

# **EMOTIONAL FOOLS AND DANGEROUS ROBOTS: postcolonial engagements with emotion management**

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## Abstract

This thesis examines the context and practices of emotion management for National workers in International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) through a study of national workers recruited into disaster intervention in India. The research draws on postcolonial theory and problematizes current work exploring the implications of race and intersectionality within emotion management. The data collection strategy involved a narrative-based semi-structured interview process with a view to surfacing social and discursive constructions. The interpretation comprised of three levels of reading that included explication, explanation and exploration based reading using postcolonial and poststructural-feminist theories.

Results highlight the dominance of neoliberal practices in INGOs and explain how these practices foreground various colonial continuities in the ways in which INGOs respond to disasters. Neoliberal practices inform and impact on the emotion management of National workers as they create a masculine and instrumental emotion regime where emotions and compassion are seen as dispensable. The colonial continuities on which neoliberalism draws, have an impact on the relationships between National and Expatriate workers. These relationships become 'emotional encounters' based on asymmetries that disadvantage the former. This understanding paves the way for proposing changes in contemporary disaster management practices. In this context the emotion management of National workers is a complex performance. These complex performances are linked to the postcolonial concepts of mimicry, sly-civility and hybridity and to the operation of power through desires and subjectivity.

Through this context based interpretation, emotion management and theorising can be extended in useful ways. In particular, I go beyond the normative nature of much current theorising. In doing so I am able to consider emotion management as an 'embodied emotional performance' that places additional stress on stigmatised identities. This formulation helps break down the binaries that inform our current conceptualisation of emotion management such as emotion work and emotional labour; surface and deep acting; real and fake emotions; felt and expressed emotions. It also blurs the distinction between emotional labour and aesthetic labour. Further, it helps identify different forms of resistance to neoliberal dictates about the role of emotions in organizations. This allows for the recognition that embodied emotional performances enable conformity as well as creative resistance against emotion norms in organizations.

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## **ABBERRIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

ALNAP	Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance
COS	Critical Organizational Studies
DEC	Disasters and Emergency Committee
ECB	Emergency Capacity Building Project
INGO	International Non Governmental Organization
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NNGO	Northern Non Governmental Organization
ODI-HPG	Overseas Development Institute-Humanitarian Policy Group
SNGO	Southern Non Governmental Organization
UN	United Nations



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The beautiful people I have found in this life

And the beautiful ones I have lost.

## Chapter One: Introduction

'Emotion in Organizations' is an area of growing relevance in organizational and management studies, with some researchers even claiming that all organizational processes need to be emotionalized (Fineman, 2000) in order to counter the myth of rationality that has historically dominated organizational theory. Emotions have been linked to social structure (Hochschild, 1979) and injustice in organizations (Harlos and Pinder, 2000; Bies and Trip, 2002) and emotion management (Hochschild, 1983; Bolton, 2005) has emerged as a distinct concept within this field. Emotion management can be seen as part of the terrain of conformity that reproduces social life (Theodosius, 2006) and the lack of emotion management has been talked about as affective deviance (Thoits, 2004). This dissertation examines the context and practices of emotion management in International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) that engage in disaster interventions. Studying emotions in INGOs will provide an opportunity to incorporate historical as well as regional aspects in the analyses of emotion in organizations. The focus is on the encounters between employees within the INGOs rather than the service encounters that involve interactions between organizational employees and the 'beneficiaries' of INGO interventions. This is an important distinction because most emotional labour studies focus on the service encounter (Hochschild, 1983; Lewis, 2005) and therefore involve a tighter emotional script that has to be performed for organizational gains. The emotion management of professionals on the other hand, is more amenable to inventions and digressions because of their 'juggling' of feeling rules (Bolton and Boyd, 2003) and needs to be further explored.

The professionals who were the focus of this research are employed by International Non Governmental Organizations (INGOs) in their India-based offices. The INGOs being explored in this study are therefore those that have an operational presence in India and are engaged in disaster interventions. India has a well developed humanitarian response sector including all the major International Non-Governmental Organizations that have their headquarters in various

developed countries. Some of the organizations based in India are Oxfam, ActionAid, Save the Children, Christian Aid, Caritas, Oxfam America and World Vision. While the INGOs are not named in the research for confidentiality reasons, the narratives about emotion in organization were collected from national employees of several major INGOs in India and then interpreted to examine how historical and contextual factors impact on the subjective emotional terrain of INGO workers.

This chapter explains the background and the rationale that shaped the research questions that were the basis for this dissertation. After a brief comment on the writing style in this dissertation, the scholarly basis for the research is discussed. The methodology used in the empirical aspect of the thesis and interpretation that has been developed in this thesis are also briefly introduced.

### ***The research and I:***

The first few paragraphs of the abstract and the first few paragraphs of the introduction are written in a third-person and passive-voice that is seen as fitting academic convention. Then however, I suddenly use 'I' in my writing. This needs further elucidation to enable the readers to be oriented to my unorthodox, even 'strange' academic practice. My interest in studying emotional dimensions of organizations comes from my commitment to challenge the dichotomised ways in which rationality and emotionality are constructed (Fineman, 1993). Emotional ways of being are always implicitly judged as being in some way inferior to rational ways of being (Jaggar, 1997). Further, emotional responses are seen as belonging to the feminine domain rather than the masculine one and to 'primitive people' who are seen as in need of being 'civilised' and therefore less developed (Harkin, 2003). So, emotional responses have been placed in various dichotomised discourses and in all of these dichotomizations, they have been constructed as having less value than their counterparts. It is this consistent undervaluing of emotions that draws me to them, along with my personal experiences of finding emotional responses to be the most salient way of gauging my own political responses to various dilemmas in living my life. Therefore while 'emotional' is also

often substituted for 'irrational', and seen as 'not sensible', I align myself with an alternative construction which claims that emotions too provide a way of sense making and knowing the world (Jaggar, 1989).

Academic writing is also riddled in ways that undermine the scope and power of emotional and tacit knowledge (Eide, 2005). The academic convention of not using 'I' in written reports can be seen as one repercussion of undermining tacit and emotional knowledge. I have therefore taken on the task of demonstrating a measured disregard toward academic conventions and normative knowledge-making practices by using 'I' in some parts of this dissertation. While this is a fairly banal practice for many researchers and academics (hooks, 1989), early on in this PhD process, I was advised that there is a slight risk in acknowledging the "I" in my dissertation writing. "I" can be seen as problematic in some academic circles and can also cause the writing to appear egocentric and uninitiated for academia. As I gained more confidence in my epistemological stance of the validity of first person academic writing, I sought to incorporate this in my writing. Therefore an emergent hybrid style has been developed for the purpose of writing this dissertation. This has led me to the decision to write some chapters in the third person convention to demonstrate that I can 'do' what is normative. However, I have used a first person voice in the introduction, the methodology, and the reflexive aspects of the interpretation. While this is not a common practice, it is congruent with the notion that in doing this research I have often moved from the interpretive attempt to achieve hermeneutic distancing, which requires the establishment of the autonomy of the text (Ricoeur, 1973), to employing the black feminist notion of the 'outsider within' which requires a particular kind of immersion (Collins, 1986), in successive iterative cycles. This form of iteration has helped me craft a particular story and this leads me to foreground that this particular rendition of *the* research is also a narrative (Gabriel, 1998; Czarniawska, 2004). The researcher can also be thought of as a storyteller and while this is a risky identity for researchers, it is a risk worth taking (Vickers, 2002).

The emergent way in which I have used first person voice and third person writing in this dissertation does not aim to suggest that the first person writing is somehow

more ethical or sacred than the sections I have written using the normative third person academic account; rather it allows for a reflexive engagement, which was one of the core guiding principles of the interpretation developed in this thesis. Most importantly, it also acknowledges the limits of objective knowledge construction and underscores my engagement with the feminist assertion of situated knowledge construction (Collins, 2000).

Having thus owned up to my use of 'I' and the hybridity in this dissertation, I hope to have prepared 'the reader'/'you' for some movement between the first and the third person in the writing style of this dissertation.

### ***Background and rationale:***

International non-governmental organizations (INGOs) are not engaged in profit making as their primary or stated goal but instead are constructed as compassionate organizations engaged in altruistic endeavours. They are often also known as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), not-for-profit, non-profit or charity organizations. Disaster/emergency intervention is emotional and has emotional repercussions (Hartsough and Myers, 1985). In fact NGO (Non-Governmental Organization) professionals have even been thought of as 'touchy-feely NGO types' (Sadana, 2010). Therefore it is possible to speculate that in these organizations, workers might be more aware of, and be able to speak about their emotional concerns and emotional processes at work. The INGOs could also be expected to be more cognisant of the tacit and emotional knowledge of their employees. Another reason why INGOs could be useful in understanding emotion management is because they represent modern institutions that are arranged more-or-less along colonial modes of interactions between the developed and the developing 'regions' of the world (Kothari, 2002). Colonial negotiations and interactions have shaped a lot of our present day knowledge(s), colonial power was exercised using a dichotomous construction of rationality and emotion (Nandy, 1983) and colonial relationships are a powerful source of emotions for various hitherto colonised communities.

INGOs have a particular history and a context of existence that consists of past and present disparities of power between nations. These power differentials have a material impact but also an emotional one. Disaster interventions have been a central task of international development organizations and require a range of activities - these may include tasks that are physical labour tasks like clearing debris or carrying relief supplies to inaccessible places - but because of the context of this physical labour, there is always an emotional labour component as well. International development interventions are therefore a very interesting site to study organizational emotionality - whether we study emotion management, emotional labour, emotion regimes, or an amalgamation of these various emotional dimensions; the service-user and provider interface as well as the inter-colleague interface, both provide for areas of exploration and conceptualisation that have not been studied in sufficient depth as yet.

INGOs that engage in humanitarian and disaster interventions are at the forefront of responding to the unexpected events that need to be confronted by various countries, both developed and developing countries. These organizations are involved in various networks and umbrellas organizations that are aimed at improving their accountability or their professional practice. Examples of these organizations include ALNAP - Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action, and People in Aid. There are also projects that are underway that seek to improve the capacity of emergency and humanitarian professionals. ECB (Emergency Capacity Building Project) is a significant example of this form of commitment by humanitarian INGOS. Another example of standard setting in INGO responses to emergencies is Sphere, which has produced a Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Disaster Response. Aside from these formally documented processes, there are various workshops, conferences and facilitated discussions that aim to improve disaster interventions. In all of these avenues of reflection on the development and professionalization of the disaster INGOS, the views of National workers are severely under-represented. As a result, several practices in disaster management are protected from the critique of National workers. This research therefore makes the strategic decision to focus on the narratives of the India-based National

workers of INGOs in order to acknowledge their views and make their views available as formal and textual discourse. This research attempts to highlight the critical and insightful engagements of National workers of INGOs about their workplaces so that these can be circulated as knowledge claims about disaster interventions.

Emotion in Organizations is a research area that has been the site of hectic activity in the last three decades where researchers such as Hochschild (1983), Fineman, (1993, 2000, and 2007), Gabriel (1998), Ashkanasy (2005), Bolton (2005) have all contributed to concepts that enable us to examine emotions at work. Emotions in organizations (Fineman, 2000), workplace emotions (Bolton, 2005), emotion and well being at work (Briner, 1999, 2002), affect in organizations (Barsade, 2007), anxiety in institutions (Menzies Lyth, 1988) all place a slightly different emphasis but are all concerned with emotion in organizations. This wide array of interest has led to several terms such as 'emotional arenas' (Fineman, 2000), 'emotion management', 'emotional labour', 'emotion work' (Hochschild, 2003), and the 'juggling of feeling rules' (Bolton, 2005). These concepts have illuminated the service encounter and the emotional pressures that workers have to cope with in order to do their jobs.

Along with the service encounter, there is also a growing interest in exploring how emotion work is linked to exclusions (Mirchandani, 2003) and injustice (Harlos and Pinder, 2000; Bies and Tripp, 2002). There are research studies now that focus on professional aspects of emotion work and relationships between colleagues, rather than only on the service encounter between service providers and customers (Lively, 2000). The gendered dimensions of emotional labour and emotion work are extremely well researched (Hochschild, 1983; Pierce, 1997; Duncombe, 1993) and a feminist critique of emotions in organizations has been developed in an ongoing way (Hochschild, 1983; Lewis and Simpson, 2007). Therefore gender is recognised as an important social category in emotions in organizations research (Domagalski, 2006). Race, meanwhile, has not been examined in a nuanced way with regard to emotions in organizations (Meanwell, Wolfe and Hallett, 2008). This is an important overlooked area in the research literature.



Further emotion management has been studied primarily as a normative activity (Hochschild, 1983). While there are studies that acknowledge emotional deviance (Thoits, 1990), the analysis of resistance as deviance also furthers a normative conception of emotion management. There is some effort to recognise the agency of the employee in juggling between feeling rules (Bolton and Boyd, 2003) but while the employee is therefore made able to choose one set of rules over another, the notion that the employee could create new sets of rules through resistance is not recognised in emotions in organizations theorising. Therefore resistance has been underexplored in emotions in organizations theorising. This is another important marginalization in the research literature that deserves further attention.

With regard to the epistemological bases of emotions in organizations research, it has been suggested that challenging the boundaries between constructionist or discursive conceptualisation on the one hand, and psychoanalytic or biographic insights on the other, is the best way forward for studying emotions in organizations (Fineman, 2007). As it currently stands, realist (Goleman, 2006), interpretivist (Hochschild, 1983), psychoanalytic (Gabriel, 1998) as well as discursive (Tracy, 2000) research in emotions in organizations co-exist and the field is therefore quite diverse. However, there is a nuanced critique of the measurement of emotional intelligence inspired by realist emotions research (Fineman, 2004), and a well articulated and argued claim for the pertinence of interpretivist approaches in studying emotions in organizations (Fineman, 2005). This study will seek to add to this form of emotions in organizations research.

The research questions have been formulated in response to the aim of addressing the intersectional race/gender concerns in emotion management (Meanwell, Wolfe and Hallett, 2008; Mirchandani, 2003), and the under-theorising of resistance in emotions in organizations research. Further there is an intention to employ the methodological suggestion for constructionist/interpretive methodology (Fineman, 2007) for studying emotions in organizations. These considerations imply that the organizational context needs to be explored along with salient emotional concerns in order to examine emotion management of professionals.

### ***Research Questions:***

Placing my questions in the context of INGOs, I was able to formulate the following broad inter-related questions:

What are the emotional rules and regulations of INGOs working in disaster interventions?

What, if any, are the forms of inequalities and exclusions that are furthered by these rules and regulations?

How do national workers engage with the rules and regulations in INGOs in the context of these inequalities and exclusions (if any)?

The research questions focus on macro, interpersonal and intra-personal dimensions of emotions in International Non-Governmental Organizations. Organizations can be spoken of as emotional arenas. Emotional arenas are spaces where emotions are 'performed' according to the 'micro-structure of the situation' (Fineman, 2008:4). Drawing on Michel de Certeau, Gabriel (1995) states that "(s)paces, unlike places, are specified by the actions of historical subjects which are temporal, ephemeral, full of meaning, emotions and ambiguity" (1995:498). Each organization as an emotional arena then informs emotive governance of its employees and has atypical political and regulatory features which are historically, culturally and politically specific (Athanasidou, Hantzaroula and Yannakopoulos, 2008:6). Analysing and interpreting the descriptive aspects of INGOs as emotional arenas will help outline the macro/organizational political and regulatory frameworks and contexts that are involved in the emotive governance of INGOs. Within emotional arenas there are contests (Fineman, 2008) around different ways of framing emotions (Hearn, 1993) and examining these contests will help us construct a nuanced picture of the inter-personal aspects of this inquiry. Lastly, with emotive governance norms and contested emotionalities, employees have to control their emotions in an ongoing basis. This control is an intra-personal achievement and studying the ways in which this is accomplished will help us extend the current ways of conceptualising emotion management.

These questions were then refined and revisited in order to respond to the literature review and the theoretical concepts already formulated in the existing literature on emotions in organizations. While the next chapter focuses on the literature that these questions are based on, I present a short description of each question in its research-able, theory informed, *avatar* later on in the thesis, just before the chapter on methodology.

### ***Methodology:***

Having presented the research questions, the way in which these questions were interrogated needs to be articulated. The research participants were National workers of INGOs based in India. The research design was qualitative and employed a snowballing sample using an in-depth semi-structured narrative interviewing style to explore emotions in organizations. The narratives were interpreted using a form of triadic reading recommended by Czarniawska (2004) which is sensitive to the researcher's context in developing the interpretive framework and holds a reflexive orientation to research. This is an 'artistic' form of interpretation, rather than a 'scientific' (Burman, 1997) one. The rationale for this interpretation is explored in more detail in the methodology chapter (Chapter Five). The interpretation was further based on postcolonial theoretical concepts (which are discussed in Chapter Three). Together this artistic reading style and postcolonial theory provided some transformational interpretations to the research questions. It is these that I will now briefly introduce.

### ***Interpretation of narratives in response to the research questions:***

The first question addressed the macro/organizational aspects of disaster interventions and the interpretation suggested that INGOs are corporate organizations immersed in a profit ideology, even though their dominant construction is that of being altruistic organizations engaged in a humanitarian agenda. This irony was useful in exploring the ways in which professionalization and corporatization have shaped the forms of emotion regulation in INGOs. In the narratives, INGOs are constructed as emotionally controlled and polished

emotional arenas, rather than spaces where emotions can be expressed and incorporated in organizational decision making. The macro picture therefore points to INGOs as participants in a neoliberal economic order where National workers have to work on making themselves free of friction, primarily by divesting themselves of any strong value commitments. INGOs are therefore described as 'instrumental emotional arenas'.

The second research question addressed inter-personal exclusions and inequalities and the narratives constructed INGOs as spaces where the colonial encounter continued to be the dominant logic that determined inclusion and exclusion. Organizational policies continued to engage in binary constructions of Expatriate and National workers ( I use capital letters 'E' and 'N' for these two labels when I write specifically about the national workers and expatriate workers as discussed in the narratives) which were perceived by National workers as undervaluing their skills and preventing their participation in organizational decision making. Some of the areas of concern included the notion that National workers could not be seen as accountable, and that the ability to speak English was seen as a higher order skill than the ability to speak local languages. Further, the National workers were seen as having cultural skills of limited relevance only to their country contexts whereas the Expatriate workers were seen to have universal skills. The interpretation highlighted the organizational experiences of somatic outcasts and reaffirmed that skin-deep assessments about professionals' abilities are organizationally validated in INGOs. At the same time National workers sought to exercise some power by challenging the presumed superiority of the Expatriate workers. This made for a dynamic inter-personal space with various emotional contests worthy of further exploration.

The third research question addressed intra-subjective aspects of emotion management with an emphasis on exploring any resistance to organizational and/or macro level factors in the narratives of National workers. The interpretation helped to firstly acknowledge that intra-subjective aspects are also inter-subjectively and discursively constructed. National workers performed their identities as national workers in INGOs and in doing so they accessed different

discursive resources including counter-discourses about emotions in organizations. As 'space invaders' (Puwar, 2004), National workers were seen to conform/resist in different ways to organizational directives about emotion management and these ways were seen as conceptually salient with postcolonial tactics of mimicry, sly civility and hybridity (Bhabha, 1994). Mimicry, sly civility and hybridity are all concepts associated with resistance and subject formation that have been discussed by Bhabha (1994). I have found it useful to think of these three concepts as inter-related while being distinct ways of being subjects of emotion discourse in organizations. This understanding of the emotion management of National workers enabled me to suggest that instead of emotion management it would be more pertinent and appropriate to think of 'embodied emotional performance' of National workers as this concept can lead to significant revisions in emotions in organizations theory.

This form of interpretation thickened the social space within which National worker emotions are performed. Discourses about self were seen to be drawn from this intersubjectively/discursively created social space, and National worker engagements with emotion management were conceptualised as performances whereby postcolonial, social constructionist as well as psychoanalytic conceptions of selfhood could all be performed without denying the possibility of each other; these various conceptions of selfhood co-existed in the discursive/social space and could therefore be selectively deployed by National workers. This meant that National workers could prioritize or minimise the status of authenticity of their self, for example. Further these different selfhood options were played out in order to manage to survive in the workplace despite being marginalised and excluded from key decisions in INGOs and were therefore complex performances that conformed as well as resisted organizational emotion norms.

This research makes a few relevant contributions to emotion in organizations theorising and has practical significance for disaster management as well as international expatriation in contemporary organizations.

It advances an embodied approach to understanding emotional performances. This approach acknowledges the significance of identity in engaging with emotional performances in organizations. It also proposes that race/gender/intersectionality place dramaturgical stress on emotional performers and therefore embodiment is a way of responding to these aspects in understanding emotions in organizations. This implies that stigmatised identities have additional dramaturgical stress that impacts on their emotional performances. This concept bridges the disjunction between 'emotions' and 'aesthetics' as organizational concerns by acknowledging that aesthetic identity concerns are also emotional in their impact. It moves emotion management theories into a poststructural space by challenging the binaries that characterize the emotions in organizations theory that are prevalent in contemporary times. The research also helps us engage with resistance to emotion management norms through the use of postcolonial concepts of agency. Therefore mimicry, sly-civility and hybridity can all be recognised as ways of engaging with emotions in organizations, and resisting aspects of emotion norms while also conforming to, or complying with some other aspects. Rather than paint an either-or picture about conformity and resistance, this research underscores their implicit connections in discursive constructions of emotions and selfhood.

