explained that there are explicit and implicit feeling rules evident in organisations. Explicit feeling rules are deliberate, management-controlled rules of emotional display, and part of employment contracts and training. Implicit feeling rules are constructed by managers and workers and become the cultural framework for emotional expression, with ‘rules on what, for example, should remain as private doubt and worry, and what can be openly expressed – and how’ (Fineman, 1995, p.131). Normally, we know of these subconsciously and are unaware of the processes through which we adhere to these rules. It is only when our display does not fit the situation that we can become aware of feeling rules, as our peers will reprimand us in some way and perhaps indicate the correct feelings that should be displayed (Goffman, 1959; Hochschild, 1983).

Acting skills are required for emotion work and emotional labour and Hochschild (1983) distinguished between surface and deep acting. When we ‘surface act’ we simply manage the outward display of our feelings, whereas in ‘deep acting’ the

² Erickson and Wharton (1997) also presented a similar argument, and used psychological measures to test how the conditions of service work affects mental health.

display becomes natural because the feeling itself has been induced. Deep acting involves the use of emotion memories, which require that experiences are remembered and experienced emotively. Deep acting makes our display of feeling sincere, as we have 'created' the feeling itself within us, so the display follows automatically to match the feeling.

The overlaps between the above definitions are problematic when trying to identify each in practice, for example, feeling rules have a similar effect in each. Hochschild (1983) argued that the act of managing feelings is part of the process of creating feelings, therefore, surface acting may lead to deep acting. Emotional labour and emotion work are also very similar. Lupton (1998) distinguished between emotion work and emotional labour, as the first is dealing with one's own 'emotion in response to feeling rules' (p.127) and the latter deals with other people's feelings. Emotional labour is also sold for a wage, wherever workers have face-to-face or voice-to-voice customer contact.

Many jobs demand emotional labour, particularly those in the service sector. Hochschild (1983) identified three characteristics of jobs that require emotional labour: face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with the public; workers need to produce an emotional state in another; and employers will have some control over the emotional activities of employees. MacDonald and Sirianni (1996, p.3) stated that 'service work includes jobs in which face-to-face or voice-to-voice interaction is a fundamental element of the work [...which] generally requires some form of "emotional labour"'. Organisational feeling rules within service industries are more

evident and explicit, as the organisations need to ensure that their employees act a certain way toward customers.

Using words such as ‘emotions’ and ‘feelings’ can be problematic in research, as these are used generically to cover many different phenomena. When lay actors have been asked ‘what is emotion?’ they have described it as feelings (Parkinson, 1995) and feelings may be described as some emotions or moods. Parkinson (1995) asserted that the common-sense definition of emotion, of emotions that are informed only by personal experience, is too simplistic and narrow. He stated that ‘(e)motion is a concept, a social practice, a way of being-in-the-world. All this and more’ (Parkinson, 1995, p.4). He acknowledged that academics, as well as lay-people, cannot agree on a universal definition of emotion. Feelings are often thought of as private, internal experiences, and ‘emotions are the outward presentation of our feelings through learned social codes’ (Gabriel et al, 2000, p.161)³. Many academics narrow their studies by researching one particular emotion, for example, guilt or love. However, this can downplay the interrelationship between emotions; that is, the way in which we recognise an emotion and do not define it as another, requires us to have experienced a range of emotions either personally or from those around us. Bedford (1986) and Harré (1986) asserted that we cannot just identify emotions by one’s behaviour, as the social context is also important and can help to distinguish between similar emotional behaviour.

Sarbin (1986) argued that emotions were historically seen as ‘happening’ to people, and located within ‘bodily containers’, rather than developing in interactions, outside

³ Gabriel et al (2000) stated that disguising and shaping our feelings are part of our socialisation, and their ‘social codes’ seem to be the same as Hochschild’s (1983) ‘feeling rules’.

of a person, or intentionally. Social constructionists argue that an individual's 'world-view' affects which emotions they feel and learn easily. One's world-view is affected by one's local culture and socialisation. Lupton (1998) distinguished between 'weak' and 'strong' social constructionist theories of emotions. The latter state that people 'do' emotions, rather than 'having' emotions. Weak social constructionists concede that some emotions are inherent or survival-based, but that these are then socialised to become new emotions, for example, guilt is socialised fear. Similarly, structuralists assert that institutions and power relations change emotions, as well as a person's emotional state. Power relations are affected by individuals' positions in society. Emotions can thus be seen as maintaining social order, whilst emotions are ordered too; rules and norms within societies lead to particular expressions of emotions. Lupton (1998) acknowledged that both the inherent-ness and social construction of emotions are relevant and overlap; and so recognised both the discursive role of emotions and the influence of the unconscious. Lupton aimed to

'avoid the notions of the "true" emotional self that tends to be articulated in structuralist and phenomenological accounts for a poststructuralist perspective on subjectivity that sees it as dynamic and shifting, and as constituted, rather than distorted or manipulated by, sociocultural processes' (1998, p.38).

Wouters (1989) justifiably criticised Hochschild's study for her interchangeable use of terms such as true or private, and false or public self. George Herbert Mead argued that although one's self is partly biological it is only through adapting to one's environment that human identity exists, and that the self exists only in relation to social groups (Swingewood, 2000). The existence of a 'true' self is therefore doubtful, as reality constantly shifts and each situation is defined differently, but are all 'real'. 'The self is thus individual only through its reciprocal relations with others and with the community. The self is both a subject and an object, the 'I' as the

subject which thinks and acts, the 'me' as the individual's awareness of self as an object in the world existing for others' (Swingewood, 2000, p.168).

Lutz (1996) argued that 'to speak about controlling emotions is to replicate the view of emotions as natural, dangerous, irrational and physical' (p.154), as emotional control talk defines the boundaries of where emotions 'spill over' and of roles (for example, strong or weak) that are gendered and hierarchical. Therefore, in order to overcome the dichotomy of rational versus emotional and the stereotyping of women as emotional, we need to discard the search for the true and false selves and instead examine the contextual practices that define meanings. As Mangham and Overington (1987, p.65) argued: '[a]s the modern world becomes increasingly differentiated, we find ourselves with a diversity of parts to play in the social whirl and no one of them necessarily more really "us" than any other.' Similarly '[f]or Mead there are as many selves as there are social roles' (Casey, 1995, p.57). As Leary (1995, p.4) stated, 'people typically select the images they want others to form from their repertoire of true self-images', so this is not lying to others, nor presenting 'false' selves. Self-presentation can be viewed as manipulation, vanity or insecurity, or, as caring what others think, which can be healthy and adaptive (Leary, 1995). So we can observe appearances, behaviour and actions to understand social behaviour and group action, rather than search for underlying motives. Behaviour is affected by many different factors, one of which is self-presentation.

Putnam and Murphy (1993) argued that the idealisation of rationality in the workplace attached values, beliefs and concepts to rational and emotional. 'Rational' is associated with objective, orderly and mental activities, and is desired in

organisations, and 'emotional' is associated with subjective, chaotic, bodily drives that are inappropriate in organisations; and a system of duality allocates these concepts to masculine and feminine, respectively (Putnam and Murphy, 1993). They argued that emotions are recognised as igniting creativity and developing a sense of community and commitment, and so organisations make feelings a commodity. There are contradictions demonstrating that the rationality–emotionality dualism is socially constructed and open to change, for example, sexuality, family and 'emotional' bonding is usually presented as inappropriate in workplaces, yet is evident in many 'team' and manager-worker relationships (Putnam and Murphy, 1993). Furthermore, as Hearn (1993) argued, anger is an appropriate emotional display for men, which challenges the 'unemotional man' image.

Those, such as men and managers, who are perceived as being 'in control' of their emotions have an elevated status (Swan, 1994). They are not only perceived as being in control of themselves, but also of others, both of which increases their status. The control of one's emotion in public endorses the view of the 'rational organisation' (Swan, 1994). Swan (1994) found that managers' discourses on emotion showed that they felt emotion needed to be controlled because it disrupts reason, but also that they valued emotion, indicating a further contradiction.

Empirical studies of emotional labour tend to focus on occupations dominated by women, for example, flight attending and nursing (Hochschild, 1983; James, 1993; O'Brien, 1994). This could lead to a reinforcement of the association of emotion and women, but as emotional labour is mainly performed in service sector work where women are in the majority, then women are the main performers of emotional labour.

Lupton (1998) and Roper (1996) suggested that women perform emotional labour more because of their social and economic disadvantage. By contrast, this thesis assesses the relevance of emotional labour to understanding the work of managers, even though management is a traditionally male occupation.

Hochschild's Study of Emotional labour

I will now examine aspects of Hochschild's study of emotional labour in order to gain a fuller understanding of the concept and its application. Arlie Russell Hochschild published the first study of emotional labour in 1983. It was conducted on flight attendants with a smaller comparative study on debt collectors; the 'toe and heel' of the service sector. Hochschild (1983) estimated that one-third of all US workers had jobs that demanded emotional labour and one-half of all working women were in these jobs. The number of workers performing emotional labour has no doubt increased in the last fifteen years with the continuing reduction of the manufacturing sector and the growth of service sector organisations⁴.

Hochschild (1983) utilised Marx's concepts of alienation, exchange value and use value, and Goffman's dramaturgical metaphors and interaction rules, in the context of service industries. Marx reported that workers performing physical labour felt a cost at being an instrument of labour (Thompson, 1989) and Hochschild (1983) found that service workers who must perform emotional labour also feel a similar cost, as they become estranged from their 'true' selves. Hochschild used Goffman's (1959) ideas of the presentation of self and impression management in everyday interactions to explain the process of emotional labour, by adding the dimensions of labour and

⁴ Jobs in the UK service industries have increased by 36% over 22 years, from 15.6 million in 1978 to 21.2 million in 2000, while those in manufacturing have fallen by 39%, from 7 million in 1978 to 4.2 million in 2000 (Social Trends, 2001).

organisational demands placed upon workers. Goffman defined the self as creative and active, performing and producing a multifaceted self with the ability to deal with different situations (Swingewood, 2000). Goffman argued that people perform an act to strengthen an impression of competence in a legitimate role (Casey, 1995). Mudie and Cottam (1993) argued that the theatre analogy used by Goffman helps us to understand service encounters, where impression management is very important. Impression management comprises the 'personal front' (clothing, expressions, speech, characteristics) and the 'setting' (decor, layout), which 'must combine to form a package of what the service aims to be' (Mudie and Cottam, 1993, p.105). This shows that emotional labour forms a part of the personal front aspect of impression management.

Hochschild (1983) focused mainly on the costs to workers of performing emotional labour and assumed that there is a separation between true and false selves, which is difficult to pinpoint in practice. This is indicated within her definition of emotional labour, of the self deep within that contains our emotions, which we draw upon to perform emotional labour. As we have seen, however, Parkinson (1995) stated that emotions are socially constituted, so we do not hold them within us, we can only have or experience emotions through our interactions with others. The selection of particular emotions to display is socially constituted, but we should not deny the psychological and physiological aspects of emotional displays and memories. Lupton's (1998) conceptualisation of a dynamic subjectivity is more convincing than a true emotional self that is manipulated by organisations. As the previous chapter demonstrated, organisational socialisation involves a reciprocal relationship between

the organisation and the individual, so between them the organisational role is lived out.

Flight attending is an exaggerated case of emotional labour, which shows the extent of organisational demands for emotional labour. At the airline, Hochschild (1983) observed training classes and interviewed trainers, trainees, experienced flight attendants, officials, PR officers and advertising agents. She also held a group interview with flight attendants' supervisors, studied microfilm of 20 years of advertising and observed the recruitment of flight attendants, sitting in on both group and individual interviews and the recruiters' discussions. In addition, she interviewed 5 debt collectors, to show that the 'same principles of emotional labour apply to very different jobs and very different feelings' (Hochschild, 1983, p.16). Therefore, emotional labour is not limited to those occupations where the worker must act almost subservient to the customer, but also to occupations where the worker can exert some control over the customer. Indeed, emotional labour itself implies that the worker is always exerting some control over the customer and situation.

Hochschild (1983) argued that when organisations demand emotional labour, private emotions become standardised and come less from the self and directed less to the other. Hochschild argued that there is a 'transmutation' of the private ways we use feelings linking the private and public act of impression management. However, when the transmutation works employees risk losing the signal function of their feelings, as emotions are usually a guideline to the self-relevance of a memory or sight (they tell us about ourselves). When the transmutation does not work employees may lose the signal function of their display (they appear insincere). Goffman (1959,

p.2) discussed the importance of appearing sincere in impression management, as ‘(s)ociety is organized on the principle that any individual who possesses certain social characteristics has a moral right to expect that others will value and treat him [*sic*] in an appropriate way’, but also that ‘he ought in fact to be what he claims he is’. Casey (1995) supported the idea that organisations commodify human social relations, which affects the dynamic of the self. Impression management is useful in the workplace because ‘the presentation of self in certain ways implicitly invites complementary performances from others and support for one’s pretensions to one’s role’ (Casey, 1995, p.58). That is, one’s actions lead others to act in a similar or complementary manner. Taylor (1998a) categorised forms of worker resistance to management-driven emotional labour as ‘incomplete transmutations’, within his study of telephone sales assistants. Workers seemed to be aware of the contradictory requirements of their organisation, which wanted them to use their personality whilst talking to the customer, yet wanted to also control their expressions of their personality. Workers then performed ‘pragmatic deep acting’ or ‘sophisticated surface acting’ (Taylor, 1998a, p.27) in which the organisations’ feeling rules were followed during customer interactions yet the workers later identified a split between their work and non-work selves.

Wouters (1992), noting that Hochschild limited her use of emotional labour to those jobs that have their emotional labour supervised, argued that there are also people who supervise their own emotional labour. Managers who use emotional labour, and supervise others in it, were not studied by Hochschild, although she did report that the supervisors of the flight attendants performed emotional labour on the trainees, for example, by using their enthusiasm to keep morale high. Managers may also feel

emotional costs similar to other employees. For example, Höpfl and Linstead (1993) found that within a networking sales company, a woman who became group director (similar to a team leader role) had to create and sustain the organisation's 'dream' for her sales team. This made the team emotionally dependent on the company and the group director, who had to motivate them and carry their problems whilst suppressing her own emotions, which created inner conflict and disillusionment towards the organisational dream or culture. Therefore, Hochschild's concern with the costs of emotional labour may be justified, even in more senior positions.

Focusing on the costs to workers of performing emotional labour can lead to the benefits of performing emotional labour, as well as other reasons for emotion work, being ignored (Bolton, 1997). Bolton (1997) proposed a model of the '4Ps' (principles of emotion management), as she felt that emotional labour was a catch-all term that does not recognise organisations as social arenas as well as goal seeking entities. She suggested that:

'during a social encounter within the workplace we may well perform "presentational" emotion management; whilst dealing with a client or colleague we are capable of deciding whether to offer "philanthropic" emotion management as an extra "gift"; our training and socialisation as an organisation member or as part of a professional body dictate when to perform "prescriptive" emotion management and, during direct face-to-face contact with a customer of the company, we may be expected to perform "pecuniary" emotion management as a means of producing the profitable product of "customer contentment"' (Bolton, 1997, p.5).

Bolton's (1997) 'pecuniary' emotion management is closest to the definition of emotional labour. As noted already, it is quite difficult in research terms to distinguish whether emotion management or emotional labour is being performed, so to attempt to distinguish whether a worker's emotional display occurred for

presentational, philanthropic, prescriptive or pecuniary reasons, may be even more difficult.

Wouters (1992) also disagreed with Hochschild's idea that emotional exchanges are increasingly standardised and felt that exchanges are in fact less rigid and more varied; that 'informalisation' has occurred. Lupton (1998, p.169) also argued that 'people are now generally expected to be more "in touch" with their emotions and those of others' and that there is informalisation, with the increasing open expression of emotions. Wouters stated that 'one's *individual* style of emotion management has gained importance in the struggle for status and power' (1992, p.230); that is, the ability to, and the way that we, control and express our emotions influences how others perceive us. This can be related to theories of power which demonstrate that the male construction of power is predominant in the workplace and that those portraying a masculine powerful image will be recognised and rewarded. If individuality of emotional displays becomes expected however, perhaps as part of a work script, even if these styles are not standardised the expectation is standard and becomes the feeling rule. In some organisations this is already the case, for example, some lively restaurants and night-spots may demand that the worker's 'personality' is displayed to customers, but this will be an exaggerated and managed form of a person's personality (see Crang, 1994). Therefore, service organisations do demand standard emotional displays.

An organisation's feeling rules or emotional maps are relayed via managers, and workers may then come to expect each other to conform to these rules in order to demonstrate that one is doing the job well. For example, Hochschild (1983) found

that flight attendants monitored each other's sincerity of emotional labour performances on-the-job, which became self-monitoring too, as they were wary of being 'caught out' by their team-mates. Flight attendants also maintained and lifted each other's morale, which supports the emotional labour they perform to customers and maintains the level of service⁵. During organisational socialisation the development of some sub-cultures are approved by organisations as they provide a support system for workers that cannot be provided by management (Van Maanen, 1991). Therefore, management control of emotions in the workplace, particularly the displays of emotions, can become less direct as self-control and peer-monitoring are more pervasive. Flam (1993) called this 'peer fear', where peers provide support and take over some of the control functions that were previously performed by authority figures. The use of self-control and peer-monitoring as methods of workplace control assumes that workers are fully aware of the organisational feeling rules, whereas those new to the organisation may need more control and guidance (from their peers and manager) until they are able to monitor themselves. Organisational socialisation and learning the organisational culture ensures that feeling rules are learned by new and existing workers and if the socialisation process is successful then the extent of everyday management supervision over emotional displays can be reduced. Lupton (1998, p.168) argued that '[m]any of the modes of emotional management into which we are acculturated become routine, so that we may barely be aware of them', and there are other times when we are very conscious of their management.

During flight attendants' training, Hochschild (1983) noted that the company staked claims on their private lives and established a dependency on the company. That is,

⁵ This is similar to Wouters's idea of 'Mutually Expected Self-restraints' (1992), for example, the use of violence has become 'tabooed' in our society and the suppression of one's own excessive, aggressive emotions is in some ways expected by all.

they were told of their dispensability, but then were provided with a friend and family head in the form of their supervisors, which led to gratitude and loyalty. Hochschild (1983) argued that if the flight attendants identified with the company and its values, their job was 'easier' and they had a sense of family. The language in Delta Airlines that Hochschild (1983) described informs the flight attendants of the company culture. For example, companies used 'professional' to mean rules of standardisation of their appearance and attitude (which is represented by the attendants' smiles). Customers can be described as 'uncontrolled' or 'mishandled', which removes the blame from the customer and means that the attendant cannot get angry at the customer (which is reinforced by encouraging the attendants to think of irate customers as children, and the setting as their own home). So, many links are made between the personal and public worlds, as Casey (1995) and Reiter (1996) also found.

Gender and emotional labour

Emotional labour is performed predominantly by women, because women dominate the service sector, but this may reinforce the stereotypical connection of emotions and women. This section examines the gendered nature of emotional labour and goes on to discuss the relevance of emotional labour to management. O'Brien (1994) and James (1989) studied emotional labour within the field of nursing. They found that emotional labour is mostly performed by women to whom it tends to come 'naturally' and identified that although it is difficult to label and therefore is seen as unskilled, it is a demanding aspect of nurses' work.

James (1992) showed that emotional labour is performed by women in the domestic sphere too, for example, where children are taught the 'appropriate expressions of

fear, joy, pain, desire, loss, anxiety and pleasure' (p.21) and transferred to the workplace. Emotional labour at home and in the workplace is viewed as unskilled and is low paid. Jobs requiring emotional labour become 'gendered jobs', as they 'capitalise on the qualities and capabilities a woman had gained by virtue of having lived her life a woman' (Davies and Rosser, 1986 cited by James, 1989, p. 31).

Men and women are governed by different self-presentation norms or feeling rules, which are learned through socialisation and can be seen in different behaviour patterns (Leary, 1995). In many women's paid work, the emotional labour they perform is not rewarded in terms of status and pay. Although women's participation in the workplace is increasing, many women are in jobs that remain low status and low paid, reaffirming their lower status both financially and emotionally. Duncombe and Marsden (1993, p.234-5) asserted that 'the gender division of labour results in a gender division of emotion', whilst recognising 'that these are complex products of processes of social interaction between the individual's biology and psyche and societal institutions, in the context of gender inequality.' Women learn 'the material realities of gender, the fact that men rely on women, rather than each other, for nurturance' (Jackson, 1993, p.216). This supports Wajcman's (1998) finding that men (and women) may expect female, rather than male, managers or supervisors to deal with personal issues or to provide support in performing emotional labour (see also Ferguson, 1984). Wajcman (1998) found that some of the women managers in her study were aware of the emotional labour expected of them, that they were supposed to be an emotional counsellor, comforter and mother, and that they actually did more 'negotiating work' than men.

O'Brien (1994) also found that the emotional labour skills of nurses were developed from skills ascribed as natural to women, and that a nurse needed to be the 'right kind of person' although formal training may help. O'Brien (1994) and James (1989) both argued that much of the emotional labour in nursing is routine. Routine and individuality are combined within many service jobs. Organisations may assume emotional labour is routine and try to train workers in its aspects, but they can never account for every eventuality - they can only train based on generalisations and for typical instances. This makes emotional labour difficult for the worker, as they may have to use their discretion, and for the manager, as they cannot apply a standard measurement for appraising these skills.

Roper (1996) argued that emotions tend to be excluded from accounts of masculinity and masculinity excluded from accounts of emotions and its management. He proposed that managers do different emotional labour from other workers, as they set the feeling rules and interpretations and do more deep acting, because their self is merged more with the organisation. Roper (1996) suggested that men do the deepest acting and cited Hochschild's (1983) study that shows the different emotional labour performed by men and women – that men display anger and threatening behaviour, and women display charm and relational skills. However, Roper's (1996) examples of men doing emotional labour, were actually more emotion work, or dressage, than emotional labour, as they were more to do with saving face than increasing profit. By contrast, emotional labour is used in the production of the service output.

Pierce (1996a), corroborating the gendered nature of emotional labour, argued that '[b]eing affectively neutral or polite is acceptable for men but not for women' (p.197)

and that men do surface acting to present a certain display, whereas women do deep acting to psyche themselves up. She argued that emotional labour poses a double bind for paralegals, who are usually women with male superiors, as 'if they define themselves through relationships, they are exploited as nurturing women; if they do not, they are considered problematic or uncooperative' (Pierce, 1996a, p.214). This demonstrates the importance of feeling rules and others' expectations on one's presentation of self. As we have seen, more recently, feminine emotions and working styles often associated with women have been encouraged in the workplace, including showing empathy and being supportive, nurturing and encouraging towards staff and colleagues. Organisations may require flexibility and adaptability; requiring managers to switch between both traditional and new feminine styles. A recent research report predicted that new leaders would need to display masculine and feminine traits equally - taking risks and being competitive whilst building relationships and sharing information and power (Rajan and van Eupen, 1997).

Emotional labour and emotions are therefore traditionally and stereotypically gendered. In the workplace, and in management particularly, it has been traditionally masculine emotions that are revered; that is, a general control over all emotional displays other than aggression and sternness towards workers. This coincides with the taken-for-granted dichotomy of rationality versus emotionality. However, displaying or controlling emotions could be described as rational actions, and feelings are structured and tend to be context-driven. It is increasingly recognised that '(w)e "reason" with our intuitive side just as much as, and perhaps more than, with our logical side' (Peters and Waterman, 1982, p. 61). Hochschild (1983) and Laird and Apostoleris (1996) also believed that as feelings allow us to reflect on the world, they

may be our 'best shot at objectivity' (Hochschild, 1983, p.31; see also Ferguson, 1984). Therefore emotions are integral to reason and rational action and, I argue, management.

The diversity of emotional labour

The conflict of aspects of routine versus personality and individuality shows that emotional labour has different dimensions. Organisations set and guide the transactions of emotions, but individual workers add their own interpretations, skills, and level of compliance with organisational rules, that is, there can be 'improvisational' and 'straight exchanges' (Hochschild, 1983). In straight exchange, the feeling rules are directly followed, but in improvisational exchange the rules are played with to create irony and humour, whilst staying within the general context of feeling rules (Hochschild, 1983). Goffman (1959) makes a similar distinction and found that 'disruptions' (improvisational exchanges) occur in impressions. As disruptions, or improvisational exchanges, remain within the appropriate feeling rules and the displayer shows the purposefulness in his or her actions, humour or irony is created without causing the embarrassment that could ensue if people stepped completely outside their roles and acceptable behaviour. The different dimensions of emotional labour are particularly pertinent when studying the emotional labour of managers because managers use emotional labour differently to the front-line staff.

James (1989) viewed emotional labour as a social process, with emotion management at the core of social processes. O'Brien (1994, p.393) agreed, as emotional labour is 'incorporated into embedded professional and institutional relations in particular social institutions'. Emotional labour, however, tends to be marginalised when it is in

competition for time and resources with other forms of labour. James (1989) and Hochschild (1983) found that nurses and flight attendants cut down on emotional labour when more technical skills were demanded and when the contact time with passengers or patients was reduced. Filby (1992), in his ethnography of betting shops, also discovered that 'when morale is low, emotional labourers can switch onto autopilot and go through the e-motions' (p.38). Workers thus withheld deep acting and only used perfunctory surface acting (Hochschild, 1983). Airline companies responded by reducing the minimum age and education requirements of recruits. Younger, inexperienced workers are not only cheaper, but may be more willing to perform emotional labour because they lack an awareness of the potential emotional costs of the work (Hochschild, 1983).

New workers are also not aware of 'how it used to be', so are arguably more malleable in training. Parkinson (1995) found in his study of trainee hairdressers (typically 16 or 17 year olds) that they assimilated the organisational and role requirements of emotion management into their own set of personal, social skills. They therefore saw no distinction between their 'selves', particularly not negatively or alienating, and so did not need to surface act as it became their everyday interactional style. Taylor (1998a) also found evidence that the telephone sales assistants' training and experience of deep acting had changed their personalities outside the workplace; they approached social interactions slightly differently, being more confident and calm. These studies show the extent to which organisational socialisation and the organisational culture infiltrates one's life. This seems to be particularly evident when the worker has no experience of other organisations and their cultures and socialisation processes.

Leary (1995, p.152-3) argued that 'role modelling is one of the most potent ways to influence other people's behaviour. Put simply, people often imitate what they see other people doing. The consequence of this is that people can sometimes get others to behave in certain ways through impression management.' Workers seeking a positive evaluation from their manager will seek to match their manager's expectations and preferences (Ferris et al, 1991). Organisational and occupational socialisation involves learning the work style and values, so new employees model or imitate the behaviour of other employees and managers (Ferris et al, 1991). Ferris et al (1991) suggested that perhaps the 'organisation man' has been replaced with self-interest maximisers, who calculate their displays of commitment and are 'effectively managing impressions of relevant others essentially to "become" exactly what the situation dictates' (p.59). This view is a little narrow, as not everyone is motivated in a similar way, but could be useful, as many management texts describe managers 'playing the game' or involved in 'interpersonal politicking' (Salaman, 1995). There is often discomfort from being different, and impression management shows that people behave in ways to gain acceptance (Ralston and Elsass, 1991).

Hochschild (1983) recognised different types of emotion and the management and expression of these. She showed a range of emotions by choosing the two types of service workers - those that are expected to show caring, 'feminine' emotions and those associated with more aggressive displays of feeling. Debt collectors appeared to show a fuller range of emotions, as they had to be aggressive towards some debtors and show sympathy and encouragement for others, depending on the stage of debt that they were in. However, flight attendants could only ever be nice and smiling, for

example, they were trained to perceive irate customers as children to calm any anger that they may feel towards them and to handle them in a pacifying manner. There were also differences in the emotional labour performed by, and expected from, male and female flight attendants. For example, male flight attendants were less likely to handle babies, children and old people or be asked to listen to jokes, stories and give advice. Many passengers assumed that the male flight attendants were supervisors, and the male flight attendants acted 'as if they had more authority' (Hochschild, 1983, p.178) and were firmer and less tolerant with irate customers. In fact, most of the male attendants were younger and had less seniority than the female attendants. This supports the earlier evidence showing that men and women have different feeling rules and that men's and women's behaviour is interpreted and perceived differently.

James (1993) suggested that 'full' emotional labour should not deny any feelings, but work with all feelings, so that negative feelings are managed to create neutral or positive outcomes. She investigated the division of emotional labour between professional and lay people in the disclosure of cancer diagnoses. She found that doctors (mainly men) constrained emotions using their knowledge and authority, whilst nurses (mainly women) recognised the depth of feeling and the need to talk. James (1993) explained that doctors tended to set the context for emotional labour, as they were the dominant figure. So, senior staff and managers set the context for others to express emotions, or, managers, often men, create feeling rules in organisations (Hearn, 1993; Roper, 1996). Hochschild (1983) also argued that managers direct emotion work and inform workers of the feeling rules through training and supervision, which makes interactions less negotiable and takes control away from the workers. Hochschild (1983) also suggested that company feeling rules

become more 'natural' and part of managers' personalities as they are in long-term and rewarding employment. This is important in relation to this thesis and supports the previously discussed literature regarding occupational socialisation and culture, in its assertion that managers affect the dissemination of the organisational culture and the socialisation of workers.

There have been no empirical studies of managers' performance of emotional labour, yet Denzin (1984, p.x) argued that 'the study of emotionality must occupy a central place in all the human disciplines, for to be human is to be emotional'. Swan (1994) did discuss women managers and emotions, but not emotional labour specifically. Taylor (1998a) identified a need for this research, from his study of a telephone call centre and Hochschild (1983) found that the flight attendants' supervisors did perform emotional labour, as they monitored the supply of workers' emotional labour and had to cope with workers' suppressed feelings. Filby (1992) speculated that as the women he studied entered management the emotional labour already performed may have changed in form. Ferguson (1984) argued that impression management skills are more important higher up hierarchies, as relations are less rule-governed and more personal and that more demonstrations of loyalty are required from senior managers. Impression management allows workers to imitate their supervisors. In managers' performances of emotional labour they are not only making the worker or customer feel a certain way, but are also enabling and teaching the worker (explicitly or implicitly) to perform emotional labour appropriately.

Warhurst and Thompson (1998) argued that as managers 'buy into the message/internalise values', they get workers to perform emotional labour, and have

to control workers, including stating the required behaviours and attitudes. '[E]ngaging with employees' feelings and values is likely to be the most fragile of all managerial activities' (Warhurst and Thompson, 1998, p.10), therefore, by performing emotional labour themselves rather than exerting explicit control, they may achieve more co-operation from workers. Trust and loyalty between workers, managers and their organisations may be an important part of emotional labour, as it would help the sincerity of the performance. If workers and managers have internalised and believe in the organisational values, they are more likely to have trust in the organisation and feel loyal towards it. They are thus more likely to present themselves in a way that is consistent with the organisational values.

An indication of the importance of emotions in the workplace is the growing literature arguing that managers and workers must be aware of their 'emotional intelligence', or 'EQ' (see Canfield and Miller, 1996; Cooper, 1998; Cooper and Sawaf, 1997; Gibbs, 1995; Goleman, 1996). Emotional intelligence is the ability to motivate oneself and exert self-control, and 'a new competitive reality is putting emotional intelligence at a premium in the workplace' (Goleman, 1996, p.149). It has applications in teamwork and leadership, for example, the way criticism is given and received determines the job satisfaction and performance of those involved. Emotional intelligence involves being aware of your own emotions and managing these to create self-motivation, and recognising others' emotions to effectively manage relations. For example, one Chief Executive was looking for 'leaders... who can see the staff through the eyes of the clients, understand their emotions, capitalise on their specialities and motivate them to go beyond their capacities' (Charles Low of Deutsche Bank in London, cited by Rajan and van Eupen, 1997, p.29).

MacDonald and Sirianni (1996, p.3) recognised that 'managers, at the most fundamental level, try to instil feeling states and thus promote action in others'. They believed that managers supervise their own emotional labour (unlike front-line workers), although they are to some extent supervised by customers, supervisors and employees as managers' actions are affected by the needs and demands of each of these groups. Managers, therefore, control and organise the feeling states of workers and customers and can be said to shape the 'emotional labour process' as well as the technical and physical aspects of the labour process.

Hochschild's definition may need modification when the emotional labour of managers is studied as she argued that emotional labour occurs when employees have control over the emotional activities of the employees. As the management literature shows, managers and leaders are perceived as being self-controlled, particularly in terms of their emotional displays. As MacDonald and Sirianni (1996) stated however, managers' displays are likely to be influenced by others' needs and responses at work. Fuller and Smith (1991, p.4) also demonstrated this in their study of the influence of customer feedback on managerial control of the service interaction, by stating 'whether a business delivers consistently high quality service can depend on whether the manager of the work site successfully elicits high-quality performance from lower-level employees'. They found that upper-management/employers used customer feedback to monitor the performance of managers on the front-line. So, managers are required to perform emotional labour appropriately, in order for their workers to perform emotional labour well for customers, as managers must achieve results through others. Hochschild (1993) did give an example of a personnel

manager who was regulating his own and others' feelings and explained that the manager inferred emotional boundaries from the company's 'emotional map', which seems similar to 'feeling rules'.

A recent IPD publication stated that to be competitive, organisations need to raise skills and enhance customer service, and management structures provide the upward communication route to enable this process to run more smoothly (Overell, 1997). As the competition between companies changed from 'price' to 'price plus service' competition then service providers have had to develop an approach where the customer is central to the organisation. This requires placing more importance on those workers who are in contact with customers, as these contact-times are central to retaining existing, and introducing new, customers (Mudie and Cottam, 1993; Lash and Urry, 1994).

As customers become increasingly adept at evaluating the service they receive then the authenticity, or sincerity, of emotional labour becomes of great importance to organisations. Organisations often advertise 'sincerity' (Hochschild, 1983). Many companies (for example, Burger King, McDonalds, Delta airlines) emphasise smiles as reflecting the attitude of the worker and the company, and encourage workers to 'love the job', which becomes part of the job and helps the worker in their efforts. In many sales roles, in selling the company and its products, salespeople need to sell themselves, which makes them appear more sincere about their role performance. Mudie and Cottam (1993) argued that 'worked-up warmth is part of many service jobs' (p.137) and that 'the less the employees have to be trained to feel these emotions the more spontaneous and therefore convincing they will be to customers' (p.138).

Additionally, as workers are often consumers too, it is not in organisations' interests to ask workers to be false. Organisations therefore need to get to know their staff and get them to 'buy in' to the organisational values. As front-line managers are a crucial cog in the organisational engine - connecting front-line staff to upper management/employers - they make an interesting focus of research.

This chapter has noted the gendered nature of emotional labour and management and recognised that 'the danger in discussing emotion and women is that it reproduces and perpetuates a tradition which couples emotion with women in opposition to reason and men' (Swan, 1994, p.91). From women's association with nature, emotions are seen as part of the 'true self' and are located within the body, an idea which rests on the oppositions of inner (private) and outer (public) and reproduces the idea that emotions are natural and in need of control. A more helpful approach is to recognise the existence of multi-faceted selves, enabling a different presentation of self for each audience and set of feeling rules. Emotional labour is integral to the management role as managers must present an emotional display that elicits the appropriate display from their staff. The increasing importance of sincere emotional displays from staff and their managers increases the necessity of acculturating workers to organisational cultures. It is important to discover how the organisation informs and trains the managers in their organisational culture, values and feeling rules. In addition, it is necessary to learn how managers are expected to communicate and monitor the feeling rules and cultural values to front-line staff. The next chapter will explain how the aims of this thesis led to the particular research design.

Chapter 3: Research Design

Research aims and questions

The aim of this thesis is to examine the socialisation and activities of managers in the financial services. The previous two chapters have provided a conceptual framework for the research questions and have shown that gender and emotional labour are relevant to the current state of management in the financial services.

This chapter outlines the research design of the thesis and the rationale for the methods chosen. I operationalise emotional labour and discuss the validity of the findings and the importance of reflexivity. I also consider the ethics of this research project. The chapter ends with a description of the development of the fieldwork, including the selection of respondents and the choice of research methods.

The research design was developed from the following lines of inquiry suggested by the literature:

How do managers learn to become managers?

How do managers 'do management'?

Are managers directed by the organisation to perform emotional labour?

How do managers perform emotional labour?

Are there gendered management styles?

Are there gendered expectations of management styles?

These questions indicated a process from 'learning' to 'doing' management that required investigation. The research also examines emotional labour as a process, as it is implicated in the management socialisation process. For example, I investigate

how the managers learn and then practise emotional labour, and how they in turn teach and enable their staff to perform emotional labour.

The literature indicated that managers perform emotional labour. In this thesis, I intend to discover how they learn to perform emotional labour and put their learned skills into practice. I therefore needed to collect data regarding managers' training, which involved both training courses and on-the-job experience. Including graduate trainees as participants ensured that data was collected on how the organisation instructed and socialised their managers from the outset of their career, and whether emotional labour was part of this instruction. The literature also indicated that there could be gender differences between male and female managers' management styles and their performances of emotional labour. I therefore needed to collect data on management styles and how emotional labour is performed, distinguished by gender. Case studies were the best form of research strategy to obtain this range of data, as within bounded settings I could observe training courses and managers at work, and question managers about their learning and work experiences, and their knowledge and experience of gender differences.

The case study research strategy

As Yin (1994, p.1) explained, 'case studies are the preferred strategy when "how" or "why" questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context.' 'How' and 'why' questions are classed as explanatory research. Case studies can also be appropriate for exploratory and descriptive research (Yin, 1994). Explanatory research questions 'deal with operational links [...] rather than mere frequencies' and

are best served by case studies (Yin, 1994, p.6). Case studies allow one to collect a variety of evidence and are appropriate when one is not able, or does not wish to, control variables and events. As this thesis aims to illuminate the processes that managers experience in order to become managers, then it was felt appropriate to study managers in their natural settings in order to gain an appreciation of their experiences.

Two case studies were chosen because of the restricted costs and time of completing the fieldwork. Hakim (2000) argued that these are the overriding factors in the research designs of theses. In addition, by limiting the fieldwork to two case studies, one can study the settings in some depth. Two case studies also have the advantages of acknowledging local variations and presenting an idea of the range of variability of experiences and processes and hence strengthen the validity of the project. The two case studies were not intended to be used as cross-case comparative studies, as they each included different types of managers. Instead, the case studies were used together to build up a picture and strengthen the understanding of managers' work in financial services. As there were similar issues and themes in both case studies, they cross-validate each other (Robson, 1997). Chapters 4, 5 and 6 highlight some important similarities and differences between the cases.

I wanted to reveal the details of the managers' experiences and the development process of becoming a manager. Case study findings are 'quintessentially the study of the particular' (Robson, 1993, p.57). Case studies 'are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes [...] the investigator's goal is to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalizations) and not to enumerate

frequencies (statistical generalizations)' (Yin, 1994, p.10). As Williams (2000) argued, survey researchers tend to generalise statistically, whereas interpretive research tends to lead to '*moderatum* generalisations'. *Moderatum* generalisations mean that aspects of one's case study 'can be seen to be instances of a broader recognisable set of features' (Williams, 2000, p.215).

In establishing meanings from the case studies, the relation between theory and data is important. By emphasising process, case studies can specify how theories and concepts perform in given circumstances. Theory and data are 'mutually interdependent' (Bulmer, 1986 in May, 1993), rather than one producing the other. Theoretical insights cannot be expected to stand alone without empirical validation. Qualitative research lends itself to theoretical inferences, so from case studies one can draw conclusions about the relationships that exist amongst categories of phenomena. Hammersley (1992, cited by Williams, 2000) was sceptical of theoretical inferences, although Williams argued that inferences are possible from interpretive research.

Williams (2000, p.221) argued that:

'everyday *moderatum* generalisations are what it is the researcher wants to understand, and of course if she can understand them then she will know something of the cultural consistency within which they reside and is then able to make her own generalisations about that cultural consistency. The interpretation of an action or utterance leads to an understanding of why it happened.'

For this project, case studies using ethnographic methods were conducted, as I wanted to explore managers' experiences in-depth. This strategy also allowed the initial set of issues to transform whilst in the field, as they were shaped by the nature of the setting (Walsh, 1998). As organisational cultures, values, roles and emotional labour need to be learned, it is useful to examine how managers become managers. Watson

(1994) argued that to understand managerial work we must recognise that the shaping of the organisation is related to the shaping of themselves, that is, there is a relationship between the organisational culture and managers as individuals. Therefore, I needed to develop my knowledge of managers' training and socialisation into the management role and organisational culture. Ethnography is recognised as enabling access to cultures (Gummesson, 1991), and the case studies also allowed direct access to information about training courses, the interactions therein and the managers' interpretations of these. Blumer (1969) argued that the methodology suitable to understand the actions of people must allow one to see objects as they see them. It also requires 'descriptive accounts from the actors of how they see the objects, how they have acted toward the objects in a variety of different situations, and how they refer to the objects in their conversations' (Blumer, 1969, p.51). This would also enable me to ascertain whether managers are directed to perform emotional labour by the organisation in their formal and informal training.

As I wanted to research the processes of learning and doing management and emotional labour, qualitative methods were the most appropriate, as they allow one to observe and ask about the processes, context and outcomes. The literature indicates that managers manage by 'persuasion' rather than coercion, so they need to communicate effectively. To access this communication, ethnography was felt to be useful. As Blumer (1969, p.56) argued, to 'analyze social action one has to observe the process by which it is constructed.' In addition, as interactions can express the nature of the relationship between actors, and as I wanted to explore staff-manager relationships in order to examine managers' emotional labour, it was useful to observe

the interactions firsthand. This would enable me to examine whether managers adhere to the organisational directives or have their 'own style'.

Ethnography is a form of qualitative research encompassing a number of data collection methods, usually combining observations, interviews and the analysis of documents, all of which are easily accessible within case studies and utilised in this research. The research consisted of observations of management training courses and managers at work; examination of training, and other company, documentation; and interviews with thirty-four managers. These different methods were used to examine the process that managers experience of the instruction in, and application of, the skills of management and emotional labour. The variety of methods enabled detailed information to be gathered about the working environments of managers in two large banks in the UK, here known as Northbank and Southbank.

Sarantakos (1993) explained that qualitative research requires the methods to be explicated fully, along with any biases and assumptions and how one tries to stop them influencing one's research. This allows external verification and an openness about its limitations with regard to generalisability (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). This chapter attempts to give as full an explanation as possible of the methods employed, the rationale for their deployment and a reflexive account of the research process. As Fielding (1993b, p.154) stated, '[t]he concern to balance detailed documentation of events with insights into the meanings of those events is the enduring hallmark of ethnography.' Before presenting issues of validity and inference in relation to the collection and analysis of the data collected, I discuss the operationalisation of emotional labour.

Methodological issues

i) Can emotional labour be studied empirically?

I want to consider a methodological issue that goes hand in hand with researching emotional labour, that of finding empirical examples of emotional labour. This required recognising the distinctions between emotional labour, emotion work and emotion management, as presented in the previous chapter. Emotional labour is distinct because of the context in which it is used. Emotional labour uses the skills of emotion management and emotion work, to affect the emotions of another, in a manner prescribed by an organisation. Emotion management and emotion work are largely performed for personal reasons, whereas emotional labour is performed for the company's benefit and at the company's behest.

As the previous chapter demonstrated, emotional labour is beset with conceptual and operationalisation problems. As detailed above, one conceptual problem of emotional labour is separating it from similar terms, and the distinctions made above and in Chapter 2 are required for its application in research. There are two other main conceptual problems encountered in the literature on emotional labour: the separation of selves; and the focus on the costs of emotional labour with the relative disregard of other possible dimensions of emotional labour.

Hochschild (1983) assumed a separation between one's true and false selves, which is difficult to pinpoint in practice. The separation between selves is a common-sense assumption, and most people acknowledge that they 'put on an act' depending upon the situation. It is difficult to determine, though, when this 'act' ceases. Mead's idea

of a self-conversing, reflexive self, whose actions are based upon how one thinks others will react and what meaning they hold (Blumer, 1969), is useful when researching emotional labour. For emotional labour, individuals can draw upon a part of themselves in order to present the image they desire and the image they believe will elicit the required reaction from others. For research purposes it is therefore useful to assume that we possess multifaceted selves, part of which is presented according to the situation and audience.

Secondly, Hochschild (1983) argued that service workers who must perform emotional labour experience a form of alienation, as they become estranged from their 'true' selves. Hochschild explained that emotional labour involves co-ordinating mind and feeling, and that it 'draws on a source of self that we honor as deep and integral to our individuality' (1983, p.7). By focusing on the costs to workers of performing emotional labour, there has been a tendency to lose sight of the benefits of, and motivations for, performing emotional labour (see Bolton, 1997). O'Brien's (1994) and James's (1989) indication of a conflict between aspects of routine and personality/individuality in performing emotional labour also shows that it has different dimensions. This thesis recognises that there are different forms of emotional labour.

The major empirical problems of emotional labour are that most of the research has concentrated on jobs requiring the display of feminine, caring emotions; and that the conceptual problems lead to operationalisation difficulties. An aspect that is overlooked in most of the literature is that the nature of particular labour processes demand certain emotional displays and control, rather than the organisation being the

sole controller of emotional displays. For example, as financial services organisations are subject to service competition, they need managers and workers who are able to develop and provide an excellent service to their customers. The service *roles*, therefore, demand emotional labour, rather than the organisation being the sole root of the demands.

Hochschild (1983) recognised different types of emotions, and the management and expression of these, by researching two types of service work. From her choice of research sites, Hochschild demonstrated that the 'same principles of emotional labour apply to very different jobs and very different feelings' (1983, p.16). James's (1993) study showed that senior staff set the context for others to express emotion. Therefore different jobs have different feeling rules and emotional labour demands, which can be influenced by the organisation, societal feeling rules and the expectations of the job-holder, their peers, superiors, subordinates, and others they come into contact with.

In order to discover instances of emotional labour, it was necessary to operationalise the concept in some way. Hochschild's (1983) definition was the starting point for operationalisation. She defined emotional labour as the management of feelings in the workplace to create a display 'that produces the proper state of mind in others' (1983, p.7). The existing studies of emotional labour equate 'others' to 'customers'. So, service sector staff are recognised as performing emotional labour when they make customers feel happy enough to continue using the business. I wished to shift the focus to managers and staff, so would need to look for instances of managers managing their feelings in order to produce the proper state of mind in their staff. The

'proper state of mind' is defined by organisations, as they set the context and feeling rules. The front-line staff are the main route to the achievement of service organisations' goals and their managers must ensure that they are working to achieve them. Therefore, the managers must ensure that their staff's interactions with customers meet organisational guidelines by monitoring and affecting their state of mind. In order to observe this in practice, I needed to know whether the managers were informed of the state of mind they must aim to foster in their staff (through training courses or via their line manager) and discover how the managers communicated to their staff. Hochschild (1983) stated that emotional labour involves suppressing and inducing feelings in order to present the correct emotional display, therefore, I also needed to investigate indications of managers hiding their own feelings about situations and practices and of putting on a 'front' to match the companies' values and expectations.

As emotional labour is partly non-verbal, it would be useful to observe managers' actions, as well as question them on what they had done or been taught. Using observations and interviews would therefore discover aspects of emotional labour. As I have argued, defining emotions and emotional labour for research purposes is difficult, therefore devising an exact measurement of emotional labour is impossible. In studying emotions, Hopfl and Linstead (1993) argued that researchers must accept a proxy as their manifestation, for example, one must accept observable behaviour of inner emotions, or trust the respondents' recollections of feelings. Fineman (1993) noted that it is difficult to record emotions on paper, although one can record dialogue, interaction, non-verbal clues and gather introspections. He believed that one should explore felt emotion and emotional displays as both have different

theoretical directions – ontological and performance skills respectively – but argued that they intersect where social and organisational rules determine the expression and shape of emotions.

Attempting to measure emotional labour, or emotions, objectively, as if they were ‘out there’ to be measured, may be futile, as researchers are only presented with (and present) a view of subjective life. What is more important ‘is the way it all looks to each of us’ (Smith, 1999, p.154), and validity can be enhanced through recognising, disclosing and reflecting upon this. Taylor (1998b) stated that it is difficult to know when emotional labour is being performed, as people hide their inner feelings, therefore a researcher cannot detect if feelings are being ‘worked on’. It is impossible for me to know from observations alone if the managers are feigning, inducing, suppressing or naturally feeling the emotions they display. Interviewing the managers can help to overcome this difficulty, but cannot achieve a full knowledge of the managers’ inner feelings. ‘For many sociological issues it may not even be necessary to decide which is the more real, the fostered impression or the one the performer attempts to prevent the audience from receiving’ (Goffman, 1959, p.72). Both ‘false’ and ‘real’ performances require careful presentation. It may not be necessary for my purposes, therefore, to distinguish or locate the different selves, as I assume that we have multi-faceted selves – individuals have dynamic subjectivities. It is only possible and necessary that the interviewees recognise when their feeling display was presented in order purposefully to make others feel a certain way.

The methods employed are very similar to those used by Hochschild in her seminal study, as she observed training courses and the workplace, as well as interviewing the

workers and obtaining company documentation. Hochschild (1983) takes her lead from Goffman and Mead, who used qualitative methods to study symbolic interactions. Mead and Goffman viewed the self as socially constructed 'through constitutive elements, dialectical processes, self-narratives and displays' (Casey, 1995, p.3). Therefore, ethnographic case studies seem ideal to research the construction and presentation of managers' organisational selves, as they can allow access to various settings and observations and discussions of self-narratives and displays. Other studies of emotional labour (James, 1989 and 1993; O'Brien, 1994; Filby, 1992) also used ethnographic case studies to access emotional labour performances.

Denzin (1984) argued that the best way to study emotions was within natural settings and by triangulation, so that the researcher can sympathetically identify with the participants' actions and see others' experiences from their standpoint. Triangulation can thus help to achieve a more valid interpretation and understanding of participants' experiences.

ii) Will the data collected be valid?

In considering which methodological approach is the most appropriate for one's research questions, one must assess which method or methods would generate data that is adequate for the resulting inferences and claims. In doing so, one is considering the validity of the methods and the data so collected. The main validity issues are presented in this separate section, although validity is also considered throughout this chapter, particularly when discussing the rationale of the methods of data collection.

Much sociological research is conducted within settings of which most readers have some knowledge. Inferences made from data collected by social researchers therefore have some 'face validity' (Robson, 1993), as long as the inferences seem reasonable to the reader. All validity tests rely on the researcher presenting the details of the research design and data collection and on the reader using their own judgement to assess whether the data and generalisations presented are legitimate. Sanger (1996) and Denzin (1989) identified internal and external validity as standards by which to measure research. Internal validity asks whether the chosen methods are best suited to the particular research question or issue, how bias was eliminated and whether the analysis was convincing. External validity examines the relationship between the researcher and the outside world, and the generalisation and prediction possible from the findings. Both types of validity can be threatened by the limitations of single methods (Denzin, 1989).

Hammersley (1998) questioned the distinctions between internal and external validity and argued that there is only one type of validity standard by which to measure research. He defined 'validity' as 'the extent to which an account accurately represents the phenomena to which it refers' (Hammersley, 1998, p.62), which he suggested can be assessed using the criteria of plausibility and credibility. These criteria assess the likeliness of the truth of findings, given our existing knowledge, and their accuracy, given the nature of phenomena and research circumstances. These can appear as obvious from simple-level judgements (similar to those applied in everyday life), or they may require further evidence, to then be assessed by the same criteria (Hammersley, 1998). The analysis of the data with reference to the theories

and empirical findings presented in the literature chapters, along with the explication of the research design and process provided in this chapter, hopefully assists in judging the plausibility and credibility of this research and its findings.

Research validity is often tested by the possibility of replication. Ethnographic studies are impossible to replicate, therefore we cannot assess their validity in this way, but they are not invalid (Hammersley, 1998; see also Yin, 1994). For interpretivists, validity can be assessed by ‘shock of recognition’ (that participants recognise themselves when reading the research report) or triangulation. The interviewees in this research were all offered a copy of their transcript, which two-thirds accepted. The transcripts were sent with a covering letter that welcomed comments about the transcript and the interview process itself. None of the managers forwarded any comments. I hope that this was because none had reason to disagree with the transcripts.

Kyriacov’s (cited by Sanger, 1996) validity checklist for observers included triangulation, use of thick descriptions and reflexive journal keeping, all used in this thesis. The use of more than one method can be classed as ‘triangulation’. In this study, managers were interviewed; observed in their daily work; management training courses were observed; and documents were obtained from managers and trainers within both banks. Denzin is the oft-cited proponent of triangulation, who argued that researchers wish to present data ‘that rings true at both levels (e.g., it is sociologically sound and behaviorally realistic to the native)’ (1978, p.21). So, Denzin proposed that triangulation in social research assists the validation of data; that is, the analytic claims become a more accurate representation of the phenomena studied. All those

favouring triangulation cite increased validity as one of its benefits, particularly as it can obtain greater depth and richness of information, and thus provides more 'persuasive evidence' (Webb, 1978, p.322). That is, by collecting and/or analysing data in more than one way, weight is added to the conclusions.

'The phrase *sophisticated rigour* is intended to describe the work of any and all sociologists who employ multiple methods, seek out diverse empirical sources, and attempt to develop interactionally grounded interpretations' (Denzin, 1989, p.234-235). Denzin agreed with criticisms that triangulation cannot eliminate bias, ensure validity nor find an objective reality, but stated that most criticisms were based on a narrow or biased reading of the strategy. He argued that sophisticated rigour and triangulation together will strengthen 'the interpretive base of any study' (Denzin, 1989, p.247). Although triangulation does not always, nor fully, ensure validity in all social research, I have used it to highlight different facets of situations and issues, therefore providing a more general, or deeper, picture of the case study organisations.

One should also consider measures of reliability when conducting research. Reliability requires findings and recordings to be accurate and looks at the extent that findings are independent of the accidental circumstances of research; that is, could we expect the same findings if the research was done again in the same way? The non-routine nature of participant observation means the observer influences the production of the picture of reality, as it is their picture (Ackroyd & Hughes, 1992). For example, different observers may produce different field notes and interpretations, even while observing the same events at the same time.

The researcher is the actual data collection tool in qualitative research, to a greater extent than in quantitative research. There is more contact with the subjects of the study and increased use of our own senses (Hughes, 1992). This does, as Oakley (1981) stated, allow a greater understanding of the subjects, but also presents its problems. For instance, the presence of the researcher may influence comments or actions, which would mean one observed and recorded a false representation (in quantitative surveys too, people can give answers they think the researcher wants to hear). In addition, the researcher controls what evidence is presented in the written report. I have aimed to present 'thick descriptions' of the data and to allow the participants of the study to speak for themselves. I have, of course, selected particular elements of the data and particular quotations as illustrations of the findings. The data chapters do not therefore constitute reproductions of the settings, but are one representation of the settings and the phenomena within. Hammersley (1998) defined this as 'subtle realism'. This representation and its claims are intended to be as accurate, plausible and credible as possible, through triangulation, thick descriptions and by presenting a reflexive account of the research design and process.

This thesis studied managers within their natural work setting and aimed to see their world from their perspective before making detached interpretations, thus using the Chicago School's idea of 'appreciation' in an attempt to understand their 'symbolic world' (Fielding, 1993b, pp.156-7). This was attempted from the outset in meetings with 'gatekeepers' (Schwartz and Jacobs, 1979)¹. For example, the Southbank gatekeeper was keen to know which managers I wanted to study, which would have

¹ As observing management training and managers at work was necessary to answer the research questions, as well as conducting interviews, using two case studies meant that there were fewer gatekeepers and potential access problems.

necessitated applying my own definition of 'management'. However, I informed her that I wanted to study whomever they defined as 'management' rather than imposing my own definition. My only stipulation was that the managers have some contact with front-line staff, as I had decided that staff management was important to the research following observations of Northbank management training. It is usually at the lower end of the management hierarchy that definitions vary, as team leaders, supervisors and customer account managers may all be within the management scale. During the interviews with managers I asked them for their definition of management, to gain information on their perspective and the meanings they apply to their experiences.

The findings are not presented as generalisable to all financial services or retail organisations, rather as an example of managers' experiences within two such organisations. As I only observed the managers on a few occasions it is difficult to code actions into categories and to make generalisations to other situations and settings. The discussion of the findings inevitably leads to some *moderatum* generalisations, in an attempt to demonstrate the relevance of the research for sociological and management communities and the theoretical inferences that can be drawn from the data. Overt observations enabled questions to be asked about the meanings of the managers' actions, so I did not only have to infer meanings from observing and from personal past experiences. It is also worth noting that the interview and observation data can only show the managers' perceptions, for example of gender differences and expectations, rather than provide a definitive picture of senior management intentions and management practices. The documents collected from the banks allowed some analysis of the latter. The managers' perceptions may

actually be a more important finding than revealing the organisations' intentions, as organisational policies will always be interpreted differently, and managers' interpretations and perceptions will affect how they themselves act and think.

iii) The importance of being reflexive

In this section I want to discuss further the importance of reflexivity and being aware of the relationship between the researcher and researched. One must be reflexive from the research design stage to the analysis and writing up stage of the research. One aspect of reflexivity is acknowledging one's preconceptions of the setting and issues to be researched. This thesis is constructed from my perspective, understanding and knowledge of certain theories. The view presented is recognised as being partial, for example, some of the codes developed from the interview data were omitted from the presentation of the data, as they were extraneous to the main themes.

Qualitative research is criticised for being unsystematic, not replicable, too subjective, and not conforming to the criteria of an effective science (Ackroyd & Hughes, 1992; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). However, making any limitations clear in a report, and being reflexive (recognising that as observers we are not unbiased, nor a disembodied, indifferent data collection tool), will enhance the quality of any research project, allowing readers to judge for themselves whether the research is reliable and valid. Sanger (1996) believed that the best way of dealing with validity is to state all methods openly. It is one's openness to outside judgement about one's methods, biases, limitations and the subjective nature of interpretations, in which the validity of one's research lies (Sanger, 1996). This requires the researcher to be reflexive and to

recognise that all descriptions recorded are part of the social world and affect the relationships within the settings (Schwartz & Jacobs, 1979). As Pearson (1993, p.viii) stated, '[t]he ethnographer is never a neutral channel of communication, and to pretend to be is a deception.' The organisational roles that I was perceived as occupying by those attending training courses are a useful example of this and are described later. Miller (1997) also examined methodologies that stress the importance of reflexivity, as our account of social life not only describes, but is a part of that life too. One of the aims of this chapter has been to make the choice of method and manner of application clear, to enable the reader to be better equipped to judge the validity of the research. To this end, the importance of providing a reflexive account is paramount.

Feminists have challenged the conceptual and methodological assumptions of social scientists and suggested that no researchers practise research outside their own system of values (Brunskell, 1998). Researchers cannot avoid influencing research findings because preferences for theories and methods and even the choice of the study problem and group are affected by the researchers' values. The need to be aware of, and open about, our values and biases is omnipresent and can increase the validity and reliability of research.

In order to combat any personal biases, researchers can employ a variety of methods. Multi-methods give research 'a firmer empirical base and greater theoretical scope, because they are grounded in different ways of observing social reality' (Brewer and Hunter, 1989, p.28). An early advocate of the multi-methods approach was C. Wright Mills (1959), who criticised sociologists who only looked at statistical data for their

lack of interpretation and losing sight of what the data means (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1992). Ethnographic case studies lend themselves well to a multi-method approach.

A feature of feminist methodology is the 'emphasis on the validity of personal experience as against the conventional emphasis on scientific methods' (Hughes, 1980, p.47). This often translates to the use of unstructured, qualitative methods, which provide better access to experiences than quantitative methods. The relationship between the researcher and researched is important in feminist research in order to challenge the power relationship that traditionally existed between the powerful male academic researcher and the subordinate researched 'subject'. Fineman (1993) also believed that closing the gap between the researcher and researched assists in understanding emotional displays and keeping the data in context. In an attempt to increase rapport and recognise the legitimacy of the participants' knowledge, the observations and interviews were conducted as informally and in as relaxed a manner as possible – I did not present, nor consider, myself as superior to them, rather as an equal or a student of their experiences. One should also recognise the value of the participants' knowledge during the process of analysis. The analysis was grounded in the data, so that theory was not imposed on the data.

The points discussed above regarding reflexivity and being aware of the relationship between the researcher and researched relate to ethical concerns that researchers must consider.

Research Ethics

The issues normally appearing in professional ethical codes include informed consent, openness, deception, right to withdraw, protection from harm, debriefing and confidentiality. Ethical codes allow for individual interpretations and the flexibility for some undefined situations. For example, in the British Sociological Association's 'Statement of Ethical Practice 1992' it is stated that 'as far as possible sociological research should be based on the freely given consent of those studied.' Examples of situations are not provided that would reasonably allow the informed consent requirement to be waived. The BSA state that covert research may overcome certain difficulties in a research study, but this breaks informed consent and privacy codes, so '*ideally*', informed consent '*should* be obtained post hoc' in covert studies (emphasis added).

I attempted to consider ethics at every stage of the research process, from deciding on the research problem through to writing up. This includes the methodology of the project, so in addition to choosing methods that are suited to the research problem, one must decide which methods are ethical.

The observations and interviews were not fully structured, therefore, I could not anticipate all questions that would be asked nor what information would become pertinent until after the observations. As the participants were quite involved in this data collection stage, as I was in their company for some time and discussing observations with them, the likelihood of deception reduced throughout this process. To explain all the eventualities of a study would be an arduous task, as would the explanation of the theories behind the research, even if all participants could

comprehend the facts presented. It is important to be as explicit as possible with the participants though, which was demonstrated to me by one interviewee who, at the end of the interview, said 'you won't quote me, will you?' I had assumed that they were all aware of this, as I was taping all interviews and had assured them of anonymity. I did get her permission to quote her interview, after explaining myself more. I felt though, that taking too much time going through formalities with every interviewee would reduce the rapport I tried to build through the informality of the interviews. Often, when I was explaining confidentiality, anonymity and their right to withdraw or refuse to answer any questions, the managers would nod and make agreeing noises, as if they were trying to hurry me along.

In gaining access to an organisation, informed consent is often only obtained from gatekeepers, or senior management, rather than the workers studied. There are large elements of hierarchical power in most organisations and those studied are further disempowered if they are not informed of the study (Gallagher, 1982). However, there are difficulties if all are informed because of the conflict in role expectations placed upon the researcher (Kimmel, 1988). That is, senior management may fit the researcher into a role that differs from the role perceived by participants (e.g. participants may see the researcher as a communication channel to senior management, whereas seniors can view the researcher as collecting information on their behalf). This illustrates the importance of being open with participants and gatekeepers about one's own expectations and limitations, so that they are made aware that the final report may not be as beneficial to each of them as they would hope. Being open about all limitations may inhibit access and the responses of

participants, although I did not feel that this occurred in this research. Both the gatekeepers and managers were keen to assist in the research as much as they could.

When informing the different levels within an organisation of the research, it poses the question of to whom the researcher has a responsibility, i.e. whether it is to the participants, the organisation, society, oneself, one's profession or one's university. Kimmel (1988) recommended that one's first obligation is to the participants as they have given their time and knowledge. This was my philosophy, but researchers may face demands from others, such as the heads of organisations, that conflict with the participants' best interests.

An ethical issue arose over a report I prepared for Southbank's executive committee. I had agreed to submit a report during access negotiations, regarding the interviews with the women managers in Southbank. Southbank were interested in why women were not progressing as far as the men in the company. The report was anonymised, but I felt that it could be seen as deceiving the managers as, unless they specifically asked me (which some did), they were not told about the report that I had to prepare. The gatekeeper asked that I did not forward a copy of the full report to the managers, partly because they may not have had the time to read it, although I was allowed to send them a copy of the 'summary of recommendations' from the report. It is debatable as to whether this was ethical, as some managers may have objected to being interviewed or may have provided less information about their feelings if they knew that some of it was to be reported to their seniors, albeit anonymously. The report was intended for use towards the 'greater good' of helping equal opportunities, therefore teleologically it is ethical (Kimmel, 1988) and the efforts made to ensure

confidentiality would reduce any risk of the report being used against any individuals. In addition to making comments anonymous by name and location, the report and its recommendations were made even more general, as some replies were specific to a particular department or role that would have enabled others to identify the manager.

Some of the participants in my research were interested in the research project and asked what the title of it was. As it was a temporary title at the time, I simply explained that my research was on managers in the financial services, particularly how they are trained in interpersonal skills and staff issues. For all of the participants, I felt that explaining emotional labour to them may influence their responses and I wanted to reduce any interviewer effects. I attempted to be open and honest, without going into too much depth about the research. One reason for this during the Northbank training observation was that the trainees were supposed to be building a support network with each other. I did not want to take up their time by talking about myself, as being together was a chance for them to offload their pressures and concerns. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) noted that ethnographers must decide how much 'self-disclosure' is appropriate and that it is part of one's impression management, but that it also has ethical implications. Feminist researchers particularly suggest that researchers should give to the participants as much as they provide (Oakley, 1981). This is difficult when the research is conducted over a short period of time and some interactions are short-lived. I did offer my opinions when they were asked for and the interviewees were offered a copy of their transcript. One Southbank manager who wanted his transcript felt that it would be useful for his self-development and that the interview itself had helped him to reflect upon his experiences.

Although the research was overt, there are moments when it becomes covert, as Fielding (1993b, p.159) stated, 'short of wearing a sign, ethnographers cannot signal when they are or are not collecting data.' For example, during the observations of training courses, it was obvious that I was collecting data while the trainer was teaching and I was note-taking, but this became less obvious in coffee or lunch breaks during more informal chats. I made a conscious decision not to make notes about conversations during the evenings I spent with the Northbank graduate trainees, as that was the time they relaxed a little and it would have been particularly deceptive. This decision is still problematic, as the information and knowledge gained during those evenings would have informed interpretations of events that were subject to data collection, as it is very difficult to 'bracket off'² that information.

There are no set boundaries between the researcher and researched for ethnographic research. By contrast in structured interviews or surveys, for example, once the data collection is complete the interaction usually ends. During participant observation though, a researcher may be invited out socially, as I was, by the Northbank participants³. It seemed sensible to accept any invitations as knowing them a little better would relax them about being watched and written about all day. As the participants were guaranteed anonymity, I believe the situation remained ethical. The participants often spoke about their experiences in, and feelings towards, work with each other, as this was the main commonality they shared. No personal or identifying

² 'Bracketing' is considered necessary when applying the grounded theory approach (Fielding, 1993b).
³ It was only with the Northbank management trainees that I socialised, both during the Skills for Success week and after the first day (of two) of observing one trainee at work. On this occasion the respondent also arranged to meet a second-year trainee in order to help my research.

information, which may have arisen during the social times, is included within the thesis for confidentiality reasons.

I began the research by thinking that my subject matter and methods chosen would be unquestionably ethical, because it was overt research participation was relatively voluntary and that as the participants were managers the power issue would be marginal. Reports were confirmed as being confidential and anonymous, and that I would be open and honest. I now find that these statements must be followed with an 'as far as possible', because as discussed, confidentiality cannot be guaranteed and honesty is limited because of validity issues, and to whom can we be fully honest and fully inform? The right to withdraw was offered but there may still be feelings of coercion or an obligation to assist in the research, as some may not actively seek to play a part in research that did not guarantee to directly benefit them. This may be particularly true for the women managers interviewed in Southbank as their names were passed to me via their Human Resources managers. They therefore may have felt an obligation to assist for this reason and because the research formed part of the bank's Equal Opportunities Audit.

It is difficult to resolve ethical issues, because of the practicalities of their enforcement. For example, fully informed consent and elimination of harm to participants and/or the wider community is impractical because all consequences are unforeseeable, therefore participants cannot be fully informed or protected. Ethical problems are reduced when participants are seen as partners in the research, which also reduces the influence of the researchers' own values (Kimmel, 1988). Kimmel (1988) also argued that within the (social) scientific community, competitive

replication and criticism of ethical issues in research would lead to a more ethically educated community and would increase the validity of research studies. The lack of consensus within social sciences makes ethical decisions difficult. Yet at least the disagreement forces us to question the ethical decisions made by ourselves and others, which keeps these issues at the forefront of our minds during decision-making in the research process.

Development of the fieldwork

To gain access to the retail banks, speculative letters were posted to the personnel departments of eight large banks and building societies in the UK, particularly the organisations whose head offices were within easy reach of the researcher, as travelling time and expenses were restricted. Two of the organisations replied, both former building societies, and were visited to further explain the research and its access requirements. The 'gatekeepers' of these two banks were enthusiastic about the research and the access that they could offer, although I was unable to re-contact one of them, therefore Northbank was the only bank used from this access attempt. A personal contact provided access to the second organisation, Southbank, who were in the process of conducting an Equal Opportunities Audit and wished to encourage the development of their women managers within the bank. Southbank made me sign two secrecy declarations (one for each of its merged banks). Northbank did not ask me to do this, although I promised all banks and managers confidentiality and anonymity.

In deciding *whom* to include within the study, I made a decision about including men as participants. As the research aims include an investigation of the gendered nature

of management, I had originally thought that I should narrow the study to women managers - to study gendered management from the perspective of women managers.

However, this can have

‘the effect of locating women as the problem, and reinforces assumptions that men are to the management-manner born [... and] since masculinity and femininity are inherently relational concepts, with meaning only in relation to each other, this study is then able to analyse the gender regimes of management’ (Wacjman, 1998, p.2).

As this thesis is primarily concerned with how managers learn to become managers and subsequently perform their management role, it was considered relevant to study both men and women. This also allows the gendered nature of management to be explored perhaps more fully than a study that included only women would. The case studies also provided access to both men and women managers, therefore to narrow the study to include only women was thought unnecessary.

The remainder of this chapter will present the issues arising from conducting interviews and observations, during the analysis of the data recorded, and present some information relating to the case study organisations and participants.

i) Observations

Training courses were observed as I wanted to investigate the methods used by organisations to direct managers how to perform management and emotional labour, and how and what managers were taught about the organisational culture. Northbank’s graduate management trainees progress through a two-year programme of formal training courses and on-the-job training. The observed ‘Management

Skills'⁴ course was attended by half of the first-year trainees (the other half attended the course in the following week). The course took place in the third month of their training programme, whilst they were learning cashiering and reception skills in-branch, and was designed to introduce them to various management techniques. It was arranged that I stay in the same accommodation as the trainees for the week. I discussed the course and the whole training programme with the main trainer on the first morning. Once the trainees arrived after lunch, I then spent most of my time with them. Lunches were brought into the training room every day and the evenings were spent in the hotel restaurants and bars, with one evening spent exploring the local town. I also ate breakfast in the hotel with the trainees. This concentrated time together enabled the trainees, and myself, to get to know each other and relax in each other's company.

Participant observation is defined as the observer participating in the setting with those being studied, either overtly or covertly, assuming a role that is accommodated in that social group (Ackroyd & Hughes, 1992). In the training courses I was occasionally an assistant to the trainers, helping to facilitate some of the sessions at the request of the trainers, but mostly assumed the role of an observer, which the trainers and trainees were accustomed to, as courses were often observed. Initially many of the Northbank trainees were wary of me because I appeared to be one of the trainers. Most of the trainees seemed comfortable with me by the end of the first day, after there had been opportunities to explain myself more fully to them. One openly questioned me during the first coffee break and seemed defensive about my perceived role as a co-trainer, but was clearly more relaxed after I explained my research role

⁴ Training course titles have been changed to protect the organisations' anonymity.

and that I was detached from Northbank. During the second day, I noted that it was interesting to think about how they had incorporated me into their group, whether as an equal, subordinate or outsider. The main trainer had instructed them to involve me during the evenings at the hotel, which they acted upon. I had been able to explain to them that I was a PhD student and that I had previously worked for a bank, so I understood some of the terminology used by Northbank. During the evenings I think that I was somewhat of an equal, which was no doubt assisted by the similarity in our ages. I think that they were happy with me as an observer, but the relationship was occasionally somewhat tense when I became a trainer. I was comfortable with moving between the roles most of the time, and felt that my informal and relaxed approach, often emphasising my student status, succeeded in fostering trust and rapport with trainers, trainees and managers.

During observations of Southbank and Northbank managers at work, I assumed the role of a work-shadower, with which the managers and their staff were familiar. Managers often have staff, colleagues or consultants shadowing them to either learn the role or advise them how to perform their daily activities more efficiently. Participant observation enables a description of how subjects organise their lives, as observations are of the subjects in their normal setting, for a 'rounded' understanding (Hughes, 1992). It is an empirical approach that is best applied to phenomena that cannot be deduced (Boszanger and Dodier, 1997), and is usually associated with grounded theory, for which the observed 'facts' are linked to historical and cultural features, grounded in its context, and not universalised (Ragin, 1994).

I was in a marginal position, occupying both insider and outsider roles. I was an insider because I had worked as a team leader in a bank myself and was sometimes perceived as knowing Northbank and Southbank procedures and senior management. I was an outsider because of my student and researcher status. Marginality helps to maintain an analytical distance and critical, reflexive position (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). My insider knowledge also aided as a check on the validity of the research findings, as I could check my interpretations of the studied managers' actions with my own supervisory experiences. This is not to say that I interpreted their actions in terms of my own experiences, as most of their work was different to that I had experienced, which highlighted different organisational cultures and practices and individual styles.

I was aware that I engaged in my own impression management, which Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) noted is an important consideration for ethnographers. I had carefully considered what I would wear, which I decided should match the occasions as much as possible, as I wanted to blend in. That is, I dressed more formally for the training courses, as these were usually held at Head Offices and where I thought the trainers and trainees would be dressed in suits, as they would also be considering the impression they make on others. For the observations of managers at work and the interviews I did not wear a suit, but remained smart, as in the Customer Service Centres (CSCs) the dress code is more casual, and in branches they wear uniforms. Wearing less formal clothing was part of my attempt at making them feel at ease by demonstrating that the observations and interviews were not a formal affair. At one CSC, it was 'dress down' day, and one of the managers apologised for being under-dressed herself, as she was in jeans, which shows that some also considered their

impressions on me. The development of rapport in the interviews and attempts to make the managers feel more at ease were assisted by taking the advice of Fielding (1993a, p.139) 'that their [interviewers'] demeanour should be neither condescending nor deferential, that they should display interest without appearing intrusive.'

Another aspect of one's impression management that one should be aware of is one's 'speech and demeanour' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.87). Although this was overt research I was a little more reserved than usual. During training course observations, I often felt my own experiences were relevant to some of the issues they were discussing, but I stopped myself from adding comments as I wanted to be able to observe without too much intrusion. It was only at breaks that I interacted with the managers. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) noted that sociability and small-talk can help to build trust, and this was certainly the case in my research. The free time I spent with the Northbank trainees was extremely valuable in building rapport, as were the shorter conversations I had with Southbank managers during observations and before and after interviews. These types of conversations helped to break the ice and also to assist in my smooth exit.

During the observations, the managers asked what I wanted to see and I often told them I simply wanted to find out about their job, but many felt that they were not showing me enough. All but one of the managers commented on how much I was writing during the observations, and were surprised because they thought that they did not do that much. The managers were concerned to show me the tasks they did on the computer and the reports they had to deal with. They said that the people side of the job was a major part of the job, but it often stopped them doing 'their work' (the

paperwork). After showing me the reports and computer work, they felt there was nothing left for me to see. They all said that the day could not be planned and that most of it was structured by things that 'just happen', that they have to deal with. I said that I could just watch them doing their job for this reason, but they were quite dismissive of it. They knew that staff management was an important and large part of their job, but perhaps they were dismissive of it because it was difficult to articulate and generalise about this part of the job.

Sanger (1996) highlighted the main benefit of unstructured observation as the development of an in-depth picture, as data is not pre-selected. The observations themselves guide the understanding of social groups. He warned though that it is difficult to see the over-familiar aspects of a situation and that as observers we place what *we* feel to be significant in the foreground of the picture. Mintzberg (1973) used unstructured observations to study management, which he believed allowed the research to be inductive and allowed for deep probing. He recognised that it could not be replicated and that we cannot be sure that we do not see only what interests us rather than the entire job. He concluded that observation is 'perhaps the only one [method] that enables us to study systematically and comprehensively those parts of managerial work that are not well understood' (Mintzberg, 1973, p.228). I conducted observations that were partly structured, as I focused mainly upon the managers' interactions with their staff. It was not possible to conduct completely unstructured observations as I could only observe managers at work for one day because of their time constraints. It was also not necessary to conduct completely unstructured observations, although I did also take notes on other aspects of the managers' roles, as this would yield too much data for my purposes. During the observations of training

courses I developed a focus on the relationship and interaction skills that were being taught.

I also used 'interviewing by comment' (Kretzmann, 1992, p.420) as an additional tool, to support observations of interactions, that is, whilst conducting observations I asked the managers and trainers questions. This enabled me to check my understanding of my observations and also served to demonstrate my interest in their experiences. Some conversations though, for instance those relating to the managers' previous experiences, are difficult to substantiate, as although participant observation usually allows descriptions to be checked against fact (Becker & Geer, 1970), I only observed the managers at work for one or two days.

Most of the documents I obtained were regarding training courses. I had the graduate training programme outline from all three banks where I had met with gatekeepers and the 'Further Management Development' course outline from Southbank. I also obtained 'Career Skills Development' course folder for Southbank from the external training consultancy company that provided the course. Southbank managers also provided me with details of other courses that the bank offered, including computer-based and face-to-face courses.

I observed three of the six sessions of the NVQ level 4 'Further Management Development' course that a group of managers were attending, run by Southbank and the Institute of Management. I attempted to observe other training courses in Southbank but this proved difficult, partly because each course was conducted by a different department, some of whom were less receptive to observers, and partly

because of the timing of the courses. As the fieldwork process progressed it was felt unnecessary to persist in observing training courses, particularly as the training documentation showed that many of the courses covered similar ground to those already observed. Additionally, the documentation provided enough information to show the skills and abilities the organisations expected of their managers.

ii) Interviews

The interviews were semi-structured which ensured that certain, important questions were asked in each interview whilst leaving the freedom for probing and for the order of questions to alter. The sequence of questions (see Appendix 1 for interview schedule) was biographical, starting with the managers' previous experiences, the training they received in their current position or organisation, leading finally to their experiences in their current role or organisation. I attempted to use this overall structure within each interview, but allowed for changes within each sub-section. Changes often occur because 'in responding to a question, people often also provide answers to questions we were going to ask later' (Fielding, 1993a, p.136). The flexible approach was particularly useful because some of the topics needed much exploration, as there has been little previous research about the emotional labour of managers. The interview guide was constructed following some observations of managers at work and of the 'Management Skills' course. It was also informed by a review of the emotional labour and management literature, in particular those based on empirical research. There were also two questions added into the Southbank interviews with women managers at the request of the Southbank gatekeeper to assist with their Equal Opportunities Audit.