This research also makes another key contribution by offering a critical examination of expatriation in neoliberal times. It suggests that in INGOs expatriation is mired in a colonial continuity that needs urgent efforts in order to shift the exclusions that practice realities are mired in. This research problematizes the current context of emotion management in INGOs in order to make way for changes in the practice realities of INGOs in their future work.

Most of all however, this research tells a story, where the National worker as the Other is the agent of storytelling and is therefore not without the means to shape the agenda for the future, or the present.

### ***Short description of chapters:***

While I have briefly introduced the questions, methodology and interpretation, below I also include a short description of each chapter.

**Chapter Two** presents a review of the literature on Emotions in Organizations and suggests that the emotions in organizations field could be seen as comprising of various subsets such as organizational behaviour, sociology or organizations, psychoanalytic and critical organizational studies. The review outlines that these various areas of research have skirted a few pertinent questions around race and emotions in organizations, as well as intersectionality and emotions in organizations. The theoretical discussions undertaken in this chapter locate this study as a critical organizational study, which uses a social constructionist approach to study emotions in organizations.

Following on from this chapter, **Chapter Three** describes the context of the research study - the International Non-Governmental Organizations. Although this chapter is formally a literature review of disaster intervention INGOs, because of the highly critical literature that has been reviewed, it resembles a critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2001) of disaster INGOs with some effort to dismantle the differences between disaster interventions and development interventions. At the end of this chapter, the research questions are rearticulated and discussed in a theoretically informed way.

Having engaged with the research question and a wide and diverse literature on the subject, **Chapter Four** explores the ontological, epistemological concerns that have shaped the methodological choices for this research. This chapter includes a discussion of reflexivity, which is important both to the research questions formulated as well as to the subsequent interpretation that will be developed in the later chapters. This chapter locates the study as an interpretive one that uses narratives and an innovative reading style (Czarniawska, 2004) to interpret the narratives. It also seeks to acknowledge the synergies between social constructionist and poststructural concepts, which are used collaboratively in the

interpretation as my epistemological niche, alongside the theoretical formulations of feminist and postcolonial thinking.

Following this chapter, there is a note on the interpretation chapters - this chapter is a short introduction to the interpretations that have developed in response to the research questions, which will be discussed in detail in the following three chapters.

**Chapter Five** examines the 'emotional arena' of INGOs and constructs them as Instrumental Emotional Arenas that prioritize pecuniary feeling rules. In this emotional arena, commercialisation and professionalization further neoliberal motives of profit and competition.

**Chapter Six** examines the 'emotional' encounters between National workers and Expatriate workers to suggest that these encounters rehearse and reaffirm the stereotypes that were furthered through colonial discourse. The embodied and racialized characterization of these encounters is elaborated upon to explain the construction of lack that National workers are subjected to. The ways in which National workers seek some power through 'practices of disconnection' (Fournier, 2002) that challenge 'Othering' (Bhabha, 1994) are discussed. The emotional geographies of National workers and Expatriate workers are seen to be mired in various forms of sociocultural distances that sustain exclusions and Othering.

**Chapter Seven** examines the emotion management of National workers to propose that discourses of professionalism, emotional intelligence, organizational success and maturity are involved in creating the National worker as a subject in his/her workplace. However, because the Expatriate workers are treated as the ideal employees of INGOs, and because National workers critique this construction, they also have access to various counter-discourses about these very concepts. National workers are therefore able to draw upon counter/discourses to exercise resistance to emotion management norms in INGOs. In this dynamic space, National workers use tactics like 'mimicry', 'hybridity' and 'sly civility' (Bhabha, 1994) in managing their emotions. These are tactics that enable the



exercise of agency within organizational spheres which aim to control and standardize emotion management practices. It is also acknowledged that all of these tactics involve some costs for the self and therefore require an investment in self care for National workers and the chapter briefly explores how this is achieved by National workers.

**Chapter Eight** summarizes the theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions of this research. It also presents a reflexive account of limitations and recommendation for future research along with a concluding section.

## **Chapter Two: Emotion in Organizations**

'Emotion in Organizations', as an area of research is dynamic, and the vitality of micro-studies and critical analyses that currently compose this terrain, belie its difficult past. 'Organizations and workplaces are prime sites in which adults experience and learn to express their emotions in particular ways' (Hargreaves, 2000:815). The available literature on emotion in organizations could be organized into four main strands. These strands can be named Organizational-Behaviour, Psychoanalytic Studies of Organizations, Sociology of Organizations, and Critical Organizational Studies (not necessarily aligned to the institutionalised discipline of Critical Management Studies). As with all boundaries, it must be acknowledged that the boundaries between these strands are tenuous and although these boundaries aid conceptual clarity, they should not be seen as fixed. These boundaries are permeable and interlinked. They are not mutually exclusive but at the same time serve as a useful heuristic device to review the current state of the literature on emotions in organizations.

### **Reviewing theoretical approaches:**

#### ***Organizational-Behaviour Approach:***

The Organizational Behaviour approach can be understood as a study of the 'display of attitudes, action and behaviour' in organizations (Hartel, Zerbe and Ashkanasy, 2005:5). Scholars working within this approach propose the idea that 'emotions are intensely personal' (Ashkanasy, 2003:10). Neurophysiological and biological basis of emotion are considered significant in the models of looking at Emotion in Organizations that use this approach. Based on the contribution of LeDoux, Ashkanasy (2003:11) states, '(e)motion is seen as an integration of innate, adaptive subsystems, derived from evolutionary needs of survival'. Therefore emotions are defined in terms of endogenous and exogenous inputs to particular neural systems, leading to internal and external manifestations of emotion (Ashkanasy, Hartel and Zerbe, 2002a).

One important theory for this strand of organizational research is the Affective Events Theory proposed by Weiss and Cropanzano (1996). This theory proposes that 'everyday hassles and uplifts determine emotion states at work' and therefore 'organizational characteristics and managerial policies can affect the emotional states of organizational members' (Ashkanasy, Zerbe, and Hartel, 2002b: 4-5). The scholars of this research tradition are interested in understanding, controlling and predicting emotions in organizations, a task they recognise as far from over (Rafaeli, 2002). Consequently, their work is directed toward how 'organizations and individuals ought to manage emotions in the modern workplace' (Ashkanasy, Zerbe and Hartel, 2002). They are also interested in achieving positive outcomes for the organization through employee effectiveness. Researchers in this strand therefore advocate that knowledge about the emotions perspective benefits the organization, and "holds the promise of making it more ethical and socially responsible" (Hartel, Zerbe and Ashkanasy, 2005:4).

Theorists and researchers within this tradition employ a working definition of emotion which is in the cognitive, evolutionary and attributional realm and is aligned with a positivistic and 'scientific' (Burman, 1997) conceptualization of psychology that aims to understand, control and predict human behaviour. This strand looks at emotional labour and emotional intelligence as variables on which individuals could have different scores and which could be improved through training. Therefore emotions are seen as unproblematic resources to be deployed for individual and organizational gains. Some contributions of this strand of research include predictive models of job security through selecting employees with the right level of emotional intelligence for the job (Jordan, et al. 2002), minimising and managing irrational barriers to organizational changes (Kiefer, 2002) as well as laboratory studies which propose conclusive evidence for how superiors and subordinates should manage their moods (Cote and Moscovitz, 2002).

Organizational change, decision making, teams and emotional intelligence as well as emotional labour are seen as processes and traits or skills that can be managed and improved for organizational efficiency. Empirical studies could therefore lead to

some surprising and potentially oppressive findings such as low or negative mood is positively related to employee productivity and lead to less systematic information processing (Cohen-Charash and Byrne, 2008: 362). Further, different guidance on emotional display based on the gender or other status categories of the employees in their workplace could be promoted by this research – for example, research in this strand suggests that male leaders receive poorer ratings when expressing sadness rather than anger whereas women leaders achieve lower ratings for both sadness and anger (Lewis, 2000).

Even in the face of various criticisms that exist for ‘measures’ of emotional intelligence (Fineman, 2005) and for laboratory studies of social situations (Gergen, 1996), this stream of research is not given to reflexive engagements. This strand of research has interestingly identified diversity as an area for further investigation in emotions in organizations research (Ashkanasy, Hartel, and Daus, 2002) but does not necessarily qualify as a critical approach. This is because resistance in this strand is seen as having ‘negative outcomes for organizations’ (Paterson and Hartel, 2002:26). Increasing ‘fairness perception’ (Dasborough and Ashkanasy, 2005) rather than reducing inequality is seen as a way of reducing feelings of injustice. In this sense, emotions are seen as worthy of investigation so that these negative outcomes can be minimised for organizational gain. Increasing fairness perception or reducing resistance are seen as laudable goals of empirical research, without any concomitant critique of these goals. This research strand does merit the critique of continuing the ‘dominance of the rationality paradigm’ (Lewis and Simpson, 2007:5).

At the other end of the spectrum of Emotion in Organizations research are those scholars that prioritize not neurological but unconscious and irrational concerns from a psychoanalytic perspective as aspects that make human emotions beyond cognitive control. It is these that will now be discussed.

### ***Psychoanalytic approach:***

Psychoanalytic approaches give primacy to a depth approach to understanding human psyche and personality. While Sigmund Freud is perhaps the most popular psychoanalytic thinker, there are different forms of psychoanalytic theorising that have been applied in organizational contexts. Yiannis Gabriel (1998a) looks at the psychoanalytic contribution in studying the emotional life of organizations and proposes that the manner in which emotions are controlled and how they are dealt with can have an effect on the success or failure of the organization. Psychoanalysis offers a host of ideas that are relevant in examining emotions in organizations. In psychoanalytic theory, anxiety and ambivalence are recognised as important emotions and are seen to be at the base of several interactions. In this approach therefore one of the founding assumptions is “that anxiety occupies a special position in mental life. It is the motive for defense. Defenses serve the purpose of minimizing, or, if possible, preventing the development of anxiety” (Brenner, 1974: 540). When this assumption is applied as an insight for organizations, organizations are seen as sites that create anxieties and also as sites that engage in anxiety management using an organizational level of defenses such as splitting and projections, for example (Menzies Lyth, 1988). In this light, Elliot Jaques (1955, 2001) proposed that organizations engage in the defenses against anxiety in a manner similar to how individuals and groups use defense mechanisms to deal with anxiety. This is supported by Isabel Menzies Lyth’s (1988) study of nursing services in a hospital where she outlines a number of defensive techniques that are operational in organizations including splitting, detachment and denial. She argues that understanding how organizations manage anxiety is important for diagnostic and therapeutic purposes. The social defenses thesis has also generated the argument that “rationality itself - the use of quasi-scientific procedures such as forecasting, planning monitoring, evaluating, testing, and so on - (is) no more than emotional rituals whose function is entirely allaying” (Gabriel, 1998a, p:306) the manager’s anxieties. Gabriel (1998) also discusses other organizational aspects which examine organizations themselves as sources of anxiety. These include predominantly, bureaucracy, concomitant with its hierarchical concentration of power and ambiguous work roles and impersonality,

and is said to engender anxiety and lead to blaming, victimisation and scapegoating. Further, experiences of racial exploitation are seen to be intergenerationally transmitted to impact on inter-racial relationships in contemporary organizational settings.

The mobility of emotions is noted by Gabriel (1999) as an important contribution of psychoanalytic ideas: “Freud never gave up the idea that emotions are mobile, being able to change the objects on which they are attached and to change themselves into different emotions, notably into their opposites (love transformed into hate, gratitude into envy, fear into defiance, etc.) and into anxiety” (Gabriel, 1999:298). Theodosius (2006), draws on Freud to conclude that that since emotions can be unconscious as well as repressed, they can sidestep and override ‘attempts to control or manage’ them (Theodosius, 2006:899). Further repressed ideas may be expressed at the intellectual level without being confronted emotionally such as when painful topics are discussed in a “cerebral manner” (Gabriel, 1998:300). This mobility of emotions makes them resistant to control.

Attempts to control emotion are thwarted by unconscious processes including transference, use of defense mechanisms which include splitting, projection and introjection in the Klienien tradition (Segal, 1988). Transference can be understood as the repetition of early emotional experiences in the context of a therapeutic relationship but does take place in routine non-therapeutic environments as well. “Transference is an inherently interactive and relational encounter (even in phantasy an ‘Other’ is involved), although psychoanalysts see it as an intrinsically psychoanalytic occurrence, because it is interactive and relational it is also inherently social” (Theodosius, 2006:900, brackets original).

The phenomena of projection, introjection and splitting can be understood in the following quotation from Gabriel: “through projection and introjection, the ego actually divests itself of unwanted parts of itself (projection) and incorporates desirable parts from the external world (introjection). In this way, an individual may gain some mastery over his or her emotions by manipulating objects. Instead of repressing threatening or painful emotions, the ego may project them onto external

objects or split them off” (Gabriel, 1998: 300, brackets mine). Another linked concept in psychoanalytic thought is Manicheanism. This implies a “the division of the world into pure good and pure evil” (Gabriel, 1998: 301) to the extent that emotions, conflicts between them and dealing with them become primary motivators of mental life. This division can have important repercussions for our emotional lives which are primarily ambivalent (Bhabha, 2004). Klein suggests that these processes take place in all normal human relationships but can turn into dysfunctionalities as well (Klein, 1996). While these examples might suggest that psychoanalytic ideas help understand organizational dysfunctionalities, it is important to understand that these ideas also underlie behaviour that we consider functional and appropriate.

Psychoanalytic theory is able to respond to the importance of individual and collective biographies in understanding emotions in organizations. “Many organizational emotions recreate instances from both the personal and collective past....; relations across race boundaries may be burdened by intergenerationally transmitted emotions rooted in the experiences of ... racial exploitation” (Gabriel, 1998:308-9). One example of such work is Gunaratnam and Lewis (2001) who propose that ‘(t)here is a need to recognise and integrate rather than ‘split’ positive and negative emotions about the self and ‘others” (2001:131). These authors discuss the implications of the dynamics between race, gender, anger, fear and shame in the everyday work of welfare professionals. These authors draw on Audre Lorde’s idea that anger and fear in mixed-race organizations are evoked by ‘histories and biographies marked by racialising discourses and racist practices’ (2001:134) and propose that emotions are political and can therefore enable psychic, organizational and social analysis. Specifically, Gunaratnam and Lewis (2001) explain that the ‘bureau- professional imperatives’ of welfare organizations are ‘based upon an ambivalent and uneven privileging of rationality over emotion... (and lead to) the suppression, repression and regulation of emotions that feeds into and off specific forms of the defensive splitting of emotions around racism’ (2001:135). Therefore the ‘defended organization’ and the defended subject create the ‘everyday racialised practices and inter-actions’ in organizations (2001:135). Further they contend that ‘the development of organizational defenses is not simply

psychically felt and socially structured in relation to the nature of specific forms of service provision and organizational tasks, but is also socially constructed in relation to histories and structures of social oppression' (Gunaratnam and Lewis, 2001:136). They therefore propose an understanding of emotion in organizations that addresses 'the mutually constitutive connections between social structures, organizational dynamics, subjectivity and micro-political relations' (Gunaratnam and Lewis, 2001:136).

Gabriel (2009:676) critiques traditional emotional labour research for denying "emotions any autonomy, ultimately subordinating them to cognition and the logic of capitalist controls". It is here that a reconceptualising of psychoanalytic thinking is offered as an option. Further it is argued that although the psychoanalytic viewpoint can be seen as oriented toward individual psyches, it does respond to the call for social change (Gabriel and Carr, 2002). This is also reflected in the proposal that effective social change is likely to require the analysis of the unconsciousness that forms the basis for social defenses against anxiety (Jaques, 2001, 1955).

There have been efforts to look at psychoanalytic ideas as 'social phenomena' because of their interactive and relational origins (Theodosius, 2006). Employing psychoanalytic ideas in research analysis often entails engaging in 'hypothetical' analysis with no 'certain conclusions' (Theodosius, 2006:907; Gunaratnam and Lewis, 2001) but ignoring the inner world as a social phenomenon might lead instead to certain but inaccurate conclusions. Therefore the 'unmanaged heart' (Theodosius, 2006) and the 'unmanaged organization' (Gabriel, 1995) need to be thought of in conjunction to redress '*The Managed Heart*' (Hochschild, 1983) in organizations. Having discussed the psychoanalytically oriented theorists and researchers, sociology of organizations is another important strand that has engaged with emotions in organizations and will be discussed next.



## ***Sociology of Organizations:***

Albrow (1992, 1997) views Sociology of Organizations as the correct disciplinary remit for studying emotions in organizations. “By situating emotions in organizational contexts and seeing emotional responses as part of the repertoire of the organizational actor rather than as personality characteristics”, Albrow (1997:127) proposes a thoroughly organizational emotionality. He states that ‘it is in the “interfaces” and in the relations that we have to see the problematic of organizational emotion’ (1997:124). Therefore he also proposes that even “the bodily experience of emotion” (1997: 125) could be deemed organizational reality rather than an individual’s sense perception.

Further he acknowledges that visible display of emotional behaviour may not reflect what the person ‘really’ feels. Following Rom Harre’s (1986, 1987) constructionism, he says that expression of emotion in organizational situations in principle is ‘neither more or less alienated than what goes on in families and between friends’ (Albrow, 1997: 126). He recommends an approach that can appreciate the situated quality of emotions, the dramaturgical abilities of actors and the differentiated structure of organizations. Together these constitute the theoretical frame for understanding ‘atmosphere’ - a feeling that appears to belong to the setting rather than the people. However, he does admit with caution that ‘we can never declare we have finally determined the nature of the social’ because the social and its intellectual appreciation are forever changing.

Martin Parker (2000) has argued that the division between sociology of organizations and organization studies is an institutional one that is determined more by which academic identities get to publish in sociological journals, and which ones get to publish in organizational ones. Whether a scholar is in located in a business school or a sociology division, for example, might determine where studies get published rather than the substantive content and contribution of the study. However, he does assert that the state of criticality in sociology of organizations is more evolved as he states, “Sociology is partly defined by longstanding debates over methodology, an elaborated conception of theory, a

persistent suspicion of modernity and some kind of generalised commitment to emancipation” (Parker, 2000:142). Not many authors explicitly state this boundary for themselves. This bodes well with Parker’s assertion that

“Contemporary sociologists rarely show much interest in (organizations)... the sociology of organizations is almost moribund within UK sociology departments and only receives attention in sociology journals if it is attached to another area of supposedly legitimate sociological concern” (Parker, 2000:140).

However, a great number of multidisciplinary studies employ a sociological focus even when not ‘purely’ sociological in their orientation. Some of these are better located in the next strand, the Critical Organizational Studies strand so as to situate those studies as explicitly multi-disciplinary studies.

### ***Critical Organizational Studies (COS):***

While Sociology of Organizations and Critical Organizational Studies (COS) have a lot in common, COS is multi-disciplinary in its emphasis, open to insights from humanities and various social science disciplines, not limited to sociology. Critical Management Studies (CMS) has been widely institutionalised as a discipline (Alvesson and Willmott, 1992; Alvesson and Deetz, 2000). It has been noted that “(p)erhaps the genesis of what is now sometimes called ‘critical management’ can be traced back to the consequent importation of Marxism, critical theory, poststructuralism and so on into the B-school” (Parker, 2000:142). However, not all theorists/scholars who are ‘critical’ would necessarily adopt the label of CMS; consider for example, Fineman (2008) who aligns himself with social constructionism or Lewis and Simpson (2007) who examine the gendering of emotions in organizations. Therefore labelling this strand COS broadens the field of studies in comparison to both CMS and Sociology of Organizations.

Within COS, there has been some ongoing effort to show that all processes hitherto understood as rational also have an emotional dimension (Fineman, 1993, 2000, 2008). In this strand, emotion in organizations are seen as worthy of being honoured (Meyerson, 2000). The analysis of emotion in organizations therefore

poses a challenge to the instrumental incorporation of emotion that furthers the predominance of a rational paradigm in organizations (Lewis and Simpson, 2007), as is the case in the Organizational Behaviour approach discussed earlier in this chapter. 'Emotions in organizations' in COS can be conceptualised as a field of study where the western 'binary' assumptions that are at the basis of rational knowledge construction (Collins, 2000:71) can be challenged. This is made possible specifically through feminist contributions that challenge modernity, rationality and patriarchy (Mumby and Putnam, 1992).

Consequently, this strand has been instrumental in highlighting and politicising the emotional aspects of work. Arlie Hochschild (1983) has been a key theorist here. Hochschild (1983) proposed that work relations require performances overseen by a managed heart and coined the phrases 'emotional labour' and 'emotion work'. Hochschild conceptualised emotion work as privately managed and emotional labour as managed in relation to organizational feeling rules. "Emotion work refers more broadly to the act of evoking, or shaping as well as suppressing feeling in oneself" (1983:7) and 'emotional labour' refers to the "management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display (for a wage)" (1983:7) Emotion work is therefore done in the private sphere and emotional labour is done in the public sphere. Hochschild (1983) prioritized her concern about the possibility of alienation and dissonance of employees from fake feelings that are performed for commercial interests through engagement in emotional labour.