The questions were often phrased differently to the written, planned questions, to adapt to the respondent's experience, comprehension or previous answers. Some questions were adapted as the interviews progressed, following responses in previous interviews, which highlighted that the managers understood the question to be asking something different to what was intended. For example, in Southbank when asking whether there was an organisational 'way' of working, I had asked the question making reference to the bank names that were merging at the time, because the managers originally worked for one or the other. This phrasing of the question led some managers to talk about the differences between the two banks and the conflicts arising from the merger. It was useful to ask this separately, as issues of conflict and differences provided information on the organisational styles and procedures, in addition to the question of their awareness of an organisational way or culture.

The arranged interviews were kept as informal as possible but had some formality⁵ because of the appointment times the managers allowed for the interview and that I did not interject with my own opinions on the subject, unless asked. There were only a few occasions when the respondents asked about my thoughts. On these occasions I gave them honest answers although kept my replies as short as possible. This was partly because I did not want to influence their answers, as it is often the case that respondents will provide answers that adhere to the interviewer's values or that they think the interviewer wants to hear (Silverman, 1993). I also wanted to use the interview time to gain as much information from them as possible. I was quite confident that the managers, particularly the more experienced, would not provide me with answers that they thought I wanted to hear. This was confirmed when I

⁵ Agar (1980) argued that there is no neat dichotomy between formal and informal interviewing.

occasionally asked what could be 'leading' questions (asking them if they felt a certain way towards an issue or experience) and some replied with a forceful 'no, definitely not'. However, there were some managers who seemed quite nervous about the interview process and were not very forthcoming. In addition, there were a couple who were aware of my interest in women in management and may have deliberately offered controversial, or politically incorrect, responses in an attempt to provoke a response from me. It was difficult to be sure that this was indeed the case however, and these concerns may be unfounded. Nevertheless I bore this possibility in mind for the data analysis. Most of the managers during interviews and observations did ask whether I had enough information. They were therefore showing a concern to give me what I wanted, but their concerns were directed at the amount of information rather than necessarily giving false answers.

As many service organisations report that their staff are their most important resource, and because emotional labour is interpersonal, I was particularly interested in the managers' staff management styles and skills. This is reflected in the interview schedule (see Appendix 1), which was constructed after conducting observations of the 'Management Skills' course. Staff management was the main focus of the training, as it concentrated on techniques to manage interactions and to influence staffs' behaviour and reactions to change, for example. This confirmed initial suspicions that staff management was a significant part of their job and therefore worthy of being the central focus of the interviews. Staff management is also the main commonality between management roles, as the technical tasks and responsibilities are very different between managers within branches and central processing centres.

The nature of some of the issues asked in the interviews, for example, the methods used to manage their staff and their opinions on gender differences in management, may be issues that the managers talk about frequently, therefore they may have 'rehearsed' answers to some of these questions. The interviews sought to go beyond any frequently used stories through the use of probing questions, about the origin and development of their opinions and management styles. As Fielding (1993a, p.138) stated, 'the objective is that the discussion be as frank as possible.' This was also assisted by the reassurance of confidentiality and anonymity. The tape-recording of the interviews may have been off-putting for some managers and in some cases once the tape-recorder was switched off the discussion was more candid. Most of the managers though, spoke freely about their opinions and experiences. On occasions, managers stated that they were only divulging certain information because the interviews were confidential, as if to double-check that this was the case. In addition, underlying attitudes were probed by asking about personal experiences, as well as abstract issues. The technique of asking them to comment on hypothetical statements was also used as a probe. Many of the managers responded that their experiences, opinions or feelings were different to those presented to them.

Interviewing the Northbank and Southbank managers in the workplace and during work time had the advantage of providing an interview space. With the one manager I interviewed outside the workplace, we found it very difficult to find somewhere to conduct the interview. We finally decided upon a cafe, which was actually quite noisy and not particularly private. For most of the interviews we were able to use the manager's office, a training room, or a customer interview room, all having the

advantage of being quiet and private. This meant that most⁶ of the interviews were recorded well and they could speak in-depth about personal thoughts if they wished. One of the interviews was conducted at the manager's desk in an open-plan office, which meant that people were walking past and the manager was more open to interruptions, although she was certainly not interrupted as much as she ordinarily would have been. Even some interviews that were conducted in a separate room were subject to interruptions, usually by other managers rather than by their staff. Those interviews conducted in the managers' offices were particularly susceptible to interruptions by telephone and most of the managers dealt with the calls as they would normally, rather than saying that they were in an interview. It was interesting to note that where interviews were conducted in an interview room that was normally used for customers, I was always placed where the customer would normally sit. The managers sat in their normal seat, which also happened in interviews conducted in their own offices.

iii) Recording data and analysis

During observations of training courses, notes were taken. As I usually sat at the back, or at one end, of the classroom, this was fairly straightforward and enabled me to constantly write descriptions of activities and some verbatim speech. There were times when I was asked to participate in the activities. On these occasions, I had to write up my notes in the breaks or at the end of the day.

On a couple of occasions during observations of training courses I noticed that I had started taking notes as if I was a student, rather than an ethnographer. I had started to

⁶ One and one half interviews were not recorded because I had not set up the equipment correctly.

paraphrase what the trainer said and found I was also noting my interpretations and summarising the course content. I had to make a conscious effort to make notes on the whole situation, rather than only on the course content. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) noted though, it is difficult to suspend one's preconceptions and previous experiences of similar settings when conducting ethnography on familiar settings.

Note-taking was more difficult during the observations of the managers at work. Again, the research was overt and I followed the managers around with a notepad, but I did not want anyone to see what I had written (which some staff members and managers attempted to do), as I felt quite protective about my notes. It felt awkward to write notes when the managers were talking to me, or when the staff were talking to the managers, partly because I did not want it to appear obvious what I thought were the most interesting parts of their job. In these cases, it was usually possible to write about these when the manager attended to some paperwork. The managers frequently took telephone calls, which could have been an opportunity to catch up on note-taking. However, I thought it might seem as if I was recording the content of their telephone calls, which were sometimes of a personal nature.

The notes made towards the beginning of the fieldwork were wide in scope, noting interactions between trainees, every task the manager was involved in and the settings. As the research progressed, I narrowed my note-taking to those tasks and course activities related to staff management

The interviews were tape-recorded and later fully transcribed. None of the managers objected to the interviews being tape-recorded. Tape-recording is particularly necessary for semi- or unstructured interviews, as note-taking would be time-consuming and stilted the interview, as the interviewer must stop every few utterances to write notes. The tapes were transcribed verbatim to ensure that any unexpected lines of analysis were revealed. Although the process was time-consuming it makes one very familiar with the data and able to identify some of the analytic themes. The transcriptions did not record every utterance and the length of pauses, as neither conversation nor discourse analysis was intended, although I did note some 'ums' and 'ers', when they seemed significant. I judged them to be significant when the interviewee pondered over a difficult or awkward question.

I also recorded my personal impressions and feelings in a separate research diary. This enabled a recording of the development of my relationship with some managers in order to examine whether there had been a shift in my perspective and also to establish whether there could be any researcher effects. Within the diary I noted the possibilities of memory distortions of particular events and 'general field fatigue' (Fielding, 1993b, p.163).

The diary was referred to whilst writing up and analysing the data, to check that my interpretations were valid. 'Good qualitative analysis is able to document its claim to reflect some of the truth of a phenomenon by reference to systematically gathered data. Poor qualitative analysis is anecdotal, unreflective, descriptive without being focused on a coherent line of inquiry' (Fielding, 1993b, p.169). Insight and appreciation of meanings can be assisted by comparing the researcher's normal and

setting-specific self and recognising any tension between the two selves, which is helped by the use of a research diary. Additionally, a researcher's emotions can be used as insights into the emotional lives of the participants (Lazar, 1998).

The diary and some fieldnotes were often written during train journeys after a day of observing or interviewing. It was difficult to write these each day after the Northbank training course as I met with the trainees in the evenings. I did decline to meet them one evening half way through the course, in favour of catching up with my notes. The fieldnotes were typed up, but the diary remains in its original state.

The interview data was analysed using NUD*IST4 in which the data was read for analytic themes. The transcripts were imported into the NUD*IST4 package and each interview was read twice for coding purposes, so that the categories developed during the process were then applied to, and checked using, previous transcripts. It is worth noting that analysis took place during the fieldwork and whilst transcribing and writing up my notes, rather than solely at this later stage. I was also already fully familiar with the transcripts because I had listened to the tape recordings at least twice to ensure accurate transcriptions. Whilst transcribing and writing up notes, I had noted explicit examples of data that seemed consistent or inconsistent with my previous ideas and the literature. The data was then ordered in NUD*IST4 according to overall themes which seemed to relate to individual items. NUD*IST4 allowed this to be done systematically and more quickly than the traditional cut and paste method, and also allowed for one piece of data to be coded into several themes without the need for printing that piece of data several times. The themes or codes can be related to each other within NUD*IST4, for example, I could have several codes under the

theme of 'staff management'. The computer software by no means conducted the analysis; it simply offered a convenient storage, searching and retrieval site for the data.

The observation notes were not analysed using NUD*IST4. Instead, they were used as supporting material during the analysis. The themes drawn from the interview data can often be supported by observations. The documents from the two banks were also used in a similar way. The documents included training manuals, training course outlines, organisational structures and memoranda from managers to their staff. These were also checked for any differing or similar evidence, and again, they supported the themes formed from the interview data. Both the observations and documents provide background information and contextualise the interview data.

An analytic approach similar to 'grounded theory' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, from Fielding, 1993b) was aimed for, although the full application of grounded theory was not felt possible because it emphasises the bracketing of previous knowledge and value judgements. The analytic approach is still similar to grounded theory because the findings were designed to be recognisable to members of the setting, using 'their words, ideas and methods of expression wherever possible, but cautiously goes beyond these' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.124-5, cited by Fielding, 1993b, p.164). Interpretation by the researcher is necessary, rather than simply 'telling it like it is', as managers may think of their actions as natural and normal, therefore may be unable to communicate the symbolic meanings. The interactive nature, between data collection and analysis, of grounded theory was applied, but the intention was not to formulate theory, but to describe and explain managers' actions, which Hammersley and

Atkinson (1995) explained is often the result of ethnographies. The conclusions are grounded in the data as the analysis was an iterative process throughout the data collection and writing up.

The use of concepts and models indicate the necessity of some categorisations, meaning that it is difficult to dispose of our everyday, subjective language and interpretations of appearance and actions. When studying our own society, to attempt to dispose of our knowledge of the world and look at everything afresh would be impossible and inappropriate. As Nagel pointed out, there is no 'view from nowhere' and it is difficult to get outside of ourselves completely (May, 1997). It is useful to categorise actions and people somehow, and using a commonsense, everyday language seems the most suitable. Otherwise it would be difficult to make sense of actions and would be a more arduous task for the reader of an ethnographic report. Descriptions are never simple reflections of life observed, as they are interpreted and are the result of the interaction with those studied (Hammersley, 1998). The process of analysis undoubtedly relied on my pre-existing ideas and those found in the literature, but I attempted to resist these becoming prejudgements or forcing the data into their moulds, but instead used them as resources to make sense of the data, as Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) suggested. They also advocated the use of 'theoretical triangulation', that is, using multiple perspectives and theories to help to make sense of the data, a technique of which I also made use.

An eclectic theoretical position is required because there is not one theory that can explain all of the data. The intention was to be as exhaustive and encompassing as possible in the interpretation of the data, within the constraints of one piece of work.

There is a danger, whilst taking the useful points of each theoretical approach, of conflating their weaknesses. This thesis in some way averts this problem by only testing the empirical findings and theoretical postulations of other theorists, rather than fitting the research data into theoretical pigeonholes. Thus, the conclusions that can be drawn from this thesis aim to further knowledge, rather than develop or apply a theoretical framework into which all the data fits and then generalising further. This is an empirical piece of work, which places its emphasis on the fieldwork results, rather than on the development of theory. The usefulness of the research lies in its illustration of certain events and processes and thus whether the case studies support previous ideas of processes or whether they indicate new or diverse lines of thought. It was the case studies that indicated that one line of thought was not a useful interpretative device, but that in studying organisations one should be aware of the diversity of interpretations and possible theoretical explanations. Reducing the interpretation into one theoretical explanation would lead to an abstracted and decontextualised picture of the data and the people and events contained within. Maintaining an eclectic approach enables the context and diversity of events and interpretations to be retained.

As Hammersley (1998, p.8) argued, ethnography is inductive, therefore theoretical ideas are an ‘outcome of, not a precondition for, research.’ It is worth noting that theoretical descriptions include interpretations of what the researcher has decreed to be significant talk and actions (Hammersley, 1998). As descriptions are selective therefore, it is useful to know the basis of their selection, which has been provided through my reflexive account. I have aimed to achieve ‘subtle realism’, whereby the

account I present is representative, rather than reproducing, reality, to enhance the validity of the descriptions and explanations made (Hammersley, 1998).

The case studies

Northbank is a former building society with over 28,000 employees and 20 million customers, and Southbank is a longstanding bank that has recently experienced a merger, with over 2,500 branches and 15 million customers nationwide.

Seven graduate trainee managers in Northbank were interviewed (three men and four women). Two of the trainees, one man and one woman both in their first year of the programme, were observed in their working roles for one and two days respectively.

Twenty-one women and six men were interviewed from Southbank. This gender imbalance was largely due to the access provided by Southbank, as they wished to include my interviews in their own research on women managers in a particular business area. Initial access into Southbank was via Human Resources (HR) managers who provided names of women managers who would be suitable for interview within the Customer Service Centres (CSCs). These are the bank's large administration centres. This may have skewed the sample as the HR managers may have strategically chosen the managers. In some cases however, where names of the most senior women managers in the CSC were provided, this was the only woman manager in that position, therefore selection was often based on availability rather than other, strategic reasons. The six men who were interviewed from Southbank were telephoned following contacts made during the repeat observations of the Further Management Development sessions. The twenty-one women were all within

CSCs, and five of these were observed for one day in their management role before the interview was conducted, either a few days before, or the same day as, the interview. The selection of interviewees from the list of names was influenced by practical factors, particularly travel. In trying to keep expenses to a minimum, there were times that the quality of the research was jeopardised, for example, on one day I interviewed four managers, meaning that there was little time to write notes about the interviews. The interview data itself was not greatly affected, as all four of these interviews yielded very useful information and anecdotes, but it is not a day I would want to repeat.

In addition to the sample of managers interviewed and observed at work being largely women, the majority of the sample were in junior management positions and all had some contact with 'front line' workers. The sample, therefore, concentrated upon a particular type of manager, whose tasks may require a particular set of management skills and styles. In addition the majority of the staff that the managers directed were women, a fact that may also call for a particular set of management skills and styles. As with all small-scale studies, the findings in this thesis are not generalisable to all managers, rather they are indicative of a set of recognisable features of service sector management. Managers within the manufacturing sector and more senior managers, both of whom are likely to have different objectives from the 'front line' managers in this study, may have different views about appropriate management styles and skills, and may have experienced different socialisation processes.

The interviewees' jobs in Southbank varied from team leaders in CSCs to senior managers in both CSCs and branches. A senior manager usually has about five

managers reporting to him or her; managers have about five team leaders as their direct reports; and team leaders would be in charge of between eight and fifteen staff. Of the twenty-seven managers interviewed in Southbank, four did not have any staff to manage directly - their management title was indicative more of their level of autonomy, responsibility and influence than their position in the staff management hierarchy - but they did have to manage relationships with staff of a similar and lower grade to themselves. One of these four was in the unique position of being in charge of the training of the staff in a CSC and liased with senior management, supervisors and staff. In total, three of the twenty-seven Southbank managers had previous experience of, or still were, training other managers. Their participation was particularly interesting as all of the managers were asked about their training but I had not arranged any interviews with trainers in the bank, so it was useful to learn how they had trained managers. It was also useful to discover the benefits they had gained for their current management role from being a trainer of management-level courses.

At the beginning of each interview, I asked each manager to complete a demographic questionnaire. This recorded their sex, age, ethnic origin, marital status, whether they had children, their highest educational achievement and any professional qualifications. This enabled me to gain a sense of the demographic spread of the managers. The managers were assured that this information would be kept confidential, therefore these details are rarely included in the data chapters, as they may make the comments identifiable to particular managers. Appendix 2 is a summary of the participants' demographic information.

This chapter has demonstrated that, in designing and conducting the research, I attempted to be ethical; to increase the validity of the data; and to be reflexive during the whole research process. Triangulating research methods, using ‘thick descriptions’, and being open about the research design and data collection increases the validity of the inferences from the data and the claims made in the following chapters.

Chapter 4: Becoming a Manager

This is the first of three chapters providing ‘thick descriptions’ of the research sites and participants. This chapter explains the process of becoming a manager in the two banks, exploring the occupational and organisational socialisation that managers experience. This process helps to explain why managers display certain management styles or use particular techniques in the workplace. The chapter will examine how the organisations socialise managers and make them aware of the organisational feeling rules, or culture, to which they must adhere. The moulding and sustaining of organisational subjectivities will be examined, as this is important to the process of learning to become a manager.

Chapter 2 presented the issue of whether organisational or occupational socialisation is more influential upon a worker’s presentation of self. This chapter will examine the influence of each and assess whether managers are ‘moulded’ to fit into the organisational culture and/or the occupational role. It draws predominantly upon the interviews conducted in Northbank and Southbank, using the observations and documentation as supporting data.

It will be argued that the concept of emotional labour is useful in understanding the occupational socialisation of managers, as they learn to manage their emotional displays in order to affect others’ emotion states. The organisation or occupation may demand that managers present certain emotion displays. The formal and informal training that the managers experienced are presented separately as they both have an impact on the managers’ socialisation process. The informal training experiences of

the Northbank and Southbank managers are presented separately, to allow the reader to see the different experiences clearly.

Formal Training

The graduate training programme involved a mixture of formal (classroom or textbook) and informal (on-the-job or coaching) training over two years. During classroom-based training in Northbank the trainees were encouraged to build a network of contacts and support with their fellow trainees and the managers they work with or meet. The trainers were aware that they have not experienced, and do not have the solutions for, every situation and problem the trainees will encounter, so the trainees need to be able to ask others, who may have that experience, for advice.

The Northbank trainees firstly had to learn the jobs performed by staff in a branch, or business centre, before practising their management skills. Alongside this informal training, or ‘grassroots learning’ as a couple of the trainees called it, they also attended formal training courses to learn management skills. The formal training courses were structured over the first 18 months of the programme. Within their first week in September they had a two-day induction course that introduced them to the bank, its values, profile and branding. This course attempted to instil in the trainees some pride in Northbank and attempted to get them to appreciate and internalise the bank’s values. Their next course was a one-week residential at the Head Office in January, entitled ‘Management Skills’¹, which I observed. In June they spent a full week at a management school, where they did a ‘mini-MBA’. They had to submit 10 assignments when they arrived and a report once they had completed the course, which were all assessed and graded. Their final formal management training was an

outdoor pursuits course in October. They did attend other formal courses too, but these were open to all staff and were related to branch tasks (such as the ‘Customer Focused Cashier Course’, ‘Customer Focused Receptionist Course’ and the ‘Customer Focused Interviewing Skills Course’).

In Southbank, there were many training courses available for managers. It was not possible to obtain a full list because the organisational structure meant that each business unit had its own set of courses, although some of the courses that each offered were the same. Therefore, I relied upon the managers informing me of which courses they had attended, in order to understand their *personal* management development. Each of them would have had various training experiences, unlike the Northbank trainees who had all experienced the same training programme. The information on training courses supplied during the interviews would have depended upon their memory of the courses they had attended and their idea of what courses they thought I wanted to hear about. Many had not attended a training course for some years, so were less likely to be able to provide much detail because of the time elapsed. It is telling though that the only form of management training many had received was supervisory training when they first became supervisors, which for some was over 10 years ago. In part, this is a reflection of the age difference of the Northbank and Southbank managers. On average, the Southbank managers were 8 years older than the Northbank trainee managers.

21²: I’ve never had any formal training, I’ve never been on any courses on managing people or anything like that.

[...] S: Not even when you were doing supervisory roles in the branch?

21: Very minimal, but it was years ago and it was probably outdated really, just supervising people. (Southbank female manager)

¹ To reiterate, all course names have been changed to preserve the organisations’ anonymity.

The quotation is an example of a manager telling me about courses of which she thought I wanted to hear. Many of them discounted supervisory courses as non-management, which also reflects their definition of management. Those that *had* been on more recent courses recognised that the training had changed, with courses now more interactive and often focused on the personal development of generic skills rather than role-specific training. The changing nature of financial services and roles within financial organisations means that managers are more likely to move into different areas of the business, therefore role-specific skills are less useful. There is also an increasing emphasis placed upon training staff and managers by organisations, which some managers noted.

The courses that were mentioned most frequently by Southbank managers were the ‘Developing Managers’ programme, ‘Further Management Development’, which is an NVQ level 4 qualification, and the ‘Career Skills Development’ course, which was for women only. These were all mentioned because of the significant value they had provided to the managers’ career and skills development. The ‘Developing Managers’ programme was available to graduates joining the bank immediately after university, to those recently qualified with A levels, and to those who demonstrated management potential whilst already working for the bank. The managers interviewed from Southbank provided a selection of each of these types of entrants.

Those that had been on the ‘Developing Managers’ scheme all felt that it had afforded them some benefits, for example, working in different areas of the company offered the opportunities to network with a variety of people; to know the choices of career

² Note that ‘21’ refers to the interviewee, and ‘S’ refers to the interviewer. All interviewees are represented by a number, rather than given pseudonyms.

moves available to them; and to help them to decide where they might like to work in the future. In addition:

14: As part of that I was officially then a management trainee, which meant I then had a structured approach to how I was going to get on [...] I think for me personally the fact that I was on the management development course, what it really did do is, there's a certain cache about being [a management trainee]. Oh, she's [a management trainee], she must be good then. (Southbank female manager)

Similar benefits were experienced by the Northbank trainees.

The other major management training in Southbank, for those already in management positions, was the 'Further Management Development' course, which takes place over 12 months. To pass, the managers must submit a portfolio of documentary 'evidence' demonstrating the core competencies set by Southbank and those required for the NVQ, which is assessed by the Institute of Management. There were 8 units of study for the course:

- Maintain activities to meet requirements;
- Support efficient use of resources;
- Manage yourself;
- Create effective working relationships;
- Manage information for action;
- Contribute to the development of teams and individuals;
- Lead the work of teams and individuals to achieve their objectives;
- and, Respond to poor performance in your team.

It was quite difficult for the managers who did not manage staff to participate fully in the 'Further Management Development' course, as many of the examples to which other managers referred concerned their staff management problems, even in those study units that were not directly related to staff management. The managers without staff had to 'adopt' some for the purposes of the course. This was problematic because they were not fully regarded as the staff's managers, neither by the staff nor their usual line managers. The managers had no formal control nor authority over the

adopted staff and relied entirely upon the co-operation of the staff and their usual line managers to ease their practice in staff management. This is the situation that the Northbank graduate trainees faced too. Most of the trainees were pseudo-managers, usually for a few members of a team; for particular responsibilities; or when the usual manager was away. Therefore they did not have a continuous management relationship with those staff nor had the full responsibility or authority over those staff, which made it difficult for them to exert control and feel confident about their role.

2: It's quite difficult because the actual real managers don't really want you taking their job off them. It's like, well, they're our member of staff and I want to do it for myself, so I've actually watched rather than do it myself. (Northbank female trainee manager)

The co-operation and support they received from other managers and the staff was crucial in their smooth development into a management role. The Northbank trainees were also being trained by branch staff, which made it even more difficult to exert any authority.

The 'Career Skills Development' course was mentioned frequently by the female Southbank managers. This was a three-day residential training course, ran by an external training company. It aimed to help women to identify and work towards their career goals and potential and was available to team leaders and managers at all levels.

14: ...there are a lot of managers out there that are women that have got an awful lot of potential but unfortunately we don't seem to, allegedly, have the natural urge to progress as quickly as the men do. And the career development course for women was more about positive action and helping us focus on how we want to get to the next step in our career. For me personally that's the most useful course that I've been on since I've been in the bank. (Southbank female manager)

One medium of training that Southbank promoted and was extending was its computer based training. For managers, the courses offered included:

34: ...active listening, introduction to assertiveness, appraisal, body language, coaching, all the things that you can get value from and I think it's tremendous that the bank invests in that as well. There's self management as well. I've used a couple of these but... Managing others, there's a big section on that as well. (Southbank male manager)

The company were promoting the computer training courses as they reduce the need to travel to training centres or to arrange time off for training. However, this will reduce the benefit of networking and contact with other managers. There were many and varied benefits the Northbank and Southbank managers felt that the various training courses had afforded them. By and large, the main benefits were regarding the opportunities to discuss problems and experiences with trainers and other participants:

34: You go on courses and one of the first things that you sit down when you go on a management course and you're with other managers, is "tell me a bit about your branch, tell me a bit about your job". [...] you can be in a room of 15 and there's 15 scenarios up on the board of which 14 of us have never encountered before and the trainer's sitting there going, "oh my God". Because there's just nothing in any of the manuals to deal with that. We're human beings and because we're human beings we've all got different approaches to life and different values, the important thing is to identify that people have different values and that's where the courses give you a bit of value. (Southbank male manager)

Formal training courses provided them with a set of skills that they could draw upon in their everyday work. Training courses introduced models and theories that offered different techniques and options available to them for particular situations they may encounter. The managers described many of the different skills they learned from training courses:

12: I needed to very quickly learn the styles of being able to lead, control, encourage, support [...] When I was promoted to team leader here, yes I went through a series of activities related to management skills. Things like managing performance issues, sickness issues, dealing with teams. How to motivate. Whilst it's not, quotes,

“management”, it’s the skills. The education that I’ve had is focused on skills required as opposed to the overall role. [...] I think perhaps one of the most useful things to me has been to look at learning styles preferences and I think that’s been key to me being able to motivate, to encourage people, is to know how they like to learn, how they like to be rewarded. (Southbank female manager)

9: ... ‘Prompt and Persuade’ [...] is very much about how you come across to other individuals, your body language, they talk about leakage. Things like, if I’m tapping my foot, that would be leakage, whereas if I’m sat here nice and calm I might appear to look calm to you but inside I’m absolutely shaking. And they analyse absolutely every aspect of your personal appearance, your personal behaviour and they feedback to you and although it’s not designed for a manager, it’s very, very good. You go into language and the types of questions to ask when you’re interviewing, your open questions not closed questions. And it’s very good if you want to raise your profile, if you want to be able to manage a team. Very, very good for appraisals I would have said. (Southbank female manager)

So, there were many skills taught about impression management. The banks made the managers aware of their self-presentation in order that they could achieve their targets. For example, a course on ‘learning style preferences’ allows managers to discover how staff react to different stimuli and what will motivate them to perform well. The managers can then adapt their own manner towards their staff to match the staff’s preferences, in order to attain a particular level of performance.

Northbank’s ‘Management Skills’ course focused on management theory, with participation in practical tasks that demonstrated the theory. It taught them interpersonal skills, for example, the concept of ‘getting on other people’s hilltops’. This involves trying to see situations from other people’s perspectives so that the manager can influence others. For example, by thinking about how staff may see a forthcoming change to the business they were told that one can pre-empt their reactions and adapt one’s management style to combat any objections and negative feelings.

Much of the Northbank trainees' training is about people-management skills and achieving increased self-awareness. Self-awareness was the particular focus of the outward bound course. These two aspects work in tandem for emotional labour training, as the trainees needed to be aware of their own natural style in order for them to adapt their interpersonal skills to affect and manage others. This could be interpreted as training in 'soft skills', in which both the banks and managers are investing more time.

1: ...the outward bound course, for me, taught me a lot about myself. Things that I probably knew anyway, but had never heard from anybody else, in such honesty and in such possibly, force is the wrong word, but... So, that to me basically made me realise even though I was going about things, that I knew that I could be quite aggressive or I could be quite pushy, I didn't quite realise the effect it had on other people and I think I didn't quite realise until then that everybody just isn't the same. [...] I think, obviously there's training about how to do the things but until you learn about yourself then you can't really do too much. (Northbank male trainee manager)

7: But you see management, you learn a lot about yourself and a lot about your other, people that you're working with. And I think that [the outward bound course] taught me to look for those skills in other people. So maybe other courses were trying to teach me that but it wasn't until I was there that I really found those skills and how to spot them. (Northbank female trainee manager)

The impression management skills provided by these courses could also be described as an element of training managers how to perform emotional labour. For example, 'getting on others' hilltops' develops the emotional labour that the managers will have to perform, as emotional labour is about acting a certain way towards somebody in order to affect their feelings. Southbank's 'Prompt and Persuade' course is more explicit emotional labour training, as even its title suggested that one would be trying to behave in a manner that would influence others.

During the observations of the trainee managers in the workplace it appeared that they had little chance to practise emotional labour 'on-the-job' as they were still learning

the technical aspects of the job. Previous studies have shown that when the technical demands of the job are great, then emotional labour is left aside (Hochschild, 1983; James, 1989; Lynch, 1992). It was obvious from the observations that where they felt comfortable doing an aspect of their job, and were on 'auto-pilot' for the technical tasks, they were more able to perform emotional labour.

The Northbank training programme seemed to teach the two skill sets (technical and interpersonal) separately, for example:

6: They'd give you the basics I think. They'd say, what is a customer looking for and then they'd list it all, and the 6 [*sic*] step process to cover customer interaction, you know, the greeting, the preparation, the selling, then making a recommendation, then confirming the sale. They'd give you all the psychological babble of how customers think and you'd have to go out there and do it your own way. [...] But in the cashiering training you don't sit in front of a computer, so you don't know what buttons to press and what screens you're looking at. They tell you things like "these are the products", "this is how you greet a customer", "this is how you get leads" but they don't actually do the physical, "here's a computer, sit down, pretend this is a customer". Which wouldn't be a bad thing. (Northbank female trainee manager)

The trainees must not only learn the emotional labour required for managing staff but also that required for selling products to customers and the training for this is hinted at in the above quote: 'They'd give you all the psychological babble of how customers think...'. This demonstrates that the company wants staff to have an awareness of how a customer will think, in the same way that they are asked to recognise how staff might react. So, by knowing the psychology of being a customer, the trainee can think about how they will perform their selling task and are trained to go through a '6 step process' that will lead to a sale. They are thus given a type of script to follow. As stated though, they have to go into the workplace and do it in their 'own way', which would involve tailoring their learned techniques to the individual customer or staff member.

Managers are taught a number of different approaches or styles and a 'good' manager would seek to draw upon the different styles when required, rather than have one fixed approach to all customers or staff members. In the Northbank trainees' programme booklet, flexibility is frequently mentioned as a management skill and although it is not one of the competencies it is mentioned as part of the 'communication', 'team membership' and 'planning' competencies. Flexibility is not a stated competency in Southbank either, but is implicitly demanded as managers must 'adapt own style to the customer concerned'³ and constantly respond to the needs of others, whether these be staff, customers, colleagues or the business.

Southbank managers also mentioned the importance of the self-awareness and self-development benefits of training courses, for which they felt outward bound courses were particularly useful. Gaining self-awareness is an important part of the management learning process, as they can then understand the impact of their actions upon their staff and customers (and, perhaps ultimately, targets), and can adjust the way they act to meet the needs of the company. This is also part of the emotional labour learning process, as to know how to influence others' emotions one needs to think about how others react to certain stimuli.

Other benefits of the training courses in both Northbank and Southbank was allowing the time for contemplation about their roles, work and behaviour, and time to talk about this with others. This also developed their networking skills and self-awareness of their own skills and development needs. Their self-assessment is often combined with peer- or upward-appraisals of the managers' skills and behaviour, which assist

the managers in their awareness of how they appear to others. This enables them to improve their impression management and ensures that they are able to get the right messages across to their staff. As an example:

5: ...that's the most useful thing that I've found, is much more about, "well these seem to be the indicators of strengths in leaders across these different areas, where are you?" And that's been much more useful than anything else, because otherwise we can just go on the course and say, "OK then, I know that, but do I do that?" But this feedback tells you you're not doing it. [...] because it's real and immediate, from your reports, telling you what, how you're coming across to them and you can tailor then your style and your skill development. Because you might be, your perception is that you're giving them this and the reality is you're not. And that's really about, you can then try to say, "what are my management skills, where are my strengths and weaknesses?" And then try to say, "I need to practise this or develop this". (Southbank female manager)

To discover whether the managers' behaviour were the result of the organisations' directions, it was interesting to learn whether the managers directly implemented the skills they were taught on the courses or whether they consciously adapted the learned techniques to suit their own style and staff needs. There was an overwhelming consensus that they did adapt what they learned, for various reasons. The two most common reasons were that they interpret the training in different ways to one another and that textbook techniques do not work in practice, either because the staff would spot that they were being false or because the training was designed for a different area of the business. These reasons for adapting the training indicate the need for flexibility and sincerity:

11: If you just did everything textbook and everything the bank wanted, a, you couldn't do it and secondly they would say you're a typical Southbank banker. Which I wouldn't want to be. [...] that's the thing with management, you've got to put your style or your mark on the theory. I've seen people do it the theory way, don't put their own personality onto it, they look awkward, feel awkward doing it and look absolutely ridiculous doing it and end up creating loads of enemies. (Southbank female manager)

5: You've got to say, "how am I going to put that into practice here, in this fast-moving, seven days a week, 24 hours a day, noise?" Which is what it is here, so you

³ From Southbank's job description of a Customer Services Manager.

have to always try and link it back to what you're going to do day to day. (Southbank female manager)

For the Northbank trainees, the training provided most of their workplace skills, but they also felt that they had to adapt the training to suit their own style and branch needs.

1: No you have to totally adapt it. There's things I've been told at Head Office as part of my training that you have to look at and just say, "look this just isn't me". If I go and say that my staff are going to laugh at me. Whereas some people they say that and they'll think that's exactly that person, that's fine. (Northbank male trainee manager)

The techniques learned on training courses were consolidated by practising them, and observing and assessing others' techniques. The Northbank trainees had less previous management experience, so management skills were often introduced to them here. Southbank managers were more likely, when they did attend formal training courses, to interpret the course content from the perspective of their management style and their experience. The management training courses in Southbank were usually attended by those who were already in management positions, therefore they would have interpreted the course content with their current role and its requirements in mind.

Only one Southbank manager felt that no adaptation of learned techniques was required, in relation to two courses she had attended. This may be because she was a trainer herself or because the role-plays in those two courses had allowed them to practise the skills, rather than simply learning them theoretically, as Leary (1995) suggested. There were differing opinions as to whether the training courses were actually designed to provide a fixed model to implement directly, or whether they were intended to provide guidelines and suggestions of ways to work. Most

managers said that they adapted the training to suit their own style, but at the same time the training did have an impact on their style and approach. This demonstrates that there is a two-way process of learning, or a reciprocal relationship, involved in the socialisation process, as Gabriel et al (2000) suggested.

1: I try and adapt it to my own style, because I think the problem is you go on these courses and whilst perhaps you would like to be more like other managers, at the end of the day, you are you, and you can't actually change your personality, you can change the way you do things, but you can't actually change, actually who you are, so I think you've got to adapt it to a certain degree. [...] I also know if I suddenly came back and completely changed the way I was doing things with my people, that wouldn't work either. So, it's almost, adapting it to my style, but perhaps changing gradually rather than just going in there and doing things completely differently. (Southbank female manager)

33: ...it's just adapting that material to your management skills and your style is going to be different to a lot of other people's. I don't do anything by the book as such but I'm guided by things that they recommend and you just adapt it to your style. (Southbank male manager)

Despite the acknowledgement that training is essential for personal and skills development, it was difficult for some women managers to attend, often because they were constrained by their personal circumstances. It was usually family commitments that prevented the women managers from attending the residential courses. None of the male managers commented on any such restrictions. The women managers did not feel that they missed out too much though, as they felt they had still developed their management skills, mainly through informal training.

Informal training of Northbank trainee managers

As formal courses only accounted for 5 weeks during Northbank's two-year graduate training programme, the majority of their training was informal.

1: So obviously the additional training is then experience that you think, I've experienced just throughout, in the branch network, but also in situations where I've had to work with senior managers or higher managers. [...] it was a case of bit by bit, a case of understanding how managing works, understanding how to manage people

and manage situations and that was done throughout the 2 years rather than specific, this is how you manage. (Northbank male trainee manager)

2: ...you definitely need on the job coaching, observations and just experience to actually put it into practice I think. (Northbank female trainee manager)

The trainees' informal training was mainly determined by their line manager. Head Office provided the trainees with manuals of the technical aspects and a chart showing the different roles they should experience. They had to firstly practise cashiering for 2 months, then progress to reception cover for a further 2 months whilst learning about mortgages, so they can progress to interviewing customers. The trainees encountered different situations to each other, depending upon the working style of their line manager and the circumstances of their branch.

1: Yeah, obviously you're thrown into situations and I think a line manager will look at a position and say, "this is something that you could do, this is something that will actually benefit you". And I was put in a lot of those positions, which I'm lucky, but then again I took a lot of opportunities and I said to them, "I'm going to do that, I think that'll be good for me". And to a certain extent one of the best things about this course, up 'til now is the fact that if you do want to do something, so long as your line manager's fairly decent, they will allow you to do it. (Northbank male trainee manager)

2: The whole time I was there really I was treated as an additional manager. But I sort of had a couple of weeks doing actual counter supervisor's role, doing the sales manager's role when they were on holiday. I've actually had a couple of weeks in one branch, running the branch entirely, no other management there at all. Which was good fun, there weren't many other staff there either, so it was like, mmm, excellent. [laughs] But that was a really good experience and I've sort of had a few days at other branches, here and there, just while there's been nobody else there. Which doesn't really give you enough time to fully develop what you want to do, but it gives you an idea of how you'd cope under pressure, which is good. (Northbank female trainee manager)

The trainees viewed the informal training as a very useful part of their training. There were mixed feelings about some aspects, although most of them interpreted the bad aspects positively. This may be because they are acculturated into having a positive

attitude at all times. For example, being 'thrown in at the deep end' or a lack of feedback was rationalised positively:

6: ...they told me on the Thursday at 4 o'clock that I was going to be at [a branch] on the Friday, and running it, and I'd never run a branch before in my life. So, OK, I'd sort of half run one and I'd been there but I'd never been totally solely in control of the branch. And they were just chucking me in [...] I was just unfortunate, or lucky, you could look at it either way couldn't you? Having your own branch for 3 weeks, some would say was great. But, were you actually doing everything you should have been doing? I wouldn't have known. I was doing what I needed to keep the branch running but I bet there were things like admin and forms I wasn't filling in for Head Office, that I didn't even know existed. But I suppose, you don't know it until you do it, do you? It's all a learning curve isn't it? (Northbank female trainee manager)

Some of their informal training took the form of peer contact, as Northbank Head Office encouraged the trainees to use each other for support and guidance. Not many of the trainees actually used each other in this way though:

4: I speak to the other [trainees], I don't really use them. We used to use each other a lot more when we doing, when we were training. 'Cause we're all in different roles now so you don't really use them for the same thing. (Northbank male trainee manager)

A few of the trainees recognised that the trainers employed a strategy to ensure that the trainees do all get to know each other. This strategy of networking skills development was made clear to me by a trainer on the 'Management Skills' course, who explained that the trainees needed to learn to contact other managers for support, advice and to help their career development.