Hochschild's (1983) work has set off a small revolution in studies of emotions in organizations and has been extended as well as critiqued. Her influence can be found both in interpretive research (Pierce, 1997; Van Maanen and Kunda, 1989) and in positivistic research (Brotheridge and Lee, 2003). Hochschild's definition of emotional labour has been extended into a model of emotional labour taking into account the duration, the frequency and the dissonance caused by the emotional labour undertaken (Morris and Feldman, 1997). In terms of the limitations of Hochschild's theory, while Hochschild's (1983) thesis problematizes fake display and masking of 'genuine' emotions as potentially oppressive, other research has found that when positive emotions are required to be displayed, then this fake

display is associated positively with job satisfaction and personal accomplishment (Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002). Ashforth & Humphrey (1993) also state that when masking emotions is done in tune with people's own values, it can lead to a sense of achievement and fulfilment but admit that masking emotions can be harmful when they require a departure from the worker's own values. Hochschild's (1983) work has also been criticised by Bolton (2001) for retaining a public/private divide which is seen as unhelpful. Hochschild (1983) uses the terms 'emotion work' and 'emotional labour' for private and public management of emotions respectively. Bolton has argued that even in public work performances, there is emotion work that is conducted with respect to colleagues (Bolton, 2004). This emotion work that is conducted for colleagues has also been labelled 'reciprocal emotion management' (Lively, 2000). In Emotions in Organizations research, there are certain other competing concepts such as stress and burnout (Newton, Handy and Fineman, 1995), emotional regulation (Grandey, 2000) and emotional process work (Boyle, 2005). However, emotion management, emotion work and emotional labour are coherently developed with regard to each other in the social constructionist literature and will be discussed in some detail below.

COS are also interested in exploring the differences in emotional experiences of different social groups and in the impact of power and status on emotions. For example, Kemper (1978, 1990) talks about status, power and emotion in a social interactional theory of emotion and offers the notion of collective emotions; Barbalet (1998) also looks at emotion as the link between structure and agency. These ideas are used by COS scholars such as Fineman (2008) in his discussion of emotions, power and passions in organizations.

Below I have presented a table outlining the main aspects of each of these theories to enable a quick comparison between them. The different categories of theories are interlinked and are not mutually exclusive. Some research studies could straddle two categories and some may not fit any particular category. As with all categorization, this also has certain limitations but also helps usefully map a vast research area.

**Table 2.1: Outlining Main Sub-fields of Emotions in Organizations Theorising**

<b>Discipline boundary</b>	<b>Organizational Psychology</b>	<b>Psychoanalytic theorising</b>	<b>Sociology of Organizations</b>	<b>Critical Organizational Studies</b>
<b>View of emotion</b>	Personal but multi-level	Psychoanalytic –therefore with the provision for social commonalities	Social	Social and Individual
<b>View of objectivity</b>	Possible through use of varied methods, including surveys, and other quantitative methods	Relevance of unconscious social commonalities, therefore not interested in objective accounts	Possible through reflexivity	Different views within the sub-field
<b>Link between organization and society</b>	Somewhat	Definite, through unconscious processes	Definite	Definite
<b>View of social differences in organizations</b>	Social differences can be ‘managed’	Social differences have an impact can also be transmitted intergenerationally, for example, in the case of experiences of racial exploitation (Gabriel, 1998)	Organizations reflect society and therefore have similar power issues as society as a whole	Social Differences are maintained within organizations rather than challenged. This maintenance should be problematised. Social Differences need to be critically examined within organizations. Micro emancipation is possible
<b>Analysis of race, gender, class and other dynamics</b>	Possible but limited	Yes, with an collective/unconscious emphasis	Possible, with a sociological emphasis	Possible, with an interdisciplinary emphasis
<b>Analytical concepts</b>	Organizational climate and culture; strong leanings toward neurophysiological and evolutionary approaches, Emotional Intelligence	Defenses: Denial, Splitting, Depersonalisation, Formal distribution of responsibilities, Collective unconscious, Common Anxieties.	Atmosphere; Structure, Power	Emotion management, Emotion Work, Emotional Labour, Feeling Rules (link between emotion and social structure)
<b>Theoretical offering</b>	multi-level theory linking individual and organizational climate/culture	Psychoanalytic application to uncover anxieties and employ useful defense mechanisms that cater to shared but unconscious anxieties	Multi-level theory linking societal macro processes and individual employees	Post-structural and discursive aspects are important in this sub-field. Shares a lot with social construction and enables interdisciplinary forays. Also open to ideas such as structure and power. Wary of grand-theories

## **Reviewing the table, and locating myself in it:**

On the whole the various approaches have different emphases but also have some commonalities. Comparing these approaches, both Sociology of Organizations and Critical Organization Studies (COS) are potentially applicable in the context of this study. These two approaches have many points of intersection, including their interest in interpretive approaches. They are both interested in how emotions foster and foster different responses in organizations or the ways in which different social categories interact within organizations, thereby reproducing social realities. The Sociology of Organizations approach seems more coherent and retains a sense of boundary, despite being dynamic whereas Critical Organization Studies (COS) offers us the possibility of operating much more like a 'bricoleur' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003a:9). This can be seen as their critical point of difference. It explains why sociology of organization approach to emotion as outlined by Albrow (1992) seeks to work toward objectivity, albeit using a subjective process of reflexivity, whereas some strands in COS remain less committed to the ideal of objectivity.

COS is a broad strand and social constructionist approaches form a subset of this strand.

“Social Constructionism can be thought of as a theoretical orientation which to a greater or lesser extent underpins all of (the) newer approaches (in social sciences), which are currently offering radical or critical alternatives in psychology and social psychology, as well as in other disciplines in the social sciences and humanities” (Burr, 2003:1, brackets mine).

In some ways social constructionism can be understood as knowledge developing a critical view of itself and therefore its assumptions are useful to foreground. Burr (2003) discusses a few defining assumptions of social constructionism. These include a critical stance toward 'taken for granted' knowledge, historical and cultural specificity, questioning essentialism, recognising the importance of language as a pre-condition for thought and as informing social action along with a focus on interaction, social practices and processes. Here it is important to note that there are variants of social constructionism (Danziger, 1997b; Burr, 2003), with some strands advocating that nothing can be termed as 'reality' as nothing exists

outside discourse (Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Potter, 1997). This plurality within social constructionism then blurs the distinct division lines between social constructionism and poststructuralism. While acknowledging that there are differences between social constructionism and poststructuralism, it must also be acknowledged that they do share many critical assumptions when applied to Emotions in Organizations research, and therefore will be discussed together in this chapter.

Social constructionists and poststructuralists view emotions as 'social' and / or 'discursive' phenomena. In this vein, Burkitt (1997) challenges the description of emotion as inner processes and states that 'emotions can be seen not simply as things or expressions of inner processes, but multidimensional (thinking, feeling, moving) 'complexes' or 'modes of communication' which have both socio-cultural and corporeal/embodied aspects, and arise in social relationships or power and interdependence (Burkitt, 1997:37). Burkitt (1997) makes the point that emotions is not a 'thing' and not something internal but is a 'complex' relational phenomena and therefore the implications of power exist for emotions as they do for any other relational phenomena. In another definition, Jaggar (1989) states:

“mature human emotions are neither instinctive, nor biologically determined, although they may have developed out of presocial, instinctive responses. Like everything else that is human, emotions in part are socially constructed; like all social constructs, they are historical products, bearing the marks of the society that constructed them” (Jaggar, 1989:159).

Social constructionism problematizes the ideas of essentialism (Fineman, 2000) and 'realism' (Burr, 2003). Social constructionist studies of emotions and organizations include concepts such as politics and power of emotions. In these studies emotions can be understood as intersubjectively and socially constructed. Like other social constructions, such as safety and danger (Simpson, 1996), emotions too can be seen to draw on collective agreement and socialization for their continued circulation as relevant emotions. This intersubjective construction takes place within particular historic and social contexts and like all social constructionist claims-making (Burr, 2003), these also involve power struggles. A

good example of this is Vince's (2001) work on organizational learning where he states,

"I have argued that individual and collective emotions, generated through organizing, come to define characteristic organizational politics or power relations. These power relations then have an impact on what are possible (or legitimate) emotional responses. I summarize this idea by saying that emotion is political" (Vince, 2001: 1339).

Social constructionist research is about engaging in social analysis not to "get it right" (Gergen, 1999: 195) but to reflect and create something different based on a renewed understanding to foreground that reality is not a 'given' that is discovered but that reality is a creative accomplishment. In this sense, it disturbs a lot of our comfortable assumptions so that we can "see again" (Gergen, 1999:195). This involves looking at power not only in a structural way but in being able to recognise our individuality itself as the construction of powerful discourses, for example. Engaging with discursive verbal and social practices is therefore important in social constructionist research. Social constructionist research acknowledges, for instance, that discourses about difference are owned, deployed and performed to 'real'ize gender identities (see Lewis and Simpson, 2007). Power is not something external to organizational members or relationships, it 'penetrates the very essence of our being' (Knights & McCabe, 1999). Power cannot be separated from the emotions and relations that reinforce it" (Vince, 2001: 1341).

Some theorists that use social constructionist epistemology are open to psychoanalytic theories (Hochschild, 1983; Fineman, 2000). This study will draw from the social constructionist paradigm, and also be open to insights from psychoanalytic theorising that prioritizes the social (see Theodosius, 2006). The study will seek to develop a postcolonial analysis of emotion in organizations. Social constructionism and postcolonial theory share many assumptions but postcolonial theory allows researchers to use the notion of 'strategic essentialism' (Spivak, 1990) to challenge structural inequalities. Postcolonial theory, especially the variants proposed by Homi Bhabha (1994) and Ashis Nandy (1983) also explicitly employ psychoanalytic ideas in their conceptualisations.



There have been some reviews on emotions in organizations (Domagalski, 1999; Meanwell, Wolfe and Hallett, 2008), and a quantitative analysis of emotional management at work (Bono and Vey, 2005). This field is therefore well defined. Social constructionist research has been very prominent in organizational studies of emotion (Fineman, 2000) and certain key concepts in 'Emotion in Organizations' need to be explicated. Some of these ideas were introduced in the previous section but we will revisit these in some detail below as they form the bulwark of the social constructionist framework of emotion in organizations.

### ***Emotional Arenas:***

Having located this study in social constructionist ideas, we need to first consider Fineman's (1993, 2000) conceptualisation that organizations are 'emotional arenas'. 'As emotional arenas, organizations bond and divide their members' (Fineman, 2000:1) and are informed by cultural and political alliances of the organization to the extent that "the emotional arena is neither politically nor culturally neutral" (Fineman, 2000:14). Organizations as emotional arenas therefore derive from 'the wider emotion rules of the society of which they are a part'. In this sense, emotional arenas are construction of a 'society's "take" on the way certain emotions are to be directed and expressed' (Fineman, 2008:2). Emotionologies give action cues, that then give 'predictability, order and meaning' (Fineman, 2008:3) to interactions and organizational routines. We are exposed to emotionologies by means of discursive and institutional practices, and therefore emotional hegemony (Jaggar, 1989) of the dominant discourses are constitutive of emotionologies.

Fineman (2000) conceptualises organizational emotions as intersubjective products developed in the "way systems of meanings are created and negotiated between people" (Fineman, 2000:2). Social groups, relations between them and the dynamics of power and status within organizations are all seen as informing the kind of emotional arena an organization is. An organization as an emotion arena is sustained due to the social regulation that emotion work and emotion management

of employees continuously engage in. It is these that we will now examine in some detail.

### ***Emotion work and emotional labour:***

To recapture what we have already discussed, Hochschild's (1979, 1983) contribution fits the social constructionist grid. Hochschild blends sociological (specifically dramaturgical/symbolic interactionism) ideas and psychoanalytic ideas to develop an interactional model (Hochschild, 1983:221). Symbolic interactionism proposes that self and society are reciprocally related and individuals are produced by but also produce the social order (Thoits, 1990, 2004). Psychoanalytic ideas regard the inner-psychic life of human beings as important and instrumental in how the conduct of relationships takes place.

Hochschild (1983) coined the terms 'emotional labour', 'emotion work' and 'feeling rules'. These have been defined in an earlier section in this chapter. In Hochschild's 'managed heart' (1983), 'emotion norms' is the larger term that has 'feeling rules' and 'expression rules' as its subsets. Feeling rules are "seen as that side of ideology that deals with feelings" (Hochschild, 1983:551) and are like other sorts of rules because they delineate zones within which certain feelings become permissible or are deemed appropriate. Feeling rules are therefore the rules that connect social structure and emotion. For Hochschild, emotional expressions also derive from the norms set by the social order and operate in a manner similar to 'display rules' (Ekman and Friesen, 1982) whereby cultural norms control how emotions are to be displayed.

Hochschild's (1983) concept of emotional labour seeks to explain the organization's use of employees' emotive capacity to reach profitability in business and she is able to demonstrate the gendered division of emotional labour. She is also able to point out that culture (Hochschild, 1983) and class (Hochschild, 1979) are both aspects that have an impact on emotional labour. However, Hochschild's primary emphasis is on how individuals are able to present themselves as 'normal' through the display and obedience of appropriate feeling and expression rules.

Toward this end, Hochschild (2001) proposes that individuals engaged in bodily work (surface acting), cognitive work and deep acting to fit social norms about emotional expressions.

**Table 2.2: Hochschild’s techniques of emotion work (Adapted from Hochschild, 2001:146)**

<b>Techniques of emotion work</b>		
<b>How to respond to emotion norms:</b>		
<b>Type of Labour</b>	<b>What is required?</b>	<b>When is this useful?</b>
<b>Cognitive work</b>	Changing images, ideas, thoughts in the service of changing associated feelings	Useful when new contexts are being explored - part of secondary/ socialization
<b>Bodily work (surface acting)</b>	Changing physiological sensations, changing outer appearance of feeling (example, trying to breathe slower or not shake)	Useful when positive feelings are required (similar to going backstage to regain positive display). Deceive others
<b>Expressive emotion work</b>	Changing expression by pretending deeply, changing inner shape of feeling	Useful when masking pain or need for intense expression. Deceive self as well as others

As per Hochschild’s theorising, the jobs that require consistent deep acting led to personality changes that could be alienating. Just as the body becomes alienated from its mechanical use as an instrument of labour, so too does the person become alienated with the mechanical use of personality as an instrument of labour. This leads to a ‘transmutation’ of feelings (Hochschild, 1983:20), a standardisation and commercialisation of emotive offerings, which Hochschild also linked to the trend that leads to the deskilling of jobs as manuals prescribe what emotions are to be displayed in different contexts (Hochschild, 1983:119). The

emotional labourer as conceptualised by Hochschild therefore appears to be at the receiving end of an exploitative work requirement.

Bolton (2001) has made a significant contribution to emotional labour theorising by critiquing the inevitability of alienation in Hochschild's (1983) theory. Bolton's (2005) reading of Hochschild's theory has become quite a dominant interpretation of the lapses in Hochschild's theorising. However, this critique of Hochschild's (1983) work needs to be contextualised because according to Hochschild (1983), professionals who supervise their own emotions are not seen as performing emotional labour. Jobs that demand emotional labour are conceptualised by Hochschild (1983) as comprising three distinctive criteria. These require face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with the public, they require the worker to produce an emotional state in another person-gratitude or fear, for example, and they allow the employer, through training and supervision, to exercise a degree of control over the emotional activities of employees. Hochschild also says that

“although the social worker, the day-care provider, the doctor and the lawyer have personal contact and try to affect the emotional states of others, they do not work with an emotion supervisor immediately on hand. Rather, they supervise their own emotional labour by considering informal professional norms and client expectations. So their jobs, like many others, fill only two of (the) three criteria” (Hochschild, 1983:153).

Bolton (2005) is critical of studies that she sees as forming the 'emotional labour bandwagon' (Bolton, 2005:53) and prefers the term 'emotion management' instead because it suggests that both emotion work and emotional labour are required in the workplace and this is not only for low-status workers but for all employees and professionals (also see Fineman, 2000:5). Hochschild (1983) has also been critiqued for having failed to accord 'agency' to the workers in proposing a transmutation of feelings (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Instead of conceptualising emotion management in organizations as dictated by organizations in a top-down manner, Bolton and Boyd (2003) reconfigured emotion management as a "contested terrain" (ibid: 194). However, it is possible that this critique is at odds with the group of workers that Hochschild was trying to analyse. It could be argued that Bolton and Boyd's (2003) assessment of Hochschild's theory is partial as

Hochschild (1983:126-136) does talk about ways in which workers might engage in 'slowdown' (ibid: 130) which imply things like decisively not donning a smile or 'go(ing) into robot' (ibid: 129, brackets mine) where they purposefully engage in surface acting in order to react to management dictates (also see Brook, 2009). These can be seen as responses that demonstrate agency. Despite the dominant reading of Hochschild's (1983) theory as undermining employee agency (Bolton, 2005), Hochschild (2001) seems to have suggested things similar to Bolton (2005) in writing,

“(o)ne can defy an ideological stance not simply by maintaining an alternative frame on a situation but by maintaining an alternative set of feeling rights and obligations. One can defy an ideological stance by inappropriate affect and by refusing to perform the emotion management necessary to feel what, according to the official frame, it would seem fitting to feel. Deep acting or emotion work, then, can be a form of obeisance to a given ideological stance, lax emotion management a clue to an ideology collapsed or rejected” (Hochschild, 2001:149).

However, 'transmutation of feelings' and 'alienation' emerge as dominant concepts from Hochschild's (1983) research and so Bolton and Boyd's (2003) critique could also be seen as more relevant to those studies which have used the emotional labour concept uncritically or conflate emotional labour and emotion work (Smith, 1998).

Along with critiquing Hochschild's work, Bolton (2004) has also extended Hochschild's theorising and has developed a typology of workplace emotion that enables us to see the links between different feeling rules, and their respective emotion management outcomes. Bolton (2000a) elaborated on feeling rules and proposed that a plurality of feeling rules ensures that the worker has the chance to exercise agency. 'Feelings are managed for a wide variety of reasons: legitimacy, conformity, economy, empathy and according to vastly differing "rules"' (Bolton, 2000a:219) Therefore feeling rules are social guidelines that enable us to determine what 'normal' emotion in different contexts is. Feeling rules in the workplace could be organizationally prescribed, determined by professional codes, by social norms or by the ideal of caring. These then lead to different forms of

management styles that she calls Pecuniary, Prescriptive, Presentation and Philanthropic. Bolton has also explained how it is in the juggling (Bolton, 2001) of these various feeling rules that employees may be able to perform their agency skilfully with regard to emotion management (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). This typology implies that only a small amount of emotional labour is performed under the sway of control of large organizations.

**Table 2.3: Juggling between normative feeling rules is possible in Bolton’s typology**

<b>A typology of workplace emotion based on different feeling rules (adapted from Bolton, 2005:93)</b>	
<p><b><u>PECUNIARY</u></b>  <b>FEELING RULE: COMMERCIAL</b></p> <p><b>Consequences:</b>  <b>Alienation/Contradiction/Conflict/Resistance</b></p>	<p><b><u>PRESCRIPTIVE</u></b>  <b>FEELING RULE: PROFESSIONAL</b></p> <p><b>Consequences:</b>  <b>Professional Identity/Contradiction</b></p>
<p><b><u>PRESENTATIONAL</u></b>  <b>FEELING RULE: SOCIAL</b></p> <p><b>Consequences: Stability</b></p>	<p><b><u>PHILANTHROPIC</u></b>  <b>FEELING RULE: SOCIAL</b></p> <p><b>Consequences: Stability/Satisfaction</b></p>

While Hochschild (1983) and Bolton (2005) have differing conceptualisations about the public/private divide and about the agency of the employee, they seem to agree on the notion of authentic selfhood and genuine feelings which need to be masked, for example. Hochschild calls the real self an ‘inner jewel’ (1983:34). Bolton (2005) presumes that in conforming to the normative feeling rules that are social, individuals will feel stability and/or satisfaction. This notion of authentic selfhood can be critiqued from a poststructural perspective. Tracy (2000) and Hughes (2005) try to deal directly with the real self - fake self dichotomy that derives from the critique of the notion of authentic selfhood. Both researchers in their separate writing suggest that from a poststructural view this dichotomous understanding is untenable and propose instead that poststructural selfhood is fragmented and plural rather than integrative. In doing so they further the

proposition that there is no 'real self' and therefore propose the idea that emotion management research would benefit from an exclusive focus on discursive construction of selfhood. However, Fineman has defended the concept of authenticity against the diminishing of human agency that discursive ideas outlaw by stating that

“(w)e may well appropriate ready made discourse on our emotional experiences and identities, but we also interpret and improvise. We draw upon *other* possible discourse and *negotiate* meanings... 'Real feelings' may not 'really' be all our own, but we are complicit in developing the illusion. We help create and reproduce the discourses of self and feeling that we then take as real” (2000:7).

The argument between authentic and inauthentic or real and fake is critical in understanding emotion management; at the same time it is not an easy one to resolve and will be revisited in an ongoing way when reviewing the conceptual possibilities of emotions theorising.

For the time being however, resuming the discussion on emotion management and following Bolton's (2005) and Lively's (2000) notion of reciprocal emotion management, emotion management becomes the type of work it takes to cope with feeling rules and continue to present ourselves as 'normal' in all workplace contexts, and not only in service encounters. This emotion management is undertaken by self-managing professionals and not only by those who are closely externally supervised for their emotional performances. The 'professional' who manages emotion in organizations does not merely perform emotional labour, rather s/he manages emotions and 'juggles' (Bolton, 2001) them. Professional emotion management has been the topic of some research interest and it would be useful for our purposes to examine this in some detail.

### ***The professional who manages emotions:***

While emotional labour focuses on the service encounter and the interface between service users and providers, emotion management stipulates that emotion in the workplace (Ashforth and Humphrey, 2005) should be recognised as having implications not merely for the provider-customer interface but also for collegiate relationships (Harris, 2002; Anleu and Mack, 2005). The organizational member has to learn to live by feeling rules and in doing this has to navigate between the assumed 'true' self and the organizationally prescribed role in dealing with issues of emotion display. Echoing this it has been suggested that

“(b)uilt right into the social arrangements of an organization... is a thoroughly embracing conception of the member-and not merely a conception of him (sic) qua member, but behind this a conception of him (sic) qua human being’ (Goffman, 1961, cited in Bolton, 2005:110).

Emotion management by professionals is made further complicated because there is also the added conception of the member 'qua' professional. Professionals have training and codes of values that inform their engagement with organizationally desired roles - therefore instead of a mere 'secondary socialization there is also professional socialisation in place for professionals (Clouder, 2003). It has also been noted that “professions are driven by an espoused intention to serve not only the needs of their clients but also a higher 'moral' good (such as the service of justice, divinity or human understanding)” (Harris, 2002:555). This availability of a variety of socialisation processes and motivations for professionals makes their interpretation and juggling of feeling rules more fluid, and resistance to some prescribed rules on the basis of certain other prescribed rules a possibility. However, the label of a 'professional' is itself imbued with notions of organizational control (Gabriel, 1995).

Successful emotion management by professionals involves self-surveillance and censorship. The discipline and control that are part of emotion management are an outcome of a dynamic selfhood which desires to grow as a professional and to develop a career (Savage, 1988). “It is an orientation toward the much publicised



idealised image and other members of the profession, rather than toward explicit professional feeling rules, that act as a control mechanism over professionals' actions" (Bolton, 2005:123). Therefore social control is not exercised merely by abstract and ideological feeling rules but also through everyday social interactions.

Professionalism is seen to be at the heart of the communication rules about emotion management in organizations and this prioritizes appropriate displays of both positive and negative emotions, wherein the appropriate way of dealing with negative emotions 'typically' is to mask it (Kramer and Hess, 2002). Further, Kramer and Hess (2002) also note that complying with display rules is linked positively with getting raises and promotions, developing relationships at work and deriving career success. It also implies that negative emotions are discouraged in organizations and this is an important way to maintain status quo in organizational operations.

While professionals exercise discretion and autonomy in deploying feeling rules (Hochschild, 1983), certain aspects about the discourse of professionalism inform the way in which this autonomy is exercised. The emotion management of professionals is an accomplishment that involves suppression of emotions (Meyerson, 2000) as well as control (Fineman, 2000). Emotional distance and professional detachment is a very commonly prescribed feeling rule for professionals (James, 1993, cited in Harris, 2002) and serves as an orientation that informs how other feeling rules are performed. The emotional detachment that is prioritized for professionals' hints at the masculine orientation of the professionalization project and suggests that professionalism is gendered (Bolton, 2008).

Other contextual and macro factors also inform professional feeling rules. The New Public Management discourse has also had an impact on professionals (Thomas and Davies, 2005). The plight of public sector professionals of developed countries who have been researched in significant depth (Bolton, 2001, 2005; Lewis, 2005) and it is acknowledged that they have had to deal with the priority accorded to

financial accountability, the performance management culture of corporate organizations and the neo-liberal economy.

In concluding this section, it can be noted that within organizational research there has emerged a normative way of being emotional in organizations. These norms are biased towards control, detachment and management of emotions (Gabriel, 1998a). The focus of analysis often seems to be around the social control of individuals rather than individual challenge to social order (see for example, Horrocks and Callahan, 2006). Therefore research on emotion in organizations creates prescriptions about the 'correct' manner of being emotional in organizational contexts (Ashkanasy et al, 2002 ; also see Fineman, 2005 ). Despite recognition of employee resistance to organizational imperatives (Hughes, 2010) there is further space for theoretical development in how emotion management may aid or inhibit organizational resistance. This is further explained in the following section.

### ***Resistance to emotion management rules:***

Due to a relative lack of conceptual development in emotion management and resistance within emotions, the professional who manages emotions in the workplace appears as mask feelings, and to be normatively controlled, emotionally distant and detached. Even when various feeling rules are recognised (Bolton and Boyd, 2003), they are seen as normative in some sense (either pecuniary norm, social norm, philanthropic norm or professional norm). Theorists and researchers have examined in detail how the social norms in the shape of feeling rules and expression rules influence emotion management. The reciprocal role of individuals in challenging, changing or offering resistance to these rules themselves has consequently been under-theorised. This is despite the assumption of symbolic interactionism that humans are reciprocally involved in creating social order (Thoits, 2003). This trend continues in various empirical studies examining emotion management in organizations with rare exceptions (Lewis, 2008). Patricia Lewis (2008) conducted a study looking at how a 'masculine emotion regime' of a baby unit is challenged by the nurses at night, through their use of space. Lewis (2008)

draws on Bolton's (2005) typology to undertake a gendered analysis and proposes that prescriptive emotion management is masculine and favours detachment, commitment, autonomy and expertise whereas philanthropic emotion management is feminine and incorporates rapport, empathy and involvement. Through skilful use of interview data and the idea of space, Lewis (2008) concludes that rather than existing in a straightforward power relation where masculinity overrides femininity, the employees of the baby-unit are able to challenge and resist masculinity and create 'spaces of empowerment' for themselves during night duty. However, this resistance too is based on the performance of other 'normative' feeling rules, in this case philanthropic.

Even though Hochschild (1979) recognises 'affective deviance' or 'inappropriate feelings' (1983:59), which can be understood as times when 'normal' emotions are not performed and Bolton (2005) recognises that there is a juggling between different feeling rules which determines display, emotion management research has focussed more on normative displays rather than where norms are resisted. Fineman (2000) also looks at emotion work as normative "processes that define and reinforce deference patterns, worker hierarchies, and power relations. Emotion work helps keep the organization organized; when emotion management fails, so can the organization" (Fineman, 2000:5).

This has led some scholars to make attempts at 'recovering emotion from emotion management' (Theodosius, 2006) or discussing the 'unmanaged organization' (Gabriel, 1995). However, these critics tend to occupy a psychoanalytic space rather than a social constructionist one. Bolton and Boyd (2003) offered their framework of workplace emotions in order to respond to Gabriel's (1995) call for attention to the unmanaged organization (see Bolton and Boyd, 2003: 294). However the framework does not broaden the concept of agency sufficiently to account for resistance.

Peggy Thoits' (1990) concept of 'emotional deviance' is similar to Hochschild's concept of affective deviance (Hochschild, 2001:144) and is illuminating for our purposes here. "Emotional deviance refers to experiences or displays of affect that

differ in quality or degree from what is expected in given situations” (Thoits, 1990: 181). Thoits (1990) wonders about the circumstances under which individuals will experience or display improper emotions given the possibility of sanctions against them. She also speculates about the possibility of individuals altering existent feeling rules by not participating in them. Fineman (1994) and Sturdy and Fineman (2001) propose that the resilience of emotion rules depends partly on the power struggle between those who define the emotion rules, and those who contravene them. Thoits (1990) proposes that it is when there is a lack of clear normative ideals that this trespassing is most likely to be successful. Therefore on occasion, individuals could successfully legitimise new emotion norms and deviant expressions could also become normalized. Therefore the presence of power or ‘lack of clear normative ideals’, would both enable the exercise of resistance against normative emotion in organizations. Without acknowledging this the research continues the portrayal of emotion as “restricted, restrained, even mechanical” (Fineman, 1994:77). If we add the notion and potential of emotional deviance to the typology of feeling rules, the boundaries between it would look something like this:

**Table 2.4: Adding the potential for emotional deviance to the ‘normative’ emotion management typology makes agency more dynamic**

<b>Typology of workplace emotions with emotional deviance</b>	
<b>Emotional deviance</b>	<b>Emotional deviance</b>
<p><b><u>PECUNIARY</u></b>  <b>FEELING RULE: COMMERCIAL</b></p> <p><b>Consequences:</b>  <b>Alienation/Contradiction/Conflict/Resistance</b></p>	<p><b><u>PRESCRIPTIVE</u></b>  <b>FEELING RULE:</b>  <b>PROFESSIONAL/ORGANIZATIONAL</b></p> <p><b>Consequences:</b>  <b>Professional Identity/Contradiction</b></p>
<p><b><u>PRESENTATIONAL</u></b>  <b>FEELING RULE: SOCIAL</b></p> <p><b>Consequences: Stability</b></p>	<p><b><u>PHILANTHROPIC</u></b>  <b>FEELING RULE: SOCIAL</b></p> <p><b>Consequences: Stability/Satisfaction</b></p>
<b>Emotional deviance</b>	<b>Emotional deviance</b>

Resistance to organizational feeling rules might be required differently by different identities of professionals. The emotional management of women and black professionals involves navigating several exclusions that are not a matter of concern for white and male professionals (see Mirchandani, 2003). Drawing from Puwar (2004), here it is pertinent to note that certain professionals, owing to their race or gender may feel 'ontological complicity' (Puwar, 2004:131) with the organizational feeling rules and display rules, while certain others might 'feel the weight of the water' (Bourdieu, cited in Puwar, 2004:131).

'The idea that professional positions have job descriptions drawn up in neutered, neutral and colourless terms holds an enormous power....but (t)he promise of a realm of pure reason, rationality and mind is at the same time ....deeply and specifically corporeal in terms of which bodies can bear the torch of reason and leadership' (Puwar, 2004 :55).

The normative corporeality belongs to the white, male body, a privileged body (Puwar, 2004). This means that the context within which emotion management is performed is influenced by corporeal aspects such as gender and race. Nirmal Puwar goes on to develop an intersectional concept of 'space invaders' who are professionals that do not conform to the universal 'somatic norm'. She proposes that professionals who do not fit this normative corporeal form are subjected to infantilisation, whereby it is presumed that they have 'reduced capacities' or 'lesser faculties' (Puwar, 2004:60). They are also subjected to 'super-surveillance' whereby their 'imperfections are easily picked and amplified' and are 'taken as evidence of authority being misplaced' (Puwar, 2004:61). Further they are also seen to carry the 'burden of representation' whereby they represent the capacities of the groups they *belong* to, and become "representatives of their race" (Puwar, 2004:64-65). Mistakes committed could lead to strengthening of existing negative stereotypes and therefore space invaders operate in a tough terrain.

Thoits (1990) discusses several empirical researches at the macro and the micro level to conclude that "distributions of specific emotions (e.g., grief, jealousy, love) across social groups vary systemically with changing historical, cultural and structural forces" (Thoits, 1990: 180). She further states that "emotional

experiences, expressive displays, and attempts at emotional regulation are influenced by socialization and by prevailing situational factors” (Thoits, 1990: 180).

Further, it is acknowledged that ‘class, race, ethnicity, religion, national origin and gender - all function as relational sites of privilege and exclusion’ (Friedman, 1998:23). Freund (Freund, 1998:283) proposes that ‘the relationship between social status, control and emotion work and bodily states’ can be understood using the concept of dramaturgical work and dramaturgical stress. “Dramaturgical work...involves creating and maintaining boundaries...reading other actors’ expressions, and sometimes attempting to ‘penetrate’ their informational preserves” (1998: 266). Freund goes to elaborate that “the sociocultural situations in which such dramaturgical work takes place are more likely to subordinate those in ‘stigmatized’ social positions, so that women, minority groups, workers in lower class service occupations and, of course, children are likely to be particularly vulnerable” (Freund, 1998: 283). This then leads to the dramaturgical stress of those that are subordinated owing to their corporeal identities.

Specific insights about corporeal identities is therefore of significance in understanding emotion management in organizational contexts. Professional norms may be differently experienced by stigmatised identities. We shall therefore consider how gender and race have been studied in relation to emotion management.

### ***Gender and Emotion Management:***

The generation of emotion codes is based on the inherently gendered and dichotomous constructions that divide the world into masculine and feminine, such as the divisions between “care and control, discipline and devotion, rationality and relationality” (Bolton, 2008: 21) where control, discipline and rationality have a higher level of authority within the professional persona, whereby the masculine ideals of individualism, competitiveness and predictability are favoured and the feminine and caring side of teaching are dismissed. Women are therefore required to demonstrate ‘passivity, caring and vulnerability’ and men are required to display

'dominance, authority, risk-taking and control' (Lewis and Simpson, 2007:10). Women are definitely assigned the responsibility for management of emotion in the private sphere (Duncombe and Marden, 1993). Further, even in the public sphere, the feminised occupations are those where there is a need for constant performance of emotional labour in the form of caring or empathising (Guy and Newman, 2004). Emotional labour is therefore recognised as profoundly gendered (Meanwell, Wolfe and Hallett, 2008).

At the same time, because the different expectations for men and women do not translate into them being accorded equal respect, women have uncertain guidance on their emotional performances. Consequently, women often struggle because of several untenable and incongruous expectations from them. Sometimes, "to be a "proper" manager requires that a woman reproduces on account of herself in terms of attributes which commonly represent a type of masculinity" (Swan, 1994:105, cited in Mirchandani, 2003) but at other times a woman is supposed to bring about a peaceful environment at work based on her intuition and ability to bring about emotional stability through her caring behaviours (Pierce, 1997). This realization has led to the development of the concept of 'emotional deviance' (Thoits, 1990), which is an outcome of multiple and mutually antagonistic feeling rules and involves a departure from normative emotional displays.

Rather than researching ways that confirm stereotypes about women's inherent and natural abilities with regard to emotional labour, Lewis and Simpson (2007:2) caution us to "move beyond the binary divide to consider how men and women draw on emotions and difference to make sense of their reality and to construct their sense of self". Feminist studies of emotion in organizations that draw on Butler's (1999a; also see Osborne and Segal, 1994) poststructural idea of selfhood as a performance, have tried to redress what they have called the 'masculinisation' of emotion in organizations and instrumental incorporation of emotions (Mumby and Putnam, 1992; Lewis and Simpson, 2007, Knight and Surman, 2008). This 'masculinisation' is a paradoxical move where emotions are instrumentally being incorporated in organizations while there is an ongoing devaluation of work that is

defined as “suitable for women” because of its emotional content (Lewis and Simpson, 2007:2).

While gender as a social-structural concern has received noteworthy critical focus, certain other areas need to be further problematised. In this regard, Kiran Mirchandani foregrounds intersectional concerns in feminist research by drawing on Liu (1991, cited in Mirchandani, 2003) acknowledging that race is a ‘gendered social category’ (2003:729). She also problematizes the idea of ‘universal woman’ (2003:727) and the normalising of whiteness that accompanies this problematic construction. While Mirchandani (2003) and more recently, Chong (2009) have recognised the lapses around race and intersectionality in emotional labour, the linking together of postcolonial and emotional concerns has not been developed sufficiently in this literature and could be usefully extended. Concerns about race are occluded in favour of gender related analysis of emotion in organizations. This oversight merits further discussion to suggest ways forward.

### ***Race and emotion in organizations:***

The notion of intersectionality has been created to emphasize that race and gender are experienced not as detached or cumulative but as concurrent and simultaneous (Acker, 2000, 2006). Intersectionality ‘theorizes the relationship between different social categories’ (Valentine, 2007:10) and enables a complex analysis by placing social categories in a matrix of exclusion rather than singular identity concerns. Mirchandani (2003) makes a convincing case outlining the sheer lack of attention to the racialized dimensions of Emotion in Organizations. Making an argument for the relevance of ‘intersectionality’ as a feminist concept, Mirchandani (2003) suggests that anti-racism needs to be implicit in feminist (and malestream) research on emotional labour. Black feminists and anti-racist feminists have also proposed that the “interrelationship between race and other forms of domination” (Proudford and Nkomo, 2006) must be seen as interdependent and indivisible categories.



“Race, in particular, is virtually unexplored in the literature on emotional labor” (Meanwell, Wolfe and Hallett, 2008, brackets mine). It is important to state that in poststructuralist and social constructionist understanding, race is not viewed as an essential social category (see a similar discussion about gender in Lewis and Simpson, 2007). Echoing Omi and Winant (1993), it would be appropriate to state that the meaning of race is defined and contested throughout society, in both social and personal ways. Racial categories are therefore framed and reframed, rejected and reformulated and so race is not an “essence” but neither is it an illusion that will go away with the establishment of an appropriate social order. As a socially constructed category that has been operational for hundreds of years, race is not a redundant category either. It has power as a concept because it is deployed in social interactions.

Race and ethnicity have often either been unstated or considered irrelevant in research and organizations have often been thought of as being race neutral. Cox and Nkomo (1990) propose that this is because of (or despite) the overwhelming role of race and ethnicity in every aspect of society. Reich (1981) points out that race is a major aspect along which organizational division of labour is arranged and yet most management researchers produce research studies that are narrowly focussed, ahistorical and de-contextualised (Cox and Nkomo, 1990). Organizational researchers have often construed race as something that needs to be managed at an ‘individual’ level using ‘assimilation’ to the dominant norm as the technique for adjustments. This sort of treatment takes away ‘inequality’ from the research agenda and inequality can be seen as deeply constitutive of racial divisions. However, “(e)motion work...involves negotiating the exclusions which are encountered” Mirchandani (2003). Therefore managing one’s own feeling, helping others feel a certain way, and defining one’s work can all be considered emotion work. So it seems apparent that the systematic exclusion in organizations that is conducted along racial lines will create their own systems of emotion work and labour.

In many studies, whereas there is an acknowledgement of gender as a site of struggle (Knights and Surman, 2008; Lewis and Simpson, 2007), the consideration

of race and postcolonial contexts is notably missing from what might be construed as mainstream feminist writing in the West. In fact, the trend in various edited publications on 'Emotion in Organizations' is that there is one chapter written by an obviously 'not white' academic who writes about race. Mirchandani (2008), Krone and Morgan (2000), and Janjuha-Jivraj and Martin, (2007) are some examples of this phenomenon. The 'marked' researchers and academics continue to engage in these areas and this research could be construed as part of the same discursive construction of 'marked' researcher interests. This of course does not mean that the contributions from ethnically marked authors are irrelevant or unimportant. However, unless mainstream feminist literature begins to deploy these concepts in the analysis of 'gender as racialized' or 'race as gendered', the burden of talking about race continues to be borne by non-white feminist scholars even when the arguments for gender and race inclusion share several premises.

Echoing this lack of engagement is the manner in which the work by authors such as Gunaratnam and Lewis (2001) has had limited mobility and import on other literature on Emotion in Organizations. Following their conceptualisation, emotion management can therefore be recognised as created by the 'complexities and contradictions of multiple and intersecting categories of social difference' (Gunaratnam and Lewis, 2001:138.). This has clear links with the idea of 'dramaturgical stress' (Freund, 1998) but they prioritize the role of unconscious emotions and Kleinian notions of 'splitting' at the intra-psychic level as being involved in emotional responses across differences. Therefore, according to Gunaratnam and Lewis (2001), it is important to understand which anxieties are masked or expressed through splitting - to deal with the 'fear of the 'Other' in the self'. They propose a labouring of emotions including the acknowledgement of 'black anger' (through Audre Lorde) that leads to constructive exchanges that challenge the historical distortions in our interactions and to move toward wholeness that is capable of accepting difference as well as recognising the self as composed of what is split.

While one argument for the limited engagement with Gunaratnam and Lewis' (2001) work is their inclusion of race in emotional labour, it is also worth noting that

a corresponding argument is around their use of psychoanalytic concepts. Studies that are predominantly psychoanalytic are often excluded from the purview of social constructionist or post-structural research as it is deemed that they are incompatible. This exclusion within post-structuralism could be construed as a cognitive bias because in valuing discourse, language and other external signifiers, post-structuralism does ignore the role of the psyche in understanding constructed realities. Carolyn Vogler (2000) draws on Ian Craib's theories to propose that a subjective inner life and an internal psychic space are important as they enable individual selves to 'absorb and process' the offerings of discourse, ideologies and structures.

This selective way in which literature is cited or neglected is deeply problematic but also deeply entrenched in the way knowledge and canons continue to be constructed (Cooke, 2003). On the other hand there also exist politically problematic incorporation of a racialized analysis in Emotion in Organization studies to suggest that black and minority communities are engaging in a 'narcissistic' enterprise in their quest for political correctness within institutions (Schwartz, 1993). Schwartz's overall focus is on analysing the limitations of political correctness and he makes some interesting but controversial claims about establishing these. Schwartz also argues for the importance of guilt (which we can make reparations for) rather than shame (as it is intimately tied with identity and an irredeemable feature of it) in working toward societal change. Schwartz (1993) considers the role of white men in creating 'civilizations' and writes, "the edifice, not only of Western civilization, but increasingly of the civilization of the whole world, was largely created by white males, certainly in disproportionate numbers. Science, technology, law, economic institutions, indeed, the university itself - one could go on - are predominantly the products of white male invention and construction. ...But there is never any credit given to the white males for their contribution; nor is any gratitude or respect expressed" (1993:199). Schwartz (1993) therefore buys into 'imperialist' interpretations of history which are involved in legitimizing other 'facts' that justify the colonial enterprise. The historical narcissism that was exercised in the forms of colonialism, anti-Semitism and patriarchy is therefore obliterated from his analysis. This lack of importance to

historical inequalities continues the perpetration of inequalities by furthering the myth that professional accomplishments take place in a neutral environment. Further it propels the notion that if only the minorities were able to appreciate white male achievements and entitlements as 'earned' (Schwartz, 1993:200), things could change for the better. If we bring Gunaratnam and Lewis's (2001) insights into analysing the limitations of Schwartz's account, we can see that a focus on personal guilt and reparation (which is advocated by Schwartz (1993:211) prevents social transformations (Gunaratnam and Lewis, 2001:15). He also fails to include a dynamic analysis by neglecting the possibility of the white male as a defended subject (see Gunaratnam and Lewis, 2001).