Most of the trainees must wait at least six months before putting their newly learned management skills into practice. The trainees' situations are ultimately in the hands of their line managers, who are chosen by Head Office. The trainees were told that their line managers were chosen because they were those who would provide them with support. In reality, this support varied widely between managers and some may

not have actually had the time nor the inclination to help in the development of the trainee.⁴ As one graduate explained:

4: One of the best ways of training is through your line manager and if you haven't got a good one then, unfortunately, it's not going to be good. [...] I was lucky to have a really good line manager during the programme. 'Cause some people find it, aren't as lucky and a lot of the programme is dependant on who is your line manager. And if you don't have somebody who supports you or is willing to put aside some time for you then you're not going to have a good time on the programme. And a lot of people will be finding that. [...] Head Office, when they put people into branches, they try and put people into branches where they believe that line manager is going to be supportive or is going to be good. But obviously there are some situations where it's not going to happen. (Northbank male trainee manager)

The support that they received influenced their experience of the programme and therefore influenced (the success of) their socialisation. Those that received less support appeared more cynical of the programme and the company.

Another point of contact for support was Head Office, but this did not work out very well for some, usually because of the remoteness of the Head Office from the branches. As Parker (2000) found, there were discrepancies between Head Office expectations and branch level activities:

5: ...they were supposed to support 22 management trainees around various parts in the country. Well, there was no support really, to be honest. They're so out of touch with your situation I don't think they can support you even if they tried. And to be honest, I don't think they do try. That's been a big let-down for me, there's been literally no support from Head Office. [...] I couldn't hide that. There was little support and it made me pretty pissed off. [...] Well, I was just slagged off for being too negative. And it was quite hard to take because I thought, "I've had problems and where have you been when I've needed you?" I'd been in touch in the past and they just more or less told me to get on with it. And I thought, "oh". And yet on our induction it was stated this is the support, from this particular area you get all of your support. This is our central point of contact, if we have problems, any issues, anything, this is where we come to and they made quite a big thing of it, but it didn't work like that in reality and it was a bit of a let down. (Northbank male trainee manager)

⁴ This is an indication of varieties in management styles.

I heard many stories of a lack of support during the training session observations and in the social time after classes. So, all of the graduates heard about those less fortunate than themselves in terms of the level of support they were receiving. Some felt though that they had to help themselves and make use of the people around them in a proactive manner.

The final part of the Northbank trainees' training is to be placed in other areas of the company, with the main placement in Head Office. Placements were part of their development into 'organisational managers' as they provided chances to understand another department's work and procedures. The trainees were being groomed for senior management, which requires knowledge of the business as a whole. They talked about their placement experiences and the use of their time there.

5: Yeah, I'm half way through, [the business centre placement] I've got another 2 weeks left and basically it's like getting an appreciation of the environment, how to work here, what kind of issues, as far as I'm aware. [...] I'm spending time in different departments, just trying to link it all together. And then link it all to the branch and see what the issues are. One of my objectives is to feedback to the mortgage team in my district about how we can improve the relationship between the two so it works better, the customer gets a better service, 'cause there is an issue there.

S: And are you going to Head Office next?

5: Yeah, that's in October, after [the outdoor pursuits course]. I get back on the Friday and off on the Sunday. And that's 4 weeks in management development. (Northbank male trainee manager)

This also indicates the heavy schedule that they have. The purpose of the placements and projects were to widen their experience and to bring ideas from the other departments back to their original branch.

2: Everyone in branches slates business centres and everybody in business centres slates the branches. So having done both sides of it, it gives you a better perspective really to try and improve relations. (Northbank female trainee manager)

It was evident that there were internal cultures within the one corporate culture. The training attempted to help the trainees overcome these differences, as they were thought to be the future senior managers, therefore they needed to develop a perspective of the business as a whole. Placements also assisted the trainees in becoming multi-skilled, flexible managers. As Watson (1994) argued, managing through organisational cultures attempts to make the official and unofficial cultures converge. The Northbank trainees identified some of the differences and were set tasks that required them to reconcile the different cultures. They were thus able to see how the organisation should work as one and that disagreements between departments were unproductive. This was part of their acculturation into the organisational values.

Informal training of Southbank managers

The Southbank managers felt that they had learned about becoming a manager, and developed their management skills, more through informal training than any other way. There were different methods of informal training, for example, practising management 'on-the-job', or being thrown in at the deep end:

20: With the role that I was doing, it tends to be something that because you move up through the grades you tend to learn how to manage small parts of the job, like the next one up because you're deputising quite a lot when people are on holiday. (Southbank female manager)

2: ...it's literally, in at the deep end, and learn as you go really. [...] I think I've just learned by working with the right people, if you like. I know it sounds silly but I gained a lot from that, you know, I wasn't just a PA that would just type a letter or something, I'd read into it [laughs]. (Southbank female manager)

This last quotation suggests that observing role models was a useful method of informal training. Others also mentioned that they learned from other managers, both

‘good’ management techniques, by whom they set their standards and wanted to emulate, or ‘bad’ management - the antithesis of how they would want to manage:

5: One of the things I learned from one of my very first boss as a management trainee, was when he used to come in in the morning, or I came in, he never said hello to anyone. We all used to hate it, because it really knocked your day, he just didn’t say anything, so one of the things I always do is go along and say hello to everyone. Because I knew how he made me feel when he didn’t do it, so I always do that, so I am known for being like that... (Southbank female manager)

The managers are therefore not only learning the technical aspects of the job from other managers, but also the interpersonal aspects – of how they should treat others and how a manager’s behaviour can influence their staff’s feelings. In fact, interpersonal skills were the main learning outcome of informal training. The Southbank managers also found that other managers can affect one’s management development by providing a certain level of support. An atmosphere where some mistakes are acceptable is often necessary in order to learn and develop.

7: ...you need the acknowledgement from above that, yeah, you’re gonna make a mistake, that’s fine, as long as you learn from them. And that’s something I say, “OK you do something, try it”. If they fall flat on their face, they fall flat on their face, “you’ve tried it, what have learned from it?” So that’s the environment we’ve got to create as well. Otherwise you don’t get any people taking risks and there could be things we’re missing out on as a business as well. (Southbank female manager)

As informal training was crucial to their development as managers, there was a long list of the uses of informal training, for example, ensuring that managers were prepared for extra responsibilities and new jobs, and giving them confidence.

The opportunity for peer contact was also an important part of their informal training. The interviews showed that both formal and informal training were useful in developing their managerial skills. Despite the vast array of training courses available, through a selection of media, there were many who stated that additional

training was required for their role, mostly around the 'soft', people management skills:

12: I think that's an area we can focus more on. How do I deal with a person that bursts into tears at my desk because her husband's walked out on her? We manage those by accident rather than by design. It's to do with the interpersonal issues that make or break some managers. There's some people that do, "don't tell me any more, what you need is to do this". You've got people who will put a confidential and care slip on their desk, saying a counselling line. And you've got people who get too involved, too close and end up running people to refuges and then who can't back off and manage the people because they've allowed the relationship to change and get too close. So I think an area that really could be developed for us is about managing the interpersonal relationship. Because we've got predominantly female labour, we've got issues around children, we've got issues around partners, we've got issues around houses and finances. Those are the things they don't prepare you for in training courses. Training courses are about achieving the objectives of the business but not necessarily about the managing of people through their personal issues that impact on the business. [...] I'd like to see more of the line managers, more of the soft skills being sold or being trained because I think people are doing it like I did which was flying by the seat of your pants. (Southbank female manager)

Developing confidence in doing the whole job or certain aspects of the job is gained from both formal and informal training. Being able to demonstrate competence and feel confident in oneself was frequently mentioned by the managers. In relation to managing people, one manager felt that she needed to know the technical aspects of the staff's job, so that they would perceive her as competent.

16: I thought I would be trained on everything the advisors do, so when they ask me a question, I'd be able to answer it. But it's been more a case of you have to pick it up as you go along. So they'd be like, "do I press this button", and I'd be, "I don't know". And it looks really bad because I should know these things but [my manager] said, "it's not really your job to learn all their stuff, it's your job to advise them on other things". But I feel like I should know a bit more, so I don't look silly. Because you assume that someone higher than you knows far more than you. (Southbank female manager)

As the Northbank observations showed, managers needed to feel confident with the technical aspects of the job before they were able to perform emotional labour. Other comments showed that knowing the technical aspects of their staff's work made them

feel more in control of the branch or department and their staff. It enabled them to feel confident in the directions they gave to their staff.

Communication of emotional labour to managers

It was evident from the training courses and documentation that the organisations were using these media to inform their managers and staff of the requirements of their job, which included the necessary emotional labour performances.

During the 'Management Skills' course, both formal and informal presentation skills were discussed. It was highlighted that these skills are involved in communicating to, and influencing, others, for example, the trainer said that a formal presentation 'can have a big impact on service and results if done successfully with staff' and 'can be perfect for team motivation'. They debated perceptions created from first impressions, what these are based on, and therefore what trainees should consider when they first meet their customers, staff and senior management, as they represent both themselves and their branch or department. Peer evaluation was emphasised during the course, and they were encouraged to use each other as support contacts, as part of their network-building⁵.

The Northbank graduate programme literature showed that it aimed to provide opportunities to experience all aspects of customer service and to develop their existing interpersonal skills, in addition to developing technical competence. In their first week their induction training prepared them for the course, and 'introduces you to the **Customer** Focused Culture in which you will operate' (bold type in original). The branch business training also 'ensures that you understand and are able to

demonstrate the importance of the **customer**' (bold type in original). The objective of the week-long outdoor management development course was to 'gain a greater understanding of your effectiveness in such areas as leadership, teamwork, influencing, communication and change management.' In developing the trainees' management skills, Northbank highlighted that they 'need the flexibility and skills to be able to wear the hats of, amongst others, **customer** service champion, coach, marketer and financier' (bold type in original). It also recognised that they already had management skills, which they had demonstrated during the recruitment process, when the assessors were looking for behaviours linked to Northbank's competencies, such as communication, team membership, direction setting, creative thinking, analysing data, planning, and business orientation. There was an emphasis throughout the programme on self-awareness and development, to not only develop them as Northbank managers and develop their self-confidence, but also because they needed to be aware of themselves before they could recognise strengths and weaknesses in others. Therefore they were more able to recognise and improve their self-presentation for particular audiences and develop emotional skills.

The graduates were informed of the 'Northbank Way' during the training courses, of managing and customer service, which was to 'delight the customer, support each other and do it superbly'. In addition to this though, they were expected to be themselves, for example the trainer said, 'inspire people and be yourself', or 'you'll come across as false, as an act'⁶. They were therefore being asked to be sincere. It seems to be contradictory though, that they were taught to control their body language

⁵ Coffey (1994) also found peer support was an important part of trainee accountants' development.

⁶ These are verbatim notes from the observation of the 'Management Skills' course.

in a certain way, to project a particular image and yet were told to be natural⁷. The training programme was like a personalised jigsaw, with many pieces to put together in their own way. For example, they were told to be self-aware and recognise their development needs (in relation to the management job and the 'Northbank Way') and then use the training courses to develop these particular skills and competencies. In this way, the contradiction of acting naturally *and* in the bank's way was lessened. It was also reduced when they had to assess their own values and whether their behaviour matched the values they regarded as uppermost. The programme booklet stated 'Although the values are often imposed from outside, they will be more easily sustained and authentic if you make them your own, through making a personal commitment to them. How others perceive you will, in part, depend on how successfully you uphold these standards'. The trainees were asked to make a list of 'values to keep', by thinking about the people that benefit from their work and on whom they depend, and which values they would want to 'press upon them'. They were also asked to list 'values to adopt', that they would like to live up to in the future, and were told 'your integrity as a manager and an achiever will be measured by the way your behaviour and actions conform to your values.'

Ultimately, Northbank was asking the trainees to present themselves in line with the Northbank values and to follow the 'Northbank Way', by developing particular skills that they felt to be weak and by assessing their own values. Thus, Northbank were teaching the trainees to present themselves in a manner that would further their own,

⁷ Crang (1994) highlighted that restaurant workers were provided with scripts and routines, but that their personality was also important and should be displayed.

and the bank's, reputation and help to achieve targets, that is, they were teaching them emotional labour skills⁸.

In Southbank, we are able to see how an organisation maintains its communication of emotional labour to its managers. The 'Further Management Development' course was available to those already in a management role and had six modules: Managing Self, Managing Relations, Managing Performance, Managing Development, Managing Activities, and Managing Information. Most involved elements of emotional labour, for example, 'Managing Relationships' enabled them to gain the trust and support of their colleagues, team and manager, and to minimise conflict within the team, in order to create effective working relationships.

A list of Southbank's thirteen competencies, which 'underpin effectiveness in a banking environment', shows that ten require emotional labour: self-motivation; adapting to change and uncertainty; team working; providing excellent customer service; managing the customer relationship; delivering business results; leading others; influencing; helping others to learn; and making change work. For example, in making change work, a manager should 'encourage others to look at change positively'; and in leading others, they should 'communicate business goals in a way which motivates staff', whilst adapting their 'personal style to suit the situation and needs of others.'

These are just a couple of examples of how the management training courses and documents promoted the organisational values of achieving staff motivation to attain

⁸ There is nothing particularly new about this organisational technique of providing the employee with benefits whilst improving profit and productivity. Taylorist management was based on this technique.

business goals. These could be the objectives of any company, and reflect the need for emotional labour in organisations, not only the emotional labour of front-line staff, but also of junior- and middle-managers. Managers must be aware of the organisation's values (even if they do not assimilate them), and project these values to their staff in order to motivate, delegate and enable them to achieve the company's objectives.

Occupational and organisational socialisation

Both the formal and informal training form important parts of the managers' socialisation to the management role and to the company. This was particularly evident from managers' comments about adapting their way of working to the organisation's standard way of working. Some of them had noticed that the training presented the organisations' standards, either implicitly or explicitly:

16: 'Cause it's in-house training, you can definitely tell that there's Southbank people teaching, 'cause we've sometimes had some from Nottingham business school and you can tell then, they have completely different ideas and they look more, outside the box, they look at all the different options whereas if you have in-house training it's very much Southbank focused. Do as you're told, basically [laughs]. Sounds terrible, doesn't it? (Southbank female manager)

5: I think there's very few of us [graduate trainees] who are ideas people, who do think about the bigger picture and about trying different things, amongst the management trainees. A lot of them are still, they're more down to earth and I think that the company is like that as well. So I think I sort of have to fit into that, which is a shame, but, I understand it because it's a reality of business. [...] I think I'm sort of conforming more than I would like. But I think that's just reality in every organisation. (Northbank male trainee manager)

Some managers noticed that their personalities, attitudes and actions had changed in a way that fitted into the company:

14: ...there are certain times when you are given something to manage and it's a policy decision and whether or not you agree with it, that is not going to change and you have got to implement that to the best of your ability. I think when I was younger I was a bit more militant and say, "well this is a load of old rubbish!" And they'd say

to me, “are you going to change that, can you do anything about that?” No, but I’d still spend time, negative time worrying about it or moaning about it or thinking how it could be done better, but the bottom line is, it wouldn’t change. (Southbank female manager)

16: A lot of people come in and have wonderful new ideas and I remember when I first started and all my friends, we were like, “we’re going to do this and that”. Not that you have to fit in, you just do because that’s the quickest way of getting things done, so you know how to tell people to do this and how to influence people and it’s expected and I think we all started to turn into... Everyone in Southbank is generally the same, which is quite weird, we’re all little clones of each other [laughs]. I didn’t think we would and in just these 6 months I can see I’ve just changed into how you have to be, to be more effective I guess. (Southbank female manager)

When the graduate trainees were asked whether they felt they had to adapt themselves to the bank’s culture or way of working, this needed no further explanation. They were accustomed to using the phrase ‘the Northbank way’, as this was something they had been trained in – this referred to Northbank’s style of customer service. During the ‘Management Skills’ course, the trainees used the phrase ‘the Northbank way’ in a joking manner, as if they knew it was the answer the trainers wanted to hear. Some of them said it in a sarcastic tone, which got a laugh from the other trainees and encouraged others to joke about the phrase. So, they were well aware of what was expected of them.

As some of the quotations already provided indicate, the managers were not passive subjects in the socialisation process; there was some reciprocity involved. However, the managers recognised that in order to be effective in their role and meet their objectives they needed to learn, and employ, skills that may not be completely natural to them. So although Southbank manager ‘16’ said ‘not that you have to fit in’, this is actually what most of them said they had to do, and what she herself was describing. In order to achieve their targets and maintain working relationships, they all had to fit

in. The graduate trainees also made comments about changing their personality and whether this was possible or wanted by the bank:

5: I can look back and say I have reacted negatively to certain situations because there have been negative situations and I shouldn't have. But I've learned that through experience. I wouldn't have known at the time, well, hang on, I've got to do this, this and this. Maybe it's my personality, which I can't really change as such but I can work on it. But it's just, I've made mistakes definitely. It's always, you look back and think I should have done that differently, I should have been more positive in that situation. (Northbank male trainee manager)

7: ...you have to chip your rough edges off and obviously I come from [another] bank so I've learned how they do things. And I've got their ethos in my mind. So when I came here I was always comparing the two, so yes, you are slightly moulded in the way of thinking but then that's just because you work for the organisation and you have to portray that to your customers. So, in your mind, yes, but in your personality, no, because I think you're encouraged to be your own person. (Northbank female trainee manager)

Being able to adapt their personality, or how they display their personality, is an important part of performing emotional labour. It is interesting, therefore, to know whether they chose management because it suited their personalities.

The Southbank managers entered management through many different routes. There were a couple who had joined through the graduate management training scheme, a few who had been on another, non-graduate, management development programme, and these, along with the remainder of the managers, had also worked their way through various roles in the bank. Even for those on the 'Developing Managers' scheme there were no certainties in becoming a manager as they still had to apply for management posts when they became available. Applying to the bank through the 'Developing Managers' scheme indicates a degree of planning to become a manager, but of the other managers, all had simply progressed through the ranks into management without having ever planned to get there. The following quotation demonstrates the opportunistic nature of their career development:

17: If you asked me what I wanted to do when I was your age, I would have said, be a teacher, something, those sort of 'soft skills'. Have a family of 4, get married, all those sort of things that we think we want to do and that a lot of us do do, and that's fine. Life wasn't like that, it didn't serve that up to me, so it got to, I need to have a good income to support myself and my son, because I had no income coming from my ex, that was a sort of walk away sort of job. So what is it I'm going to do? I'm in a good job, I work for a good company, they're giving me opportunities, so every opportunity that I thought was coming my way, I took. (Southbank female manager)

For most of the managers, becoming a manager 'just happened'. Watson (1994) had also found that most managers became managers by circumstance. For the managers in my study, after being in the bank for a number of years, it was 'natural' to move into management. Of course, length of tenure in an organisation does not automatically lead to management, it was usually a line manager's encouragement or their own urge to develop and progress that propelled them into a management role.

2: It started off with me just being, 'cause I was like the most senior secretary at the branch, just being like a team leader of all the secretaries. It just started off with that, and from there, he put me in charge of the teleservice team as well. So it just sort of happened naturally if you like [laughs], rather than... I suppose he must have liked what he saw and thought that he could use me doing other things, which he did, which was good for me, I mean, you know, it's down to him to spotting what talent, if you like, and then using it. (Southbank female manager)

29: I feel like I'm just starting out. The first, I joined when I was 16, so my first 5 years, I was just a dosser. [...] I could make paper aeroplanes all day if that's what I wanted to do. And I loved it and then the money need kicked in and really the only way to make money is to get on and to progress and to shine and to just play everything 150% and once I got into that frame of mind I can't get out of it. (Southbank male manager)

There were many graduates too who felt that joining the Northbank training programme 'just happened'. A couple of the trainees wanted to develop generic management skills, as opposed to 'bank management' skills specifically, so the Northbank training scheme was chosen for its personal development opportunities.

1: It was more to do with the image of the company and that sort of thing as opposed to the financial services part. (Northbank male trainee manager)

3: ...it interested me but the profile of the company and the way the scheme was structured and the content of the training made me quite attracted to it. (Northbank female trainee manager)

The image of the company had attracted many to the management training scheme rather than any financial services aspect. This may be because the graduate management training schemes offered by most large companies across a range of industries such as retail, finance and computing have a very similar structure, so it is the company that must stand out. This indicates a corporate identification rather than occupational identity. Large financial services companies now contain activities that range across many sectors and a single training course may offer the chance to enter many sectors during their career. The graduate training schemes offered by high street banks are actually more akin to retail training than to what we might traditionally think of as financial training. In fact, most of the managers in both of the banks made the assertion that they were now working in retail, which seems to be an important culture shift away from the traditional image of bank management. Sales targets are now an important part of the bank manager's performance measurement and all bank staff are trained in both customer service and selling techniques, which are inextricably linked. And, just as a retail outlet needs to sell itself to its customers, so it must sell itself to potential applicants, particularly as the company image was all important in the trainees' choice of training scheme. The reputation and the profile of the bank itself was the main factor in choosing from amongst the array of graduate training schemes. This is an important point in relation to organisational socialisation, as, if new entrants choose a company that they feel suits them, they may be more likely to be loyal and 'fit in' to the organisational culture.

Of the Southbank managers, most had been in the bank for many years, but remembered that they did not actively plan to enter financial services. There were some who had always striven for a management position since joining Southbank though:

14: I could never see myself just being one of the office people. I don't mean that condescendingly, I've got a lot of time for the people I look after but I think I always could do better than that. (Southbank female manager)

34: I think right from the very first day when I started in the bank and I stood in front of Mr. Robinson at [a branch] and I had to go and sit there and he gave me these wonderful pieces of advice, about "keeping friends close and your enemies closer". "Always remember the people you pass on the way up 'cause they'll remember you when you come crashing down". All of these wonderful words of advice that I've never forgotten but I remember thinking, "crikey, he'd got such a status in life, such a status in the community, in the area". And I thought, "yeah, I'd really like to do that". And then the more and more that my career's gone on, the more and more I've seen people who I've admired. I've also seen some people who are downright crap at the job and who I look at and think, "yeah, I could do the job a lot better than them". And I love coaching people and seeing people develop. (Southbank male manager)

This demonstrates that he enjoys certain aspects of the role, and other managers explained that they felt that they possessed particular skills, which 'happen' to fit the role of manager:

30: I was always unsure of what I wanted career-wise, but from reasonably early days I felt that some kind of role that involved leading, inspiring, coaching, is what I want to do. And it happened that I started off in a career in banking and the opportunities were in banking. But I feel that what I bring to the party is some of the people side of it, where I lack dramatically is some of the operational, nitty gritty, detail side of it, and that's purely out of lack of interest on my part. It's part of my brain that's missing I think. So I've found my way into a role that plays to my strengths and that role happened to be called management I guess. (Southbank male manager)

The possession of these skills may be why he is in a people management role rather than a job that revolves around administration and statistics. This is a potential explanation for why many of the managers occupy people management roles, because their skill set or experiences are considered appropriate to these roles. As one manager stated, before entering Southbank she thought that she would enter a job that

used 'soft skills'. The distinction between soft and hard skills was made by several managers, with soft skills describing people management and interaction skills and hard skills meaning technical, financial and business management skills. Management in banking services involves both of these skill sets, although people management skills are increasing in importance.

The interviews showed that, in particular, the managers felt that they had the people management skills and that this was the part of the job they enjoyed most:

33: I find that it's a natural skill that I have, some people say, what have I done to possess the management qualities that I've got? I sometimes find it difficult to manage myself, or more difficult to manage myself than I do managing other people. [...] Coaching, developing people, being accountable for things, making decisions, I just love it. [...] I know that with the experience that I've got in the bank that I can provide that expertise and share it with other people. [...] So somebody can turn round and shake me by the hand and say, "thanks [name]". (Southbank male manager)

6: It's the people that I want to be with at the minute, I don't like the pencil pushing and stuff like that, that's not me. Working in an office, just doing admin, would totally turn me off, so to have the customers or the staff or somebody. People problems are much more interesting than paper problems. I don't care about admin. [laughs] (Northbank female trainee manager)

Their previous work experiences helped to inform their career choices, as this can illustrate their strengths and weaknesses and the types of roles that they enjoy. There were four managers interviewed who had been, or still were, trainers themselves and all four had found that this part of their experience of formal training was useful to them in personally developing into the management role.

The managers' previous work or management experiences, in both banks, meant that they brought particular skills to the job and had particular expectations of what a management role would entail. These expectations may have been based upon the skills they possessed, and led to them expecting or planning to be able to use their

'soft' and/or 'hard' skills. They seemed to recognise their ability in particular skills, although were less sure of where these skills were initially developed. Some felt that their family experiences had provided them with certain skills, as Vinnicombe and Colwill (1995) suggested. For most though, training and on-the-job experiences were the primary skills development sites.

Being flexible in their management style was a key learning point for the Northbank trainees and throughout the formal courses they were taught various techniques and how to balance all aspects of their job and the branch needs. For example, they were taught Adair's action centred leadership, which involves balancing the task, the team and individuals' needs and demands. The trainee managers also came to realise that they were in the middle of many people's demands, between the demands of their line manager and the branch needs, including the customer and other staff, and the demands of their training programme, including the expectations of those in Head Office and trying to keep up with their peers on the programme. This is a balancing act that they had to learn to perform. Although it is not clear whether they need to change their personality, they must be flexible in adapting their portrayal of their personality to meet the requirements of different situations and different audiences.

In addition to adapting themselves to suit the company, there were comments made regarding the way the demands of the management role required them to adapt their approach to others and to certain tasks:

17: ...you have to deliver the business results, we have shareholders, we have staff. Some of that means you might be more assertive on occasions than your natural style would want you to be. Some of that means that you have to use all of your natural style, it depends on who you are I suppose, or step out of your natural style, to be more coaching and developing. The environmental change is so rapid that you need people to stay with you, you don't want to lose them so you have to be extra caring

and empathy. So I think it's a bit of a mixture, you do step out of your natural style on occasion. But I think as a manager that I would say that is, not just Southbank. I think that would be a natural management technique to understand that there are times when you deliver a message that you may not necessarily agree with, might go outside your own values. If it's too far out then you will never deliver it and probably you would question why you were working for this company, if it's that far outside your own values. But that's business. (Southbank female manager)

4: When your back's to the wall, you are the manager and you've got to act the manager. In any branch that you ever work at you always know that any situation, if anything really goes wrong, it is down to you, and the staff will go, "well, it's not my responsibility, it's your responsibility". [...] You've just got to think of yourself as a manager and remember that you are a manager, you've got to manage people, you have to act as a role model for the rest of the people. If you don't act in the way that you'd like them to behave, how do you expect them to behave? How would you expect them to behave in the way you want them to? You've got to show that you are responsible, you've got to show that you won't let things go, you've got to show that you are interested in the business and generally you've got to support the Northbank at some point. Whereas, the staff can slag off the Northbank as much as they want, if they want to they can have little fits of anger or whatever. But you can't, you've got to act how you would expect a manager to act. (Northbank male trainee manager)

So the managers have had to learn how to 'act the manager', which is an example of occupational socialisation. It is difficult to identify the cause of their changed behaviour though, whether it was the company or the role, as they are often indistinguishable:

15: When I first started in the bank everyone's got this perception of a banker and what they're like and although you try not to be, I would say that say after 5 years, and I'm sure people say the same after 10 or 20 years, that you do take on a Southbank culture. (Southbank female manager)

3: Erm. Oh God, I'm probably totally indoctrinated with the Northbank by now. I actually feel quite comfortable with the Northbank as an organisation. I don't know why, particularly. But, I think I'm probably moulded by the Northbank actually, in the way that I've come in as a manager and this is the way we do things. I think if I had another management position I'd be able to answer that question better, if I'd more experience of another management position, [...] because at the moment, it's what I know and it's all I know in a way. (Northbank female trainee manager)

The interviews and observations indicated that many of the managers felt that they needed to 'act the manager' and fit in with the bank's 'way', which enabled them to fit into the role and into the company. Whether this is a conscious presentation of self

or a natural display, it enabled them to feel and present confidence and to inspire confidence in others. For many, their values and management style seemed to naturally fit into the bank's values and required style. In Northbank, this could be because of an efficient recruitment process that ensured that only those who already fit in are recruited; or for the Southbank managers, the time they have been in the bank may make the culture seem natural. Parkinson (1995) argued that young new recruits were malleable, but the managers studied in both banks all demonstrated the required management behaviour and values. That many of the Southbank interviewees became managers because of encouragement from their line managers is also an indication that perhaps they were selected by their line manager because of their perceived 'fit' into the company and role requirements. Those managers who felt they had a natural affinity with the role were more at ease with fitting into the role and the company way:

11: ...in a way a lot of the things that I do are very Southbank and a lot of things I do are what Southbank is aiming to achieve. [...] I'm proud to work for the company and it does do some brilliant things as well being profitable and well known in the city. (Southbank female manager)

34: ...the bank put together something that is called the Senior Branch Manager's Story. [gets folder from drawer] This is whereby the bank tells you, as a story about what your job should look like, so "leadership in the front line", so I've highlighted some of the key areas, [reading from folder] "my job is unequivocally about leadership, the buck stops here. I'm the one who sets the agenda for the branch, I keep them informed, I am the play maker. I love the challenge of meeting objectives, we have an attitude of we can and we will. Before we finish one target we're talking about the next. I see leadership as setting standards." You know, the bank is just going through everything about the job in terms of what you should be looking to be. And it's almost talked about as though somebody is actually doing it and I think this is super and I try and read this once a week so it re-focuses my mind in terms of what I've got to do. [...] I mean you break me in half and you've got a [bank logo] somewhere in there, 'cause I love the organisation, I think we've got brilliant top management, we are by far and away the strongest and the best bank. We've got management with considerable vision and part of our challenge at the grass roots level is to implement that and to make that work. I think if we get off on it in that way, and we can show people that we do then that sort of enthusiasm comes through. We win again. Trouble is, as fast as one game finishes, another one starts. (Southbank male manager)

These quotes demonstrate that these managers have 'fitted in' extremely well, as they also comfortably use the managerial or bank language. So, displaying the face of the company does not have to lead to alienation, as Hochschild (1983) suggested. As the interviews by and large show, the managers were satisfied in their role and were at ease with the banks' values and ways of working.

As managers, they must meet the targets set by the organisation, but are allowed to use a variety of techniques and styles to achieve these. In the socialisation process, they must adapt in order to 'fit in', but they need to use their own style and judgement to co-ordinate their staff and their tasks. Some commented though, that they did not have to change themselves at all, nor that the organisation requested that they do so:

29: The ['Developing Managers'] courses I've been on and the ['Further Management Development'] course, present many, many different management styles, don't they? But the bank doesn't reinforce it by saying, "we want you to do this one all the time or we want you to do that one all the time". Our immediate bosses, and quite rightly, will look at bottom line figures and if you're not delivering those then your management style needs to change to hit them, if you are delivering them, broadly they leave you alone and don't care too much what you do. (Southbank male manager)

4: I've always spoken my mind anyway, it's just lovely to work in an environment that encourages that and I encourage my people to do that too. And I think that helps to promote the lively, bubbly atmosphere, 'cause people aren't whispering in corners about other people and they're not afraid to say if there's something wrong and I think that helps a lot towards the environment. So whilst I've not had to adapt my style, that part of me wasn't accepted or wasn't encouraged when I worked in previous companies, but it's something that's very much encouraged here. [...] I haven't really had to adapt anything of my style for Southbank because this is the culture that I love. So I've really found my niche. [...] probably in the early days I would get quite defensive if someone turned round and said, "I don't like the way you've put together this report", or, for want of a better example. So I've probably had to get a little bit tougher inside and think "well, this is of use to me, they're not criticising me, I mustn't take it personally". (Southbank female manager)

It is difficult to determine how far they had been moulded and whether their personality had been changed, or if they were 'working on it'. It is impossible to

draw firm conclusions in this debate, but they nevertheless need to be considered when discussing the processes of learning to perform management and emotional labour.

The managers were recruited for their different skills and experiences and many of them were taught that an effective team needs to consist of different personalities, so that tasks can be apportioned to match personalities and preferences. Additionally though, they had to portray the bank's values to the customers and the staff. In portraying the organisational values they had in some way been 'moulded' into the organisation's way of thinking and had 'worked on' their personality. This could be categorised as deep acting (Hochschild, 1983), as if they have been able to incorporate the banks' mindset to their own, they will not have to pretend to be portraying the bank's values, as this will be automatic to them. Deep acting would be preferred by the banks, as it makes for a more sincere performance. As the quotations indicate, it is difficult to detect which part of them had changed, as they had developed over time to be able to do their job. As one trainee mentioned, if she had stayed with another bank and been trained to be a manager with them before coming to Northbank, then she may be able to notice how they were being moulded. This demonstrates that the concept of 'divestiture' (Oleson and Whittaker, 1970) is evident in practice and is useful in describing these managers' training, as the organisations attempted to remove unwanted attitudes and values, and replace them with the desirable attributes, values and skills.

It is not only in management roles that training, and the knowledge that enables one to do an effective job, influences one's whole outlook on life or one's personality.

Whether one is cynical of what one has been taught or whether one believes in it wholeheartedly, the way one acts will have been affected. One's personality will have affected how one internalised the training, that is, if someone is cynical, they are less likely to immerse themselves in the training than those that are more receptive to others' ideas. So this reiterates that the managers' socialisation was a reciprocal process; their development and presentation of self was affected by others and themselves.

Organisational socialisation is not just about conforming to the bank's procedures and portraying its values, it is also about fitting in with the people they work with and adapting their style to those around them:

1: I think also you adapt to the styles of the other management you work with as well.

S: Those above or around?

1: Both, really. I've been in a situation recently where one other manager in a team here has left to have a baby, and the one standing in for her has got a totally different style of dealing with things, and we work very closely together. So I'm finding all the time that I'm having perhaps to adapt the way I do things, to fit in with her style, if you like. Whereas the other one, because we worked together so long before as well, it was almost a natural thing, but I'm very conscious now that she's a different person, and I'm doing things slightly differently. And also with the management above, obviously they want things done the way they want things done, and you do adapt to different management styles. I think you've got to be careful not to change your style too much. I wouldn't want to change my style too much, because I know that certain things of my style will get it done, whereas if I change to other ways, even though the management sometimes think they know best [laughs], I don't think they always do. (Southbank female manager)

7: [I had to realise that my line manager is] a different style [to me] and that, if I was going to get something I needed to be more like him. [...] I wasn't as confrontational as him but I was more confrontational than I am naturally. And I got what I wanted, so it was a good learning point, but it was all from all these courses I'd been on. Had I not have had the time away to realise that and learn that he's a different style and that, if I was going to get something I needed to be more like him. And now I don't need to be, I can just be back to myself. (Northbank female trainee manager)

The managers, therefore, had to fit in with the other managers and staff and their expectations, as well as following the companies' requirements. The style that they

portray, therefore, seems to be context driven and depend upon the impression that they need to provide to any given audience. This indicates that they perform emotion work, as well as emotional labour. That is, they have to be aware of their emotional displays towards their peers and superiors and ensure that these adhere to the feeling rules, as well as managing their emotional displays for profit purposes.

The managers are part of the organisational culture and the organisational values are taught to workers in training courses and meetings. But within the organisational culture there are internal cultures (by department, rank, role and experience), sometimes because of the physical distance or because of different working practices or priorities. Managers have their own culture too, with some that make it clear that there is a distinct boundary between management and staff. There was also a distinction between graduate trainee managers and those managers that have worked their way up. These internal boundaries are associated more with the 'old school' managers and culture, as newer managers are seen as being 'closer to the staff' and part of the team, and women in particular are seen as being closer to the staff. The banks wanted the managers to be aware of the company as a whole, as boundaries between departments or individuals could be counter-productive, and Northbank stipulated that as the trainees were the senior managers of the future they needed a full business awareness.

Although the organisational cultures were strong influences upon the managers and it seems that there was more organisational than occupational socialisation occurring, the skills they developed were appropriate for most management jobs either within or outside banking services. Senior management stressed that personal development was

important and the managers were committed to self-development, therefore increasing the generic nature of their skills. However, because of the investment that the company makes into training their workers and managers, they are more likely to want to retain the staff, in order to recoup their investment. Providing staff with chances for personal development may assist in making the workers more loyal to the company, as it makes them feel valued. A Southbank manager commented that some of her staff were leaving to work in other local call centres that were paying more money than Southbank. She was both annoyed and upset to be losing her staff and she was unable to offer them more money, but pointed out that the atmosphere, or culture, within her CSC and the bank made some staff loyal, because they felt valued as workers.

This chapter has shown that there are links between the occupational and organisational culture and socialisation processes: the occupation is learned within an organisation; the occupational role is defined by an organisation; and organisational cultures are affected by the roles they contain. This means that it is not possible to conclude whether one is more influential than the other, or to always distinguish between them as there is a reciprocal relationship between the two. There is also a reciprocal relationship between the socialisation process led by the organisation and individuals, which makes it difficult to conclude about the extent to which organisations mould individuals.

Some of the managers recognised that their management styles, and to some extent their personalities, had changed and that they had been moulded by the bank, but this depends upon individuals' experiences and personalities. During the recruitment

process entrants were selected according to their 'fit' with the organisation, which is reinforced during training and appraisals. So those that did not feel that they had been moulded may have already fitted into the organisation's mould. Those that felt they had changed since their training, are likely to have only 'tweaked around the edges' and adapted their style, rather than completely overhauled their personal style. It is unlikely that a person would be recruited and remain within an organisation that was completely opposed to their own values.

To some extent, all workers are moulded into the organisation because they conform to the role specifications. Within any social interaction one engages in emotion or impression management, but the service sector workplace places an extra demand upon the worker, that they must present the organisational face to the customer, rather than only their personal face. In order that the front line worker presents the organisational face to customers, managers of front line workers need to present the organisational face to the workers. This may be similar to the manufacturing sector where, although the workers do not have to manage their emotional displays for any customers, a manager is the organisational representative to workers, in order to elicit the required productivity. However, in service industries the manager must not only attend to levels of productivity but also to the emotional state of the worker in order that the worker also attends to the emotional state of the customer. Therefore, the service organisation has a great interest in ensuring that managers are able to perform emotional labour, in order that workers will perform emotional labour.

This chapter has shown that there is a need to recognise the balance and reciprocity involved in occupational and organisational socialisation and in the performance of

emotional labour. During managers' working days when interacting with staff, there will be occasions in which managers can be 'natural' and occasions in which they must refer to learned techniques; and there will be different situations with different audiences, which call for different performances of emotional labour. The next chapter will examine how the managers performed their role everyday and the management styles that they demonstrated.