Put together, these various streams of thought are provoking as they suggest that emotional dimensions of inter-racial interactions are perhaps least explored but most salient in organizations that have actors with differing racial identities. Therefore its absence from the Emotion in Organizations literature is a disturbing and revealing silence. Attending to the 'emotional underlife' (Bolton, 2000) of organizations would therefore requiring a foregrounding of raced and gendered concerns.

### **Conclusion:**

This chapter focussed on reviewing available theoretical approaches for studying emotion in organizations. This study is based in the Critical Organizational Studies approach and draws on social constructionist research but is open to psychoanalytic studies that foreground social and political analysis of emotion in organizations. The emotion management of professionals was reviewed with a view to examining how race and gender might impact on emotion management of professionals in organizations. Two important research areas that have been under-examined were identified. These are around the resistance of professionals to emotion management norms, and the impact of race/intersectionality on emotion management of professionals.

In order to examine resistance to emotion management as well as the role of intersectionality in how emotions are managed, it would be important to explore not

only the 'social regulation' that emotion work achieves (Fineman, 2000:5) but also the conflicts in emotion management which 'implicate structural and ideological factors' (Fineman, 2000:5). Therefore there are social or historical factors of emotionologies that impact on organizations as emotional arenas and these could reveal conflict, agency and resistance (see Fineman, 2000:3). Fineman further goes on to state that in emotion management, "(c)onflicts are especially revealed in situations where corporate emotional indoctrination is pervasive and transnational" (Fineman, 2000: 3). This implies that when organizations are transnational, some organizational emotional arenas could be at odds with societal norms. Postcolonial scholarship and criticism focuses on the agency and resistance of marginalised races in (post)colonial and transnational contexts and can be useful in examining emotion management conflicts in organizations. While postcolonial scholarship has various different strands, some relevant concepts and theorists will be reviewed in the next chapter in the context of disaster interventions in order to help address the research concerns that have been identified in this chapter.

## **Chapter Three: The Disaster Industry: the context of the research**

So far this study has been situated with Critical Organization Studies to study Emotion in Organizations. It has been suggested that 'resistance to emotion management' and the impact of 'race/intersectionality on emotion management are research areas worthy of further elaboration. Postcolonial scholarship and critique has been articulated as the theoretical vantage point that has been identified as relevant for examining these research concerns. Another reason for choosing a postcolonial perspective is that 'disaster intervention INGOs' are the focus of this research. These organizations will be introduced in this chapter. Arguably, every site is postcolonial. However, some sites are more relevant for a postcolonial analysis than others. In this chapter disaster intervention INGOs will be situated as organizations that are extremely relevant for postcolonial analysis. Disaster interventions are part of international development interventions and will be examined in some detail to set the scene for the research questions that guide this study.

INGOs claim neutrality, have big budgets, and their terrain of interventions is changing. Further, they continue to propagate the ideal of modernity and are institutions that can be diagnosed with several colonial continuities. They are recognised to suffer from organizational issues due to their bureaucratic set-up (Walkup, 1997) and although INGOs like to distinguish between development and disaster interventions, these can be seen as similar. These are the primary arguments and critiques that I will seek to expand on in this chapter.

International development is a complex political and ideological field. The actors in international development are diverse and the international development industry is composed of governmental and non-governmental bodies. The humanitarian/disaster sector has similar players as international development and comprises of the United Nations Organizations, Embassies that provide disaster relief and various International Non-governmental Organizations (INGOs) along with state-based interventions. Analysts at Development Initiative (cited in ODI-

HPG, 2010) have estimated that the humanitarian aid sector was globally worth at least \$18 billion in 2008. It is estimated to have employed 300,000 people in 2008 (Stoddard et al., 2009, cited in ODI-HPG, 2010). Amongst the various players of the humanitarian sector and the international development sector, this research will focus only on INGOs. This is because while INGOs as a group have significant differences such as being faith-based or secular, they also share their terms of engagement as part of the civil society of developing countries. The management structure of INGOs is significantly different from United Nations organizations and diplomatic embassies. While the same group of professionals might work in these various settings, INGOs are not linked to national or international governance structures in the obvious ways that United Nations organizations or diplomatic embassies might be. Most of the INGOs have their funding bases and their head offices in developed countries, also known as the North. Most of the disaster interventions that the INGOs engage in are those that affect the developing countries, also known as the South. In this study, the pairs developed/developing, North/South will be used synonymously. Further the North also corresponds to the Western developed countries and so the West and the developmental North will be used synonymously.

The most influential INGOs form the Disaster Emergency Committee (DEC), which is a conglomerate of 13 INGOs and raises its own funds for disaster interventions. To give us a sense of the sums of money involved, this umbrella organization raised over £463 million (DEC, 2009) purely for disaster interventions in the last few years. These INGOs also have separate funding for their development work. All major INGOs have their infrastructural set up present in India. India can be seen ironically as a developing country with a well developed INGO presence. International non-governmental organizations (INGOs) are not necessarily removed from the influences of the governments of their countries - however, they often purport to have a humanitarian identity that is non partisan and non-judgemental; their commitment is to saving civilian lives instead of taking sides in any conflict. INGOs often fund the activities of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) however, and many of NGOs can have explicitly political mandates. While in non-disaster times these organizations may be engaged in political activism at

the national level, in times of disaster they commit to the humanitarian principles of neutrality (Walkup, 1997). One of the areas where humanitarian interventions have been significantly criticised has been with regard to their neutrality, where it has even been constructed as a sin (Udombana, 2005). This is surely a dilemma; one that concerns us only tangentially but does contribute to highlighting the inherent tensions in the idea of 'disinterested' helping.

Consequently, INGOs are seen as independent of the state, continuing the projects of the states that fund them or as reducing the accountability of the states that they work in (Barnett and Finnemore, 1999). Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in developing countries have undergone a lot of changes and this has also meant that the relationship between INGOs (International NGOs) and NGOs is changing significantly. INGOs are mostly based in the developmental north and are also called NNGOs (Northern NGOs) and the NGOs located in the developmental south can be termed SNGOs (Southern NGOs). Most INGOs involved in disaster interventions have 'development' projects being pursued in the 'developing' countries where they carry out their disaster related work. Disaster work is often also referred to as relief work, emergency interventions and humanitarian interventions. These terms are therefore used synonymously in this thesis.

While development work and disaster work are seen as two distinct areas, one of the ways in which this industry can be problematised is by challenging this artificial and strategic divide between the arenas of development and those of disaster. This will be discussed in some detail later on in this chapter.

The North and South relationship in the NGO and development sector has seen rapid changes, and the development sector is in fact a deceptive term that encapsulates organizations that have multi-million dollar budgets and those that are small, informal organizations with tentative funds (Lewis, 1998). The most obvious change that has begun to take effect is the move from direct implementation of northern organizations to a partnership approach with southern organizations. Also, there is much more visible partnering between southern-NGOs for capacity building purposes. At the same time, there is also a potential 'crisis of



identity and legitimacy among Northern NGOs as increasingly effective SNGOs take over most of the activities previously carried out by organizations from the North' (Edwards (1996) cited in Lewis, 1998).

The thrust of interventions from NNGOs today is in the area of emergency and humanitarian work (Pieterse, 2000). This has partly been influenced by the funding available for this work. In the UK, the task of funding emergency and relief activities is taken care of by DEC (Disaster and Emergency committee), which is composed of several large NNGOs. 'In many respects, relief and development are an emergency-based compensatory insurance for the world's unsecured populations lying beyond the borders of free society' (Duffield, 2006:74). The interest in environmental disasters as potentially unavoidable coupled with the pre-eminence of sustainable development as a style of intervention has further ensured the dominance of disaster relief as a potential contribution of INGOs. The construction of disasters as remedied by technical interventions is the major reason why the direct work of INGOs is continuously justified in disasters.

INGOs have been criticized as suffering from the frailties of other bureaucracies in as much as they have been seen as inefficient, ineffective, repressive and unaccountable in their discussion of the politics, power and pathologies of international organizations (Barnett and Finnemore, 1999). Mark Walkup (1997) has talked about 'institutionalized dysfunctions' (ibid.:38) that humanitarian organizations suffer from and discussed how these institutionalised dysfunctions lead to certain coping strategies that are institutionalised at the macro level of humanitarian organizations. He specifically mentions the dynamics of *delusion* and *defensiveness*. Walkup discusses myths as one type of delusion and says that

“when many individuals within a common social context experienced similar forms of psychological distress and cope with them in similar ways, a dynamic of 'collective self-deception' emerges. Over time, this dynamic is reinforced and often becomes institutionalized” (Walkup, 1997:48).

One significant delusion that takes the form of a myth that Walkup mentions is a *projectismo*, which implies a conviction of righteousness with regard to the cause

that the organization is working towards. This occurs along with organizational defensiveness whereby humanitarian organizations “characteristically assumed a defensive posture to protect two interrelated components essential for organisational survival: myths and money” (Walkup, 1997:50).

Along with emotions toward beneficiaries and post-traumatic stress (Baddam, Russell, and Russell, 2007), emotions are part and parcel of the service delivery of the organizations. The emotional repercussions of disaster interventions for employees has been recognised and studied in some depth, leading sometimes to the provisions for debriefing and dealing with post-traumatic stress and other emotional consequences for employees (Armstrong, O'Callahan, and Marmar, 1991; McCall and Salama, 1999). The emotional aspects of the relationships between employees within INGOs is crucial because in disaster interventions, there is an ongoing problem of capacity, high staff-turnover and lack of trust between diverse staff members from different regions (the developing and the developed) of the international order. This situation has been the focus of a lot of practitioner attention and human resource consultants of INGOs have studied in a way that denotes lack of trust and lack of qualifications and capacity of the national staff as some of the reasons of the problem of capacity and high staff-turnover (Swords, 2006). The staff groups involved in disaster interventions are categorised either as international/expatriate or national/local workers. These pairs of terms will be used synonymously in this dissertation. The prevalence of these categories of workers is curious as it contains a categorisation that invokes not the kind of work performed but includes a concern for nationality while categorising the workers in disasters. This study is an attempt to explore the links between this sector's unproblematized issues and its pressing concerns by prioritising the emotions of the National employees of INGOs working in India. Some of the questions that have helped frame the study are around aspects such as how do the history and the social/political structure of relationships that form the INGOs impact on the emotional realm of these organizations? How does this in turn relate to the current construction of staff problems in INGOs? Are there alternative ways of conceptualising these staffing problems?

What is presented below is therefore not a realist literature review but an attempt to unravel the discourses that inform the constructions of disaster interventions by critically reviewing the literature around development and disasters. The rest of this chapter could therefore be seen as part of the data collection strategy as it involves the background data collection about the discourses that operate and float about disaster interventions. This serves as the interpretive resource for data analysis but was gained through an immersion in the representations of the disaster industry - the resources on humanitarian personnel related websites (example, the ECB project website <http://www.ecbproject.org/> and ALNAP website <http://www.alnap.org/>), formal documentation about staffing processes and the research findings of practitioners and consultants on organizational aspects of disaster work. All of this was available in the public domain and shaped not only the questions asked in this research but also the interpretive framework used to analyse the results.

### ***'Same-ing' Development and Disaster:***

Development interventions have been the subject of a great deal of thinking, challenging and evolving. The origins of development interventions have been the subject of a lot of academic writing, and some critical genealogies would locate the origins in a colonial ideology of civilising the natives. In very significant contributions of this kind, there has been an uncovering of similarities between the colonial and the contemporary representations of the developing world (Kothari, 2005) and an analytical critique of 'participation' by equating managerialist participation in development administration and management with 'indirect rule' (Cooke, 2003). The neoliberal environment of development interventions (Kothari, 2005) and the New Public Management (Dar and Cooke, 2007) that is used to 'govern' and 'discipline' development have both been acknowledged. Further, there are those development theorists that think that development as a concept is flawed and should be moved away from - and there are the moderates who advocate for changes within the practices of development without wishing to throw the baby with the bath water. The defence of development takes place from a moral stand-point

(Simon, 1997) as well as from the advocates of models of alternative development (Escobar, 1995).

While there are evaluations of disaster efforts and practice (Telford and Cosgrave (2007); Roberts and Hoffmann (2004); Rawal et al (2005)), the poor state of disaster theorising has been recognised (Sementelli, 2007). In reviewing the academic literature on disasters, the discursive construction of disaster as different from development helps the relative dearth of critical theorising in disasters; it is constructed as a field that is practical and where quick, immediate and emergency action are required and this action does not need to be buffered by theoretical and critical concerns that are reserved for development efforts. Critical engagement is therefore avoided when it comes to disaster interventions. Development administration and management has noted the kind of immobility that critiques of development could lead to and therefore there is actually the idea that critical development (Escobar, 1995) is different from positive development which is skills based and recognises the need for social interventions (Thomas, 1996). This trend is also noted in critical management studies whereby the critical theories are viewed as non-performative, although this is also challenged by other organizational theorists (Fournier and Grey, 2000). Therefore by looking at disasters as different from development, the players of the disaster industry have a space that is not subjected to critique, and they can 'practice' unabated by the immobilisation of critical thinking that affects development work.

Despite the prevalence of the discourse of the difference between development and disaster work, it would be interesting to examine disaster and development as 'the same' rather than different. Engaging in this exercise will shed light on the institutionalised ways in which critical thinking is kept at bay in disaster work. This 'same-ing' is also undertaken in Mark Duffield's (1994) remarkable acknowledgement that "*(r)ather than being autonomous, relief is a developmental idea*" (italics original, Duffield, 1994). Apart from the ideational level of sameness, there is also the sameness of the players of disasters and development with a large number of employees of INGOs working in both development and disaster interventions. There is also a shared institutional framework, a shared ideology of

modernity, which can be further understood in this quotation from Mark Duffield (1994:38) where he constructs development and disaster work as

“a series of interconnecting movements leading from poverty-and vulnerability to security and well-being. It is part of the myth of modernity. That is, the certainty that shared progress is the normal-and long-term direction of all social change. For several decades the modernist paradigm has dominated the international aid apparatus” (Duffield, 1994:38).

In his more recent work, Duffield (2007) has engaged in extending his critique of modernity in development and relief by critiquing developmentalism. He does this by linking developmentalism to apolitical multiculturalism that has the potential for furthering racist conclusions whereby developmentalism itself becomes a form of ‘western racial discourse’ (Duffield, 2007: 173). The move towards ‘sameness’ could also be approached by acknowledging that the retreat of International development has led to relief being burdened with the responsibility for development (Pupavac, 2006). While disaster funding and the aid system has been critiqued, the level of postcolonial engagement with ‘development’ as an idea is significantly greater than with ‘disaster’, and it is important to be able to link development and disaster so as to open up disaster interventions to the criticisms that ‘development interventions’ have to deal with on an ongoing basis. The postcolonial critique of development includes a critique of modernity and universalism, of Eurocentric notions of development as well as a critique of expertise in development (Escobar, 1995; Biccum, 2002; Kothari, 2004). Once we acknowledge the shared/same ‘modern’ assumptions of development and disaster interventions and the shrinking of development in favour of humanitarian/disaster interventions, we can then acknowledge that the critique of development holds significance for a critique of relief/disaster interventions as well. By using a ‘postcolonial gaze’ we can explicitly challenge those unnamed assumptions in the practice of disaster interventions by humanitarian organizations. This will be the focus of the next section of this chapter.

From a postcolonial perspective, one of the important criticisms of the humanitarian sector is that it is organized along modern and rational lines. Modernity and rationality is also core to the organizational processes that were instrumental in enabling colonialism itself. Psychologists who reflect on colonialism have made some interesting comments on the hyper masculinity and rationality that constituted colonialism. According to Nandy (1983), the “colonization of the mind and imagination” engaged “well-meaning, hard-working, middle class missionaries, liberals, modernists, and believers in science, equality and progress” (Nandy, 1983:xi). This continues in the case of humanitarian organizations. Further because these organizations are still arranged along colonial lines and because colonialism exerts high costs for the colonizers in the form of psychological decay (Nandy,1983) there are certain aspects which continue to be relevant as criticism for these organizations, such as lack of cultural self-scrutiny, and marginalization of internal cultural criticism. Spivak (1999) has called this lack of self scrutiny as an outcome of ‘sanctioned ignorance’ and she links it with the west’s penchant for not dealing with, or ignoring the critique and challenges posed by alternative knowledges.

In the context of humanitarian organizations, this ‘sanctioned ignorance’ (Spivak, 1999) becomes apparent when we look at the research projects of human resource related concerns in disaster interventions. There is a distinct elision of race from the ways in which the staffing problems of the disaster industry are constructed, and ‘nationality’ and ‘culture’ are talked about as if they are ahistorical and unrelated to ‘race’. Staff development is talked about exclusively in terms of how the National staff members need to develop more - they are conceptualised in terms of their ‘lack’, which is of great postcolonial significance. While it is acknowledged that the National staff often provide the feedback that the cultural understanding of Expatriate staff is insufficient, this does not translate into any efforts to improve the expatriate staff; therefore this is not translated into a ‘lack’ that is recognised and no efforts are made to rectify this lack in the public domain.

Even when multicultural work is the focus of discussions in conferences, for example the People in Aid conference on humanitarian interventions which had a

spotlight on cultural diversity, it fails to be a critical reflective space as the conference attendees are not culturally diverse (example see Elliott, 2008). In these spaces, the National Staff become the point of 'improvement' and 'development'. Further, because discussions about improvement happen when representation from developing countries is not present in significant numbers, their voices are unrepresented in these discussions. These are ways of systemically and systematically silencing any critique. This is clearly visible in the recent investment in reviewing and developing 'Emergency Capacity Building' (ECB, 2009) literature. This again leads to the marginalisation of postcolonial emotional concerns.

Biccum (2002) explains how much the discourse of development has in common with colonial discourse and the project of modernity. She places an 'elision of colonial history' in development writing as the reason behind a 'wilful cultural amnesia' that keeps the privilege of Eurocentrism unscathed by reflection or critique. This elision continues and furthers the project of Eurocentrism by eschewing the potential reflexivity about privileges in the development industry. This elision of convenience is also problematised by Radhakrishnan (1993) when he challenges the state of 'countermnemonic innocence' of Europe which allows it to 'freely and unilaterally' choose what to remember/forget from history. This colonial continuity is bound to throw up different kinds of problems in interactions between workers from developing and developed countries. Many aid workers that are 'international' or based in the west, have voiced their critical opinions about humanitarian interventions through published pieces of work. However, there is a telling silence in terms of the narratives of the 'local' or 'national' workers of INGOs.

We have so far examined the context of disaster interventions and recognised that disasters are one of the key sites of operations for INGOs today and that disaster interventions share a lot of the assumptions of modernity that were behind the colonial enterprise. In doing this we have been able to question the separation of development and disaster and recognised that the critiques of development also apply as critiques for disaster interventions. Apart from tracing this colonial continuity, we have also been able to survey the kind of emotional climate of

hostility and envy that the current system of rewarding western expatriates creates in disaster interventions. This needs to be acknowledged in making sense of the staffing issues of INGOs. To add to this, we also need to look at a macro-level analysis of disasters that links disasters to a neo-liberal system and has further repercussions for the emotions we might encounter in studying the narratives of national workers in this field. Although INGOs are not engaged in profit making as their primary or stated goal, they are quite far reaching in their economic impact on the developing world. With regard to the economic implications of disaster interventions, Naomi Klein proposes that disasters are often used as ‘shocks’ that form the backdrop for economically inspired decisions that have grave social costs (Klein, 2007). Klein’s work therefore moves forward other work that has linked capitalism with humanitarian sensibilities, for example Haskell (1985) who looks at “the ways in which substructural developments like the rise of capitalism might have influenced superstructural developments like humanitarianism” (Haskell, 1985:341).

Neoliberalism can be understood as the economic liberalisation strategy that informs “policies of economic reform, minimalist states, privatisation and principles of market-based economics and the policy instruments of, for example, the World Bank and IMF’s structural adjustment programmes that enable them” (Kothari, 2005:426). Along with this macro level change, neoliberalism also informs the professionalization and technical solutions agenda of development interventions including aspects like how development intervention is to be regulated. The neoliberal context of disasters becomes even more palpable when we acknowledge the existence of a ‘disaster industry’. Sampson (2010) undertakes an interesting critique of the anti-corruption regime where he explains that anti-corruptionism is upheld by the ‘anti-corruption industry’. He uses the word industry in a pejorative sense because of the way in which a particular ideology is institutionalised to serve institutional ends rather than to make changes in an egalitarian way. Sampson (2010) explains institutionalisation as the creation of “policies, regulations, initiatives, conventions, training courses, monitoring activities and programmes to enhance integrity and improve public administration” (2010:262). What Sampson (2010) proposes with respect to the anti-corruption



industry is very much applicable to the 'disaster industry'. The disaster industry has policies, regulations, initiatives, conventions, courses, monitoring activities and programmes to enhance integrity and improve public administration. ALNAP, ECB, 'Sphere' are some examples of this form of institutionalisation. These institutional actors have a West-focussed presence and are themselves donor-driven and therefore have been the subject of some critical reflection (example, Hirsch and Dijkzeul, 2008). These sorts of bodies often continue the 'civilising project' by institutionalising modernity in the processes and outcomes of disaster interventions.

In the context of neoliberalism, while the role of INGOs is changing, there is a greater impetus on the notion of legitimacy. Osseward, Nijhof and Hesse (2008) talk about this legitimacy as being composed of normative, regulatory, cognitive and output legitimacy. Their article draws on several critical studies of INGOs and uses an empirical example of disaster interventions in Banda Aceh and is therefore very much relevant for our purposes. They propose that there is a tension in these various forms of accountability and when INGOs focus on donor-oriented accountability, they often are unable to meet downward-focussed normative or mission oriented accountability. Therefore in a bid to survive as organizations, INGOs have to limit their ability to 'advocate for the disadvantaged' (ibid.:43). Due to the inherent tensions in achieving all forms of legitimacy the INGOs are seen as compromising normative legitimacy and focussing on output legitimacy and opting for professionalization and 'technologization', which often translates into INGOs "taking care of themselves, instead of the disadvantaged elsewhere in the world" (ibid.:47). Further in a context where privatisation and marketisation is valued, donors can put undue pressure on INGOs for output legitimacy at the expense of other forms of legitimacy and this makes INGOs move away from any ethical or political commitments. In the absence of democratic accountability structures toward the people these organizations are supposed to support, it is donor driven and output based accountability that reigns supreme and therefore opens INGOs to working in ways that are corporatized rather than emancipatory. The short-termism and funding based fickle efforts of the INGOs is also criticised by humanitarian workers themselves (Waters, 2001) although Waters' (2001) solution

of bureaucratization perhaps itself warrants further critique from the point of view of legitimacy.

While INGOs themselves are not held accountable by their 'presumed' beneficiaries, there is a great deal of emphasis on the issues of professionalization and accountability with regard to their workforce. The form of professionalization that has emerged in this context is similar to those that have been achieved in the public sector in the Western and developed country contexts (Parker and Gould, 1999). This has led to a 'culture of suspicion' (O'Neill, 2002: 18) that is focussed on targets, audits and indicators along with heavy reporting requirements. These concerns double up with colonial processes of control in as much as much of the government of India was done through the use of reports for example and also because colonies have always been constructed as 'corrupt' and therefore to be treated with suspicion.

The technological 'improvements' often continue the exclusionary practices whereby the developed country professionals have expertise in these and this is not passed on, or shared with the National employees. Further, the use of technology does not necessarily lead to sharing of knowledge to the extent that the 'reinventing the wheel' phenomenon is well recognised in emergency contexts (Marincioni, 2007). Therefore while technologization might serve donor ends, it also continues the practices that prevent the 'realization' of partnership on the ground.

The donor countries therefore exercise a severe level of control over the processes that INGOs can engender. The partnerships that INGOs are capable of are accused of gendering and infantilizing the developing countries that receive aid, and also of drawing on the 'racialized colonial hierarchies' that was the basis of the colonial empire (Noxolo, 2006). Noxolo critiques paternalistic and parenting forms of partnerships where Britain 'forgets to remember' (Bhabha, cited in Noxolo, 2006) the mutuality in partnership in as much as behind the paternalistic garb lies the unmentioned and occluded advantages that Britain enjoys through the structural adjustments or through the 'tied' dimensions of aid for example.

## ***Extending the postcolonial critique of development and disasters:***

The processes by which the north and the south interact in dealing with deprivations and disasters are often euphemised but are actually quite contaminated by notions of bad intentions and conspiracy theories in both the North and the South, leading to misunderstandings and continued divisions between the two (Pieterse, 2000). However, this situation has not been systematically explored and there is a dearth of research that focuses on the impasse, thereby pretending that there is no problem. However, '(i)n order to understand the developer's tragedy, we must judge his (sic) vision of the world not only by what it sees...but also by what it does not see: what human realities it refuses to look at. What potentialities it cannot bear to face' (Berman, 1983). In this regard it is important to acknowledge that questions of race have not been properly articulated in the international development literature and in international development practice. The silence around race in development practice has recently been acknowledged very emphatically (Crewe and Fernando, 2006; Kothari, 2006a) and a research agenda has been proposed (Kothari, 2006b) which involves challenging colonial continuities and problematizing the racialization of power and expertise. While gender is over emphasised as a social distinction that needs to be fore-grounded in development interventions in the 'developing countries', race is side-stepped very conveniently. Therefore we have three different strands of academic thinking about femininity - women and development, women in development, and the more evolved - gender and development (White, 2002; 2006). Aid agencies regularly demand that their 'recipients embrace gender equality as a goal and others at least demand that the impact on gender is monitored' (Crewe and Fernando, 2006:40), leading some to question the '(r)acism of 'gender equity'' (Bennett, 2001). Curiously, there are no such strands for thinking about and contextualising race in international development organizations. Altogether this leads to an aptly but problematical situation where presumably, 'white men and women are saving dark women from dark men' (Spivak, 1999:284).

Race is side-stepped in acknowledging identities as well, by using the concept of expatriate when speaking of employees who have come from the developed

countries and are (mostly) white. Therefore the operational categories are expatriates and locals/national workers - again, with barely any accompanying theoretical insights about these categories. However, a lot of differences are evident - expatriates are experts of some sort - who earn much more for doing the jobs they do than the locals would even dream of, and the 'expats' have trained in the development schools that are set in the developed countries. Interestingly, '(i)t often appears as if 'international' is a euphemism for the South when it refers to a place and for white Euro-Americans when it refers to people' (Crewe and Fernando, 2006:44). Although the master-slave dynamic is arguably a thing of the past, like a palimpsest it lingers on in organizational discourse; this is especially relevant when we consider that Western individuals are seen to embody the instrumental rationality and the right kind of labour relations that suit organizational development (Frenkel and Shenhav, 2003).

Expatriate workers are rewarded for their presumed higher instrumental rationality in the form of senior or expert positions in disaster and development interventions. They are also accommodated in five-star hotels even when they go to disaster sites. However, rather than this privilege being all good, it serves as a sweet-edged knife for expatriates because this creates an untenable position whereby the expatriates end up feeling a 'dissociation between the two worlds' when they move from squalor to luxury (Carr, 2000). Further, this often leads to a derogatory view of those that are paid less for the same job and engenders practices of social distance with the lower paid colleagues/National colleagues who, for their part of the emotional equation, end up feeling envy and de-motivated as a result of gross inequities (Carr, 2000). While the studies focussing on expatriates within disaster interventions are few, we can draw important insights from studies examining local approaches to expatriates where expatriate's short-termism is noted as a problem and difficulties in recognising local cultural mores is seen as an element of 'colonial mentality' (Hailey, 1996, cited in Ciuk and Jepson, 2009). The recognition that local managers are treated as inferior has also been noted (Suutari and Brewster, 1998, cited in Ciuk and Jepson, 2009).

Even with regard to emotions toward 'beneficiaries', extreme forms of human rights concerns in some contexts (example, refugee work) have led scholars to ponder whether humanitarian work can be humane (Harrell-Bond, 2002). Studies conducted in refugee camps suggest that this dissociation that expatriates face between their world and the victims' world could lead to victim blaming (Walkup, 1997) as those that are privileged need to justify the privilege to themselves. It is not surprising therefore that apart from compassion, in refugee camps, it is indifference and hostility that seem to be the predominant emotions of the (Western) disaster worker (Napier-Moore, 2007)

Regardless of strong institutional ways of not engaging with critique about the framework of international personnel deployment or perhaps because of them, international development/disaster professionals have been understood as hovering around three pertinent and derogatory stereotypical identities of '*mercenaries, missionaries and misfits*' (Stirrat, 2008). The Mercenaries are completely immersed in the money making side of engaging in their professional development at the expense of a 'disconnect' with the issues they are working with. Stirrat understands this as a defensive and protective reaction to deal with their guilt of being over-privileged in relation to their national colleagues. This involves cynically withdrawing and making a virtue out of the criticisms of others - money making and being 'development tourists' (Chambers, 1983 cited in Stirrat, 2008) who are cocooned in fancy hotels amidst tragedy become 'publicly owned' virtues, rather than vice. These development professionals 'tend to live in an enclave existence, frequenting their own clubs, beach resorts and drinking haunts' (ibid.:413). The Missionaries as described by Stirrat, are usually younger, idealistic with romantic visions of development, linked quite un-problematically to the historically problematic 'converting the heathen' approach. They are engaged in smaller NGOs, seeking to mingle with the 'real' people but also live in enclave existence. They are also viewed as incompetent and amateur and most missionaries get socialised into becoming mercenaries. The Misfits are those for whom rather than money or mission, development allows an escape from the world they usually inhabit, where they are 'no-bodies' to a world where they can be 'important' (ibid.:419).

Power (2006) recognises the pertinence of these derogatory identities clearly in seeking an 'anti racist geography of development' and suggests that "the task, in short, is to explore how 'race' is constituted *in* and *through* the spaces of development and involves placing the apparatus of development and its personnel directly under review as a key problematic" (p:37). It has also been suggested that the culture of development institutions is wrapped up in conjectures that stereotype and racialize the world's poor (Yapa, 2002). This is sustained by the prevalence of binary divisions and dichotomous conceptualisations, some of which are: developed/underdeveloped, knowing-subject/needy object, industrialized/non-industrialized (ibid., 2002). This happens in a context where the use of technocrats and development experts who are trained in affluent countries is predominant (Samoff and Stromquist, 2001). This sort of a reality reinforces power relations because what 'knowledge' is becomes dependent on elite education and research institutions, which are all located in affluent countries. Further, development becomes a technical enterprise, and this is only more so in the case of disaster interventions. This picture is completed when we take into account the fact that development studies related text-books 'recreate the undergraduate reader in the image of a more developed self' reading about a less developed other (Myers, 2001). This 'academic socialisation' (Yapa, 2002) produces patronizing ethnocentric and racist attitudes by the use of universalising and hierarchical conceptualisations.

Therefore, disaster management organizations are an ideal site for research using a postcolonial gaze. To sum up, colonial continuities are discernible in humanitarian interventions. Race in international development management is under-researched and under-theorised. It is also invisible and unstated. Together, this avoidance implies the maintenance of status quo is preserved by not engaging in matters that have a historical burden and an emotional salience. It is therefore pertinent to explore the emotional dimensions of postcolonial organizational settings. By using an 'emotion in organizations' perspective and focussing on the narratives of the local workers in INGOs using postcolonial theory, this research

will attempt to contribute to addressing the under-attention that these key areas have so far been subjected.

As mentioned already, while humanitarianism has been critiqued, postcolonial theorising has not been explicitly used in exploring disaster interventions. While there are 'transferable' insights from postcolonial critiques of development, there are also perhaps some new insights that will emerge from exploring the narratives of national workers working in disasters. In effect by exploring this particular context of INGOs that have a presence in India, and exploring the emotional narratives of National workers specifically, there exists a scope to create theoretical links between postcolonial theories and emotion in organizations related theorising. There is also the potential of extending what we know about the impact of neoliberal practices on professionals' subjectivities. We will do this by examining the narratives of National workers whereby they share their view of the role of emotion in organizations.

In the next chapter, the methodological concerns will be discussed to articulate a clear plan of action for the empirical aspect of this research study. However, first I will present a theoretically informed rearticulating of the research questions so that these can be reaffirmed and integrated with the literature we have reviewed so far. This is done in order to accommodate the conceptual insights gained from the literature review in the framing of the research questions.

## Rearticulating the research questions in a theoretically informed way:

With the three questions we will be able to examine organizational level, interpersonal level and intra-personal level concerns with regard to the context and practices of emotion management amongst national employees of INGOs.

*What are the emotional rules and regulations of INGOs working in disaster interventions? Or,*

1.) What are the *political* and regulatory features of 'INGO disaster interventions' as an 'emotional arena'?

To begin with the organizational level emphasis, one of the most important questions would be to discern whether a distinct emotional arena of INGOs exists as a social/discursive construction. As a response to this question an attempt will be made to examine the shared discursive strands that are used by national workers in their narratives describing the setting of their work-world. This is an important aspect of the research because if the field is defined in similar ways by several national workers then we can infer the hegemonic constructions of the workplace that have become institutionalised in the practices of INGOs working in disasters. This will give us an insight into the culture of INGOs with regard to the place for emotions in these organizations.

Employing insights from postcolonial theory and emotion management theory to examine these practices will help identify the status of emotion in INGOS and also help identify the strategies that are used to keep emotions in their designated place in the organizational practices of INGOs. Narratives and stories form a specific domain of organizational discourse (Grant et al., 2004) and "discursive activity produces and mediates different organizational phenomena" (Grant et al 2004:2). Further narratives and stories could be seen as 'inherently political' in their impact (Mumby, 2004: 244) and therefore the description drawn from the narratives will be conceptualised as political and discursive resources rather than merely descriptive.



The insights developed in exploring this question will help set the tone of the interpretive framework for the following two questions.

What, if any, are the forms of inequalities and exclusions that are furthered by these rules and regulations? Or
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2.) What are the dominant forms of exclusions and inequalities discussed in the narratives that focus on emotions in INGOs as emotional arena?
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While “injustice cannot be reduced to pain or feeling bad” (Berlant, cited in Athanasiou, Hantzaroula and Yannakopoulos, 2008:6), emotions can give us useful cues about inequality, injustice (Harlos and Pinder, 2000) and exclusion (Mirchandani, 2003). ‘Exclusionary Othering’ involves the stereotypical and stigmatizing treatment of those ‘Others’ that are different from that which is deemed ‘normal’ and similar to the ‘Self’ (Canales, 2000). Exclusions and ‘Othering’ are an exercise in power as they construct certain possibilities for people based on how much their ‘identities’ differ from the ideal normative identity. In other words, stereotypes generated through Othering make claims for the poorer abilities and qualities of those that are made the ‘Other’ (Bhabha, 1994). Othering is therefore a process that is linked to how inequality is reified in organizations.

Writing specifically about emotions in organizations, Hochschild (1983) suggests the invalidation of feelings by terming them irrational is more likely to be inflicted on lower status workers by those that are in power. This is linked to the ‘Othering’ of lower status workers in organizations. Experientially this could mean that when emotions are contested within organizations, the emotional narratives of the powerful are better linked with the dictates of the organizational emotional arena and are therefore considered rational and sensible and elevated to the position of truth and rationality. ‘Other’ emotionalised narratives are deemed irrational, marginalised and therefore invalidated. This marginalisation of particular emotional narratives is an important way in which exclusions and inequalities are maintained in organizations and this creates particular “emotional subtexts” (Fineman, 1996:479) for individuals in organizations. Therefore the second research question will examine the constructions of inequality that are foregrounded when national

workers focus on their organizational emotionality by paying close attention to exclusions and emotional subtexts of National workers.

How do National workers engage with the rules and regulations in INGOs in the context of these inequalities and exclusions if any? Or

3.) How do National workers 'manage' their emotions in INGOs? What if any are their strategies of resistance in this emotional arena?

Having explored the political and regulatory features of INGOs as emotional arenas and the patterns of exclusion in operation in INGOs it would be worth examining how National workers manage their emotions in their organizational contexts. Hochschild (1983) proposed that emotional labour was an outcome of the commercialisation of human feeling and had negative and adverse effects on those that had to perform emotional labour as part of their work role. Hochschild (1983) also proposed that surface-acting and deep-acting were two ways in which emotional labour could be performed, hinting at those workers who worked on their selves to adopt the ideologies of their commercial employers (deep acting) and those that were cynical performers, the surface actors who managed to meet only the 'display norms' and not the required feeling norms. The prevalence of surface acting or deep acting suggest different consequences for employees, with deep acting leading to potentially positive outcomes for employees (Grandey, 2003). Bolton and Boyd (2003) further broadened the scope of emotion management by suggesting that employees exercise agency in juggling between different emotion norms when they perform emotions in their workplaces. Thus they challenged the dominance of purely commercial feeling rules and turned emotions into a 'contested terrain' (Bolton and Boyd, 2003: 294).

The central interest of this question is examining whether national workers manage their emotions through surface acting or deep acting. The emotion management of National workers will be interpreted using postcolonial scholarship and critique to re-evaluate the relevance and prevalence of these concepts. This question will also help us explore whether and how National workers resist the political and regulatory features of their employing organizations.

## Chapter Four: Methodology

This research, as a written text, is an outcome of a process of engaging with postcolonial organizational sites to understand and explore critical organizational concerns of National workers by prioritising their narratives of 'emotion in organizations'. This research approach could be understood as an ideological approach located within the qualitative tradition, which are identified as those that are "choosing to study an underrepresented group, challenging the traditional views of scholarship, exploring collaborative work, and focusing on a power hierarchy" (Creswell and Miller, 1997:34). This is because I am privileging the issues and concerns of marginalised 'National' INGO workers (who are an underrepresented group) in order to advocate for changes in the organizational practices of INGOs. Emancipation and activism (Fine and Vanderslice, 1992) are then part and parcel of this research project.

This research is also an outcome of an explicit commitment to postcolonial transformation of knowledge, and to acknowledging my subjectivity in the knowledge creation. Therefore when I sought to understand the emotion management of National workers in INGOs I was also motivated to understand the emotion management processes in other postcolonial contexts, most notably my own workplace. Without the intention of universalising insights about postcolonial 'realities' I hoped to learn about the tactics that employees can draw on in dealing with the emotion norms and rules that they encounter in their workplaces. This set of commitments required me to choose my stance as a researcher that responded to my understanding of the powerful practice that research can be - research can create knowledge that is assumed to be reified reality (Smith, 2005). At the same time I wished to create alternative knowledge that could be assumed to be real so as to dislodge the dominant constructions that abound. This motivational framework drew me to particular ways of understanding ontology, epistemology, and methodology. In the sections that follow, I will elaborate on these three aspects.

## ***Epistemological and ontological commitments: Bringing reflexive elements into the research***

Guba and Lincoln (1994) discuss the paradigms within which social research takes place and suggest that each paradigm has assumptions about ontology, epistemology and methodology. They also suggest that research studies need to aim for coherence between their ontological, epistemological and methodological approaches. Following their sound advice it would be useful to briefly map out these three aspects with regard to this research study. However, locating this study within 'a' paradigm is difficult not because there is some confusion about ontological, epistemological and methodological matters but because using singular terms for the paradigm could sometimes lead to a form of simplification that complicates matters.

This study could be located within the social constructionist paradigm. Social constructionism could be seen to offer varying degrees of 'radicality' (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009: 35) ranging from being a mere critical perspective (methodology), to being a sociological theory (discipline specific theory), a theory of knowledge (epistemology) or a theory of reality (ontology) (Wenneberg, 2001, cited in Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000). Ontologically speaking then social constructionism would suggest that reality itself is a social construction. Epistemologically it would propose that knowledge is a social construction and methodologically it would point at a study of shared meanings and conventions.

However, there is no singularity of practices within social constructionism and any research employing it has to further clarify the sense in which the paradigm is being used (Harding, 2003). It could be argued that social construction as a paradigm is open to a 'panoply of interpretivist intellectual movement' (Harding: 2003:10). Therefore in Harding's (2003) definition of social constructionism, interpretivism, or a concern for meaning is paramount, as is a concern with an analysis of power which seeks to expose 'dominant regimes of truth' (Harding, 2003: 10) in particular constructions of reality.

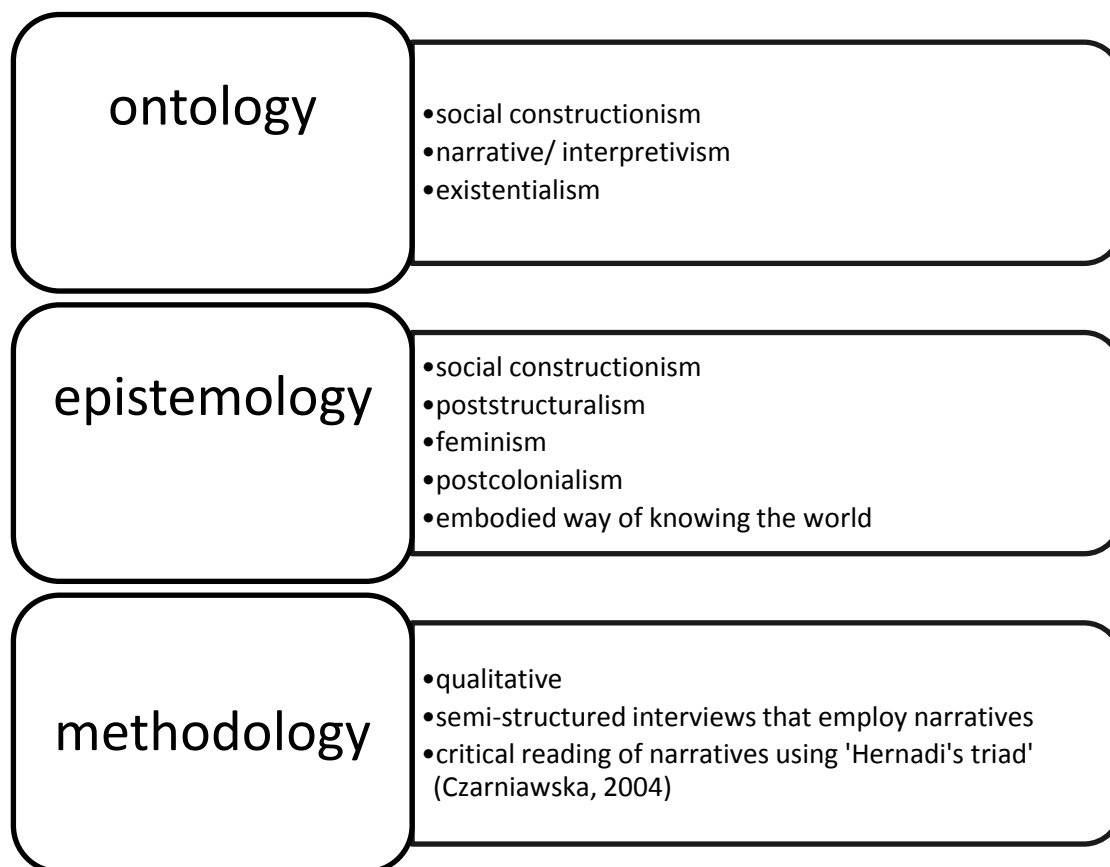
This would explain why it is 'difficult often to differentiate between post-modernist/post-structuralist and social constructionist perspective' (Harding, 2003: 10). This has led some commentators to claims that social constructionism is to social psychology what poststructuralism is to other social sciences (Burr, 1995). However, it could be argued that while social constructionism considers knowledge to be a product of intersubjective social interactions that sediment over time, poststructuralism considers knowledge to be a product of discourse. This distinction could be smeared if we take into account definitions of discourse that include not just text but also social practices and interactions (example Weedon, 1997).