Chapter 5: Doing Management

This chapter will examine how managers perform their role, focusing on the interpersonal skills that are required of them. The data collected regarding the managers' training experiences demonstrated that both the organisations and the managers regarded interpersonal skills as key requirements of their role. The definitions of management provided in the interviews, and the observations of the training courses, demonstrated an emphasis on the management of staff. This chapter firstly discovers how the managers defined management and what was typical management behaviour, in order to understand what they thought managers should do and the skills they thought were important. I then discuss their own individual management styles, how they manage their staff, and conclude by examining how they influence their staff's behaviour. I argue that staff management activities usually involve the performance of emotional labour. The two sets of data from Northbank and Southbank are combined throughout this chapter, not because the managers all performed the same role, but because there are many common themes despite the differences in their roles.

Defining management and the behaviour of managers

The managers provided a multitude of definitions of management, some of which were very simplistic ('a manager manages') and some of which sounded like textbook definitions. The managers had a variety of targets to achieve regarding staff development, productivity levels and administration work. The majority of the managers interviewed agreed that a manager should balance their staff and administration objectives, as their productivity objectives are achieved through their

staff. The managers felt that they accomplished this through communicating and motivating, planning and organising, leading by example and being a role model, problem-solving, and monitoring to maximise their team's effectiveness. These activities and behaviour were raised very often when defining management. The greatest emphasis was placed on staff management, which is particularly evident from those who did not manage staff, for example:

15: I don't look after anyone. So saying that I'm a manager is a bit strange to me because I don't manage anyone. (Southbank female manager)

Management is inextricably linked to the management of people as a resource, or the labour process. Although many have the title 'manager' without any staff to manage, the interviewees always included references to staff management when defining management. However, one manager thought that staff management distinguished between their management and leadership roles:

30: In my mind, I think management is about achieving a result by marshalling all the resources that you've got, that would be how I would try and sum up the result of management anyway. As opposed to the often quoted leadership which I think is the same, but relates to the people side of the resources that you've got. (Southbank male manager)

Generally though, the interviewees equated their management role with staff management. Correspondingly, they described the skills required for the management role as largely interpersonal skills.

12: I think there are skills around leading a team, motivating a team, working with others as part of a team. Attitude, there are certain expectations around attitude. Ability to deliver business goals. (Southbank female manager)

7: Phoo! [sigh with noise]. Getting your team to go where you want them, maybe. Yeah, I think that's just about it. Get your team to do whatever you've set out to do, so to get 10 personal loans a day, or whatever it is. [...] In a nutshell I would think that's what management's about, making people do what you want to do in the right manner. I think that has to be put on the end of it. Make sure that your staff are happy. Make sure that each individual's happy, make sure you get what it is what you want. That you get there in the end. (Northbank female trainee manager)

These quotes emphasise their need to balance tasks, targets and various demands. It appeared that the managers also used their own job parameters to define management.

One way of doing this was to describe the necessary tasks of a manager.

14: So I think as a manager I spend a lot of my time checking and double checking that other people are performing, looking at results, analysing figures, making sure that's going in the right direction and then coming into that is planning forward. How we're going to improve? Continuous improvement: what about my staff, what about their staff? How are we going to develop them to get what we want out of them? (Southbank female manager)

1: ...a lot of mine is managing people, training, obviously head-counts, getting the right people in the right jobs, the right amount of people doing, in the right teams, and getting the results through that. You know, I've got several targets around scores for customer service, we've got the customer service index, and quality of work, i.e. opening new accounts, things like that, a lot of my targets are around that, so really getting people to work accurately and systematically. (Southbank female manager)

The organisations provided blueprints for management best practices and there were many managers that talked about themselves as exemplars of 'good' managers. When they were talking about management, defining it and describing their own style, they would normally talk about best practices and what constituted 'good' management. The distinction between good and bad is a subjective one, but there were many similarities between the managers' definitions. The managers were aware of the way they were expected to behave and gave examples of those that did not act in this way, but rarely confessed to doing things wrong themselves. The distinction between good and bad management was particularly evident in the managers' descriptions of how ideas and behaviours of management had changed over the last 10 or 20 years. This may contradict the notion of having innate management abilities, or simply demonstrate that this notion is dynamic rather than static, as the skills required for management have changed, so those people suitable for the role have changed.

Southbank had recently experienced the merging of two banks and the Southbank managers often contrasted the two banks' styles. Again, it was evident that they felt that their own style, and that of the bank they used to work for, was better than the style of the other bank and its managers. The managers had perceptions of the other bank that always seemed to be negative compared to their own bank and style, which is similar to the findings concerning managers' styles according to age differences:

1: The new style is very much that the manager is one of the people, if you like. My early days of the bank, you never called a manager by their christian name, it was always "Mr So-and-so". So I think that management are very much thought of, you know, one of the people, really now, out there, seeing exactly what happens and getting their hands dirty to a certain degree, so it has changed, very much so. [...] if you look around now, a lot of the top management are a lot younger, an awful lot younger, much more dynamic than they used to be. I think age came with being a bank manager before, years ago. I remember some of the managers I've worked for, and they were virtually elderly gentlemen, you know, grey haired, sitting in an office, that isn't the picture anymore. It's actually a very young team, very young team here. (Southbank female manager)

They contrasted a 'new breed' of managers to the 'old school' managers, some of whom they said were still in the bank, but generally had been replaced. The 'old school' managers were used as an example of bad management and people to learn 'how not to be'.

15: I have had a couple of managers come up and gone like that [ruffled hair] to me, I've really wanted to turn around and hit them. [...] I think it is the senior managers, the older ones, who have got the older ideas of, well the women should be at home and having babies. This is complete stereotype and this is me generalising, I'm sure not everyone's like that. (Southbank female manager)

17: When I joined the bank, the level of seniority I'm at now, I'd have my own room, I would probably have one or two PAs who would bring me in coffee, who would make sure my golf match was booked. I would be a PR role with people servicing me because I was 'the head'. That was probably fun [laughs] but never moved the business forward, would not bring the bank the profits, any business, because you're not in touch with what's going on. [...] Years ago I would never, my senior manager who was a lower grade than I am now, you would never ever walk into his office without going through his secretary, who would grill you as to why you wanted to talk to him. You just wouldn't do it. Now people will pick up the phone and say, "[first name] can I just ask you something", at any level. And that has got to be better. No, I wouldn't go back. I don't play golf anyway. (Southbank female manager)

As the previous chapter showed, some managers had noted how management training had changed over the last few years. They said that it was now more interactive and focused on generic management and interpersonal skills. This is also reflected in the behaviour of managers, and the managers described 'good' managers as those that demonstrated interpersonal skills and those that had changed with the changing environment. The Northbank trainees tended to see themselves as a new breed of management, which is evident in the way that they distinguished themselves from 'old school' managers. The eldest Southbank manager was fourteen years older than the eldest Northbank manager, but the Southbank managers also spotted the 'old school' managers. As one Southbank manager said, she was old enough to remember how it used to be, but young enough to change. One graduate, when speaking of the different management styles, expressed the belief that he employs the best style of management, which is innate to him:

1: I didn't sort of become a changed, kind-hearted man after the [training] programme and think I've really got to look after my staff. It's just natural to me, it's just, you look after people, they'll look after you. And as I've said, there are times when you're going to have to make a decision which will be either business or people, but likewise that will go both ways, one day it'll be people, the next day it'll be business. So long as you balance the two, hopefully you should be successful. [...] You've now got a lot of people coming out of university with degrees, who are obviously a lot more intelligent and those people are basically going to be better trained, they're going, not necessarily be better managers, but they're certainly going to be more intelligent and hopefully that will shine through in the way they deal with people. [...] there are a lot of managers about in the Northbank and in other institutions who are old school, and they're drivers effectively, which is a type of management style. They will get things done but they won't have any respect from the staff. (Northbank male trainee manager)

2: Some managers have said to me, you should always make sure there's a line between the staff and you and all this, I don't actually believe in that. (Northbank female trainee manager)

These quotations indicate how close some of them felt towards their staff and this seems to be one of the characteristics of 'new' management styles and practices. The 'old school' managers had distanced themselves from their staff, by closed offices, formal practices and formality of names. As Chapter 1 showed, leaders traditionally kept a social distance from their staff, but successful leaders and managers may now have to get closer to their staff as communication, motivation and listening skills are thought to be essential (Caulkin, 1998; Rajan and van Eupen, 1997). The benefit of this 'new' management style is summed up by one trainee:

6: I believe so long as they know that you're the manager and that if you tell them to do something then they have got to do it, you can still be friends with them. I don't have an issue with that but some managers think you can't. But I've seen managers who can do it and it actually works really well and staff have a lot more respect for that person and do a lot more for them, if they like you, than if you're just some tyrant that's getting them to do this, that and the other. (Northbank female trainee manager)

Their work environment influenced their management style. The difference between new and old school may be due to the changes in the service sector itself. Increased competition and the focus on customer service demands a management style that enables staff to provide excellent customer service and motivates them to meet sales targets.

34: We're retailers first and foremost, as I'm sure you've probably already heard. We're no different to any other retailer out there in the high street, you just can't touch and feel our tins of baked beans. (Southbank male manager)

This changed, and still changing, environment has affected the staff and the managers, in terms of their career and their behaviour in their present roles.

17: The environmental change is so rapid that you need people to stay with you, you don't want to lose them so you have to be extra caring and empathy. (Southbank female manager)

In the drive for improved customer service, banks are trying to meet their customers' needs by changing the way they work, which can also match the needs of the staff. This changing environment often creates more difficulties for the managers as they try to meet their targets, whilst attending to other, competing, demands:

10: ...the bank has come down with this initiative, every fortnight, every team should meet. How can you give everybody a meeting every fortnight? It's impossible, you would never, ever go near your service levels. Yet, I can see it in other parts of the bank, where I used to work before, yes you can have a few people off what they're doing at the moment for half an hour or an hour. But an hour of like 10 people is so much productivity, so many calls. (Southbank female manager)

Another difficulty faced by the managers in Southbank was that they were running their branches and CSCs with minimum staff, as this is one way that costs were minimised. Some of the managers felt that this impeded the level of customer service that their team could provide, because they had such large workloads. A common difficulty faced by the managers was the lack of routine to their work, largely because they were customer facing and had to respond very quickly to the customers' demands. Their days were therefore very reactive and fragmented, as Mintzberg (1973) and Salaman (1995) had also found. They were able to be proactive when they had the time away from the staff and customers, but this was quite rare during opening hours:

2: I'm constantly interrupted on that desk or I'm constantly watching the grade of service, either the phone's ringing or there's somebody waiting at my desk to speak to me, or one of the team leaders is referring something, or you get caught, if the team leader isn't there, you get caught with an advisor, and you can't say, "I can't help you". They've got a customer on the phone, they need help, so you've got to leave everything on your desk to do it, you just can't... [...] It was just firefighting, it was watching the grade of service, it was organising for other staff to come in, [...] Don't get me wrong, I know we expect to work under pressure these days, and I haven't got a problem with that, but there is pressure and pressure, and I don't think they realise just what a crisis we're heading for at the moment. We're spending all day, robbing people backwards and forwards. We shouldn't be managing a call centre like that, it's not professional. (Southbank female manager)

30: ...reality turns into a total fragmentation. And a lot of the issues are, it is very much sharp-end, I sit right behind the counter most of the time, the issues will come flying my way, it becomes a reaction-type job. I do have an office where I shut myself away on the first floor and there are times when I say to my deputy here, I need you to look after things down here because I need to go and do some thinking or planning or this project or whatever else it might be. (Southbank male manager)

The customer facing aspect of their job evoked a language more associated with the military – in the ‘firing line’ or ‘front line’ – that suggests that they felt considerable pressure because of their face-to-face accountability to the customer. The military connection to management is well-documented (Collinson and Hearn, 1996; Grint, 1995). Management in the service sector is therefore ultimately about managing resources to meet customer demands. That is, customers’ demands are of high priority amongst the demands faced by managers:

33: An element of sales does come into it but I like to see that as being not selling to them but providing them with a service or product which we have agreed they could do with. It’s identifying the need areas and they very much, it’s a, very much a relationship building exercise, building that trust and if you can build that trust and get people on your side internally as well as externally, it makes the job that much more interesting and more rewarding. [...] Banks are so different now, you can walk into a bank and all you think is you’re depositing money, it’s like walking into Dolcis shoe shop or something, you want to buy some shoes, you can come out of there with some shoe trees, some leather spray, goodness knows what else, and you think, “cor blimey that cost more than the shoes did!” And yes, you can walk into a bank now and deposit a cheque and lo and behold you can walk out with all sorts. But you’ll be surprised how many customers do not know of the services we offer, now that is doing a dis-service to the customer. That is what we’re doing, we’re bringing their attention to it. (Southbank male manager)

19: Basically everybody is a customer. Each individual person in this office is a customer and we ask you to treat people as you would want to be treated. For instance if somebody from the teleservice comes through to my team, then that person on the end of the phone is a customer before you get the real customer. So that is how we try to promote it, that every single person is a customer from any office, walk of life, if anybody phones you from anywhere. [...] That is what has been passed down and that is the image that as a bank or a centre we have been asked to try and promote. But I think I agree with it personally as well. You don’t go and talk to somebody in the wrong way, you wouldn’t want them to do it to you, so I think there’s a lot of, do as you would want to be treated. (Southbank female manager)

So, they are not only managing to meet external, paying, customers' demands, but also others who are now categorised as customers. It is arguable that their role should therefore be described as relationship management, rather than simply customer and staff management. Managers in both banks recognised that the way that they, and their staff, treated others brought rewards for the business and for their own working environment.

18: It takes time to do that, some people don't see that personal bit as payback on the time that you have to put in. But I think it's well worth building up relationships and passing the time of day with anybody in this building, especially people outside my area because you never know when you're gonna need their help. You just can't go to a strange person and get them to do something for you but if you've built up a relationship and passed the time of day with somebody over a period of months, that person's going to be much more receptive when you actually need some help. (Southbank female manager)

They had to manage relationships as customers, staff, colleagues, other departments and senior managers can help them to achieve their targets if they 'get them on their side'. The managers' definitions of management and the descriptions of their behaviour shows that interpersonal skills assist in their effective relationship management and help them to become, or act like, 'good' managers. It is in relationship or staff management that managers show their individual style of management, more than in completing paperwork tasks.

Individual management styles

The managers' definitions of a manager, and their ideas of good management, were inter-linked with their descriptions of their own styles of management. Their idea of a good manager affected how they described themselves and how they acted, and their perception of their own style affected how they defined management, as Watson (1994) also suggested. When they described their own style, they were describing

their skills and characteristics. It seemed that they were saying that these skills were innate to them, but these skills would also have been developed from the training and coaching they had received, as Chapters 1 and 4 showed. Although there were some skills that could be considered innate, references to their previous experiences show that they had also developed these skills, for example:

13: I think my strengths lie in the fact that I'm totally fair, totally honest. I'm firm as well. I like people to enjoy coming to work, however, I've got extremely high standards and I like to win. It gave me a lot of pride that whatever service measure we had at [old CSC¹] we were always top and that's what I aim to do here. I suppose I'm a bit competitive which they say is a male trait don't they, however I want to make [new CSC] number one. (Southbank female manager)

Rather than being able to describe their own, one, management style, most managers explained that they had different management styles for different audiences. Their experiences taught them that this was necessary:

S: Do you think you've got a management style? Your own kind of style?

29: I would like to think I've got 4.

S: Right.

29: [laughs] Whether I switch them on at the right times is not a question I can answer. I'd like to think that I've got a directive style for those that need it and then a coaching style, a supportive style, and a delegating style. [...] So, if I've got somebody new I'll be much more directive, if it's somebody I've worked with and can trust I can be much more to the other end of the scale, delegate much more. (Southbank male manager)

3: ...you get some people who cry their eyes out and they want a hug, well fine, but there's other people who don't want that, they want to talk to you but they don't want to cry because they're embarrassed to cry in front of you, well make them feel comfortable, don't push it, let them tell you what they want to tell you. Got to be all things to all people. [laughs] (Southbank female manager)

34: I've got one guy who's a former branch manager, he's probably about 4 years older than me, and it's looking at how you manage him. When you know damn well that he applied for the job that you've got and he didn't get an interview, he came close and your opening shot with him is, "sorry [first name], but you didn't get an interview but I hope there's no bad feelings". He said, "no, there's no issue between me and you, but I want out". Now, with managing that situation I'm very happy with the way that I'm managing that, he likes a bit of banter but I'm also bringing him into my confidence, talking to him and making him feel part of the management by using

¹ Customer Service Centre

him as a sounding board. So, it stretches my brain as well because I'm thinking that with each individual person I'm looking at, they want different things in different ways. (Southbank male manager)

Managers must be aware of the needs, feelings and experiences of others and the demands of the situation, in order to act in an appropriate manner. This appropriate manner is not necessarily dictated to them by the company, but is also likely to have developed from their own skills and experiences, that they know that acting a particular way is required to get the most from their staff. They all noted that they had to manage 'through their staff', as the staff actually do the work, so they must react to, and manipulate, situations in order for the staff to achieve the targets the managers have been set. Managers cannot perform all the tasks in a branch themselves and so need the staff to be working for them. This seems obvious, but was an important learning point for the Northbank trainees:

2: You can't do the job yourself, that's what I've learned, you have to make sure that other people can do the job, so give them what they need to be able to do the job. [...] So that's one of the key things, is the actual staff interaction, because you're relying on them to do the job, so you need to talk to them to find out what their development areas are, what support you need to give them, where they're going to go from there and just make sure it's all running smoothly. (Northbank female trainee manager)

6: At the end of the day you need them to help you. (Northbank female trainee manager)

Some of the managers' comments showed how the managers' experiences, both in and out of work, had affected their management style. In particular they had learned from how they had been treated by previous managers and ensured that they did not behave in a manner they considered unsuitable and counter-productive. Most of the female managers with children mentioned how their management style was affected by their experiences with their children.

3: If I've got two people who don't get on, I don't look at them as two people I look at them as two children and that's the mother in me. They don't get on, now my kids, if

they don't get on and they're arguing, what am I going to do, do I leave them together to bicker or do I split them up? Split them up. And I'll look at situations from that point of view, if I was at home and this was my son, or my daughter, what would I do? I wouldn't just leave them, speak to them about it, tell them off or whatever. With an adult you speak to them, you don't tell them off. (Southbank female manager)

4: ...[after children] your priorities in life change, your values and beliefs change completely, and I literally changed overnight. So, consequently the way I treat other people changed overnight. I've always believed in treating people with respect and dignity but I have a lot more understanding now and a lot more empathy. (Southbank female manager)

It was clear that whilst describing their own style, they also described what 'good' management constituted, the main characteristics being the abilities to lead the staff by setting an example and to balance a range of tasks and responsibilities. The managers recognised that they were role models to many staff, therefore they needed to present themselves in a particular way, so that staff's imitations of them led to an achievement of their targets and objectives.

13: I lead by example by being extremely highly self-motivated. Optimistic to the extreme I suppose. Enthusiastic, can-do attitude. Hopefully confident and inspire confidence in everybody else that we can achieve and succeed. I'm totally committed to the job, it's not a competition how many hours you do, but I do come in early, I stay reasonably late, not a nutcase, I don't work all hours. But I think little things like that do show. I can't remember the last time I had a day off sick, those kind of things. I think it's about inspiring confidence in people. A will to achieve. (Southbank female manager)

30: I think often when you're in a position of seniority in an organisation, people look at your face and it's a barometer for the mood of the day. And if you get the last month's sales figures on your desk and you're down about them, or up about them as the case may be, it almost sets the tone for the day. And there are times when it is appropriate to have a down tone for the day, but not normally. [...] I think there are a lot of people who depend upon the manager, particularly when you choose to run it in the profile way that I do, for support. And I think you need to be, it's the classical captain of a sinking ship, you need to be smiling and saluting as she goes down at the very, very end, if you're going to get the respect of the team around you. (Southbank male manager)

34: It's about example setting, it's about almost being a role model. It's creating an atmosphere of can-do. It's about ensuring that if there are problems that occur, that they can not only be achieved but they can be turned round. It's about setting the agenda, giving direction. It's about making sure that you've got a place that other

people want to come to work as well. [...] My direct boss was crap. He was horrendous, he was identified by everybody else as being horrendous. And because he didn't do any of those things, I and other managers became very close to joining the ranks of the bitter and twisted and it's very, very easy to then pass that onto your team. (Southbank male manager)

These show that a positive attitude at work is much preferable to a negative attitude, and that managers must usually present a 'can-do' attitude and set an 'up tone' as the working atmosphere. The managers also needed to perform a balancing act in a number of ways – they had to balance a range of tasks with staff needs, and also balance their own management styles and behaviour according to which audience or objective they faced.

1: I see certain important parts about management, I see people as very high in that, but then again you've got to look at the business and you've got to look at getting things done and you've got to know when to be firm. Because you can be nice to people but if they start taking the piss then you've got to know when to be firm or to single out certain people who might be, ring leader's the wrong word, but more dominant than others. (Northbank male trainee manager)

30: When you're dealing with the personality of sales people it's getting the balance right between, again, overtly controlling exactly what they're doing and giving them freedom. (Southbank male manager)

31: ...like I say you've got to keep a balance between your workforce and management when you're in middle management, which is probably the most difficult thing. (Southbank male manager)

Most of the balancing acts that the managers had to perform were related to relationship management, and staff management in particular.

Management of staff

The management of staff was the largest aspect of their job. It was also the most interesting, challenging and diverse aspect, as it was filled with conflicting ideas, behaviours and difficulties.

Most of the managers agreed that their staff came first in their list of priorities:

10: I always put staff first, that's my rule. If I had a staff and a task I'd do staff first, always have done. Ever since I've been in the bank I think.

S: Above your objectives?

10: Yeah but leadership's an objective and that's hard isn't it because that's staff, that's motivation, that's coaching, that's looking after them. (Southbank female manager)

5: I will always say, let's look after the people and then all the rest comes out the other end. But it's very hard to try to keep remembering that, 'cause you tend to look at this end, the results, because it just seems easier. (Southbank female manager)

Most of the managers thought that the organisations believed that staff were central too. Some felt that the company was only paying 'lip service' to prioritising staff, particularly when costs were cut by reducing staff numbers. In order to put staff first on their list of priorities, the managers needed to get to know the staff and what they wanted from their manager. In doing so, the managers' behaviour was affected, as they adapted their behaviour to some of the staff's needs.

1: Dealing with your customers I think is easy, easier than dealing with your staff.

S: Why?

1: Because the staff know you and the customers don't. It's very easy to smile at a customer after they're having a complaint and just telling them that you totally agree and it's not good enough, and 9 out of 10 times that'll be the end of it and the customer will be happy. A staff member will know that you're bullshitting. And they'll know that as far as they're concerned that's not good enough. And you really have to, use the word cut deals, but you have to speak to everyone on their level and you have to make sure that they're happy because if you don't get staff buy-in then you're in trouble. That's the really important thing. (Northbank male trainee manager)

20: ...when I'm talking to a group of people here, if the best way to get them motivated is to have a bit of a laugh and a joke with them, well that's the way I would approach it. [...] If I've just listened to a call and the advisor didn't sound particularly friendly or helpful then I will certainly go over and talk to them and see what's going on, "what's happening in your life, you're normally so cheerful and you sounded really unhappy. You normally do this for customers and you didn't that time." (Southbank female manager)

Staff management presented many difficulties, in addition to the difficulties presented by the environment in which the managers worked. Each member of staff has their

own personality, strengths, weaknesses and problems, and, wherever there are people, human errors are made. Managers must therefore deal with many awkward situations that require the skills of emotional labour as they must present themselves in order that the staff's behaviour is influenced appropriately.

12: And people react personally in different ways and they need to be able to cope with those feelings and to be able to let go of those feelings or to be able to channel them in an appropriate way. We're very good about impact and influencing because we're looking to achieve a set objective. What happens when there isn't an objective, what happens when it is the person that's at the desk who says, "what do I do now?" [...] What is acceptable behaviour and what isn't? It's always the softer skills are the harder ones to teach. Because you could sit in a group and you can say, "yes I can do that." But when it actually comes down to it being me and you in a room, how do I cope and how do I come out of it, not having destroyed you or me and still working towards a common goal? (Southbank female manager)

Managers can decide either to involve themselves in the staff and their issues, or detach themselves and keep a certain social distance. For both choices they must manage their own and others' feelings for the benefit of the business.

29: When somebody leaves to go and work for another bank, it's very easy to take it personally and you can think, "good grief, what have I said that's upset them?" You have to try and detach yourself. (Southbank male manager)

30: I would like to think of myself as very approachable to all the staff and again I'm sure that every manager would say that. I've deliberately sited myself slap bang in the middle of the office, which when I did that back in last March, caused a tremendous stir because some of the staff didn't know what my predecessor looked like. He'd be way on the first floor and he'd be out the front door and back in and they'd never see him. Lovely bloke and everyone, those that knew him thought he was a lovely bloke but they never saw him. So I took a much higher profile with the staff and they're getting used to that now. Now because they're getting used to that I find that my ability to influence is wider. However, that comes at a price and that price is that you've got to build an incredible level of trust with people to get over the barriers that come from, "well, he's the boss, he does my appraisal and he's sitting there watching me on the counter, what's he looking for, is he looking to try to catch me out?" [...] But I don't want to do the obvious thing, that's go shut myself away, because I'll go backwards a step if I do that. (Southbank male manager)

In sitting by their team, their relationships with the staff and their management styles were affected. This is one method of making themselves more approachable, and all

of the managers tried to be a part of their team, even if they did not sit with them all day.

The Northbank trainee managers did not seem to distance themselves from the staff as much as the Southbank managers. The trainees were closer to the staff than other managers in some respects because they had worked alongside them and been trained by staff to perform certain tasks. Some staff have a negative perception of graduate trainees though, because they are recruited at a higher grade, and staff can assume that graduates think highly of themselves, which places an added dimension to managing others' perceptions of the graduate trainees. The 'Management Skills' trainer warned the trainees that staff and managers may have these feelings towards them.

Not only may staff hold certain opinions about the trainees, but the Northbank trainees were also forming opinions about the staff, and both of these 'getting to know each other' processes are important to be able to perform emotional labour. Again, the training courses informed the trainees of the different types of people they would have to manage, so may have influenced these opinions. For example, the trainees described people that are resistant to change and this is one type that their training courses described:

5: [when coaching staff] they were quite nervous, I must admit, the people that I did do. They'd sit there and go, "erm". I think they're a bit long in the tooth for it, to be honest. (Northbank male trainee manager)

The managers attempted to make their staff happy, as they believed that happy staff equated to productive staff. There were a number of mechanisms through which they enhanced staff happiness – regular meetings; 'just listening' to them; managing their expectations; praising them and appreciating their work; and training and

development. Productivity and happiness were seen as interconnected, as managers thought that good results made the staff feel good and that this led to better results.

13: I think there's nothing better than being, when charts are produced, which they are inevitably, seeing [our CSC] number one. And I think that inspires people and unfortunately we're at work a long time so I think it makes life a bit more bearable. [...] I really do believe that we should give staff every opportunity to get fulfilment out of the job. [...] I think if staff are cheesed off, you don't treat them right, I think you lose in a lot of ways. I think you lose on goodwill hours, because that's a hidden, an unknown quantity in some respects. [...] I think morale is important to productivity but I think it's a bigger picture than that, I think it's the give and take that helps the morale, that makes them want to work harder for you. (Southbank female manager)

4: I talk to them a lot, spend a lot of time with them, make sure they're fully aware of their roles and responsibilities, make sure they know what results that we need. I lead by example. They know that I'm there in the thick of it, trying to get the results as well. We have lots of competitions, even things like yesterday one of the team got a promotion, so I went out and bought doughnuts just as a little celebration. Little things like that work and are motivational tools. But I think the main thing is being sincere, treating them with respect and having a genuine commitment to them as people. [...] I am being sincere. I think if you asked any member of my team, and you're quite welcome to, that that is the answer that they would give. Is that I genuinely care. I genuinely am committed to doing my best for them as well as them doing their best for me. (Southbank female manager)

7: I have one management ethos, a happy office is an efficient office. (Northbank female trainee manager)

There were two main reasons for making staff happy, one of which focused on increasing their productivity and the other was a more, or less, selfish reason – because the manager enjoys making the staff happy and interacting with them. The latter would help the managers' behaviour towards the staff appear sincere.

5: It's my touchy feely time as well with them, which is the most fun bit, the rest isn't as nice as that. [...] Some of it I do for them, some of it I do for the business results and some of it I do for me, 'cause that's the nice bit. [...] It's where you get the fun and a laugh and the buzz and sense of achievement, is mostly from that. When you just see someone switch on or come up with a different idea or you go back to them with a solution on something, then that's the nice bit. So it's probably a bit of everything. I don't think I must talk to them otherwise, you know, but there is an element of the results will not come unless you speak to them. And we know that, but I like it as well. I don't just think I will go and do my speaking today because that means I'm a nice person, I don't do that but you know you've got to do it anyway. (Southbank female manager)

3: I enjoy it, that's the difference. This kind of thing [taps paperwork] gets on my nerves but I can sit and talk to someone who's got a problem [...] if you just listen, 'cause a lot of the time all people want is someone to listen so they can actually just get it off their chest, and that does help. But that's something I've learned through life not particularly because of my role. (Southbank female manager)

Heskett (1986) argued that communicating their enthusiasm to others was a challenge to managers. Some of the managers did comment that this was sometimes difficult, but many of them felt that they easily demonstrated their belief in the organisations' values and their enthusiasm for the job and their team. The quotes above demonstrate the motivations of some managers, that is, how they behave in their role is determined by the aspects of the job that they enjoy and the motivation to become a manager. This indicates some intrinsic interest or characteristic that affects their management style – if they enjoy interacting with staff, they will be more likely to spend time with their staff. As this coincides with the general trend in management theory towards humanistic management, this cannot be explained solely by their innate characteristics, but is also determined by their surroundings and socialisation into their roles and organisations.

A large part of staff management is motivating the staff to be productive. The managers described their methods of motivation, which included buying sweets and drinks, and having competitions by using management information on productivity to “put names in lights”. There are overlaps between the techniques of motivating staff and keeping them happy, which is because the managers equated achieving happiness with motivation.

13: Simple as it may sound, praise for a job well done and instil a sense of pride about being number one, which is what we were there. (Southbank female manager)

34: ...the sales team. We moved them all downstairs, now they're where the customers are. So, that in itself, it's getting them to take collective responsibility for

what they do and letting them feel that they're influencing it. Now, they did what I wanted them to do and I gave them a steer on it, but they didn't do it just to please me. they did it for the right reasons, because I asked them to justify why they were voting that way. And if they had voted the other way then we would probably have tweaked it in a few weeks time. But they'd have done it eventually, they'd have done it having felt that they had made it happen. And it's brought them closer as a team. (Southbank male manager)

The links between motivating, developing a team atmosphere and making the staff happy are examples of emotional labour, as it is one method of making the staff feel motivated or part of the team, for a profit driven purpose. Southbank manager '34' let some staff feel that they were having an influence over their work environment, although in fact they were doing what he wanted them to do. Earlier quotations show that the managers may genuinely care about their staff and behave in a humanistic manner, but they must also balance staff needs with the business targets. Therefore managers' caring and cheerful appearances must be maintained in front of their staff so that the staff continue to feel happy, motivated and productive.

A phrase often used by the managers was that they wanted their staff to 'buy into' certain values and working practices in order to achieve their targets. Getting staff 'buy in' involved selling ideas in a manner that was more likely to gain agreement from the staff. This is more easily achieved if the managers can communicate their own enthusiasm. As an earlier quote indicated, making the staff happy was part of getting their 'buy in' and it is another reason why the managers present a positive and cheerful attitude:

10: There are certain messages you have to get across and either way they have to, and you just have to sell it them positively really. Whatever you personally believe, you still have to go along with it and you just sell it to them positively. You don't say, "look I don't believe in it but you have to do it", you'll never do that, you just sell the benefits and the reasons. (Southbank female manager)

30: You don't mean it to sound like this but there are a lot of people that take that as a manipulative type of thing and it isn't. The reality of it is my idea is the very broad idea of, I want to improve service round here to get to compare it to, I don't know, the Hyatt's a good example [...] So my general idea is, I want to be able to do this, but I can be honest with the staff, I haven't got a clue how to do it. And it's their idea that gets the how, so I'm the, what I want to achieve and it really is their ideas, I'm not trying to impose mine on how do we get there. So I guess, to use a cliché, I'm setting the direction and they're helping me create the route map to get me there and there's a very real ownership then because it's not... I've seen others and I've been on the receiving end of, "we're in a brainstorming meeting here because he wants us to 'own the ideas' type thing and we're just going through the motions". And I'm very conscious to avoid that wherever I can because people can see through it. (Southbank male manager)

The easiest way of getting staff to buy into something is to let the staff come up with the idea themselves, although this is usually assisted by some guidance from the managers.

2: ...if they did something that I think maybe they could have done better, then just talk it through with them and try and get their views on how they think they've done, 'cause most of the time if people haven't done that well they probably know anyway and they'll tell you what they need to do. And then you get much more of a buy in. [... whereas] if you've got to deliver something that you know is not going to go down very well then you have to really think about how you can try and get people to buy into the idea. (Northbank female trainee manager)

Getting the staff's 'buy in' is therefore about making the staff feel happy about certain tasks or making them feel that they 'own the ideas', which will make them more committed to seeing them realised. One trainee justified the necessity of getting the staff's buy in:

1: ...there are a lot of managers about in the Northbank and in other institutions who are old school, and they're drivers effectively, which is a type of management style. They will get things done but they won't have any respect from the staff. To me, that makes their day hard and it makes the staff's day harder. You probably, without realising it, create sickness, those sort of things. You might get the job done but what's the point of going to work if you don't enjoy it. Sounds easy but it's not that simple. (Northbank male trainee manager)

There is an implicit statement here about the motivation of managers and the notion that they are role models. This trainee believed that you should enjoy work, and he

passed on this ethos through his management style – so he wanted others to enjoy themselves too. This is not purely for altruistic reasons though, if staff feel like work is too hard and not enjoyable then they may take more time off sick, so productivity is affected. It is important to get the staff on the manager's side, as if they are working against each other it makes the working environment and tasks of both very difficult. As some of the quotes have already indicated, there is a need to be genuine and sincere in the way they present themselves to staff, as the managers felt that staff can see through tactics and false behaviour. Therefore, communicating effectively to staff is of particular concern.

Communication and affecting staff behaviour

The managers mentioned communication as part of the definition of a manager and as a method of motivating and keeping staff happy. A manager needs to communicate ideas, tasks and targets to their staff. The methods or styles of communication have changed over recent years – from a 'tell' style to an 'influencing' style and from a formal to an informal atmosphere. This coincides with the shift from the 'old school' to the 'new breed' of management. Some formality in communication is still needed though, particularly for more senior managers:

5: ...as we've got promoted, we spend an awful lot of our time in meetings, so your time to actually be with people, which is actually our job and what we were given these roles in order to do, is very limited. So we're almost having to, I have to book the time in, I schedule the time in my diary, 'cause if I don't I never see them. [...] And I think you'll find a lot of the managers do that now, you haven't got free time to just go and sit down and, "how's it going?" You know, you have to organise it, because another meeting gets put in your diary. [...] if we don't know what's going on then we've lost it. So that's probably one of the biggest management challenges at the moment. (Southbank female manager)

Communication is required for a number of reasons – to provide the staff with information (briefing them about tasks and targets and to give feedback and appraisals) and to obtain feedback from the staff.

17: It's about valuing what people have done, whether they get it right or whether they get it wrong. It's about taking the time when you're really busy and picking up the phone and saying, "you had a great week last week", whether it's in sales or service, "you kept the IT running", "the phones didn't crash on me". Whatever that is, it's about giving that feedback and making sure that is enough to make it happen again the next week and the next week. (Southbank female manager)

Communication enabled the managers to motivate the staff by involving them and showing that their work is valued. It also informed the managers of their own development needs:

34: I think you get a good barometer from meetings and talking to your staff. And always ask them individually in one to ones, "tell me what I can do better". [...] A lot of people give you some very, very open and honest feedback. People were saying, "we want you to be more direct". I had a habit of, I went through a period of time where I was dressing it up, where I, I suppose, pulling the punch. Somebody turned round to me and said, "for God's sake just give it to us how it is, if it's crap, it's crap, tell us." And that's great. (Southbank male manager)

The most important reason for concentrating on communication to their staff though, is in order to understand staff needs so the managers can make them happy and ultimately increase productivity.

3: If the staff aren't happy I'm not going to get my workload completed so I do need to make sure the staff are happy but you have to balance it, because sometimes people will come to you with silly little things, so using your judgement, is this a priority, is it ultra important, if I don't address this now does that mean that this person is going to go away and not do me any work? [...] all I've done is listen, but it helps, and they go away happy and they're going to do a good job for me so I'm happy. Little bonuses that way. (Southbank female manager)

1: I like to think I try to be as honest as possible. I always say to people, "be honest with me, you know, the problem is I won't be able to solve everything [taps table to everything], and I won't be able to solve it to your liking, but unless I know, then I can't do anything about it." (Southbank female manager)

Many of the managers constructed an atmosphere of reciprocity within their team by trying to empathise with the staff and asking the staff to empathise with the limitations the managers faced.

S: So how do you deal with the new staff that don't really want to be on the telephones?

20: It's just a case of being honest with them really. Acknowledging how they feel. I always try and find them something else as well as the telephones, 'cause we've got various other administration that we have to do, cheque book processing and plastic card processing. I try and say to them, "look I understand where you're coming from and I will try and make your day as varied as possible and just give it a chance really." [...] So they're aware of that and deep down in their mind they know that's the way they've got to go but they just need a bit of cajoling and a bit of, "it's not as bad as you think it is, just give it a chance and, we'll try and make your day as easy and comfortable as possible but you need to keep talking to us. If you get to the stage where you're not enjoying it or you need some help, you need to let us know." (Southbank female manager)

In describing how they supervised and communicated with their staff, the managers also described their relationship with their staff. In general, it appeared that they had very informal and relaxed team relationships, in line with the current management trends. For example, jokes were frequently made between the managers and various staff members, which were noted during observation sessions and during interviews. The use of humour is evidence of 'improvisational exchanges' (Hochschild, 1983). The managers used humour to help build relationships and develop a rapport with the staff. The number and type of jokes obviously varied with the manager and between different staff, as some jokes are not appropriate with some staff. This is another reason that managers need to get know their staff, so that they are aware of what relationship staff want with their manager.

2: ...the two who are in from [another CSC] they came second [in the national league], and they said, "you did us out of £75." And I said, "Molly had it [laughs]. Molly you owe him £75, he says you've stolen his £75 off him." [laughs] [...] [another CSC manager visited] to see what we do at [our CSC], and he couldn't believe how everybody just stopped on the phones, and didn't, there was no movement in the office and things like that. And I said, "well they do." He says, "well how do you do that?" I says, "well, we just tell them that's what we need to do when they come in

and ask them, those are the rules of the game.” He says, “what do they do if they want to go to the toilet?” Well, they go, we don’t say, “you can’t go to the toilet”, I mean, they go, but they don’t abuse it. They go if they need to go, but they don’t keep going if they don’t need to go, you know. We don’t, but if somebody was abusing then, yeah, we would, you know, well, I don’t know! [laughs] Firm but fair. [...] I think it’s just caring about people, to be honest. It’s asking them if they’re OK or when you know they’ve had a problem at home or something, just following it up and remember to put it in your diary to think you know, just. I know it’s sad if you think you’ve got to put it in, but there’s so much going on it does prompt me [...] They are adults at the end of the day, and I think they’ve got to be treated like it, and they respect that. (Southbank female manager)

4: I had a visit last week from an external visitor, and he summed it up that it’s very much a family feel. And I’m very proud of that, very proud. It’s very difficult to create that, because we all work different shifts as well, remember, there’s people in the team that I may only see twice a week. But it’s important that they know that I’m here and that they’re part of my team. (Southbank female manager)

The interviewees’ management styles therefore centred around creating a congenial working atmosphere. Bank management has a history of being family oriented and its associated paternalistic management styles still seem evident. The managers were performing emotional labour to help to achieve the family atmosphere, because they were controlling their own emotional displays in order to make the staff feel a particular way. This is similar to Hochschild’s (1983) findings of flight attendants treating passengers as guests in their own home. Ultimately, the managers felt that the way the staff feel affects how the customer feels about the business.