Based on this awareness of the conundrums that lie ahead if I opt for any simplistic choices, I have had to acknowledge a plurality of ontological and epistemological commitments that are part of 'interpretivism' generally speaking. While interpretivism will be discussed in some detail in another section of this chapter, it would be important to state that it allows for a critical analysis that acknowledges subjective and local dimensions of knowledge creation (Fineman, 2005; Prasad and Prasad, 2002; Prasad, 2003).

### ***Linking ontology, epistemology and methodology:***

How do I understand my being? The answer to this question is important because it would then lead me to insights about how best I can be studied. If my answer to this question is that 'I someone who can be understood, predicted and controlled', the manner in which I might be studied (or made sense of) would be very different from a scenario where my answer is 'I am someone who wants to be understood as someone who cannot be predicted and as someone who would not like to be controlled.' This manner in which I might be studied then paves the way for my studying other beings by according them the same treatment that I would like myself to be accorded.

It would be useful to start with a diagrammatic representation of these three aspects, which I will elaborate below.



**Figure 4.1: Ontology, Epistemology and Ontology- the paradigmatic backbone of this research study**

### **Ontology:**

Ontology concerns itself with the question 'What is the form and nature of reality?' (Guba and Lincoln, 1994:108)

A social constructionist ontological position would indicate that I understand that my experience of reality is an outcome of socially validated co-constructions. Therefore the notion of selfhood through which I exist in this world is itself a social construction, one amongst various other possible ways of being in the world. As a

result, in this research no pre-given 'real' world is assumed although those narrated as real are considered valid constructions. Other important ontological ideas for me would include the existential notion that 'existence preceded essence' (Jean Paul Sartre, cited in Cohen, 1987). This is also congruent with a concomitant recognition I would like to make around the notion that the stories we tell about our lives are powerful and constrain or create options for our future. Therefore ontologically speaking I consider reality itself as a narrative (Bruner, 2004; Czarniawska, 2004), although I do not negate the importance of material consequences that accrue from powerful social constructions and narratives.

My ontological assumptions would inform my epistemological, or 'knowledge making' commitments in that I would seek to know how different phenomena that are taken for granted are socially constructed claims and would like to examine how these claims get solidified and fixed as reality.

### **Epistemology:**

"What is the nature of the relationship between the knower... and what can be known"? (Guba and Lincoln, 1994:108)

In terms of epistemology, for the constructionists, knowledge is seen to be 'generated within communities' of researchers and theorists. Further, every research community is seen to share certain values that are reflected in the results of the inquiry (Gergen, 1997). Thus "we cannot obtain knowledge independent of our own judgment and social construction" (Daft (1983), cited in Astley, 1985:498). There can be no "objective choice between alternative perspectives: the validity of the perspective employed depends on the context of inquiry and on the research concerns that guide investigation" (Astley, 1985:500)

In terms of epistemological boundaries, this research would be an outcome of commitments to social constructionism and poststructuralism that has been informed by feminist and postcolonial theory. Poststructuralism 'decentres' true knowledge and can therefore lead to the possibility of marginal knowledges. Constructionist inquiry often has an emancipatory goal as it signals to the potential

for creative ways of producing knowledge that are explicitly tied to our own ideals, rather than covertly tied to our ideas, under the pretence of objectivity (Harre, 1986). Rather than lacking in political engagements or engaging in a laissez-faire attitude toward political aspects of theorising therefore, some constructionists and poststructuralists adopt an ethical stance that recognises theory as political (Harding, 2003) and emphasise “the relationship between “power” and “knowledge” at the inception of “theory”” (Calas and Smircich, 1999:659).

As a postcolonial feminist scholar I could then also claim a certain epistemological heritage whereby postcolonial theorists and feminist theorists have talked about their being has being shaped by the experiences of having been colonised or oppressed (Nandy, 1983; Harding, 1996). Nandy (1983) proposes that oppression provides epistemic advantages to the oppressed and makes them understand things that privilege prevents people from understanding. According to the feminist theorist bell hooks, oppression “provide(s) (the oppressed) with an oppositional world-view - a model of seeing unknown to most of our oppressors” (2000: xvi). This advantage enables the survival of oppressed groups even when conditions are really difficult.

A poststructural positioning takes into account the research relationships, leading to a political “self-reflective awareness of the researcher/theoretician’s complicity in the constitution of their objects of study” (Calas and Smircich, 1999:651). This reflexive understanding is a political process rather than a neutral one in that it challenges the realist assumptions of modern knowledge that attempts to discover stable phenomena rather than acknowledge that this ‘discovery’ is an outcome of representation itself. In this representational domain “the stabilization of meaning is constituted within a system of power relations - a system of inclusion and exclusion - which defines as acceptable or not the marks that will appear on the page as knowledge” (Calas and Smircich, 1999:654).

In using social constructionism and postcolonial insights as an interpretive paradigm, in some ways I attempt to go *past* the intellectual movement of *poststructuralism*, adding to it the ‘strategic essentialism’ (Spivak, 1990) that



feminist and postcolonial ideas allow me to foreground. Thus this project is also about examining what would happen “if those others were to speak back as “knowledgeable”?” (Calas and Smircich, 1999: 661). This would then enable me to express that I do not think that it is possible to represent reality except in a partial interpretive sense but it is important to acknowledge the realities as understood by those others who have not had the chance to inform discourse, those that only get to own ‘counter-discourse’. In this sense I subscribe to the notion that while reality is socially constructed, the social constructions have material bases that need to be treated as real, until the possibility of different social constructions, those that are truly unrestrained by ‘Othering’ become possible. It would also be important for me to acknowledge the position of privilege that I already occupy as a Third World scholar based in the West, while I continue to hold on to the notion that the position I do represent is also marginal in some respects. In this sense I do not make any claims to represent the subaltern (as Spivak (1988) chides us not to) but I do aim to represent and explain the concerns of marginal actors in INGOs.

Along with the epistemic conditions mentioned previously, I would also like to discuss the notion that emotions are important in the research process. Research involves emotion work which is embodied and has emotional repercussions for the researcher (Dickson-Swift, Kippen and Liamputtong, 2009). Emotions were therefore not only informative in my selection of the research questions but also involved in the research process. The process undertaken in defining the research area and crafting the research questions was done as an attempt to challenge exclusions, and challenging exclusions in organizations involves emotion work (Mirchandani, 2003).

Having discussed the ontological and epistemological aspects that were important in designing and conducting this research study, the next section will discuss the methodology in some detail.

## **Methodology:**

“How can the enquirer go about finding out whatever he or she believes can be known?”(Guba and Lincoln, 1994:108)

Based on my ontological and epistemological commitments I would want to know about this world using terms of reference that are respectful and ethical. For the constructionist the accuracy of the method of research depends on how well it meets particular shared conventions within the research community. At the same time, the demands for prescribing universal methods for research are oppressive as they further the dominance of particular groups of researchers (Gergen, 1991). Therefore there is a great deal of context specific methodological choices that need to be made in constructionist research. Prescriptive methods (both quantitative and qualitative) are therefore less relevant in constructionist research.

The choice of research methodology is not about the ease, comfort or convenience of the researcher - it is about a fit between the questions asked and the methods available to answer those questions satisfactorily and is a creative accomplishment with diverse possibilities. For example in the process of the literature review for this dissertation, I came across various methodological choices including quantitative studies that gave me a very clear insight into people's phenomenological realities (Erickson and Ritter, 2001). Nonetheless one could argue that the usual 'academic' practice of defending methodological choices as an outcome of the research questions themselves is in some ways tautological because research questions are often framed based on the methodological interests of the researcher. I am drawn to qualitative methodologies for various reasons, some of which I will try and explain below.

Qualitative methodologies have often had to struggle against the dominant and more accepted quantitative methodologies. In this struggle qualitative researchers have often framed their preference for qualitative methodologies as an activism in itself. For example, the metaphor of a bricoleur (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003:9) for a researcher is extremely instructive because anthropologically speaking, this phrase

was used to describe the 'tribal'/ 'savage mind' (*sic*, preferred alternative, indigenous) (Strauss, 1966, cited in Kincheloe, 2001). Therefore, this is a metaphor that shakes the privilege of knowledge making claims from residing merely with the rational/scientific mind. I wish to participate in this transgression and contribute to creation of knowledge that challenges that which is taken for granted. This is an outcome of my theoretical positioning of postcolonialism as well as my engagement with a group of research participants whose views do not corroborate well with the orthodoxy.

Unfortunately, such transgressive developments, if any, within the dominant quantitative paradigm, are not well-publicised or easy to access. Therefore my methodological meanderings were limited to the qualitative paradigm. This is not to say that I did not strive for ontological, epistemological, and methodological convergence. Epistemology, Ontology and Methodology have to form a coherent network in determining the methodological preference for particular research concerns (Lincoln and Guba, 2000). My ontological reality makes me align myself with interpretivism epistemologically speaking, and qualitative methods, methodologically speaking.

As outlined in chapter Two, there are several types of research methods that have been applied to studying emotions in organizations. Fineman (2005) discusses paradigm tensions between essentialist and interpretive approaches concludes in favour of interpretive approaches because 'they are more likely to do justice to the nature of subjectivity, a fundamental plank in any robust conceptualisation of emotion; interpretive approaches are also more amenable to the incorporation of the political dimension' (2005: 5). Interpretive research is seen as 'wedded to a socially constructed perspective on emotion, and to qualitative/ethnographic research' (Fineman, 2005: 5). Therefore it was well suited to exploring my research questions.

Prasad and Prasad (2002) talk of interpretive organizational research as eschewing the notion that "(r)eality is assumed to be concrete, separate from the researcher, and cognizable through the use of so-called objective methods of data

collection” (2002:6). Interpretive research is aligned with social constructionism and allows an ‘overtly critical orientation’ (Prasad and Prasad, 2002:7) that establishes “the connections between local subjective worlds and macro organizational and institutional processes and phenomena” (Prasad and Prasad, 2002:7). Interpretive approaches encompass a great deal of variance within the category both with regard to data collection strategies and data analysis strategies, both of which had to be carefully chosen.

### ***Data collection and data analysis:***

As is true for many qualitative studies aimed at exploration, the design was ‘emergent’ (Sandelowski and Barroso, 2003). Having located this study within the qualitative paradigm and its interpretive tradition, the next task for involved in finalising the ‘research strategy’ was to select ‘the method of collecting empirical material’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003:21).

I read a wide variety of formal literature on disaster sector professionals that were available in the public domain and it would have been entirely possible to undertake a critical discourse analysis treating these various texts as the empirical material. However, as exploring emotions and exploring resistance to discourses was an important aim for this research, this form of empirical material was seen as insufficient. Critical discourse analysis often works with ‘public text(s)’ (Denzin, 2000, cited in Prichard, Jones and Stablein, 2004:228) and practices that are official or authored by dominant groups. In the case of National workers perspectives, it would have been impossible to get a sense of the frameworks they used by examining publicly available material. Not only is there a lack of available texts produced by National workers, even when there are online forums that exist for aid workers and humanitarian workers (example People in Aid), they are heavily populated by Expatriate workers and their concerns. Further public texts are not the best places to explore emotions that are marginalized. This is because one of the ways in which hegemony is maintained is through controlling what is available in the public domain.

Another option that was considered was that of ethnographic observation. This allows for an immersed experience for a critical researcher and could have been a potentially useful data collection strategy for this study but this was not a feasible option. Ethnographic researchers could be a burden on INGOs because of the extra support an organization would need to provide a researcher if they were to be researching during an active disaster intervention.

Semi-structured interviews then became the most plausible and useful data collection method available in this research context. This data collection strategy would help National workers share their experiences of disaster interventions, despite the well acknowledged limitations of inter-view data (Farr, 1992) and the transcripts could then be interpretively analysed. Here again, discursive Psychology offered a way of collecting empirical material through an interviewing technique that is designed specifically for discourse analytic purposes (Potter and Wetherell, 1994). This method of interviewing is again designed to specifically allow for analysis of the ways in which dominant discourses shapes subject positions and interpretive repertoires. The role of subjects in resisting discourses is not the prime concern of discursive approaches as their criticality derives from exposing the circulation of dominant discourses. This method was therefore not well suited for the research participants and their epistemic advantage that this research sought to be able to prioritize.

Therefore, even when semi-structured interview transcripts were chosen as the empirical source, further decisive choices had to be made. This is because semi-structured interviews could be used for various different epistemological positioning and I had to choose one that was most relevant to the epistemological positioning of this research. Amongst these options, narrative analysis, because of its various guises (Gabriel, 2004), held the promise of being better - suited to use in this research study. The use of narratives would enable an exploration of the social and discursive aspects of emotions through a research interview process (Prichard, Jones and Stablein, 2004). Narratives as empirical material could also be used to study not only dominant discourses and stories but also counter-stories

and counter-discourses (Rhodes and Brown, 2005a) primarily because stories are able to 'evade the censor' (Gabriel, 1999 in Sturdy, 2003:87). Most importantly, narratives as empirical material allowed for a wide variety of interpretive options as the linguistic turn could be seen to have impacted on phenomenological, critical realist as well as constructionist and poststructural interpretation. The particular method of analysis and interpretation that was used in this study will be discussed in a later section but first we will examine Narratives as a data collection strategy and the schedule of questions that were developed for the interviews.

### ***Narratives:***

Narratives have gained popularity not only as a data collection method but also as a paradigm in its own right (Czarniawska,1995). The 'narrativization of organizational theory' (Gabriel, 2004:63) can be understood as part of the linguistic turn in organizational research. Narratives can be treated as a distinct form of discourse (Chase, 2005) and semi-structured interviews based on narratives can serve as an extremely evocative data collection strategy. Narratives are very well suited for this research because in addition to describing what happened, narratives also express emotions, thoughts, interpretations and allow people to engage in retrospective meaning making. All of these aspects are relevant and useful in understanding the emotions people experience and perform.

Narrative approaches are popular not only in qualitative research but also in therapeutic interventions (White and Epston, 1990), as they are seen as providing voice and agency to the narrator, and enable self-deterministic story-telling. Rhodes and Brown, (2005b) explain that narrative approaches form part of an evolution in organizational research because they now represent more than 'stories' and signify an approach whereby the organization itself is seen as a narrative construction. Further, they explain that narratives are seen as being suited to the exercise of political claim-making and therefore important for micro-struggles. Lastly, they also hint at the potential of narratives to challenge hegemonic constructions by demonstrating that many narratives are a result of shared socio-cultural narratives. However, it is important to bear in mind that the

stories we are able to articulate are themselves tailored by the norms and allowances of social life. Therefore one potential problem in studying emotions using narratives might be that since there is a bias toward rational ways of being at work, participants may structure their narratives to under-emphasize the emotional aspects. This has been observed in sense-making research (Dougherty and Drumheller, 2006) where the myth of rationality seemed to be impacting the kinds of accounts that people gave of emotional events.

While narratives and stories are often used as synonyms they can be distinguished because stories have to be emplotted (Czarniawska, 2004:20). Stories are therefore a sub-type of narratives. It would then be more pertinent to state that the research employed a data collection approach that encouraged storytelling. Boje (1991:106) offers that

“(s)torytelling is the preferred sense-making currency of human relationships’. While storytelling enables narrators to give their version of an event it is important to acknowledge that they are “inventions rather than discoveries” (Weick, 1995:70).

Thus stories are not benign and uncomplicated representations of ‘reality’. “Omissions, exaggerations, shifts in emphasis and a licence to ride roughshod over ‘the facts’ are central qualities of some of them” (Gabriel, 1995:480). While stories may contain several inconsistencies about ‘facts’, they could also discursively produce many ‘felt truths’ as stories and narratives provide an important link in the dynamic interplay of emotion and identity (Horrocks and Callahan, 2006). Seeing stories as interpretive resources that are affected by the dominant discourses but can enable an effective challenge against the very discourses that shape them is an important aspect in my understanding of narratives and stories in this research. Stories might therefore bring up aspects that foreground “a collective shared memory” by talking it into existence (Brown, Stacey and Nandhakumar, 2008:1046; also see Ciuk and Jepson, 2009).

In working with narratives and stories, one could opt for different ideological and theoretical premises. For example, a psychological, personalization oriented

approach that privileges individual uniqueness or a sociological deprivatization of personal experience by acknowledging how shared contexts affect the similarities in our narratives, are both possible options (Czariniawska, 1998). As I am interested in using a postcolonial framework in my analysis, I understand stories and narratives as discursively constructed patterns and yet acknowledge the possibility of individual variance. Oswick (2008) proposes that when used from a social constructionist perspective, narratives could be used to foreground discourse. This form of analysis “privileges a wider perspective on the narrative and, in doing so, addresses the implicative and performative dimensions of events and understandings as a form of social action” (Oswick, 2008:141).

Several postcolonial theorists and feminist theorists accept the ‘moral and cultural’ superiority of the oppressed” (Nandy, 1983). This is evidenced in the idea that grants epistemic advantage to the oppressed because they “hav(e) knowledge of the practices of both their own contexts and those of their oppressors,” (Narayan, 2004: 221). Talking about black women, bell hooks (1989, 2004) argues that black women’s consciousness is shaped by their experiences to provide black women with an ‘oppositional world view’ (hooks, 1989:76), a mode of seeing not available to most of our oppressors’. This implies that in narrative analysis that aims to voice the views of the marginalised or the oppressed groups, it would be important to construct research participants not as ‘dupes’ but as participants who are capable of semiotic thinking and not merely semantic thinking (Czarniawska, 2004).

However, we must heed the warning of other feminists who state that we “must avoid the potential glorification of oppression that may accompany the positing of ‘epistemic advantage’ to marginalized groups,” (Warren, 1994:131) as creating hierarchies of epistemic positions is somehow at odds with feminist principles. While I agree with the poststructural critique of Warren, in using postcolonialism strategically, I would like to emphasise Nandy’s (1983) point that in the master-slave relationship, the slave represents higher-order cognition, because the slave recognised the master as a human being. Instead of constructing this as an epistemic advantage however, I think of this phenomenon as a kind of emotion work, a ‘meta’-state of being where one can observe oneself in interactions.



Therefore it is not a given advantage of the oppressed groups but a constant working at emotions that enables the oppressed to have an understanding of the perspectives of the powerful, a critical awareness of the hegemonies they are embedded within.

Recently narrative approaches have been subjected to some scrutiny with some researchers attempting to evaluate the “dark side” of narratives that problematise narrative epistemology and suggest that it would be more useful to use narrative approaches along with other approaches in the same study (Geiger, 2008). In order to be able to respond to the various tensions and potential of narratives, the interpretive design included a specific form of interview schedule and the analysis incorporated critical research concerns. Before we discuss the interview schedule and the analysis process, it would be important to consider the inclusion exclusion criteria and the issues with regard to sampling and access that were of relevance to this study.

### ***Sampling and access issues:***

The search for research participants began with discussions with two professionals who had engaged in disaster work and agreed to participate in in-depth interviews of a semi-structured nature that sought to elicit narratives. One of these professionals was a personal acquaintance and was able to introduce me to the other professional. Together the two contacts agreed to introduce me to others who had been involved in disaster interventions. Alongside this I used social networking sites and professional networking sites to post information about the research - this included ‘Facebook’ and ‘LinkedIn’, which are web-based personal and professional networking sites. There was a simple message that said: “Do you know anybody who works in an INGO and has worked in disaster interventions?”

I got a few leads from these messages, and pursued them systematically. When someone responded positively, I sent them an email outlining the research idea and asked them to forward it to the relevant person and if they agreed I would then

directly get in touch with them. This process worked really well for the first 8 participants. The rest were found through the interview process. When participants finished the interview, they usually offered 2-3 contacts and often spoke to them on the phone in my presence, sought their permission and then gave me their contact details. Therefore the rapport formation and the interview process had a positive impact on the recruitment of research participants.

Therefore a snowballing sampling technique (Creswell, 2007) was employed in a purposive way. After developing, piloting and re-working on a semi-structured interview schedule with volunteers who agreed to reflect on their work contexts, the interviews with the research participants were initiated. I also sought 'divergence' (Luborsky and Rubenstein, 1995a) which ensures that the sample is as responsive to the diversity of experience being studied. This was achieved by looking at various demographic variables such as gender, religion, caste and trying to include a variety of participant identities. I tried to ensure that I had a balance in terms of male and female disaster workers because gender is an important variable in emotional labour (Hochschild, 1979). I did manage to interview women disaster professionals but found that this group was underrepresented in disaster work, and consequently there were fewer women in my sample. However, I also had to recognise that making diverse groups through 'essentialized' identities does not necessarily lead us to get a diverse group of responses. This meant that my realization that women disaster workers were few and far between aided and informed my analysis. I did get to interview different religious minorities, caste groups and different regions within India but did not focus on finding differences based on three aspects as these would be speculative. Research participants from several well regarded INGOs and from faith-based as well as secular INGOs signed up for the study. The research participants represented different levels of organizational hierarchies and also different regional disasters within India. This covered a range of natural disasters like tsunami, cyclone, flood and earthquake and also some communal riots related experiences. While none of these were 'representative' in the sense that a stratified random sample within the quantitative paradigm would be, they were well placed to share their representations for the purposes of this study.