12: ...remove that stress that then makes them smile. The smile can be heard in their voice, our customers are happy. (Southbank female manager)

Communicating to their staff was often a difficult task, as the observations and interviews showed that their days were fragmented and reactive, with frequent interruptions. Meetings gave the only structure to their days, with daily ‘morning shouts’ or ‘huddles’, team leader meetings (RMS) and management meetings. These meetings all seemed important for communication to different levels and on different matters, and the managers played a different role in each – the motivator at the

‘shout’; the diplomat and organiser in the RMS; and the professional, and perhaps reflector upon the other meetings, in the management meetings. Having meetings, and going into a separate room, was the only way to have uninterrupted time, and to get people together to solve problems, discuss issues and report back.

In the CSCs, in order to communicate to their team, the managers often had to pass a note or memorandum around, rather than speak to them, as it was too difficult and time-consuming to wait until each person was off the telephone. They did sometimes take everyone into a meeting room to get feedback, but this happened less when they were busy. So it seems that actually, the task is the first and main objective, and other ‘people issues’ come second. If the task does not get done, then the people issues (training, monitoring) are left, although all team leaders and managers had staff morale and motivation high on their agendas, as this was something they felt affected productivity and getting the task done.

It is the customers’ perceptions of the company that must ultimately be managed by both staff and managers. The managers must manage and coach their staff to influence how they behave towards customers. All of the managers thought that they had an impact on staff’s behaviour towards customers, or at least hoped that they did.

Some mentioned specific training or behaviour that influenced staff:

2: I hope so. Particularly with the Delivering Customer Focus programme I mentioned. That was very much about trying to put yourself in the customer’s shoes and see things from a different perspective and what you can do, as opposed to what you can’t do. One cashier since, I don’t take direct responsibility, but certainly since being on the programme has really increased her lead generation for example. Just by spending more time talking to the customers and I did think she got a lot of her ideas from that session and just thought a bit more about how she could do it. And it’s really worked well. Also incorporated things like banking hall management, so actually approaching customers in the banking hall, going up and talking to the queue, which previously in that branch nobody wanted to do and they weren’t happy doing

that at all. I'm not sure they entirely enjoy it now, but they do do it and they've actually got some quite good business leads from doing it. (Northbank female trainee manager)

Others thought that it was just their general attitude that affected staff:

1: I'd try and be as nice as possible and get my point across. But I think a lot of that rubs off. (Northbank male trainee manager)

This is another instance of leading by example, but there are other factors to consider when trying to influence the staff's behaviour towards customers:

4: ...you have to encourage them to have their own style of how they deal with customers. Because everybody's got their own way. (Northbank male trainee manager)

Not only do managers have their own style, they manage staff who have different ways of working too and some debated the difficulty in marrying the different personalities and styles to the bank's way of working and idea of customer service:

5: ...at the end of the day everyone's different and they have to be themselves but I think the manager's job is to fine-tune them rather than radically change them and that's what I think I do. I'll pick up on a little thing and say, "well how do you think that went, how would you handle it differently, what kind of impact did it have on the customer?" But I won't say, "well, I think you should do this, that and the other", 'cause you can't change a person's personality. (Northbank male trainee manager)

2: I mean [a team leader], she was at [one] branch before she came here, and she'd been at [that branch] for 28 years and she was like the office dragon, if you like. 'Cause anything out of her routine she didn't like, and she'd throw a wobbly over it, whereas now, she's coming round and she accepts that she is there to sort out problems and it's just a case of working on it slowly. It's not going to happen overnight, you just keep chipping away at it. (Southbank female manager)

So the managers did not expect, nor wish for, overnight or dramatic changes, but for gradual development in staff's behaviour and attitude. The staff were encouraged to put themselves in the customer's position, just as the Northbank trainees were asked to 'get on others' hilltops'. So both the staff's and managers' personalities are 'fine tuned' into the bank's way of working and values. In order to affect others'

behaviour, the managers assessed and recognised their own strengths and weaknesses, as discussed in Chapter 4, and had to know how to take control of their self-presentation.

33: I'm not shy to admit that I don't know the first thing about cashiering, despite being in the bank goodness knows how many years, I don't need to know it, if I'm perfectly honest, but at the same time I don't want somebody to think, "well he doesn't need to know, he's a nose up in the air job". That's not how I want to come across. (Southbank male manager)

The managers must assist in the impression management of the staff themselves, as the staff are customer facing and need to be aware of how their manner affects the customers' feelings and attitude. The banks' policies and values affected the managers' influence over their staff's behaviour towards customers, and the managers' task was to motivate the staff to behave in accordance with the banks' values:

20: ...each of the groups of people that come in, the new people, I tend to talk to them about how Southbank stands in the market place and how the difference between one financial institution and another's products and services is very limited. There's very little difference. So the thing that makes the difference are the people, the person that actually answers the phone as far as old Mrs Smith that's made the phone call, that is Southbank and that person makes the difference. So I try and make them feel empowered and special so they will provide a good service every time to every customer and make them aware that that is what'll make the difference not whether Southbank reduces their base rate by point 5, because customers aren't that bothered. If you give them a really good service they'll stay. [...] I think all of these things, they listen, they genuinely want to do that and then they get a busy rush or somebody that's yelled at them and then maybe they slip out of that way for a little while. But I talk to each of the, we have a morning meeting as you saw, so they get it, reminded and motivated to them every morning. So I'd hope that I have a reasonable influence over them and certainly the calls that I listen to have been very good, but you will always get the odd one or two that have bad days shall we say. (Southbank female manager)

33: There are certain word patterns that we would encourage all front-line staff to use. There's the smile scenario, whether you're on the phone or face to face, always talk, if you can, with a smile, which is always very difficult actually [put on broad smile and talked through it]. But you don't want to make it too obvious because it's... but no, if you can just be very pleasant and very open to the customer, you know, you don't want to be on the phone like this [hunched over], it's just laid back and it really does

come across in your voice and your persona with that customer and it makes them feel more relaxed. (Southbank male manager)

9: The types of things we would do would be, they're called 'CARE' values, they're the new values of the new company, Southbank. So they're things like understanding the customers' needs and being accessible and all those sorts of things. We've got to instil those into the staff [...] They're not very scripted out there, a lot of teleservice teams have got a particular script and they have to say this, this, this. They're not scripted, they can very much say what they want as long as it ties in with the Southbank care values, which are accessibility, expertise. (Southbank female manager)

There were various indications of emotional labour being performed, some of which appear above, for example, encouraging the staff to smile whilst on the telephone to customers and demonstrating the 'CARE' values. The most obvious was where the managers consciously recognised that they had to adapt their approach to their staff to get them to feel and work in a particular, profitable, way.

2: Spend time thinking about how you're going to explain why it's happening and how we can use it to our advantage. So, if it's something that's come from the staff and you know they think it's a good idea anyway so that's really easy and you can just go in and go with the flow. But if it's something they're not going to like you have to really think about what sort of objections they're going to raise, so you can try and be prepared to overcome them, 'cause that's one of the biggest things really. (Northbank female trainee manager)

4: What my task is, is I've got to take that chatty-ness and transfer it into lead generation, because they can chat until the cows come home but they won't get any business out of it. So I've got to try and get them to talk about more of business. I actually don't mind them talking to customers or anything like that, I think that's good. There's a nicer atmosphere in the branch but I've got to make sure that I tailor that to the business needs. (Northbank male trainee manager)

7: ...obviously, staff respond differently to different people naturally. [... if] you've got to get your team to do 5 personal loans or whatever today and to do that you'll buy a bar of chocolate and say, "right, let's have a competition" because it'll make them excited, make them want to do it. And you know it will. (Northbank female trainee manager)

By motivating the staff and getting them to buy into the bank's values and procedures, the managers were more likely to get the required responses and level of service and output they required from their staff. As the main data collection method was

interviews, the managers must not only have recognised that they are acting a particular way at the time, but remember and articulate this during the interviews, in order for emotional labour to be identifiable. There were many examples though of remembered occasions in which they have thought about the image that they portrayed of themselves:

3: when you are a management trainee there's a certain sense of, well, I'm learning, and approaching other managers with a little bit of caution, you don't want to overstep the mark, you don't want to come barging in and look really bolshy, as if you know it all. (Northbank female trainee manager)

5: ...it was a lesson I've learned quite late on in my training and I would say it's difficult, if you're not the type of person who can do that. And I can't. I'm not naturally, I feel this but I can project that. I know certain people who can. [...] it is a bit of a game. Trying to get to know the right people and create the right image, even if reality's different, which I can't do. This is me, sorry, you know. Take it or leave it. (Northbank male trainee manager)

As this trainee stated, he has learned that it is necessary to perform emotional labour, during the training programme. As informal training was a large proportion of the managers' learning in both banks, it would be important to the companies that the managers learned how to perform emotional labour from the managers they work with. The managers experienced 'negative' emotional labour from other managers too, which negatively impacted how they act, demonstrating that it is always better to perform positive emotional labour, both for the manager's own benefit and for the bank too. For example, one trainee felt deflated about his work and team and his manager exacerbated his worried feelings by agreeing with how terrible the situation was. This could affect the staff's feelings and productivity and lead to the trainee's feelings and actions spiralling downwards. Not only must the managers learn emotional labour themselves, but they must also coach their staff in the skills of emotional labour. One Northbank trainee described how he develops staff:

5: I can give them my opinion but that's it. So, I kept it quite upbeat and positive and boosted people's egos. Which is easy to do but I think it's a big part of coaching, you can't knock people down too much but if you concentrate on little things, just one at a time, over a period of time then they'll hopefully improve on those little things. [...] at the end of the day everyone's different and they have to be themselves but I think the manager's job is to fine-tune them rather than radically change them and that's what I think I do. I'll pick up on a little thing and say, "well how do you think that went, how would you handle it differently, what kind of impact did it have on the customer?" But I won't say, "well, I think you should do this, that and the other", 'cause you can't change a person's personality. (Northbank male trainee manager)

As can be seen, he is performing emotional labour (keeping the mood upbeat and positive to boost their ego) whilst teaching them how to perform emotional labour for the customer (making them think about how their actions impact on the customer).

The managers made an effort to manage their own feelings, or motivation levels, in order to create a state of mind in others, or keep staff motivated or happy. Managers were also able to recognise the differences between the conscious and sub-conscious changes they made to themselves:

4: ...make sure that no matter how much stress you are under as a manager that you never speak down to people. [...] we should always treat people with respect and dignity no matter how stressed we are. (Southbank female manager)

7: Yeah, I don't like confrontation. I will do anything just to get away from it, so, I know there are people who are like that. So, I'm aware of that and I think it's an awareness, you change your personality to deal with that because you're not natural, it's on your mind. You do, but sometimes you do it consciously and sometimes you'll do it subconsciously. I can think of occasions when I've thought, I don't really want to be in this situation. You're naturally thinking about that so you're more nervous and watching what you say and things like that whereas other times, you'll just snap in and be, you'll be that angry manager or whatever, to your staff and you have to... [laughs] I can't do too much though. (Northbank female trainee manager)

So, when required, she can act like a certain type of manager. She gave another example of how she could adapt her portrayal of self in order to affect others, in this case her line manager:

7: And then I was nervous. Then I became a mirror image of him, so going back to what you were saying about do you change your personality to get something, yeah I did, I said, "this is what I want and this is what I think". I wasn't as confrontational as

him but I was more confrontational than I am naturally. And I got what I wanted, so it was a good learning point... (Northbank female trainee manager)

Others explicitly stated that they felt they were putting on an act when at work, that they were managing their emotion displays for the business:

3: ... with the best will in the world, selling savings products some days is bottom on my list of priorities but you just have to put on a, in many ways it's like putting on an act. If you're out there fronting the branch you need to be, you're the face of the company to that customer and you need to cheer yourself up and get on with it. So it is about that and it's a lot, managing a branch is a lot about leading by example. (Northbank female trainee manager)

5: You've got to project the image where everything is alright and be positive about situations, because if you as the manager start, sort of portraying a negative image then your staff use it as an excuse to do that as well and the whole situation becomes negative and goes downhill even further. So, yeah, you do put on an act. In private, between managers, you can say, "oh this is terrible, I've lost this, this and this staff. How am I meant to get results?" But in public, yeah, you've got to portray some sort of false image. And I couldn't do it at first because I'm a very honest person, what you get is what you see. (Northbank male trainee manager)

13: I think at the moment I'm perhaps having to work a little bit harder to pass that on. I'm enthusiastic within myself always but I'm perhaps having to put more effort into when I'm communicating with everybody else. (Southbank female manager)

The managers must lead by example when they are at work and be a role model to their staff, so whenever they are on the 'front stage' (Goffman, 1959) they must always be aware of the impression they create. In putting on a front, there is evidence that they often have to hide their own feelings:

29: It's not me, but it's the best way to deal with it. But obviously you don't let the planning and the breaking it down into units, you don't let that go outside the door. When you're outside, you are looking, interested, empathetic, all those sort of things. (Southbank male manager)

4: ...I think you just have to be aware, as a manager, not whether you're a male manager or a female manager, you have to be aware as a manager of how you come across to your staff. And if you come across as being horrible, you're not going to get anything from them. [...] You have to, when something goes wrong, as a manager, you're the one who can't get annoyed. I try not to get annoyed at any point and there's lot of things going on, when somebody makes a massive mistake you're obviously trying not to get annoyed. You say, "well, let's go back and have a look at

it” or, “alright that’s happened, let’s move on and work out what we can do about it”. (Northbank male trainee manager)

If they are putting on an act or hiding their feelings, it may indicate that they are being a different person at work to elsewhere and have been manipulated by the company. However, most of the managers thought that their behaviour at work was a fair reflection of their own personality:

1: I’m quite enthusiastic whatever I do and I’m quite hyperactive. (Northbank male trainee manager)

2: ... I’m pretty laid back and I don’t tend to generally let things get to me too much. So I’m the same in work but a little bit more controlled. (Northbank female trainee manager)

If the managers felt that they were managing their feelings; having to induce or suppress feelings to create a state of mind in others, in accordance with the feeling rules, this indicates that they perform emotional labour. The two trainees, quoted above, seemed to be saying that they did not have to change themselves, but as discussed previously, it is difficult to measure the changes in one’s personality. Also, by saying she was a little more controlled at work, indicates the management of feelings, and another trainee discussed the difficulty of trying to get some distance from her work:

7: Wake up in the night thinking, “God, did I do that, did I ring that customer?” It is and it isn’t. I do try and put my work hat on at half-eight in the morning and take it off at half-five or whatever, but you don’t, you do think about things, especially if you’re, you know, changing your roles, at the minute, like we are doing and I’m still around and because, as I say, I’m a displaced manager, my role is changing. I’m doing things that I’m not quite so comfortable, which is fine, but... (Northbank female trainee manager)

As the managers did not generally have to portray a completely false image of themselves, this indicates that they feel quite comfortable in the role. They may have to act like a particular type of manager on occasion, but, as they were aware that staff

would pick up on unnatural performances, they largely avoided such changes. This supports the earlier assertion that the managers were motivated to take up the role because of some innate characteristics or previously acquired skills and because they felt comfortable with the banks' values. The managers felt that they had natural interpersonal skills but they were performing emotional labour too, as much of this chapter has demonstrated. The managers were controlling their own behaviour in order to motivate the staff to achieve certain productivity levels. Thus, they were controlling their own display of feelings in order to create a particular state of mind in both staff and customers.

30: ...my job is, whether I'm feeling good, bad or indifferent, if I let the sales people loose on our customers feeling like that, it's going to be a downwards spiral. [...] to pump them back up again and send them back out there feeling good about themselves. And that can take a lot out of you sometimes but it's happening, they're buzzing again this afternoon, so we've done something right. [laughs] Hope it lasts. (Southbank male manager)

34: ...before every single interview I would probably sit in an interview room on my own and do a lot of self-talk. Look for the opportunities, get to know the customer before they've come in as much as I could, and then do a high degree of self-talk. Self motivation, not quite the Alan Partridge, Steve Coogan, I'm a tiger, raargh! Not quite that, but I think there is some value to doing that where you almost feel that you can take on the world. Every day I sit here and probably about 8 o'clock, plan my day, look for what I'm going to do and really try and get myself motivated. (Southbank male manager)

By making the staff feel motivated, happy and that they have an influence over their own working environments, managers are influencing the staff's behaviour towards the customers. As the banks want to ensure that they retain and recruit customers by maintaining a competitive level of customer service, the managers are required to meet their sales targets whilst ensuring that staff provide quality customer service. This chapter has shown that managers combine their own innate skills and characteristics with their experiences and training, to present an image of themselves that fits the image of a 'good' manager and elicits the required productivity and

customer service skills from the staff. The next chapter examines whether there are gendered expectations of, and differences in, management performances, as emotional labour and interpersonal skills are considered feminine skills.

Chapter 6: Gendered management or managed gender?

The previous two chapters have shown the process of learning to become a manager and how managers then perform their role. They have demonstrated the centrality of staff management to the management role and the way that emotional labour is integral to management activities and socialisation. As Chapter 2 discussed, management is a stereotypically masculine occupation, yet management styles are becoming feminised. In addition, previous studies of emotional labour have shown that it tends to be performed mainly by women, and emotions in general have gendered associations.

In this chapter I will investigate whether management *styles* are gendered, or whether managers attempt to ensure that there are no gender differences in management styles and outcomes. There were some managers in the study who believed that there were gender differences in management styles and there were some managers who challenged gender stereotypes. Additionally, men appeared to be valued more highly than women in management, yet so-called feminine management traits were encouraged. This assignment of values to gendered behaviour may affect managers' conduct, by encouraging managers to display the valued traits and behaviour.

The expectations of managers from other managers and staff may also be gendered, that is, male managers may be expected to perform the role differently from, or perform different tasks to, female managers. The expectations of managers' behaviour are presented in this chapter, in order to examine its degree of influence on

managers' behaviour, as they constitute part of managers' socialisation or acculturation.

Debating gender differences

The data presented in this chapter is based on the interviews with graduate trainee managers in Northbank and a range of managers in Southbank. As it is interview data it will only be able to show the managers' perceptions of gender differences and expectations, rather than provide a definitive picture of management practices. The managers' perceptions are important findings, as organisational policies will always be interpreted differently, and a manager's interpretation and perceptions will affect their behaviour and beliefs. For example, one graduate trainee explained that she felt that there would be a difference, due to gender, in how she was perceived by outside agencies, which actually affected her behaviour:

3: ...the way that they perceive me as a manager, because I've noticed it through going with my colleagues on hand-over visits. The person that was doing my job before, is a man. And going into the City practices with him made me think, "oh here we go, this is going to be an uphill struggle". Actually, when I go in on my own it's generally not too bad, I have to be a bit harder. (Northbank female trainee manager)

In the words of one manager, "I think perception is reality", that is, if people are given a particular impression, then they will believe it is true, and she gave an example to illustrate this point:

14: A man might trip over, look around, if no-one's noticed they think, "nobody's seen me make a fool of myself". If you trip over something, you'd walk back to your desk and say, "you'll never believe what I've just done, I'm such a silly cow". So you've said it, "I'm such a silly cow". So what's somebody going to think? "She's such a silly cow." But the men wouldn't mention it so therefore nobody would know. (Southbank female manager)

The disjunction between perception and reality is worth bearing in mind throughout this chapter, as it affects managers' behaviour and expectations of themselves and

others. Many of the managers listed differences between men and women managers that matched traditional gender stereotypes, of men being target-driven, analytical, strategic and possessing 'hard' skills, and women being people-oriented, organisational and possessing 'soft' skills. For example:

20: [...women are] supportive of their people and remember silly things like somebody's birthday. [...] I learn from the male managers, sometimes I'm too much of a soft touch or I'm too enthusiastic and they say, "calm down a little bit". And that's good for me sometimes to be told, "you need to not be so soft on that person, it is good to think about your staff but the business need has to come first". So I learn from them and I hope they learn from me, some of the silly things, like when somebody's done really well, I go and say to their manager, "you should really be saying well done to that person, they've done a really good job and they don't feel that you've acknowledged that". (Southbank female manager)

From this, and other quotes, it can be deduced that 'soft' skills are not valued as equal to 'hard' skills. It is telling that she uses the phrase 'silly things' to describe what she does differently to men. These 'silly things' are people-related, being either personal details or considering the staff's feelings in relation to their work or to a wider context. These 'silly things' or 'soft' skills are deemed feminine traits and are valued less. Female managers may therefore consciously present a more tough and aggressive front, because these are the attributes that are regarded as best for managers to display:

21: I wouldn't want to make a sweeping generalisation particularly. I would say a lot of [women] managers that I've come across in the bank have been a lot tougher because they perhaps perceive they have to be to get the results. Whereas men can get away with not being quite so hard on their people. I wouldn't say that's the case in every case it's just quite a lot of women I've seen have been that way inclined. (Southbank female manager)

I do not suggest that all women are naturally feminine and have to make an effort to display masculine traits, as it is possible, and was evident, that both men and women possess a selection of skills that may be described as stereotypically masculine or feminine. Instead, as the above quote indicates, stereotypes and expectations

influence how one's behaviour is interpreted. As managers must think about their self presentation and others' perceptions and viewpoints, gender stereotypes are one aspect of self presentation and perceptions to consider. As the previous chapter demonstrated, managers need to display and inspire confidence, and this could be achieved by displaying both interpersonal and strategic skills.

Some felt that men and women managers were subject to different demands, for example, Southbank manager '21' went on to say:

21: And I think women certainly have to make more sacrifices to be able to achieve what they do in a management role than a man does. [...] things like, the guys who we work with, they go off on a Friday night, take a bit of work home but that's all they have to do at the weekend. Whereas I go home and I have to do my household chores and there's other things, I know that they've got wives who don't work, therefore they don't have to do the shopping. And I think pressures on your time is a lot more. (Southbank female manager)

Others' comments supported this feeling that men and women have different experiences and pressures during their management career that affect how they perform their role. Although none of the managers felt that there were overt barriers to women in management, there was a feeling that men were valued more and promoted more:

6: I don't know so much as you hit barriers, but I do think that you do still sometimes feel like men get taken more notice of than women. (Southbank female manager)

33: You may, I don't want to appear out-spoken here, I think sometimes because of the culture and until this changes, some women have to earn the respect as a manager, it's more difficult for a woman to earn the respect but why that is, I don't know. Some people still see them as the inferior sex and I'm not quoting myself here, I don't want you to think that. As I say I encourage it, I'd love to see more and more women in managerial roles, I think they make exceptional managers. (Southbank male manager)

This male manager was careful of his choice of phrases, and concerned to point out that some sexist views were not his own. Being politically correct is perhaps

increasing because of the heightened awareness of equal opportunity issues in the workplace. I had often been introduced to the managers as researching women managers, because of my initial contact with Southbank, therefore the Southbank managers may have felt an additional need to be cautious about their comments on women managers. This concern with appearing politically correct was apparent in other male managers' comments, which raises methodological concerns, as they may not be presenting their true feelings if they feel the need to be politically correct. This does not make their replies meaningless though, as even if they have been untruthful then they were projecting an image that they wished others to see of them or that they thought others expected to see, therefore reflecting dominant opinions. There was one male manager who believed women managers were flawed and felt able to express this:

34: I've got to be very careful what I say because I have some very strong views on it. [sighs] I like to think from the, again there are exceptions to every rule, a lot of men are very, very consistent, they're either consistently good or consistently bad, but they are consistent and if they make a decision they will more often than not, stick to it, unless it's proven otherwise that it's a decision that's worth climbing down from. But they're consistent. From the ladies that I've seen managing this organisation and other organisations, unless they've reached a position of seniority, high seniority, if they're just pure line managers, there is always a degree of inconsistency there. Now for whatever reasons, I find that there is a degree of inconsistency. You can call it sexist, you can call it whatever you want to, but I firmly believe that there is always a degree of time when ladies will not perhaps make the true rational decision that will ultimately drive the business forward. And that sometimes they can't see the big picture. (Southbank male manager)

Many of the managers had said that women were able to see the 'big picture' more than men. The managers were only asked to describe any differences between the sexes, but they often described who had the better management skills. Most of the managers who felt that there were gender differences indicated that women were actually better managers than men.

12: I think that they're capable of juggling more on a different level, that you can start talking about one thing, go on into 3 other activities and then return to it. I think men tend to be that they have to talk about this and when this is done they have to talk about the next thing, 'cause they like the structure. [...] I find it more challenging to be managed by women than it is to be managed by men because men are very focused on the results generally, which means that you know very clearly where you're heading, then it depends on how they want you to get there, if they're the controlling type that they want to know every step, or they're the, "don't tell me, do it", type. With women I tend to find that they're more interested, that they will listen, that they will know more about me and they expect more from me than just the results. I've talked to several men in our organisation and men will generally tell you that they prefer to be managed by a woman manager. Again because of this element of taking into account the personal, rather than the business goals. (Southbank female manager)

18: I think that women managers do take more of a personal interest in people and that can be very motivational if you think your boss has got an interest in you. You might think, "oh, they always ask me how my mother is or whatever". So that may be enough to get them to work for you, if they think that you're interested in them and not just interested in the paper they're pushing on their desk. (Southbank female manager)

These managers indicated that women managers show an interest in their staff as well as ensuring targets are met, that is, they see the 'big picture'. They also indicated that the feminine management style is appropriate for motivating staff. It was not only the women managers that felt they had better management skills than men, the men also pointed out similar attributes that women managers offered:

33: I'd love to see more and more women in managerial roles, I think they make exceptional managers. One big advantage they have is they can think of more than one thing at any one time, whereas most [laughs] men, you give them a problem, they'll sort that problem out, hopefully very well and then they'll move onto the next one. But give them two problems at the same time and it's argh! So it's, no, we're not all as bad as that but I think women are far more organised, they're more disciplined, they're calmer, they're patient, their speed of life just might be slightly different. I think it's just, whether it is hormonal I don't know, but I just feel that women, if I'm perfectly honest, are better managers than men. [...] I know a few and, I wouldn't say I look up to them, but I learn a lot from them. Just some of the things they do, I just can't seem to build into my pattern, my style and whether that is because I'm a man [...] they seem to be better parents as well don't they? They just seem to have more patience than I've got with my little one and I just think, "why do you have that patience and sometimes I haven't?" They're more tolerant, I don't know, maybe also the customers wouldn't speak to a woman, whether this is a male chauvinist comment, would they speak to a woman the same way as they would a fella? I mean they're quite abusive to me, some customers and I just think, "well would you say that if I was a woman" because, quite crude as well and I think, "well,

maybe they would think twice if they had a woman sitting in front of them". I don't know whether that's using sex to unfair advantage [...] Put them in there, let them fight it out with some of these abusive customers, not to put them to the test but because I firmly believe they could manage it. And it might even defuse the situation sometimes. (Southbank male manager)

This manager seems to have a contradictory opinion of women managers, as he thought they have useful skills to offer in the role, yet did not want to say he looks up to them. He also seems to think that the customers would be less aggressive towards women, perhaps because their sex, rather than their skills, would 'defuse the situation'. He does indicate that women's skills may have been obtained from their different life experiences, which the previous two chapters show is likely for all of the managers. This contradiction though, is an ongoing theme throughout the data, with women being encouraged into management and their 'feminine' skills applauded, but, as a collective, women are not valued nor promoted in the same numbers as men into senior management. A number of similar contradictions were presented in Chapter 2.

One reason offered for why women were better managers than men was their novelty value. If women managers can prove they are good at their job then they may receive even more respect merely because there are fewer women managers than men.

1: ...most people are used to a male manager and they prefer [a woman], if the woman's very good, which I've seen in situations like my line manager, I think they really respect that and they really enjoy the fact, you know, it's a bit of a refreshing change and they'll get even more respect possibly, even more buy in from the staff because of that. (Northbank male trainee manager)

34: ...ladies who get to the very top, of which there are very few and I think that's sad, I think get it absolutely right and probably get it more right than the men. So I love working with ladies, because there is more personality than there is with men. (Southbank male manager)

In addition, it was often suggested that women needed to be much better than men to get promotion, so they may receive more respect because of this too. Other reasons

offered by the managers as to why women were better managers included their ability to deal competently with emotional situations:

3: ...you'll find that the males won't, if it's an emotional situation or whatever, they just step that far back from it, and you know, a woman won't think twice of dealing with anything like that. I think men tend to be put off by someone in floods of tears and they don't have that level of understanding, being understanding should I say, that a woman would have. [...] And the other thing that you find is they [men] get themselves into situations they can't even see coming. [...] And then they wonder, "well how did that all blow up?" Whereas one of the women watching them could have said to them, and have done, you know, I've had to do it, where I've gone and said, "look you've got a problem brewing that you need to do". They've gone, "oh right!" [laughs] But, you know, you give them an equation to sort and it's not a problem. (Southbank female manager)

12: I think women are better at negotiating a shared compromise because that's what we do a lot every day, because our lives tend to be about a balance between home, children, work, work objectives, you're constantly moving and rearranging your goals to achieve the best of what you can from all those. Whereas this compartmentalised view of men, is shut the door, home doesn't exist, work exists now. And sometimes there isn't the willingness to compromise or to recognise that there is a different view to their own. It's a personal opinion. (Southbank female manager)

The different life experiences of women and men, rather than biological sex differences, is a major reason for any gender differences in management styles.

Women's experiences in their family and at work, and perhaps their socialisation more generally, makes them able to manage people and emotional situations. Many men also have developed these skills from their family and work experiences, just as many women may not have developed these skills. The data suggests though, that women were thought of as having these skills and of having the life experiences that have prepared them for managing people.

One important aspect of women's management style, described by the interviewees, was that they were considered more as one of the team than male managers. The women were described as being closer to the team and their feelings. That this difference was mentioned is interesting, as the male managers had all described

themselves as open and approachable. Some of the male managers had described what they did to get close to the team, both physically in terms of where they positioned their desk, and emotionally in terms of getting to know their staff. Yet female managers in general were thought to be closer to their team than male managers. Some women were proud of being thought of as close to their team, perhaps because it is related to the popular, flatter structures and less hierarchical nature of organisations today. Most of the women managers gave examples of themselves or others to support this. However, women's association with the workers, rather than distancing themselves and portraying themselves as management, may be another reason for women's lack of promotion.

5: ...in the branch environment, it's predominantly women, so if you've got a woman manager I think she, from what I've observed is, she normally tries to be one of them more than a man would be, possibly, because she's a woman and they can talk about women's things. [...] Maybe it's more, "I'm your friend not your manager", sort of thing. But that's not all, 'cause I'd say the two [women] managers that I worked with before in that environment were like that more, more understanding of their staff and had a similar sort of level. (Northbank male trainee manager)

7: I think as a rule most women are probably more compassionate to emotional circumstances, but that's not always the case. And I think probably older women are more compassionate than younger women. [...] so if you're slightly older you tend to have children so you're maybe more compassionate to their needs and understanding. (Northbank female trainee manager)

This last quotation again suggests that it is not only gender that influences one's management style – age and family circumstances are also important. Any differences that managers believed to exist between men and women managers may be historical. Indeed, some thought that older managers display more of a gender difference and prejudice, but younger men and women have a more androgynous approach.

13: ...perhaps the older managers are different. I think the younger managers now are a bit more with it, perhaps got a broader view and perhaps a bit less tunnel-vision. (Southbank female manager)

As a couple of earlier quotes implied, different management styles could also be explained by becoming or being a parent:

4: I don't think it's a men-women thing, I think it's a parent, being a parent has a huge impact on your style. [...] and obviously parenthood has a bigger impact on women than it does on most men. (Southbank female manager)

One's age and whether one is a parent affects one's life experiences, which in turn affects one's emotional resources and skills available to draw upon in the management role. Women may be considered more humanistic in their management style because their life experiences, generally, have provided them with those skills.

Thus far, this chapter has described the differences that the managers felt existed between men and women managers. There were some managers however, who found it difficult to actually define what those differences were:

1: Apart from the obvious. Erm. I think men and women are suited to different jobs. But then, if you've got certain skills people respect you regardless of your sex. (Northbank male trainee manager)

5: I think there is a difference. But I couldn't define what it is. (Northbank male trainee manager)

18: I think they bring different things to the party. What things do they bring, you're going to ask me. I think it is this personal, if I said it's this personal thing about staff welfare, well there are women managers who don't give a fig about their staff welfare, so in the end perhaps women, we will all just end up the same. Perhaps some women manage, they think they're going to be managed like a man would. Some men can bring a soft touch to the management role as well, so it's not easy to say. But if you do have a mixture, I'm sure that is better. (Southbank female manager)

Many managers provided examples of men who showed feminine traits and of women who showed masculine traits. It is interesting to note that where men showed feminine traits, this was considered a positive attribute, whereas when a woman displayed masculine traits, this was considered negative. This could be because the

more feminine techniques are becoming more popular, although it is still confusing, because in both organisations there were more men than women in senior management. Perhaps, as a couple of managers noted, those men who display feminine attributes are thought to be multi-skilled and flexible, as they are thought to already possess the masculine traits, plus they are showing that they can also employ feminine styles. Whereas, if women display these feminine skills these are assessed as being natural and not particularly special or valuable, but if they display more masculine skills, then they are not meeting the new trend of compassionate management. Whichever traits women managers display, it seems that their skills will not necessarily be valued collectively, as they are measured against the male standard. So even though there are more women in senior positions than ever before, the old stereotypes and traditional views of male and female roles and abilities have a large influence on how managers are perceived and assessed. Behaviour is therefore interpreted according to these stereotypes, indicating the disjunction between perception and reality.

As the data shows, the managers still had stereotyped views of men and women in management, even if not all of them could give examples, or definitive answers, of these differences. This perception of gender difference is formed from traditional stereotypes, for example:

5: History has always shown that women have stronger skills in one area than another, don't they? They tend to be able to multi-task more than men. A lot of that is generalisations but there is that side of the brain, isn't there, that women, certain things they will have a stronger, and they tend to be associated with the soft, touchy feely, emotional side. And yes, there is that, but I've met an awful lot of women that aren't. (Northbank male trainee manager)

Traditionally too, the stereotypical differences between men and women in management generally value the masculine style over the feminine style. For example, there seemed to be a negative image of a 'typical woman manager':

14: I do have this idea about what I would call a real typical woman manager and she's somebody that I look at and cringe. I think there are some traits that women have that do make them different. Some women take things very personally, automatically assume that no-one is going to take them seriously and don't have an awful lot of confidence, so they have this manner about them that as soon as they open their mouth you think, "for goodness sake, sort yourself out, buck your ideas up". And they look uncomfortable, they don't look completely confident with what they're saying and if somebody gives them some feedback they'll automatically take it negative and get on the defensive and just be really uptight. So I do think that women can be different to men but not always necessarily in a negative way. [...] I don't think I'm a typical woman manager that's in my head, no [laughs]. Definitely not. I stand up for myself and say what I think. (Southbank female manager)

Many of the female managers discerned a gender difference in their environment which favoured men, but that meant they could interpret their individual experiences positively:

8: ...you do get a confidence boost in that respect because you think to yourself, well I must have something going for me if I've got in this position and my peers are men. (Southbank female manager)

These quotations show that women do not want to appear like a 'typical woman manager' and that there is more kudos if one's peers are men, indicating the higher value placed upon masculinity in management. Those women managers who had been the first woman to reach a certain position afforded themselves an even higher status – although one manager had said that she would not like to be the first woman somewhere as it would be difficult to 'fit in' with one's peers, who would all be men. The fact that more status is attached, not only from reaching a certain position, but also because all one's peers are men, indicates that a male-dominated environment is afforded a higher status.

The stereotypical image of women managers tends to be negative, even though some earlier quotes showed that many women are considered better managers than men. There were others who also re-stated the stereotyped images of women's styles of management in a negative way:

2: I think some women feel that they have to overcompensate for being a woman and competing in a man's world and all that. So they make a point of being hard and tough and everything else. So I think that's probably the biggest way they're actually different is that they try and come across as hard because women are traditionally seen as more vulnerable. Whereas some women actually go the other way and take advantage of being seen as more vulnerable, but also more friendly and more approachable. And just try and get a nicer atmosphere going, so you tend to get two extremes, you don't seem to get much in the middle. (Northbank female trainee manager)

Of course, she was not placing herself in one of those extremes – like most of the managers she talked about her own management style very positively. The women managers expressed ideas of gender differences between managers yet seemed unable, or unwilling, to provide examples of themselves, or other women, conforming to the traditional stereotypes. This could be evidence of the management of gendered behaviour, that is, that the men and women managers purposefully did not want to conform to stereotypes, because of their negative reputations, some managers therefore may have consciously monitored their presentation of self in order to ensure they contradicted these stereotypes. It may, more likely, be because the stereotypes are inaccurate representations, therefore people draw upon suitable skills and experiences to present according to the situation. This would explain why many of the managers were unable to provide specific examples of those who actually matched the gender stereotypes.

Many of the managers stated that, overall, there was no systematic gender difference between managers – even some of those that had given examples of differences concluded by reflecting that everyone is an individual.

8: I think my experience tends to be that it depends on the individual. In my opinion you make a good manager for what merits you have regardless of whether you're a male or a female. There are lots of good female managers, there are lots of bad female managers, and vice versa, the same with men. I think I tend not to try and make a sweeping generalisation. (Southbank female manager)

7: I think it comes from your personality, the way you manage, it ultimately comes from your personality. [...] maybe it's just an experience thing. [...] surely it comes from your individual personality and what your values are and what your expectations of yourself and the people who you work with. (Northbank female trainee manager)

As one's personality or presentation of self is moulded by one's socialisation and organisational socialisation, then there *will* be differences by gender, age, ethnicity, family circumstances, work experiences, and other social and personal factors. One manager tried to explain that there were essentially no differences between his own and a female colleague's motivations and management style, but that their responses to certain events were exhibited in different ways.

29: We let our frustrations out in different ways. I'd go out and hit golf balls as hard as I could and swear and drink. And she would go home at 4 o'clock and threaten not to come back in the next day. We both just react, probably similar reactions but they just manifest themselves differently. (Southbank male manager)

As men and women are socialised to respond differently to the same stimuli, for example, society finds it acceptable for women, but not men, to cry, then the responses and behaviour the interviewees described can often be explained by gendered socialisation and appropriate behaviour. That is, there are different feeling rules that apply to men's and women's presentation of self. Also the way that behaviour is interpreted will be in terms of whether it was an appropriate response according to one's socialisation and the context's feeling rules. One manager

explained his own interpretation of potential gender differences, which was largely based upon how people were perceived according to stereotyped ideas:

30: [deep breath in and out] Now there's a controversial one. Do they make different managers? Yes they probably do. But there again, and I'm not trying to side-step the issue, I don't honestly believe that 2 men make the same managers. I think the variability is far more to do with personality than it's to do with gender. But then we tend to be stereotyped and there's a lot of social influences to act in a certain way. So I think you do ultimately get differences between the genders but it's actually got more to do with the way the personality's been shaped. And the traditional view of masculine and feminine where you've got the hard-nosed male that's always target-driven and all the rest of it, is stereotyped in this organisation. And the more nurturing style of the female manager is stereotyped in this organisation. (Southbank male manager)

Gender is an important factor in interpreting management styles and some felt that women must take care not to get too emotionally involved nor too emotionally expressive. This was only described as a danger for women managers, not male managers who also displayed feminine styles:

8: I don't think you can compete if you burst into tears every 5 minutes, so although they may be good at the touchy feely things, I think that they can't let it go to the ultimate. I think you need to hold back a bit on that. (Southbank female manager)

This illustrates that even though both male and female managers may display 'touchy feely' skills, there is a belief that women can get *too* emotional – therefore there is still an association of women being emotional and men being more rational, with negative and positive values attached respectively.

Even where it was believed that women make good managers, or are equal to men, their difference to the normative masculine management model was noted. Some managers talked about whether women are equal to, or better than, men in management, or whether women are different but equal. For example, as managers are measured by the results of their team, a male and female manager may get the

same results, but in a different way, therefore those managers are equal but different. It appeared that women in management positions were highly visible in the case studies and women were judged more harshly than male managers, by their peers and staff. This may be because management is a traditionally male role, therefore men are the standard by which women are measured (Wacjman, 1998). All managers were subject to the same organisational performance measures and tests but many measures were subjective and open to interpretation by the assessor. Also the opinion of a manager's peer and staff will affect their working environment, so it is necessary that managers meet others' expectations.

Gendered Expectations

Many of the differences in expectations felt by the female and male managers can be related to Wacjman's (1998) notion of gendered scripts. These will be presented in Chapter 7. One expectation of women managers, which was anticipated, was that they were more likely to have to deal with 'women's issues' than men, for example:

20: The only thing that I find which is quite funny is that people expect you to be very understanding about the school holidays and mothers that have got sick children and obviously I've got no children at all. So I'm probably no more sympathetic to that than a man would be, probably less so than somebody that's a father. So certainly I think people expect you to be maternal in that way and when you're not think, "that's a bit strange". (Southbank female manager)

4: I had a team at one time of about 12 women and about 4 or 5 of them were going through marital difficulties and you'd start a coaching session, a one to one and it would turn into a Relate guidance. At one time I made a joke that I need to go on some Relate training. But because you're a woman and you're married and you've got kids, you're expected to have all the answers, which obviously you don't and you can't give the answers because if you did you could be giving totally the wrong advice. I think that's expected more of a woman than it is of a man. I think, I don't know of many women whose husbands were having an affair who would go to a male boss and be quite as open as they would be a woman boss, and they expect to get the understanding. (Southbank female manager)

2: ...at my old branch before I was on this course, I had a female assistant manager and we had a 16 year old cashier who had a lot of problems, all sorts, too much to go

into, and the assistant manager there actually chose to deal with it as opposed to the manager who was a man. It was all to do with abortions and all sorts of stuff so she felt it was better if she dealt with it. (Northbank female trainee manager)

This trainee found it difficult to discern whether this type of situation occurred because the manager was a woman or because there were few men to choose from in that particular branch:

2: In [this branch] there are no men at all, so it's a bit hard to compare [laughs]. Even in my previous branch there was only a couple of blokes. (Northbank female trainee manager)

Another trainee *was* able to compare others' differing reactions to her and her male predecessor, as they had conducted hand-over visits with all of her clients:

3: I do find a big difference in the way I am seen as a manager in the City. Because I go out as a manager in the Northbank to other companies and I think they look at me and think, "who is this little girl that's coming in and telling us what to do?" And they're all braces and can be quite stroppy and aggressive and I'm having to learn to be a lot harder and not, as I said before I'd have a bit of a softly softly approach, not let myself get walked over. (Northbank female trainee manager)

She felt that others had a particular opinion of her, because of her age and gender, to which she had to adapt her behaviour. In this case, her idea of others' expectations affected her management style. Another trainee thought that it was more likely that one's own values and expectations affected one's management style, rather than the expectations of others:

7: ...surely it comes from your individual personality and what your values are and what your expectations of yourself and the people who you work with. (Northbank female trainee manager)

However, from others' comments, it is apparent that the reactions of others had an impact on the managers' actions and feelings:

10: I think some of our customers get a problem sometimes with a woman manager, they don't like talking to you as a woman manager, they want to speak to a man. They haven't got much hope in this place! [laughs] So I suppose you've always got

the traditional person, that the woman's at home, but crikey, we're in the 1990's for goodness sake. (Southbank female manager)

12: I can imagine some organisations that I've had contact with where there is a gender difference as to what the women are expected to be in HR, the men are expected to be in operational management. Japanese to some extent, the women are expected to be productional in terms of you get very few supervisors who are women. I wouldn't say it's like that in the bank. I think that because there's a strong sales emphasis, that the weight is more with the male in the sales, and I don't know how much of that is historical. But certainly in the part of the business that I work in, there's no male-female expectation at all. (Southbank female manager)

Other managers mentioned that they thought others may experience gendered expectations but they do not, perhaps because of their particular department, manager or colleagues. It was apparent though that the managers interviewed had, or were aware of, different expectations of managers, according to the gender of the manager.

Some explained that some women managers did not match their expectations:

16: ...[women] are a lot more competitive as well. When we have competitions about how many [...] we can sell and you can say to the men, "you're quite near the bottom" and they'll say, "yeah". 'Cause I thought it would be completely the other way around, I thought they would be there going, "I want to be at the top". [...] [senior managers] certainly expect them [women] to try harder, just 'cause I suppose that's the perception everyone has that women have to work a bit harder than men. (Southbank female manager)

30: Interestingly, the two ladies that I know that have got to pretty similar positions in the organisation, people would describe as having masculine tendencies, not masculine women but masculine tendencies. And they tend to over-compensate [...] Now I'm in a unique position of here, talked about her earlier, my deputy [...] she brings an awful lot of skills that I don't have in terms of her ability with the detail. Now that's got nothing to do with her gender, that's to do with her personality, we complement each other very well because of that. I actually find myself talking to her about some of the, we've got to be careful about people's feelings and, she wants to race on ahead on do this, that and that. And you'd say that those roles are almost the opposite of the stereotype. (Southbank male manager)

5: She's still a very nice person but you know she's doing her job, so she's more, like, erm, I shouldn't say a man 'cause it's not the case. But, those two are more like what I would expect from a manager than the ones I was working with for the previous 7 or 8 months. (Northbank male trainee manager)

For this trainee, he viewed a woman manager performing exactly how he expected a (male) manager to perform. He did not need to say male manager, it was obvious that this is what he meant. It is actually uncommon to state or hear 'male manager', the gender distinction is usually only made for female managers. This re-confirms the traditional stereotype of management being male.

A few of the female managers had found that the gendered expectations of behaviour became more obvious when they did not conform to the expectations:

17: ...in fact, as this is off the record, my boss said the other day, "you really are quite competitive". Now if that's because I'm his only female senior manager and he works with males and whether he would say the same thing to a male I don't know. It can work the other way around, why shouldn't we be as competitive as the men? And they'll be on the back foot when you are. It doesn't mean to say you're hard or lost any of your femininity, it just means you're up for it as much as they are, and that can be quite surprising. (Southbank female manager)

12: I was head of a division in quite a big company and there were 6 managers there including myself, my line manager, somebody of my grade, her line manager, and a couple of other guys. So there were 2 women, 4 men. I was fighting over a particular issue and being very strong, very in his face, saying "this is what we've got", really going for achieving this and everyone agreed. Came out of the meeting and my manager was very, very upset and I sat in a room with him afterwards and he said, "I find it offensive that you should approach a meeting in that manner. If you were a man I would have found it applaudable but I find it objectionable that a woman can be that aggressive". He actually said that he found it hard [...] You tend to wonder if there is that sort of values. But that was one of the few times I've really come across it where somebody was quite upfront. (Southbank female manager)

As Hochschild (1983) argued, feeling rules become obvious when one does not behave in accordance with them, and this was evident in my findings, as some women managers were not behaving as others expected. Obviously, receiving comments from their manager, or other managers, about their behaviour would make them consider how they are perceived and they may then change how they act. As the previous chapter showed, the managers used feedback from others as part of their self-development and make appropriate adjustments to their presentation of self.

Some women managers debated whether they should act how their manager wanted them to, and generally decided to only slightly tone down their strong nature, so that they continued to gain the respect of others. Others thought that women perpetuated gender stereotypes by acting how others would expect and that people can perceive one's actions in terms of the expectations and stereotypes they hold:

5: I think they'll assume that we'll go to the people and we'll be touchy feely, they'll assume that we can organise things, they'll assume that. They will assume that you will want to be, they don't with me but I know they do with a lot of women, to be more involved in the fundraising, charity, social organisation. Those sort of things. And then the boys would be technical or year 2000 thing. There will be that. [...] We've got one here, and she always volunteers for the social and charity thing, 'cause she's a lazy cow and she likes doing that, you know, and she's actually very good at it. But it's not a feminine thing, but it's considered that, but the skills involved in doing it are applicable to any of the sexes, so we are all our own worst enemies in some of this. We do reinforce the stereotypes. Some of the Head Office liaison or some of those areas will tend to be given to the men assuming that they will go into the meetings stronger. (Southbank female manager)

There is a danger that if others believe that one can only act stereotypically, then one's other skills may go unnoticed:

6: If you are good at all the soft touchy feely stuff, it's a case of, "oh you're too soft and, you know, how are you going to cope when you need to be hard?" But I do think that most women have got that ability to do that anyway. But I suppose that women are better at the soft touchy feely stuff than men, they tend to be more focused on the hard data and the business results. (Southbank female manager)

As discussed earlier, women are perceived as having 'natural' interpersonal skills, so they tend to be valued less than men's interpersonal skills. The observations of managers conforming to, or challenging, gender stereotypes indicate that there *are* gendered expectations of behaviour, even if reality does not always provide evidence to support these stereotyped expectations.

Whether or not there were differences between men's and women's management style, there were a few managers who noted that relationships between men and

women affected a manager and their team's performance. In most cases, it seemed that it was the expectations and pre-conceptions of what the different relationships should be like that was the major influence on behaviour:

6: I think opposites often work better together. If you've got a female boss they tend to get on with the blokes 'cause they can have a bit of a laugh or whatever. I'm not very good with women-women relationships, I'm not the best person, I can have a laugh and I'll flirt and I'll have a joke with the blokes, but a lot of women then think that you're trying to get your way up the ladder a different way. Which is not true. [...] I've only really had experience of one manager, female, in the Northbank and she seems to have a pet hate of all women younger than her, who seem to be going somewhere. She had a complete go at me about my appearance. Before she'd even met me she had a go about my appearance, of what she'd heard off the grapevine. [...] Financial management I think the women tend to be more, "I've had to work to get here, prove it, so should you". (Northbank female trainee manager)

6: I think relationships between men and women staff are different. I would prefer to work for a man than to work for a woman. [...] I think there's more competition when you're working for a woman manager. I think women tend to be more competitive with each other whereas that competition isn't there if you're working for a man. (Southbank female manager)

These quotations suggest that opposite-sex relationships may work better, as there may be more competition between two people of the same sex, which can impair their ability to work together. This runs counter to the belief that competition is stimulating and a positive element at work, which was often used by the managers to increase staff productivity. There are obviously different forms of competition and people react differently to competitiveness, therefore it would be foolish to state that competition is either completely healthy or completely harmful, but it does indicate that forms of competition are open to interpretation and are context-driven. Also, relationships between women may have higher expectations placed upon them, for example, that the women have to get on as friends, not just as colleagues, which is another aspect of gendered expectations:

21: I've only been managed by one woman in the past and it was the worst nightmare I've ever had, but I don't know if that was because she was a woman. I've always thought I prefer to work with men but I don't necessarily know why that is really. [...]

I had one boss that I didn't particularly like him as a person but he was very good at what he did and I had a lot of respect for him and I could have a working relationship with him because of that because it didn't need to be social. Whereas possibly with women, I actually prefer to like them as people as well as respect them, so maybe my expectations are different. So I think I didn't particularly like this woman at all, she wasn't my sort of person. She was a bit off the wall, into strange things, into these tapes that you listen to that are supposed to make you more dynamic and she used to go off on these conferences where she walked on hot coals, like mind over matter and positivity. And she tried to push it onto me and I'm a feet on the ground, sort of quite down to earth and I didn't want to get involved. So that was a bit of a clash whereas maybe if it was a man who was doing that I'd maybe make more of a joke out of it, handle it differently. Or maybe he wouldn't have pushed it on me in the first place. (Southbank female manager)

This provides another example of how the managers tried to rationalise others' decision-making, and interpret others' actions. It seems unfortunate that these women did not have good experiences with their female managers, as it is thought that women need more female role models to encourage their own career development¹.

Fortunately, there were some who had afforded some benefits from previous female line managers:

15: I'm quite lucky where I am because one of the programme directors is female and there's a couple of others we've got, within our team there's quite a few male and females. Whereas I've spoken to others and they've not seen any female managers above the next position and they've never had a female line manager. So to them it's all very male orientated and all the females are at lower grades. And I think it is because there's a female director, she doesn't have the, whatever it is, she doesn't mind taking on females whereas I have heard that in other places it tends to be male orientated. (Southbank female manager)

For some time it has been pronounced that 'the future is female' (*Panorama*, 1994), and the data shows that management styles are becoming more feminised. There is greater emphasis on a more communicative, co-operative and selling approach, rather than the more traditional authoritative, hierarchical and telling management styles in both of the banks:

¹ The 'Career Skills Development' course suggested that women find themselves a mentor and a few senior women managers gave presentations, in order to demonstrate to other women that it is possible for women to move up the career ladder.

31: ...banking's a very much male dominated industry and it was, just get on with it. do it, whereas now I think they realised that you do have to make your workforce happy, you have to understand them to get the best out of them. And I think just naturally, probably females are probably more that way. But I think males now, the more caring sort of person is getting into those positions and understanding that you've got to treat your people well to actually get the best out of them, you can't just disappear and let them get on with it and leave them to it. You've got to understand them. (Southbank male manager)

5: ...there are more men starting to display that more feminine side. People I work with here, [names one male manager] and people like that, are very people-y, very touchy feely, cuddly people, they've got a much more feminine side. And that's the nice combination, you know. (Southbank female manager)

17: ...being sensitive to them, and that is the female bit, you don't want to be making them lose their masculinity because that will never win you any favours. So it's about keeping your, it sounds like I'm manipulating people, but it is about making sure people maintain their own social positioning. If somebody undermines me as a woman, a female, I won't respect him. If I undermine a man as a man then he won't respect me either and you have to work within that so it's very difficult sometimes, because the more female side may come out of a male and he will feel vulnerable because he's shown his feelings and feminine side. And the male side will come out of a female and the male will think, "actually she's very aggressive, openly assertive", so it's about showing both sides of you to make it work, to make you successful. And I think a man who can show he has a feminine side will be a very successful manager and a female who can show that she is a female but has a masculine side and can assert herself will be able to edge forward. (Southbank female manager)

These quotations all demonstrate that the organisations studied are thought to have changed from being male-dominated and results-driven to being more feminine, with humanistic or caring management. This may suggest that women in management may be favoured now, but male managers have retained their high status even with this feminised environment, as men can demonstrate humanistic, caring management styles too. Once again, this highlights the quandary that women are faced with – that men who display their feminine side are valued more than women who display feminine skills, because it is thought that a man is showing an extra skill, whereas women are showing their only skill. Stereotypical attitudes were evident. For example, at the 'Management Skills' course, one of the female Northbank trainees asked a Northbank director why there were no women on the board. His reply was

that there had been no suitable applicants recently, and that there were actually no women in positions within the bank ready to take up a position on the board in the next few years. He added that they had offered the secretary position to a woman, but she 'let them down' due to family commitments, implying that this was almost to be expected from a woman. His explanation seemed to indicate that women's caring role in the family made them unreliable senior managers.

There is no doubt that an increase in the numbers of women managers, particularly in senior management, will assist in women's contribution in the workplace being recognised, as this is already evident in the findings presented above. It will take more than an increase in the numbers of women managers to change people's attitude though, as the data shows that empirical evidence is not enough to quash traditionally held stereotypes of gendered management styles. The managers were also influenced by these traditional, stereotypical ideas; by hearsay of others' experiences; and by their own interpretation of others' behaviour. There was evidence of many gender stereotypes and that expectations of men and women managers were different. This influenced the behaviour of the managers both in terms of how they responded to others' expectations of themselves and how they expected others to behave. As the stereotypes of 'typical women managers' were negative and because management was seen as inherently masculine, it was the women managers who were felt to have to change their 'natural' behaviour in order to be 'good' managers, regardless of whether they would have 'naturally' been 'typical women managers'.

As this chapter has shown, some managers noticed gender differences (which appear to conform to stereotypes) and many thought there were no gender differences (where

they had evidence that managers did not conform to stereotypes). There is a probability that there were gender differences which were not spotted, because they were not stereotypical and therefore no-one was looking for them; or it could be that management styles were not gendered, because the recruitment and training processes make management styles organisational, which have no gender distinctions. It seems more likely though that management style *is* affected by one's personality, which is affected by one's life experiences and socialisation. This explains why some managers' styles displayed stereotypical gender differences, and for others, gender differences were blurred, because their life experiences had enabled them to collect and practise a variety of techniques, some of which may match their gender and the gendered stereotypes, and others that may not. These latter managers are likely to be those who progress further in the organisation, as they are able to demonstrate the adaptability and flexibility in their approach, to suit the situation, that organisations are increasingly demanding of their managers.

Chapter 7: Managers as Balancing Actors

This thesis has examined how individuals learn and subsequently perform the role of management. In the process it has demonstrated that integral to the role is the learning and performing of emotional labour; and explored the gendered nature of management. In this chapter I discuss whether the managers' activities, behaviour and socialisation correspond with those presented in management texts. I also examine the managers' performances of emotional labour and the gendered nature of the managers' self-presentation, arguing that masculinity is still embedded within management.

Mintzberg (1973) and Salaman (1995) described management work as fragmented. The managers mentioned the fragmentation of their work, but explained their jobs more in terms of the many aspects that they had to balance. The findings show that the socialisation into, and the performance of, management involves many balancing acts. I present the balancing acts in this chapter in terms of the influence of organisational cultures; the diversity of the socialisation processes experienced by the managers; the professionalisation of management; the evidence demonstrating the emotional labour of the managers; and the gendered nature of management and presentation of self. All five of these organising themes illuminate the diverse demands upon the managers, and how these influence their performance of the management role.

Organisational Cultures

Popular and academic management literature suggest that management rhetoric is being emotionalised. One aspect of the emotionalisation of management is that the management of organisational cultures and the dissemination of organisational values has been prioritised. That is, managers must assist in workers' internalisation of company values and the required behaviour. In Northbank and Southbank, management was not fully emotionalised in practice, but managing through culture was recognisable. The managers had to maintain workers' motivation levels, and most of them achieved this by communicating the values of the organisation, enlisting the workers' commitment and providing meaning to their work, which Watson (1994) identified as part of the management role. As the managers needed to obtain results through their staff they promoted the organisational culture to their staff.

The managers within both case studies appeared to be using transformational management styles to encourage workers' identification with the company and its values. Transformational management involves moulding the psychology and behaviour of the staff by influencing their values and beliefs about their organisation (Brown, 1994). The managers made references to the workers' motivations to work and attempted to 'get to know' their staff and what would make them want to be productive and provide high quality customer service. In this way, they could ascertain the workers' values and attitudes, and begin to 'work on' 'chipping away their rough edges', in order that the workers' values matched those of the organisation. Most of the managers stated that they motivated others by expressing their own enthusiasm and motivation. They saw themselves as role models and

behaved in a manner that they wanted the staff to emulate, as they also believed that most of the staff would react in the same way as them to stimuli.

The managers used briefing and training sessions to communicate the organisations' values and goals. They attempted to get the staff to 'buy in' to these values and goals. Watson's (1994, p.223) explanation of management demonstrates that management is clearly connected to organisational cultures and emotional labour, as '(i)t requires the ability to interpret the thoughts and wants of others - be these employees, customers, competitors or whatever - and the facility to shape meanings, values and human commitments'. This also indicates the use of transformational management styles.

Ensuring that staff bought into the organisational values and were positive about and committed to the overall aims of the organisation assisted in getting the staff to buy into the tasks that they must perform. Chapter 1 suggested that management could be conceptualised as 'persuasion' and although this is not a new phenomenon, the form this persuasion takes may now be more subtle. The shift in rhetoric, towards providing empowerment and responsibility to the workers, is used to get staff to buy into the 'new' organisational culture. However, it is not completely new because individual workers have been empowered in order to encourage improved productivity and increased profits, which are age-old goals. Parts of the work could be described as Taylorised. For example, in the Customer Service Centres of Southbank, the telephony staff had few decision-making responsibilities and the technology dictated much of their working day; and in the branches in both banks, there was increased division of labour, as cashiers directed all specialist queries to the specialist department or advisor, and transaction processing had been centralised.

Therefore, within the case studies, human relations rhetoric was superimposed upon Taylorist working practices, which Reiter (1996) also found evidence of in Burger King. This demonstrates that the function of management (what it is for in terms of directing the organisation) (Watson, 1994) is still portrayed as rational, whereas the activities of management (what managers do to direct the organisation) appear more emotional and cultural.

The managers themselves were encouraged to internalise the organisational culture through management training sessions. For those managers that had worked their way up the career ladder, and even for the graduate trainees, the organisational culture was often the only working culture they knew and one they felt comfortable with. Tanton (1994) argued that women's emphasis on relationships with others affects their learning, and that in management training there are no opportunities for relationships. She suggested that management training needed to be more 'user-friendly' to benefit both men and women. The two case studies demonstrated that there had been an improvement in management training in this respect, as networking and relationship-building were emphasised as extremely important aspects of training courses. As Casey (1995) and Reiter (1996) argued, notions of 'family' and 'team' encourage identification with the company, and the findings suggest that both the managers and staff were subject to these forms of work organisation and means of acculturation.

The organisational cultures were managed through training and briefing sessions, appraisals and leading by example. Brubakk and Wilkinson (1996) argued that bank managers implemented cultural change by reinforcing and influencing their staff's

behaviour. It was evident in the data that the attitude and behaviour of the managers and team leaders affected the attitude and behaviour of the staff. The managers were aware that they were role models and that they must lead by example. This primarily involved presenting a positive attitude towards achieving targets and new initiatives. Goleman (1996, p.115) argued that 'we catch feelings from one another as though they were some kind of social virus' and the direction of mood transfer is from the expressive to the passive person. More specifically, Eden (1991, p.21) argued that 'confidence can be catching' and that a manager is an inescapable role model. The managers' portrayal of confidence in themselves and in their staff was an important part of their self-presentation. Power and status were evidently important, and role models are usually more powerful and have more status than those that role model them. The managers' presentation of self was crucial in obtaining their staff's commitment and motivation.

There was firm evidence that the managers used leadership and cultural rhetoric in their role. The managers were cultural leaders, as they motivated and influenced the commitment of the workers. They were also transformational leaders, as they moulded the psychology and behaviour of the workers. Leaders are usually those who influence attitudes and behaviour, and managers are increasingly expected to do this (albeit on a smaller scale than that usually associated with leaders – only their own team rather than a whole organisation). Mintzberg's (1973) definition of management included a leadership function, which involved managers motivating and activating their staff, which the managers in my study certainly did.

There were some divisions to be seen between the espoused and actual, or official and unofficial organisational cultures. For example, the Northbank trainees joked about ‘the Northbank Way’, which referred to the Northbank culture and values, and their joking indicated that they had not fully assimilated the values. In addition, in both banks, the managers discussed staff who were resistant to change or particular working practices, therefore indicating that the staff did not fully ‘buy in’ to the organisational procedures and values.

The division between official and unofficial organisational cultures is similar to the difference between rhetoric and reality. Management rhetoric, which is largely staff-oriented, did not always match the reality of the managers’ work, which was often administration-oriented. Watson (1994) argued that official cultures speak of empowerment, skills and growth, and the unofficial cultures speak of control, jobs and costs. This was similar to how staff were regarded in Southbank – officially they were adults to be respected, with outside lives to be accommodated, but in practice they were sometimes referred to as ‘bodies’ that were resources to be used efficiently. Management activities were still emotional and cultural, but as they also had to be mindful of their function as managers, aspects of their work involved means-end calculations too. Even the managers’ cultural activities involved means-end calculations, thereby demonstrating that emotionality does not equal irrationality and that this was a balancing act that they achieved often subconsciously.

There was further evidence of the existence of internal cultures within the case study organisations. Parker’s study of a building society mirrored findings from within my two case studies, that ‘the Head Office regarded the branches as needing more

control, whilst the branch managers saw the Head Office as imposing too much control and not understanding the problems of the “real” world...’ (2000, p.195). He also found a generational effect amongst managers – that older managers were nostalgic and distrusted change and that the younger managers felt that they better understood the organisation’s problems and required strategies. In my study, the managers identified that older managers were stuck in an outdated management rut, but none of them identified themselves as such. None of the managers were over 43. They may not, therefore, have defined themselves as ‘older’, but all of them perceived that they were applying the more dynamic, ‘young’ management styles appropriate to the current climate. This indicates that they had all been socialised into the organisational values in some way.

The Diversity of Socialisation Processes

The processes of organisational and occupational socialisation experienced by the managers are important for their management learning and, as part of that, for learning how to perform emotional labour. Organisational identities or subjectivities are moulded and sustained through occupational and organisational socialisation processes. It was not possible to always distinguish between the organisational socialisation and occupational socialisation of the managers in practice, as there are many links between the two processes. Occupational socialisation is evident in the development of generic management skills. That is, the managers could be managers of people in any industry, as they learned common techniques rather than specific bank management skills. The changes in financial services and the state of flux that the roles within are experiencing, mean that organisations require their managers to be flexible enough to become managers in different areas of the business.

There are many different paths into management, each leading to different socialisation processes. The graduate trainees are the most homogeneous group, as they all attended the same formal training courses. However, even the graduate trainees experienced different socialisation processes to each other. Some had previous management experience, so had already begun the occupational socialisation process elsewhere. It could be said that the graduate trainees experienced the same *organisational* socialisation process, as all were new to the company and introduced to the company's values in the same way and at the same time. Additionally, most of the graduate trainees were attracted to the company brand and prospects as opposed to bank management, that is, they joined the organisation rather than the occupation. Banks no longer offer only bank management as a career and the graduate trainee managers had opportunities to enter personnel, training, marketing and other operations. Therefore it seems more important for the trainees to develop an identification with the company rather than the role. The trainees' placements were also part of their development into 'organisational managers', as they offered the chances to understand various departments' work. The trainees may therefore have experienced the same organisational socialisation processes in relation to the formal training courses, but their informal training, via their line managers and on-the-job, was different to each other. They were also receiving different inputs from existing organisational members and therefore would have been socialised into the organisation differently.

Another important point is the reciprocity involved within socialisation processes (Oleson and Whittaker, 1970; Gabriel et al, 2000); that is, the organisation and the

individual affect each other, rather than it being a one-way assimilation process. This was evident in the data. For example, Northbank trainees each had different experiences and their own strengths and weaknesses, so they needed to learn different skills and techniques from their training. The trainees therefore took different skills and techniques from each training course and also developed differently through their on-the-job experiences. The trainees were also encouraged to network with each other and other managers as part of their development. This consolidated their organisational and occupational socialisation and increased the reciprocity involved in this process. They would not only check their interpretations of events and situations with others, but in sharing their own interpretations they can affect the beliefs of others. As the findings showed, not all trainees had equal experiences of this peer-networking – only those in London had formal meetings, others relied on the internal electronic mail system, and some only met others during their formal training courses.

The need to adapt to the organisational culture may be more salient for the Northbank trainees as they have less experience of workplaces than the Southbank managers. That is, the Southbank managers were organisationally socialised before they became managers and may already know the ‘rules of the game’ and the need to present a particular management image. Many of the trainees had little previous work experience and certainly no experience of the ‘Northbank way’. The Northbank managers’ initial training course (‘Management Skills’) introduced them to the organisation’s values, and being in a working environment for much of their training programme also helped to socialise them into the organisation and into working life in general. Parkinson (1995) suggested that new workers are more malleable and more easily assimilated into an organisational culture. My data did not show that the

Southbank managers were any less acculturated than the Northbank trainees. In fact, in both groups there was little cynicism expressed about the organisation, its culture, and their socialisation into their role and the company. Any cynicism was directed more towards individual managers' actions than towards the organisational values.

Although there were many differences between each manager's socialisation process, there were also some similarities. The managers in both banks felt that informal training was the most useful for the development of management skills, as formal training cannot prepare them for every eventuality and is often too 'textbook' or theoretical. So managers learned mainly from other managers and from putting their own skills into practice, which Grint (1995) argued is traditional for British managers. The formal training courses were very useful though, as they not only provided the managers with potential techniques and opportunities for self-assessment and self-awareness development, but also with more confidence. It is unlikely that the Northbank trainees in particular, would have felt confident about managing staff after only six months within the company, if they had not been given an insight into management theory and been provided with some practical techniques.

There was evidence of 'divestiture' (Oleson and Whittaker, 1970) occurring during the Northbank managers' socialisation. They were asked to be aware of their own values and weaknesses, and check that they were the values that they wanted to present within the organisation, that is, whether they matched the concerns or goals of the bank. Divestiture ignores the exchange or reciprocity between new recruits and organisations, therefore is only useful as an explanation of one aspect of their socialisation process. Acculturation, which is the process of culture change where

one culture takes over another, is a more useful concept for interpreting how the managers learned to become managers, as it emphasises personal and cultural reformation processes (Oleson and Whittaker, 1970). The findings show that the managers were not simply moulded into the organisation and occupation, and that professional socialisation is more than just assimilation. Viewing their socialisation as acculturation, however, shows the presence of reciprocity – the managers affected the professional culture just as they were affected by it (Oleson and Whittaker, 1970).

The reciprocal nature of the managers' acculturation was also evident from their entry into management. Most of the managers felt that they had not consciously planned management for their career, but most also felt that they had particular skills that matched the required management competencies. Therefore, certain aspects of the role and organisation influenced their career moves as well as their personal developmental reasons for moving into a higher status job.

The managers' use of impression management helped them to 'fit in' to both the organisation and the management role. As Chapter 1 noted, one's behaviour can influence one's values, as well as vice versa. In Southbank and Northbank both were evident in the managers' socialisation experiences; that is, the managers were not only asked to check whether their values matched those appropriate to the organisation, but they also learned to 'act the manager'. They were given models and theories of appropriate management actions and behaviour, and were able to observe other managers 'on-the-job' to discern appropriate behaviour. In their desire to fit in they displayed the appropriate behaviour as well as presenting the appropriate values.

The managers' socialisation experiences were, therefore, rather diverse and dependent upon their previous experiences and skills, and the opportunities offered to and taken by them. The managers balanced what they were taught by the banks with their own personal style. The managers adapted what they were taught to the needs of their working environment and their own personal development needs. The socialisation processes experienced by the managers assisted in their acculturation into the organisations and into the management role.

Professionalisation of management

In socialising the trainees and new managers into the management role, there was evidence in both organisations of the creation of professionals. The managers were given a monopoly over certain knowledge during their training and during management meetings. The recruitment process of the graduate trainees in particular means that only a few were selected from the thousands that applied. Recruitment through the ranks in Southbank was also selective and exclusionary, as only those displaying certain skills and attitudes were recruited into management, via recommendations by their line manager or because of personal ambition. Even though their attitudes will be developed to fit the organisational values, the recruiters seemed to ensure that there was already a close fit.

Another example of professionalisation was that the management roles were firmly distinguished from the workers' roles. This distinction assisted the managers in their presentation of themselves as managers or leaders. It was not necessary for the managers to be fully competent in the jobs they managed to successfully manage

them. Northbank's graduate training programme taught the trainees the branch or business centre jobs in order for them to understand the business, but the graduates did not spend enough time doing the jobs to be fully competent at them. As one manager pointed out, those who are very good at a job do not necessarily make the best managers, as other, mainly interpersonal, skills are required for management. The ability to 'stand back' and assess situations is also required for managers, therefore being too closely involved in the job or with the staff was thought to be disadvantageous. As Fineman (1995, p.131) argued 'the very notion of being professional has come to imply a set of rules about doing a job at an emotional distance from the client/customer, with heavy sanctions against getting "too personally involved".' For managers, they should be emotionally distant from both customers and their staff. This seems to be an argument for managers to retain their image of being objective and rational, rather than present themselves as emotional beings. However, the managers felt that it was necessary to understand the whole situation, which involved understanding the emotional element of situations and staff needs.

As the data showed, the managers were aware of the delicate balancing act involved in getting to know their staff, whilst keeping some social distance. One new manager said that she liked a couple of her team members and would normally become friends with them, but that she had to stop this happening, as it would be improper or unprofessional conduct for a manager. It was only the newer managers in Northbank that discussed the problems of being too close to their staff. The more experienced managers in Southbank did not mention that they might be friends with their staff,

although some did comment on being friendly and approachable, yet being detached. Goffee and Scase (1985) argued that the skills of balancing close relationships and maintaining authority, at which they found women to be proficient, comes from managers' knowledge of the workers and from their own personal experiences.

Some training courses, particularly those about managing change and influencing others, focused on understanding others' emotions. For example, managers need to predict possible consequences of particular actions and understand how others might react. For this, getting to know their own staff helped considerably, requiring managers to have a fairly close involvement with their staff. Managers must always keep some distance, and this expectation was particularly evident when a Northbank trainee was perceived by others as being too friendly with certain members of staff and chastised for this. Some of the managers discussed the necessity of keeping one's distance from the staff, for their own personal emotional reasons (they don't want to get hurt when staff leave) and also for professional reasons (they need to be able to exert some authority, which is difficult amongst friends). The managers must perform this balancing act – getting to know and being trusted by the staff, whilst keeping some distance – as both are required in order to correctly 'act the manager'. This is a particularly difficult balancing act for line managers, as the more senior one becomes, the more distanced one is from the staff, both physically and interpersonally. The way that the managers consciously balanced relationships and their professional image, demonstrates that they were affecting their presentation of self in accordance with the role and organisational requirements.

Emotional Labour in Service Sector Management

Both the literature and the findings indicate that there are different forms and dimensions of emotional labour. The most important point is that the emotional labour that a manager performs is different from the emotional labour that a member of staff performs.

Managers performed emotional labour to both staff and customers, whereas their staff performed it mainly to external customers. Managers' performances of emotional labour to staff are partly to enable the staff to perform emotional labour to the customer. They perform emotional labour towards their staff in many different contexts – in staff training sessions, in appraisals, in team briefings, during coaching and even when answering staff queries throughout each day. The managers' presentation of self affects the emotional state of their staff in all the aforementioned contexts. Managers must be aware of their presentation of self whenever they are with their staff, as they must lead by example. As one manager explained, 'your face is the barometer for the mood of the day'. In training, briefing and coaching sessions the managers must be even more aware of their presentation of self, as the way they talk to their staff about results, initiatives, other branches and customers affects how the staff think about each of these. The managers were aware that the staff role-modelled them and emulated their behaviour and mood.

The emphasis that the managers placed upon trying to make staff happy is an example of emotional labour. The managers, through their behaviour and emotional display, tried to affect the emotional state of the staff for business purposes. Most of the managers commented that making the staff happy about their work enabled them to

obtain their staff's 'buy in' and made the staff motivated. Staff happiness was equated with higher productivity, therefore we can say that the managers' emotion work had exchange value, making it emotional labour. Staff happiness also led to a better working environment for the staff and the managers. A better working environment is not only related to increased productivity, reduced sickness and 'goodwill hours', but also to the motivation of managers themselves. As Heskett (1986) argued, managers want to have some fun at work and inject some variety, and that they motivate workers through their enthusiasm and sincerity. This was all evident in my data.

The managers had to perform emotional labour to comply with the dictates of the company, but they were happy to do so as it related to their own motivations; some did it because it created a better environment for themselves, or out of altruism. Many managers stated that they wanted to be happy at work, as they spent many hours there, and that their staff should also be happy there. Managers often related their own experiences to their staff – so if they were happy through being pleasant to others, they believed that this made staff happy too. Most of the managers wanted to become managers because of the people skills that they believed they possessed, that is, they thought that they had an ability to make people happy in their work and elicit productivity from them, therefore they wanted to put these skills into practice. Their motivations to become managers and their management styles therefore are linked to the skills they want to display (self presentation) and those that they believe are appropriate (feeling rules).

Managers may not be performing emotional labour simply because the organisation expects it for increased profit, as Hochschild (1983) seemed to suggest. They could be performing emotional labour to further their career; out of altruism; or from reciprocity motives (see Bolton, 1999); or because they have been socialised (organisationally and occupationally) into behaviour which includes the performance of emotional labour. That is, it is part of the service sector and part of the management role. It could be argued however that all these aspects are relevant for all workers' performances of emotional labour. That is, workers comply to keep their job or further their careers; some of their emotional labour is simply 'being nice' to others or to elicit complementary responses from their audience; and it is simply part of service sector expectations and the service worker role. These aspects are all accentuated within management roles though, because of the higher expectations placed upon managers. In addition, managers experience conflicting expectations and demands, for example they must attend to the interests and needs of differing parties, such as senior management and workers. Their own personal interests may even conflict, for example, if they are concerned with being both altruistic and with their own self-protection and promotion. Managers must also conform to the feeling rules of the organisation, occupation, their gender, and perhaps other social characteristics. It is no wonder that the managers' definitions of management included descriptions of 'juggling', 'jigsaws', a 'mish-mash' and being a 'band conductor'.

The findings show that the managers tried to foster a reciprocal relationship between themselves and their staff. This is not to say that they were on an equal footing, but that there was a mutual regard for each other (a kind of 'you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours'). This reciprocal relationship assisted in making the staff feel happy

and helped the manager influence their behaviour. That is, one manager explained that her team leaders were asked to attend a meeting at 8.30 one morning per week, and in return it was accepted that they could be flexible with their working hours on occasion. Southbank was also promoting a scheme for all their staff that was apparently designed to make their lives easier, which primarily revolved around flexible working hours. For example, parents or carers were encouraged to leave work early on occasion, if they made up the hours elsewhere. The philosophy behind this scheme was that if the bank can make staff happy outside work, they will also be happy at work. If the staff believe that they are getting a fair deal and have a good relationship with their line manager, it may also make staff more loyal to the company. It seemed that this was also intended to encourage improved productivity from the staff, and it also met the changing demands of customers. The Customer Service Centres of Southbank and the business centres of Northbank had some departments that operated 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, therefore requiring staff to work various shifts. So although the rhetoric of the scheme was of the staff benefits, it was actually profit-focused.

The managers' relationships with the staff were quite informal on a day to day basis. The managers would joke with their staff, arrange social events and foster a relaxed environment. One manager said that she was pleased that a visitor had noted the 'family feel' of her team and took this as an indicator of successful team management (see also Casey, 1995; Reiter, 1996). Managers thus combine informality with detachment to maintain their authority with their staff. As Hochschild (1993) argued, managers infer their emotional boundaries from the company's emotional map, therefore they are abiding by the feeling rules of the organisation, which they have

inferred from their training and socialisation. Mangham and Overington (1987) suggested that space is an important signifier in an organisation, and that managers that do not have their own desk or office signal their dynamic nature and efficiency. If the space and setting of managers and workers are the same, this signals that they should act in the same way, therefore reinforcing the role modelling of managers. Kerfoot and Knights (1996, p.88) argued that distance between managers and staff 'reflects and reinforces masculine modes of being...'. Being close to one's staff was largely associated with female and junior managers in the two banks, although was not exclusive to women and junior managers in practice. The close proximity of senior and middle managers to their staff observed in the case studies is evidence of the feminisation of the organisations' working practices.

Southbank's introduction of a 'flexible working hours' scheme posed particular problems to the managers, as they either needed to work very long hours, or did not see every member of staff every shift. Considering the value placed upon having regular contact with staff, getting to know them and being in close proximity to them, those managers who were not able to offer this to their staff felt guilty. The managers who did not have regular close contact with some of their team said that they telephoned them as often as possible and frequently apologised to them for not being able to see them, particularly when they had not been able to attend a scheduled meeting. Some of those managers comforted themselves when they recalled how they had enjoyed some freedom in their previous jobs, so hoped that those staff who were now in that position felt the same. The flexibility of working hours may have benefits for the staff and for productivity, but was often quite difficult for managers to organise and manage.

Service sector staff perform emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983; James, 1989; MacDonald and Sirianni, 1996), which their managers must monitor. The managers need to also teach the staff to perform emotional labour. The managers do this by leading by example (performing emotional labour to customers, so that staff emulate them), during training and coaching (sending staff on the necessary courses and providing on-the-job coaching), and during appraisals (providing feedback and suggestions on workers' current performance). It was evident that the managers had to regulate their own feelings and those of others. Eden (1991, p.24) argued that support can improve performance as it can 'create a warm interpersonal climate', and it also allows confidence to be communicated. The managers said they communicated feedback to their staff positively, therefore supporting Eden's argument.

A further example of emotional labour is that the managers put on an 'act' whilst at work. The managers were not necessarily 'moulded' to fit the organisations, but their attitudes and behaviour did fit the organisations' values. The socialisation processes enabled managers to fit in, but the interviewed managers also believed that their natural skills and styles were suited to the organisations' and occupation's requirements. So although they did fit in with the organisations, and the organisations ensured that this was the case, it is not fair to say that they were manipulated to fit nor that the managers were always putting on an act. As Leary (1995, p.82) argued leaders 'try to convey images that correspond to others' prototypes of a leader, whatever those may be in a particular setting', that is, people 'act the leader'.

The managers did play the role of the manager and managed their own emotional displays, with evidence of front and back stage performances (Goffman, 1953). Some managers mentioned that when they were in front of the staff and the customers they needed to act a particular way, but when they were in their office or with other managers they could be more honest and 'drop the act'. The managers did not believe that they were being dishonest or not being themselves; they were choosing to present a part of themselves in order to perform their job. They also presented different parts of themselves when they utilised their different skills to suit the situation. As Chapter 2 argued, the distinction between true and false selves is not useful, as individual's selves are multi-faceted and one can present one facet and hide another in each different situation. Most of the managers described their behaviour in their role in this way. There was one trainee however, who felt that he was having to change by being less open about his feelings and concerns, and was having to learn to 'play the game', in terms of being conscious of the way he behaved in front of certain people. As Wouters (1992) argued, those who keep their emotions hidden are rewarded. All the managers were aware of the emotional displays that were acceptable to the organisation and appropriate to their management roles.

Further evidence that managers perform emotional labour is that they were aware that their behaviour and presentation of self should be different for different audiences. This could imply that the managers were manipulating others by being deceptive and 'all things to all people'. Mangham and Overington (1987, p.143) argued that one's character is a 'multiplicity of selves' and 'pre-exist in our imaginations fed by personal and social preconceptions. [...] As characters we are the result – and only the result – of a process of creating, presenting, interpreting and being interpreted', so we

are 'formed by the responses of others to us and ourselves to them.' Mangham and Overington (1987) suggested that the skill in both theatre and social life is to appear sincere and not 'put on'. People are

'affected by what they do and doing always involves the assumption of roles. It does not follow that particular characterizations and performances are somehow not authentic, not expressive of some true self. It is probable that we are, in fact, most fully ourselves when we fully realize a character...' (Mangham and Overington, 1987, p.152).

Dramaturgy is a useful device to explore behaviour within organisational settings (see Goffman, 1953; Hochschild, 1983; Mangham and Overington, 1987). It indicates that organisational members are not manipulating their audiences, but are responding to the audiences' and situations' demands. One of those demands, placed upon both managers and workers, is that they perform emotional labour to staff and customers. I do not interpret this as a solely manipulative tactic by organisations, but as a response to the market's and customers' demands. Emotional labour is at the heart of service sector work and interweaves itself within the work of service sector management. Emotional labour is also part of the balancing acts that managers must perform.

The findings show that managers experienced an emotional labour learning process, through their formal and informal training. This is an important example of the development of the management role within financial services and its socialisation, as the current service and sales environment demands particular self-presentations. For example, the 'Prompt and Persuade' and 'Management Skills' courses showed that the bank were training and expecting the managers to present certain emotional displays in certain situations. The managers could be said to be performing 'sophisticated surface acting' or 'pragmatic deep acting' (Taylor, 1998a), as they were aware of the organisational demands on their self-presentation, of wanting to control

their personality, yet also let their own style and personality show. Some of them were aware of how their work personas had affected their behaviour outside work too, and they all seemed to be aware of the need to be as sincere and positive as possible.

It was also evident that the managers were taught both self-control and that there was peer-monitoring of emotional displays. The Northbank trainees were advised to use each other for support, which some of them did. Some of them also referred to trainees who were already able to 'play the game' and 'act the manager', and were aware that others might be judging them against these peers (Flam, 1993). The managers in Southbank used a system of peer-monitoring (Van Maanen, 1991) to help new recruits. New team members were given a 'buddy' who would sit with them for their first weeks and teach them the technical and interpersonal skills of the job. As one manager who had been involved in training remarked, new recruits tend to emulate their managers or other workers. Therefore, managers are still exerting control over their workers' emotional displays, but using 'buddies' made their control less visible. Managers cannot spend enough time with new recruits to be completely responsible for their acculturation into the role, so the 'buddies' are an ideal method of occupational and organisational socialisation.

Many of the popular management theories (for example, Theory Y; HRM; managing through culture) and the increasing recognition of the importance of organisational socialisation and the growth in service industries, make emotional labour possible and desirable. The reciprocal nature of managers' socialisation into the organisations and occupation, and their reciprocal attitude towards staff management both assist in developing emotional labour skills (as managers draw upon their own experiences,

including experiences of emotion work and emotion management, as well as learning within the organisation), and assist in the sincere performance of emotional labour in the workplace (as managers' motivations can be altruistic, self-promoting and business-oriented). Emotional labour was intertwined with traditionally defined aspects of management in the case studies. For example, one aspect of managers' emotional labour is the motivation they must evoke in their staff. The motivation of staff is one reason for managers' performances of emotional labour, along with other reasons for changing their own emotions to affect others' emotions; and part of the strategies for achieving motivation is the use of emotional labour, along with other strategies, such as competitions, rewards and sanctions. Additionally, control is intertwined with management and emotional labour. The use of emotional labour encompasses more than control and motivation and cannot be said to be equal to motivation, control, nor any other single aspect of management. It is a method for achieving the desired outcomes of management and those outcomes are bound up with the use of emotional labour in the service sector.

The social construction of emotions, as discussed in Chapter 2, argues that one learns the correct emotional display and feeling rules from one's socialisation. Managers control the feeling rules and emotions of their own staff (see James, 1993), to maintain the rational air of the workplace. To say that workplaces are rational though, is to ignore the importance of emotions in decision-making, behaviour, interactions and problem-solving. However, many workplaces continue to maintain a rational façade, often because of the economic language and structure deployed. Grint (1998) and Peters and Waterman (1982) highlighted the talk-oriented and value-laden nature of management and leadership, despite the traditional assumption that management

requires an objective, rational person. With the increasing focus on managing through culture and promoting organisational values, the nature of management is increasingly opposed to absolute instrumental rationality. The managers recognised that promoting the organisational values and a positive atmosphere motivated their staff to improve quality and service, as they achieved their results through their staff. As Grint (1995) argued, the 'rational image' of management is a construction and this is true at both macro and micro levels. It was evident that the managers presented themselves as competent, rational managers in certain situations, but that they also presented themselves as competent, emotional, cultural managers in other situations.

The Gendered Nature of Management and Presentation of Self

Management is traditionally and stereotypically a gendered occupation, as it is male dominated and ingrained with male values, as shown in Chapter 2. Its normative masculinity is reproduced in organisational cultures (Martin, 1993). Some feminisation of the management role has occurred, but has not removed the association between masculinity, management and control. That is, although there has been an increasing encouragement and presence of both women and the skills associated with women in management, male values still dominate. This is evident in the way that male-dominated sectors of management are valued more than female-dominated sectors – they have greater kudos. It is also evident in the greater numbers of men in management, particularly at the more senior levels.

The 'soft' skills associated with women (communicating, listening, flexibility) were employed by both the male and female managers studied. As some of the managers stated, it is very difficult to train people in these skills as they are difficult to define

and measure, but some of them felt that more training was required as the role increasingly demanded improved interpersonal skills. Most of the managers commented that informal training, and learning by doing, was the most useful form of training. It was mainly through informal training that they developed their interpersonal skills.

Despite the increasing need for feminine skills, these skills were not valued as highly as masculine, 'hard' skills (analytical, target-driven), perhaps because the soft skills were the means to achieving hard output. That is, in a service sector organisation that relies upon its staff to present the face of the company, the workers' needs must be attended to through using well-developed interpersonal skills. These needs are only attended to so that targets can be met and profit can be made though, so the hard skills and tasks still take prominence, as they are the ultimate goal. As one manager pointed out, she knows that if she takes care of the staff the results will 'come out the other end', but that it is easy to focus only on the results, as these are the yardstick by which they are ultimately judged.

Both the literature and the data suggested that in management and the workplace more generally, femininity is welcome only in small doses. That is, some feminine skills are required, as long as masculine skills are still demonstrated. This is essentially unproblematic, as staff management roles demand both sets of skills. It becomes problematic when the feminine skills are only associated with women – and women are believed to possess these to the exclusion of the technical and competitive skills. It is also problematic when men who demonstrate feminine skills are valued more than women who demonstrate feminine skills – as the men are assumed to already

possess the masculine skills and are thus perceived as being flexible in their management style.

As noted in the Introduction, despite a large proportion of the financial services workforce being women, women are under-represented in senior management positions. Organisational decision-making is, therefore, largely performed by men. This supports others' findings that women tend to manage domestic affairs, for example, branch and staff management (MacEwen Scott, 1994; Halford et al, 1997) and are in 'female niches', such as personnel and lower level management (Crompton, 1997; O'Leary and Ryan, 1994). It also reinforces Boyd's (1997) suggestion that feminisation in the service sector has done little to increase women's power and that few men are supervised by women.

Women's failure to be promoted in large numbers may assist in the continuation of women being associated with 'soft' skills and perceived superior abilities to perform emotional labour. Men continue to have their 'hard' skills taken for granted and therefore any 'soft' skills they display are valued higher than women's 'soft' skills, which are taken for granted. Women's display of 'hard' skills is judged negatively as it contradicts their gender-appropriate behaviour. In contrast, displays of 'soft' skills by men are in line with current management trends and are applauded. This valuing of femininity in a male body was evident in both the literature (McDowell, 1997) and in the quotes on page 247. It suggests that, in management, men are still the yardstick by which women are judged.

Women's association with emotional labour, emotions and 'soft' skills, and women's collective failure to be promoted seem to be interrelated. That is, if women are perceived as lacking skills that are deemed to be necessary for senior management, this will affect their promotion; and if women are largely concentrated in particular roles that call for particular skills, then women as a group will continue to be associated with those skills. These are certainly not the only factors influencing the progress of women into senior management, but the experiences one can gain and the perceptions others have of one's abilities are influenced by these gendered associations and in turn influence the promotion opportunities of individuals and particular groups.

Wajcman (1998) argued that gender stereotypes exist, with the association of women with emotions reinforcing their subordination. This was confirmed in the data, as the work and behaviour of women and men was perceived and interpreted differently. There were also different expectations of men and women managers, in terms of the tasks that they would and could perform and the skills that they possessed. For example, women were expected to deal with women's personal problems and men were generally expected to be more technically minded than women. It was evident that stereotyped assumptions of women's priorities existed, as Alpern (1993) argued. The gender-organisation-system perspective (Fagenson, 1993) suggests that sex role stereotypes and expectations of behaviour and traits influence individuals and organisations. Hochschild (1983) cited Wickler's (1976) study that found that students expected women professors to be more supportive, and proportionally more women were perceived as 'cold'. The data demonstrated that the women managers

were expected to be more proficient at interpersonal skills and be able, and perhaps want, to solve interpersonal problems more than the male managers.

In addition, the fact that the majority of the staff were women, may lead to a perceived need for a particular set of skills. This is evident from the comments made by some managers that women staff will approach women managers regarding some topics that they would not approach male managers with. As one manager noted, as the large majority of her staff were female, they brought a certain set of issues to the workplace, such as family and other domestic matters. Even if this is not true in practice managers may have certain expectations of what their staff require from them that can influence their management practices.

As Chapter 6 showed, expectations and perceptions of gender differences were not always supported by empirical examples. As Larwood (1991, pp.179-180) argued, 'In the case of sex roles, the stereotype has not caught up to reality [...they] still insist that women are warm and interpersonally skilled, while men are tough and objective'. Impression management can be used to enhance or reduce an association with a stereotype, with the desirable or undesirable images. For example, many of the female managers in this study described the negative stereotype of female managers, but distanced themselves from this stereotype. A couple of the managers commented that female managers also needed to keep their emotions under control. This indicates that women may perform, or be expected to perform, more impression management than male managers (as men fit into the management role easily). Kerfoot and Knights (1996) and Collinson and Hearn (1996) asserted that all managers are insecure, which is related to masculinity, leading to managers constantly needing to

demonstrate their control. Management actually involves little control over situations though, as managers can only achieve their targets through others. Managers' façade is therefore one of control and confidence.

My findings support Sheppard's (1992) findings of women managers' perceptions of themselves as women and organisational members, that most wanted to 'blend in' and stay feminine yet business-like, so they did not challenge sex-role conventions and were also seen as credible organisation members. Both of our studies presented similar contradictory findings of perceived gender differences in management styles. For example, many of the managers in Northbank and Southbank thought that management styles were individualistic rather than gendered; although some thought that women were more humanistic and identified different decision-making styles by gender.

Wacjman (1998) also argued that gendered scripts are learned, in relation to clothing, language and the presentation of self. Analysing examples of gendered scripts is complex, as some of the management scripts were apparently gender-neutral, in terms of the presentation of self and the language that managers learn. This is not to say that men and women had the same presentation of self and used the same language, only that there were ways to 'act the manager' and 'talk the talk'. For example, in Northbank training courses all trainee managers were taught to 'get on other people's hilltops' and learn the 'Northbank way'. In both banks, influencing skills were prominent on lists of management training courses, for which self-presentation skills were taught to the managers. Therefore, all managers were taught the same management skills, although the skills they were taught were adapted to suit their own

style and those around them. They were undoubtedly adapted to also fit in with the expectations of others. So although the management scripts may have been gender-neutral (or more likely, androcentric), the way that the scripts were put into practice was gender-bound, as the managers must take into account how others will interpret and react to their behaviour.

Many of the managers commented that they had noticed some women managers were overly-masculine in their management style, therefore there is an expectation that women will still be feminine whilst performing the masculine role. Even though some of the male managers said that they felt they attended to others' feelings more than some women managers they knew, none of the managers commented on male managers being too feminine. Some managers said women needed to be careful that they were not too emotionally involved or display their emotions too much at work, but this was not a problem for those emotionally aware men apparently. Swan (1994) argued that as crying is typically feminine, which women supposedly have no control over, and as management is rational, 'women managers constructed versions of themselves in which they had their tears firmly under control' (p.105). This is supported by a couple of the female interviewees, who stated that they ensured that they did not get too emotional at work, as this would be 'unprofessional'. The women were working to a male model of the 'rational' organisation. So it seems that scripts are gendered, and Wajcman's (1998, p.50) argument that the 'consciousness of gender is a constant dynamic of workplace interaction', holds true in the two case studies. Mangham and Overington (1987) argued that explicit scripts in organisations are rare, but workers and managers will have received guidance on the performance expected of them, which is subject to interpretation. The guiding interpretations are provided

by senior management and leaders, but others have an effect too, as ‘construction occurs through and between people and is necessarily participative’ (Mangham and Overington, 1987, p.186), that is, it is a reciprocal process. The managers discussed adapting their presentation of self to both the organisational culture and to other managers and staff.

The ‘presentation of self’ element of Wajcman’s (1998) gendered scripts is a useful explanatory tool for the data. The data shows that there is some evidence of gendered presentation of self. Management styles are a form of managers’ presentation of self and the managers felt that some fitted into gendered stereotypes of management styles. This was their interpretation of others’ styles of management, and none of the managers felt that they had stereotypical management styles themselves. So they perceived that some managers’ actions matched their expectations of the manager’s gender and matched stereotypical ideas of that gender’s style. For example, that some women were emotional and some men were only interested in results and statistics, not people’s feelings or lives. However, most of the managers could think of examples of managers who were the direct opposite of gender stereotypes, or of managers who had a flexible and broad management style. So it seems that the managers’ presentations of selves and the related interpretations were gendered more in perception than reality. Gahagan (1984) explained that the perception one has of others is divided into how one assesses the causes and reasons of others’ behaviour and the impressions one forms of others’ characteristics. These impressions are informed by stereotypes and roles.

Parker (2000) argued that perceptions and expectations of behaviour affect the behaviour of organisational members, which was certainly evident within my data. Parker (2000, p.193) discussed the male models of organisation evident in his building society case study, where '[i]deas about the new practices employed within a marketized financial sector were being used to suggest that the organization should move away from its [...] paternalist moral autocracy [...to an] entrepreneurial executive style'. He believed that the role of the charismatic 'manager' was central to lead the organisation through change. 'As with gender, the point is not whether these stories are true – whether management is really replacing administration – but whether they are believed to be true' (Parker, 2000, p.193).

One's presentation of self is affected by one's socialisation and the feeling rules of one's society. As men and women usually experience different socialisation and are subject to different expectations from others, different feeling rules apply for each. Work scripts, and emotional labour requirements, are therefore gendered. Individuals will therefore present themselves according to those feeling rules. A manager's presentation of self is affected not only by the feeling rules of society, but also by the feeling rules of their organisation. As organisations' objectives are business driven and profit centred, one could be led to assume that the feeling rules are gender-neutral. However, as Halford et al (1997) observed, organisations are gendered, therefore the expectations and feeling rules that managers must observe will be gendered. As management is skewed towards masculinity, the feeling rules of management behaviour will be masculine, therefore women managers are a constant contradiction of the organisation's feeling rules.

A further contradiction is that femininity is increasingly encouraged in management. It can be concluded though that this is another balancing act that managers must perform – that they must balance feminine and masculine management styles – and this balancing is weighted differently for men and women. As each organisation, line manager and team is different, there can be no absolute definition of the correct balance. Managers must be flexible in their approach and use the appropriate techniques for each situation.

In the two case studies much of the management rhetoric suggested that there were flexible cultures and that women's skills and abilities were encouraged. The reality suggested that the organisational cultures and management styles reverted to a masculine type in times of stress and time pressure. For example, managers had to postpone their 'people tasks' when their team had lots of work to complete, as shown in Chapter 5. In addition, 'feminine' skills were valued more when evident in men than in women, which Wajcman (1994) and McDowell (1996) also found in their studies. Leary and Ryan (1994, p.75) also stated that 'as long as sex continues to be a major defining characteristic of workplace interactions, women's relations at work will continue to be characterized negatively', even if there are more women in senior management.

All of the managers in my study claimed to prioritise staff issues (although, as Wajcman (1998) argued, many 'people' values were abandoned to pull back control, especially in time of crisis), and the women mentioned their attendance to the 'little' or 'silly' things that made staff feel valued and happy. Grimwood and Popplestone (1993) argued that women have much to offer Total Quality Management practices.

as they prioritise staff care over administration. This can improve quality to the highest standard in each part of the organisation, and women also pay attention to ‘little things’ (such as remembering details that make workers feel better about their job). Grimwood and Popplestone (1993) also commented that when women described their management style, they described both ‘being’ and ‘doing’¹ (traditionally management styles referred only to ‘doing’); they reflected ways women were socialised; and they indicated a typification of women managers. My data supports their findings, but also found that male managers also described both ‘being’ and ‘doing’ management, and typifications of men and women managers. This indicates that women and men, and their management styles, are not dichotomous – there are differences between some men and women’s management styles, but there are also differences within groups of men and within groups of women (Tanton, 1994; Tomlinson et al, 1997; Wacjman, 1998). One should therefore recognise the diversity of perceptions, expectations and behaviour between and within groups of men and women. As the gender-organisation-system perspective suggests, one should refer to the context, organisational practices, sex role stereotypes, expectations, ideologies, and cultural values and histories when interpreting any perceived gender differences.

Managers learn the feeling rules of their organisation through their organisational and occupational socialisation. Managers must therefore adhere to the feeling rules of the management role, the organisation and its values, and according to their gender. During their organisational socialisation the managers learned how to perform emotional labour, which in itself has gendered connotations. The association of women with emotion, and men with rational thought, means that women and men

¹ Graham (1983) argues that ‘being’ is ‘other directed’ and is associated with passive femininity; and that ‘doing’ is ‘self-directed’ and associated with active masculinity. ‘Doing’ is now recognised as depending on people and people skills, that is, ‘being’ (Alimo-Metcalfe, 1994).

may be expected to perform management and emotional labour differently, as Hochschild (1983) also found. That is, women may be expected to be more nurturing and caring and show more empathy towards their staff and colleagues than men. Men may be expected to brush over emotional episodes and draw attention back to the tasks and targets in hand. These types of expectations were evident from the data, although not all of the managers felt that they themselves behaved in these gendered ways. Behavioural expectations are part of the organisations', and our society's, feeling rules. There were examples where managers observed other managers not conforming to their expectations or the feeling rules. Therefore some women managers' behaviour did not correspond to gendered feeling rules, but were more concerned with conforming to the management feeling rules. Management is based upon masculine values and is mainly performed by men, thus when women are perceived as 'acting the manager' they can be perceived as not 'doing gender' correctly.

The increasing use of feminine skills by all managers is a response to the service sector environment. Improved interpersonal skills and transformational management or leadership styles are demanded (Caulkin, 1998; Grint, 1997; Helgeson, 1990; Tomlinson et al, 1997), and are a result of their organisational and occupational socialisation. The competencies and management training courses in both organisations emphasised interpersonal skills and so managers were assessed in terms of these competencies, but their peers still judged them in terms of stereotypical images of a (male) manager and stereotypes of men and women. This explains why women managers are chastised for becoming 'too hard and masculine' (the 'iron lady')

stereotype), as although it matches the image of management, it opposes the feminine stereotype.

As Evetts (1994) identified, leadership styles are difficult to define and measure, therefore it is difficult to make firm conclusions about gender differences. This is the same for management styles. It is difficult to define and measure the characteristics of a 'good manager' although 'fitting in' is very important (Kanter, 1977). There is no simple conclusion, as there are many contradictions and varying examples. The data did support Watson's (1994) findings that managers' expressions of what management is related to what they want to say about themselves. The data also indicated that the managers referred to models of good and bad management to help them know how to 'act the manager' – so they had expectations of how a manager should behave and used these ideas to inform how they behaved.

In conclusion, the gendered nature of management is true in perception more than reality. The managers were engaged in presentations of self that both reinforced and questioned gender stereotypes, as the managers were seen to conform to some feeling rules and expectations of their behaviour. It was clear, however, that they noticed when their, and others', behaviour did not match stereotypical patterns. It was also clear that 'feminine' management styles were employed by both the male and female managers, as both wanted to be caring, approachable and sensitive to their staff's needs; and that 'feminine' or interpersonal skills were taught within management courses. However, management in the case studies had not been completely feminised, as the managers still had to present a rational image of themselves and their role. The findings of this thesis demonstrate the feminisation of some aspects of

management skills of particular management roles and responsibilities, as they are derived mainly from junior-level, women managers. Although the emotions of managers seem to have been ignored in management texts within the discussion of control and rational decision-making, managers were having to do emotion management, in order to present themselves as rational beings and were therefore having to perform emotional labour.

This chapter has shown how gender and emotional labour are integral to the management roles within the case studies. Analysing the gendered nature of management and their performance of emotional labour has helped to make sense of the data, as it was clear that the managers were not as masculine and rational as the traditional models of management suggest. The managers' roles involved relationship management, as their targets could only be achieved by getting their external and internal customers, staff, peers and superiors 'on their side'. In order to do this managers had to be aware of their presentation of self and ensure that it was consistent with both the organisational culture and their 'own style'. Their presentation of self was also greatly affected by the expectations of others, as they attempted to abide by the feeling rules. The managers were socialised into both the organisational culture and their occupational role, both of which taught them the feeling rules and the appropriate ways of 'acting the manager'.

Conclusion

‘Musicality is, in fact, a useful metaphor for good management. Both require considerable innate talent, involve a variety of instruments and materials and are based on techniques absorbed and developed over years. Both musicians and managers can always be learning and so improving their skills’ (Stewart and Barsoux, 1994, p.173)

This thesis has examined the development of management in the financial services and aimed to discover the implications of this development for the activities and socialisation of managers in the financial services. The sociological and management literature suggested that gender and emotional labour were important concepts for this study and could help to make sense of the data regarding managers’ activities and socialisation processes. The research questions were investigated via data collected in two financial services organisations. As the previous chapter showed, the managers were required to demonstrate competence in the performance of a number of balancing acts whilst managing the organisational culture and in their presentation of self. These balancing acts include those between their front and back stage personas; between the needs of different interest groups; choosing how close they get to their staff; and being flexible about their management style.

The findings were not straightforward in terms of indicating that one concept could explain all of the data. Instead, the data indicated a diversity of experiences and interpretations of the management role. The common themes found were: that managers had to balance many aspects of their role and the expectations of others; that managers needed to disseminate the organisational culture and values to their staff; and that relationship management was central to achieving their targets. These themes were usefully interpreted using emotional labour and gender, as these were integral to management and the socialisation of managers. Within the examples of

gender and emotional labour were diverse experiences. Emotional labour has different forms and should be recognised as part of managers' socialisation processes. Gender is also part of their socialisation and is subject to others' interpretations. In this concluding chapter, I will draw conclusions on the main findings of the data and suggest how these could direct further research in this area.

The findings show that there were various 'managements', that is, there were many different jobs performed by the managers interviewed. This means that it is not possible to define 'what managers do', as they all 'do' different tasks and activities, as Stewart and Barsoux (1994) also found. The managers possessed a range of skills, both interpersonal and technical, and presented themselves in a variety of manners. What they all had in common was the need to live up to certain expectations of management and to meet their targets. They had to 'act the manager', which primarily involved demonstrating an air of confidence and authority to their staff, customers and superiors. Therefore, their presentation of self was very important. The managers had to get results through their staff, and in customer service settings managers need to enable their staff to perform emotional labour. As the managers 'led by example' they primarily facilitated their staff's performance of emotional labour by performing emotional labour themselves. And as they believed that happy staff are productive staff, their emotional labour also took the form of creating a happy environment and happy individuals and teams.

The managers were acculturated into their organisations and into the management role. The socialisation processes they experienced enabled them to fit in with the organisational culture, others and the tasks they had to complete. Part of the process

of learning to become a manager was learning how to perform emotional labour and to present oneself as a manager. The managers needed to act appropriately according to the needs, feelings and expectations of others and the demands of the situation. This 'appropriate manner' was informed both by the organisation and their own skills, experiences and personalities. This indicates a reciprocal socialisation process and that there were diverse causes of their behaviour.

As has been noted, this thesis has concentrated relatively junior-level managers. It would be interesting, therefore, to extend the research to senior management, to observe their management practices and emotional labour performances. Senior managers set the feeling rules for a wider part of the organisation, compared to middle and junior managers who set the feeling rules for their team or department. There is also a possibility of interdisciplinary research, between psychology and sociology, to determine the different aspects of organisational and occupational socialisation, and test the extent that each shapes the identities of workers.

This thesis showed that the managers within the two case studies performed emotional labour and that their performances involved different forms of emotional labour. I found that managers in the financial services perform emotional labour to both their staff and customers. Their emotional labour is integral to their management work as it occurs in all of their interactions with staff and customers.

Feminine emotions, and working styles often associated with women, were being encouraged in the case studies, including showing empathy towards staff and being supportive and encouraging. The organisations required flexibility and adaptability,

and required managers to employ both the traditional and the new feminine styles. The training and interview data supported this, and showed that, generally, the management styles of both male and female managers are indistinguishable, with both sexes employing a range of management techniques and emotional labour skills. The sample of managers interviewed were mainly in junior management positions, and the staff that they oversaw were largely women, both of which may have influenced the management styles that were perceived appropriate and, hence, recorded in this thesis. The managers defined 'good management' as being able to lead staff by setting an example and the ability to balance a range of tasks and responsibilities. As informal training is very important to both managers' and staff training then it is important how managers behave. The managers were role models and affected others' behaviour, so felt it necessary to present a 'can do' attitude and develop an 'up tone' atmosphere.

The management literature suggests that the management role is now more emotional. At the very least, managers need to attend to the emotions of those around them, rather than only concern themselves with productivity figures. The link that was made between staff happiness and productivity by the managers interviewed attested to this. However, by affecting workers' emotions, managers are continuing to exert a form of direct control. Even the feminisation of management had only made managers more aware of the need to control the emotions of others. The manager must ultimately focus upon the targets they have been set and the organisational values and objectives, ensuring that the staff achieve these. One could extend the study to workers' interpretations of managers' actions. For example, most of the managers described themselves as approachable and caring, and it would be interesting to discover whether their staff agreed with this. Some of the management

training courses do question staff to enable managers to check whether their actions are being interpreted as they intended, and it would be useful for research purposes to also investigate this aspect.

In times of pressure and during the learning process technical tasks, skills and targets often became more important than the emotional care-taking aspect of the managers' roles. However, day to day the managers negotiated and balanced the two aspects, at which the more experienced managers were more proficient. In order to present a rational image the managers must control their own emotions and to demand increased productivity from their staff they must in some way recognise and attend to their emotional needs and wants. So, although rationality and emotionality are often presented as dichotomous, they are very much intertwined.

The conceptual and operationalisation problems of the concept of emotional labour remain largely unresolved. The problem of separating emotion work/management/labour, along with the problem of an assumption of a separation of selves, leads to difficulties in actually measuring emotional labour. We can, however, identify that particular occupations perform emotional labour using the indicators described in Chapter 3. The data demonstrated that although emotional labour does not explain managers' interactions with staff fully, it was a large part of their job. Managers must perform emotional labour for their staff so that the staff can perform emotional labour for the customers. An important finding was that the managers were certainly involved in performing different kinds of emotional labour - to their staff, in order that the staff are productive and behave correctly towards the customers; and to the customers directly.

With regard to the existing literature's focus on the costs of emotional labour, to the exclusion of considering other aspects of, and reasons for, its performance, the data showed that the managers do have more than one reason for performing emotional labour. They perform it not only for the company, but also because they genuinely enjoyed making staff happy, whether for altruistic reasons, or because they preferred to work in a happy atmosphere, as Bolton's (1997) '4Ps' suggest. Undoubtedly, emotional labour skills are also employed when the manager is not thinking of the 'bottom line', which shows a need for further work on how to theorise the different dimensions of emotional labour.

The existing literature argued that management and emotional labour is gendered. I found no significant difference between the management styles of the men and women managers. Both sexes performed emotional labour, claimed to put their staff first and be approachable. None of the managers appeared to have a traditionally masculine style of management, that is, none of them were autocratic and aggressive. They were all competitive and to some extent target-oriented though, which are masculine management traits, and these traits were needed to perform their job well. There was a difference found in the managers' perceptions of men's and women's management styles, particularly of the negative stereotypes of female managers. However, the managers found it difficult to provide examples of women who actually fitted the stereotypes. This has implications for our understanding of management, as although management has been feminised in terms of management styles and working practices, it is still loaded with masculine values. The contradictions within management theories and practice were discussed in Chapter 2, with particular

reference to the values attached to masculinity and rationality, and femininity and emotionality. These contradictions were also evident within the case studies.

Showing that male managers perform emotional labour as much as female managers indicates that emotional labour is a technique used by all managers to assist in their role performance, rather than being expected of women only. This is not to say that men and women perform, or are expected to perform, the same types and amount of emotional labour. The data has shown that there were many gendered expectations that existed in the two case studies, and these affect both the managers' actions and how the managers' actions are interpreted. Women were perceived as being more emotional and expected to be more caring and nurturing, but the findings showed that male managers were equally as caring and nurturing towards their staff. It seemed that women were placed in more situations which called for caring skills, for example being asked by their staff and other managers to deal with 'women's problems' and emotional issues. The male managers described that on a day-to-day basis they thought that their staff were able to approach them and discuss problems with them.

There are implications from this research for employers, as the managers perceived that gender differences still exist and this may affect the realities of equal opportunities policies. Also, employers need to recognise the skills of emotional labour more formally, and perhaps equate them with management skills, rather than management continuing to be seen as the epitome of rationality.

Although the financial services has been feminised somewhat and organisations direct their managers to use emotions productively, managers must still be mindful of their

rational function, as this can too often override the caring cultures rhetoric. Chapter 1 showed that traditional, rational models of management are not applicable to management in practice, and this in turn was supported by the data. Managers used 'circus' metaphors to describe their work, which could not be labelled as rational – such as, keeping lots of plates spinning, or juggling lots of balls, and trying not to drop any of them. The juggling image is highly appropriate as it demonstrates the complexity of their job; that they have to handle many contradictory elements; and it shows that management may not be as rational as it was once portrayed or perceived. Managers must actually balance their 'rational' functions with their 'emotional' activities. The managers' 'emotional' or cultural activities involved means-end calculations, therefore demonstrating that emotional activities are actually rational.

The data suggests that masculinity and femininity may not be opposites, just as emotionality and rationality are not necessarily dichotomous. The managers drew upon both 'masculine' and 'feminine' traits and skills, as the situation required. The managers were flexible in their management styles, which were developed from management training and through experience. The managers were concerned to present themselves as 'good managers' during their working days and to me. They were able to identify other managers as 'good' and 'bad' managers, and used these as reference points to guide their own actions. The managers discussed interpersonal skills, rather than administration tasks, when defining good and bad managers. It is their interpersonal skills that they have the most autonomy over, therefore this is where they demonstrate their own management style and for which their presentation of self is of uppermost concern. The findings, therefore, indicate that thinking of

management, gender and emotions in terms of dichotomous relationships is of little practical or theoretical use.

Appendix 1

Southbank Interview schedule

[Remind them: can withdraw at any time, do not have to answer all questions, all responses anonymised]

Background information

Age/ familial status

Summary of work experience before management.

Why did you apply for management?
(What would be your ideal job?)

Training issues

What management training have you had (formal/informal)?

Has this helped you in your management role? which was most influential/important (inc past experience)?

Have you consciously adapted any training to your own style? Any examples?

Do you feel you have to adapt your style to the Southbank culture/‘way’?

Managing

How would you define ‘management’?

Has this idea changed or developed through your training and experience as a manager? How?

(Describe how you ‘manage’ on a day to day basis, if possible - how well defined is your job? is there a pattern to your work?)

Do any of the tasks you do have different levels of importance in your view? in the company’s view? (inc. paperwork, in/formal meetings, tours, travel, one2one conversations, telephone)

[pick up on areas of interactions with staff]

Has this changed throughout your time as a manager?

Do you have any role in training staff, perhaps informally or just by example?

Do you have any influence on how they deal with customers?

Would you like any additional support/assistance to help you manage more effectively?

Are there any barriers that you have experienced, or heard of, to career progression and development?

How could they be overcome?

Women in management

Do you think that women make different managers to men?

If so, then what is this difference?

As a woman do you feel certain skills were/are expected of you?

[questions added by Southbank gatekeeper]

What would make Distribution the place to work for a woman with aspirations?

and/or

If you were to direct Distribution what changes would you make?

Any other important aspects that we have not touched upon?

offer to report back - with transcript/more info on what project about.

Northbank Interview schedule

[Remind them: can withdraw at any time, do not have to answer all questions, all responses anonymised]

Background information

Summary of work experience before management trainee.

Why did you apply for management?
(What would be your ideal job?)

Training issues

What management training have you had (formal/informal)?

Has this helped you in your current role, which was most influential (inc past experience)?

Has the training sufficiently prepared you for all the skills required (for mgt-worker relations)?

Have you consciously adapted any training to your own style? Any examples?

Do you feel you have to adapt your style to the Northbank culture/'way'?

Are there situations where you have psych yourself up or not be yourself? Or where you cannot take it personally and must act professionally?

Managing

How would you define 'management'?

Where has this idea come from?

(Describe how you 'manage' on a day to day basis, if possible - how well defined is your job? is there a pattern to your work?)

Do any of the tasks you do have different levels of importance in your view? in the company's view? (inc. paperwork, in/formal meetings, tours, travel, one2one conversations, telephone)

[Will pick up on areas of interactions with staff]

Do you have any role in training staff, perhaps informally or just by example?

Do you have any influence on how they deal with customers?

Would you like any additional support/assistance to help you manage/do your job?

Women in management

Do you think that women make different managers to men?

If so, then what is this difference?

(As a woman do you feel certain skills were/are expected of you?)

Any other important aspects that we have not touched upon?

offer to report back - with transcript/more info on what project about.

Summary of demographic information

- The Southbank managers were aged between 26 and 43 and their average age was 35. The Northbank managers were aged between 25 and 29 and their average age was 27.
- 18 of the 27 Southbank managers were married; only 2 were living on their own. Of the Northbank managers, 5 were living alone, and 2 living with partners.
- 12 of the Southbank managers had children (10 women and 2 men). None of the Northbank managers had children.

Additional information was collected about the managers' qualifications, family and ethnicity, which is not represented on the table as it may provide too much information about individual managers, and lead to their detection.

- Of the Southbank managers, O'levels were the highest academic qualification for 10 and A'levels the highest for 9. Two had BTEC qualifications and 6 had degrees. The men were proportionally more qualified than the women in the study, as 2 out of the 6 men had degrees. This is not representative of the wider population though, as the sample size is too small and not randomly selected. Also, this may be reflected in the grade of the managers, as 4 out of the 6 men were senior managers, and only 4 of the 21 women were senior managers.

- Most of the Southbank managers had some professional qualifications (16 out of 27). None of the Northbank managers had any professional qualifications, but 2 of them had Masters degrees.
- All but one of the Southbank managers was of British origin; and all but one of the Northbank managers was of British origin.

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