The inclusion and exclusion criteria were simple and clear - the participant needed to have worked in at least one disaster context as part of the core team of an INGO. If the research participants were currently employed elsewhere but had been involved in disaster work in an INGO, they were invited to participate but were encouraged to share stories that focussed on their experience in INGOs.

**Table 4.1 Profile of research participants based on organizational role and years of experience, please note that names are pseudonyms for confidentiality reasons**

	Name	Gender	Organizational Role(s)	Years of experience
1.	Ajeet	Male	Middle Management	Over 10
2.	Anita	Female	Project staff	Over 5
3.	Ananya	Female	Project staff	Over 5
4.	Anjuman	Male	Middle Management	Over 5
5.	Chetan	Male	Project staff	Over 5
6.	Dinesh	Male	Middle Management	Over 5
7.	Divya	Female	Project staff	Over 5
8.	Gagan	Male	Senior Management	Over 10
9.	Hemant	Male	Project staff/Middle/Senior Mngt.	Over 5
10.	Indira	Female	Middle Management	Over 5
11.	Jacob	Male	Senior Management	Over 10
12.	Kashif	Male	Project staff/Middle Management	Over 5
13.	Manoj	Male	Senior Management	Over 10
14.	Nisha	Female	Project staff/Middle Management	Over 5
15.	Rishabh	Male	Middle Management	Over 5
16.	Rajesh	Male	Project staff/Middle/Senior Mngt.	Over 5
17.	Sandeep	Male	Middle Management	Over 10
18.	Subhash	Male	Project Staff	Over 5
19.	Swagato	Male	Senior Management	Over 10
20.	Satya	Male	Middle Management	Over 5
21.	Suleikha	Female	Project Staff	Over 5
22.	Samaya	Female	Project Staff	Over 5
23.	Simon	Male	Middle Management	Over 10
24.	Vijay	Male	Project staff/Middle/ Senior Mngt.	Over 10

As is evident from the profile of research participants, there was a good mix in terms of the organizational roles performed by the participants, and male and well as female disaster workers were represented in the snowballing sample. All research participants had over 5 years experience and were therefore established employees of the INGOs.

### ***The interview schedule:***

The interview schedule contained an introduction where there was an explicit acknowledgement of two important aspects - one, I strategically used the term 'national worker' to identify them. In doing this I encouraged them to tell stories that were pertinent when their National worker identity was made salient in their reflections. Secondly, I shared with them that I valued the emotional world of my research participants. This was done very consciously to resist against the 'myth of rationality (Domagalski, 1999) that was seen to shape the responses in another research that sought to explore the role of emotions in sense-making using interviews (Dougherty and Drumheller, 2006, 2009). This was considered an important strategy to buffer the interview responses from conforming to the denial of the importance of emotion in organizations. I situated the interview as one where I was interested in learning more about the critical subjects that my research participants were. This also meant that my conceptualisation of the researcher participants was not one of them being 'cultural dupes' (Czarniawska, 2004:50) but as people capable of reflexive existence in their work spheres. This was important in granting epistemological advantage to the research participants which has been discussed as one of my epistemological assumptions.

There are a few aspects that one must be careful about when using narrative approaches as a data collection strategy. One common mistake that narrative interviewers might make is that they might ask questions that use concepts from academia rather than concepts from the verbal repertoire of the research participants (Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000). This may not enable storytelling. Instead, the focus should be on broad, inviting questions. Furthermore, if a narrative is seen as a joint production between narrator and listener, then it is

important to use the insights from this intersubjectivity when analysing the narratives. We will discuss the specifics of the process of analysis and interpretation in a later section in this chapter.

The interview schedule consisted of a small number of questions (appendix B) which were based on a consideration of how best to elicit narratives about emotion in organizations. The schedule sought to capture the research questions through a conversational exchange and provided ways of engaging with the context and practices of emotion management of National workers of INGOs. However, before the interview, I also sent an email (appendix A). Below I discuss the questions as I used them in an interview:

1. To begin with could you please tell me a little about the type of disaster work you have been involved with in your career? This will help us start our conversation and also give me an idea about the range of experiences you have had working in this sector.
2. When you think about your experiences in International Non Governmental Organizations, what incidents at work can you recall, that have been emotionally most difficult for you?
3. What could you do about this? Did it lead to any individual/organizational response?
4. What incidents can you recall about people helping you in these emotionally difficult situations?
5. When you reflect on your early days in INGOs and the changes in you as a professional, what aspects come to mind?
6. Any other thoughts?

This form of an interview schedule shares some features of Gabriel's interviews that focussed on narratives of emotions (Gabriel, 2004; also see Gabriel and Griffiths, 2004), which in turn shares features with Flanagan's (1954, cited in Czarniawksa, 2004) critical incident technique. This strategy worked very well because all research participants went on to share those narratives about their organizational practices that they were able to recall by prioritising their emotional

responses to organizational practices. There were some interviews that had a smoother flow and a few that were experienced by me as extremely laborious. One of the areas of struggle was to seek and elicit narratives when research participants engaged in an 'officialization'.

“Officialization is the process whereby the group (or those who dominate it) teaches itself and masks from itself its own truth, binds itself by public profession which sanctions and imposes what it utters, tacitly defining the limits of the thinkable and unthinkable and so contributing to the maintenance of the social order from which it derives its power” (Bourdieu, 1990, cited in Czarniawska, 2001:256).

*However, the presence of 'officialization' narratives was considered important in the thematic interpretation process. This irony is instructive as it points to the importance of iteration in qualitative research.*

Another area of struggle was when one research participant who had 'dissented' and quit his job had to think of his recent experience in the context of this interview. This meant that there were a large number of monosyllabic responses for the first 40 minutes of the interview, and then a miracle question led to an interesting discussion after that. This interview left me feeling extremely tired. The most important part of the interview process was the rapport building and respect was accorded to the research participants throughout my contact with them. I kept a reflexive engagement with the research process drawing on my professional skills as a social worker and a social psychologist. This included an iterative engagement with the interview protocol, which improved and became more sophisticated as I went along the research process.

Various disaster professionals did mention that the field was quite small in India. I had to be quite careful regarding confidentiality because of this 'small' field, when someone I had already interviewed was mentioned as a potential participant for example, I reflexively managed to not 'slip' on confidentiality by offering that I had already interviewed them, while not 'lying' to my research participants. Some participants were interested in how their views related to how I had begun to understand the concerns of the field. I mentioned a few of my thoughts at the end

of these interviews and also offered to let them know when my Ph.D. was completed so that they could peruse the findings in some detail. I will in addition produce a short report that I will e-mail to my research participants following the completion of the PhD process.

Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed. Field-notes were made at the end of a few interviews to help record any immediate thoughts and ideas that emerged during the interview. Ethical considerations such as respect for consent and confidentiality were observed. Even though I had consent to disclose some names, I adopted a standard approach of not naming any 'real' names to protect the identities of the research participants and the organizations they represented. A detailed account of the ethical considerations is included in the section below.

### ***Ethical considerations and Conversational Process:***

Spivak (1996:270) has talked of ethics as an 'experience of the impossible' and suggested that we should try to formulate ethics as a responsibility towards the Other. Therefore the question of ethics (De Laine, 2000), both as part of the conceptualisation of the research and in the procedural aspects, is of great significance. I will reflect on the ethical dimensions of the conceptual issues of this research when I discuss reflexivity a little later in the chapter. Below I shall present an artificially separated ethical overview of the procedural aspect of this research.

There were ethical dilemmas and practical confusions to deal with during the process of data collection. I was reflexively engaged in the research process and aimed to iteratively learn continuously during the research process. I also had the benefit of able advice and guidance from my supervisors and many senior colleagues who were positively invested in my research and provided me with the critical friendship that a researcher very dearly needs. The ethical guidance around 'not hurting the participants' in any way, was part of the formative ethical guidelines I worked with.



An ethics form outlining all necessary procedures was submitted to the doctoral supervisors and once their approval was received, it was submitted to Brunel Business School. As described in this ethics form, each participant was given a detailed description of the research and each participant signed a consent form (see Appendix C). Participants were advised that their responses would be made anonymous because there was no attempt at naming any particular INGOs. They were also explained that they would be given the opportunity to seek any clarification or ask questions. They were made aware that at any stage of the research process, they could freely opt out. The participants expressed comfort at the level of information that was shared with them. Apart from the hard copy of research information, I also emailed them a brief description of the study at the time of agreeing an interview time and venue.

Interviews were held at a place and time convenient to the research participants. While the content of the interviews was emotional, the conversations flowed in a way that there was a degree of closure toward the end of the interviews. Therefore, no further debriefing was required, although I was prepared to offer these. Some research participants found the ethical process too 'formal' and at times I varied the timing of the signing of the formal form in order to not interrupt the format of the meeting. Several participants expressed that they would not mind if their names were mentioned on the documents. I understood this to mean that they were sharing things with me that they were happy to put their names against but followed a standard practice of anonymising the research participants.

While most of the interviews took place without interruptions, there were a few interviews that were interrupted by urgent phone calls, or by someone knocking at the door for a quick word. When this happened, I spent some time going over where our discussion was before the interruption, and then continued the interviewing process.

One interview took place over a period of 5 hours with an overnight break. However, this interview focussed on a different kind of an organization in that it was an umbrella organization that was responsible in forming universal standards

for INGOs in disasters rather than engaged in frontline work, and was excluded from this analysis. The interview will form the basis for other scholarly work, however.

Interviewing is a skill and “all interviews are reality-constructing, meaning-making occasions, whether recognised or not” (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995:4). While recognising the co-constructed nature of interviews, it is important to ask open-ended questions rather than leading ones and to enter a world of conversation that is not encumbered by the structure dictated by interview schedules.

### ***Making sense of the narratives:***

In this research the voices of the marginalized ‘National’ field workers are being researched as part of an emancipatory project. This is based on the notion that the status of National workers in INGOs like other “societal conditions are historically created and heavily influenced by asymmetries of power and special interests, and that they can be made the subject of radical change” (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009). Therefore this research has a critical theory allegiance to postcolonial theory (Semali and Kincheloe (1999) and McLaren (1995) cited in Zou and Trueba, 2002:113) and at the same time makes no pretence about working toward an objective and neutral engagement by using a narrative focus for the empirical part of the research. This welding of different interpretive approaches responds to the critiques of both approaches when used on their own. At one extreme, narrative research could be done in an atheoretical and semantic manner (Czarniawska, 2004), treating words as a representation of reality and at the other extreme, the abstractions and insights of critical theory could ignore empirical material (Hall, 1997; Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009). This particular form of welding of different interpretative approaches could be seen as one kind of ‘reflexive interpretation’ (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009: 271) and I will explain this in an ongoing way in the rest of this chapter.

From the narrative approach a few critical aspects are relevant for this research. This meant that the inter-view (Farr, 1982) was seen as an intersubjective process

and the researcher has been conceptualised as implied in the research process and outcome, instead of being cut-off from it as an objective observer or reporter. However, in enabling a voicing of the concerns of National workers, I will have to be mindful of the criticism that I might create a dominant marginalised narrative, rather than emphasising the plurivocality of marginalised narratives (Oswick, 2008). On the other hand, if there are collective representations and emotions that I am able to interpret in the analysis, it would be disingenuous to negate these for the sake of a commitment to plurality. Czarniawska (1999) supports this notion in her acknowledgement that “polyphony in a text is but a textual strategy” (cited in Czarniawksa, 2004: 62). Therefore the researcher in effect becomes a narrator of narratives when writing out the thesis and has to make many choices that involve silencing and enunciating different aspects based on the analytical framework. Put this way narrative work could be thought of as a kind of fiction (Rhodes and Brown, 2005) and in this vein, the entire thesis could be conceptualised as a narrative exercise (Czarniawska, 2004). The analysis and discussion could therefore be conceptualised as partial truths that were an outcome of a genuine critical engagement with the reflections of National workers of INGOs. However, acknowledging a fictional status or attempting to carve out partial truths does not reduce narrative work as irrelevant; rather a social constructionist epistemology acknowledges its fictional status explicitly to expose the fictional status of all those research studies that claim to offer objective truths.

Interpretive research designs can sometimes be fairly prescriptive (for example, Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis, Biographic Narrative Approach). Moving away from prescriptive methods is part and parcel of transformational knowledge construction. This is not because all prescriptions are stunted and limited but instead because constructionist research demands attention to contextual factors in the analysis. Poststructuralism and postcolonialism both warn against the reification and commodification that can be imposed upon knowledge creation. Spivak has herself been critiqued for the commodification of postcolonial theory and for being a beneficiary of global capitalism as a participant in the holy Trinity of Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Chakravarty Spivak (Young, 1995). This is despite the expressed commitment of all of these scholars to create knowledge

without reifying method. So although it is not the easiest path to tread, a commitment to context specific aspects was crucial in informing the interpretive style. In the case of narratives Czarniawska (2004) supports this by offering a qualified rejection of strict criteria for methods in stating that “criteria and principles once defined obstruct their own change and reform” (2004:11). Another reason for not following a prescriptive approach is because the welding with interpretation based on critical theory mandated some carefully selected diversions.

As mentioned above, this dissertation draws on a method of analysis and interpretation that employs synergies between narrative interpretive reading and critical interpretation in a reflexive way. While from narrative interpretation I draw on intersubjectivity, which implies acknowledging exchange, interaction and co-creation of the narratives (Weick, 1995) and respectful engagement with research participants (Czarniawska, 2004), from postcolonial critique, I draw the idea that the political aspect of this research is important. I also aim to be an independent researcher (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009), unfettered by funding constraints that aid or inhibit my conceptual tool-kit. This was very important for the research participants. I also allow my analysis to focus away from the empirical material and delve deeper into some analytical features that are theory-based as theoretical frames of reference are important in critical interpretations (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009). This then means that there is no prescribed and set path that I could have followed in the analysis. To add to this I had to acknowledge the relevance of my own hunches. Fortunately this is not new for critical researchers:

“The (critical) researcher already possesses a thorough knowledge of (the research) context from the ‘ethnography of life’, and just because it is impossible to place a formalized research procedure between oneself and this wealth of empirical material, there is no reason to ignore it. However, all this unsystematic empirical material must be subjected to particularly rigorous reflection about its significance and relevance” (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009:165, brackets mine).

The particular form of critical reading of narratives was drawn from Hernadi’s triad (cited in Czarniawska, 2004). In this interpretive reading, explication, explanation and exploration are considered as three stages of reading narratives. In this

research the first stage included explicating and acknowledging common strands of narratives. Here I had to engage in innovation in the reading process as I was dealing with a large number of stories with several shared strands of concern. I used Nvivo, a software that could be used to aid interpretive analysis, to organize my explication. I have included snapshots of the explication strands as appendices (D(i), D(ii) and D(iii)) for the three research questions. The explanation stage consisted of critical theoretical interpretation, primarily using postcolonial theory. In this stage I examined the explication strands in relation to the theoretical perspective I was prioritising. In the third stage I engaged in a reflexive reading that incorporated the concerns I had as a researcher and so aspects of my 'ethnography of work/life' was also included in the analysis. Owing to the reiterative stance of qualitative research these stages were not strictly followed in a linear way. Rather the stages became part of a circular and iterative framework of the analysis. A quilting (Saukko, 2000) between voice and discourse that validates experience and yet interpretively locates it with the help of a productive engagement between postcolonial and feminist theories was therefore my chosen strategy.

Further in the writing up of the dissertations, the analysis has been presented in response to the research questions and not in the form of these different readings. This therefore represents the background work that created the responses to the research questions. It is academic convention to retrospectively clean up the messiness of the iteration that qualitative research involves. In keeping with this convention I present a linear formulation of the method of analysis:

**Table 4.2: Adapting Hernadi’s hermeneutic triad for this research (adapted from Czarniawska, 2004)**

<b>Types of narrative reading</b>	<b>Explication NAÏVE OR SEMANTIC READING</b>	<b>Explanation SEMIOTIC READING</b>	<b>Exploration REFLEXIVE READING</b>
<b>Czarniawska’s proposal</b>	Standing under  Reproductive translation	Standing over Inferential detection  Deconstruction	Standing in for existential enactment  Construction
<b>Corresponding elements in this research</b>	Paraphrasing insights  Description and Seeking shared strands in the narratives	Methodical reading using theories  Deconstruction Interruptive interpretation	Reflexivity  Appreciative reading to recognise resistance

The reading involved re-reading and also different stages of reading, working with the semantic/explication based reading (what does the text say), to move to the next stage of semiotic reading/explanation where the focus is on ‘why/how does the text say what it does’. The final stage is an exploratory reading of the text where the concerns and views of the researcher and the researcher’s context are infused with the explication and explanation based readings to produce the final layer of interpretation.

In following Hernadi’s triad, Czarniawska (2004) notes certain critical aspects and provides different options within each stage based on the purposes and sensibilities of the reader. These were used to formulate the readings for this research:

**Table 4.3: Concerns at each stage of the interpretive reading, based on Czarniawska’s (2001:68) discussion that draws on Rorty (1992, cited in Czarniawska, 2004) and Eco (1992, cited in Czarniawska, 2004)**

	<b>Explication NAÏVE OR SEMANTIC READING</b>	<b>Explanation SEMIOTIC READING</b>	<b>Exploration REFLEXIVE READING</b>
<b>Concerns at different stages of the process</b>	<p>Could opt for authoritative reading or polyphony.</p> <p>Concerns include: a.) Political act of totalizing a diverse field b.) Rendering someone else’s story in one’s own idiom involves exclusions.</p> <p>Exclusive focus on explication could lead to under-analysis which merely reproduces narratives uncritically (semantic reader)</p>	<p>Could be a.) Objectivist b.) Subjectivist or c.) Social constructivist</p> <p>Exclusive focus on explanation could lead to over-analysis which ignores the text (semiotic reader)</p> <p>Preference of type of reading depends on “interpretive community” of researcher</p>	<p>More important for constructivist explanation based research</p> <p>Reflexivity</p> <p>(Intentions of the Researcher interact with and are negotiated with intentions of the Research Participants)</p>
<b>Decisions for this research</b>	<p>The different narratives shared several features and concerns which meant that a polyphonic reading was not as relevant as one that prioritized the shared dimensions. As the narratives were the ones that are marginalised in the organizational discourse, focussing on the shared dimension was seen as a politically inclusive rather than a politically exclusive strategy. Therefore the totalizing of narratives was seen as a responsive strategy to the narratives.</p>	<p>A social constructionist reading was most relevant give the framework of the research.</p> <p>Postcolonial theory was used as the critical theoretical framework for this reading (including insights from Psychoanalytic, Foucauldian, Deconstruction and topological analysis)</p> <p>The critical interpretive community consisted of Emotion in organization Scholars and postcolonial scholars.</p>	<p>Reflexivity was seen as informing the research question, the construction of the research setting as well as the analysis and interpretation</p> <p>Insights from researcher’s own framework of practice were involved in making sense of the narratives based on the organizational practices in disaster interventions. Sense making is aided and inhibited by the reflexive sense making capacity of researchers and this has to be acknowledged a potential strength as well as a potential limitation of the research approach.</p>

In this research, the explanation and exploration aspects have been informed by a theoretical commitment to postcolonial theory. In swaying between theory, discourse and narrative I have tried to develop critical insights about the organizational context within which I studied emotions. This has involved a creative flux based on reflexivity, postcolonial and poststructuralist feminist ideas and the narratives. Bhabha (1994) draws on Derrida's deconstruction lexicon of *differance* and *supplement*, and these techniques have impacted on my analytical processes. *Differance* involves paying attention to that which is un-stated but is present in its un-stated-ness: for example when we talk about life, we are also talking about death. *Supplement* involves adding to the plurality of conceptualisations about particular things so as to increase the scope and the view. The notion of deconstruction has been helpful in my reflexive circuit as it has foregrounded certain things that are usually removed from view. This has specifically been with regard to desires as an organizing force in organizations.

Along with this, deconstruction also invites attention to literary 'master' tropes and so metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony were all considered important in interpreting the narratives. These have been explored in organizational research (see Oswick, Putnam and Keenoy, 2004) and I draw on these to improve the critical potential of the analysis. It has been proposed that these literary tropes "symbolize relationships among concepts", for example, resemblance (metaphor), substitution by association (metonymy), part-whole substitution (synecdoche) and contradiction/juxtaposing of opposites (irony) (D'Angelo, cited in Oswick, Putnam and Keenoy, 2004). These four literary tropes are important not only because of our concern with language use and discourse but also because postcolonial theory, given its humanities bent, employs these tropes in understanding agency, colonial discourse and stereotypes (example see Bhabha, 2010:111 and Spivak, 2005: 483).

The deliberate use of metaphors has been encouraged in management and organizational research (Weick, 1989). Part of this is about being aware of any metaphors that might have guided my own conceptualisation of organizations, for example, the metaphor of organizations as empires could be seen as instructive for



postcolonial organizational analysis. Another metaphor could be that egalitarian organizational change requires a commitment like an everyday task such as 'brushing our teeth' (following Spivak 1990:41). While research that uses tropes as its essential unit of analysis is important in organizational discourse analysis, this research will not make any claims of being a thoroughbred 'tropological' analysis. However the master tropes of metaphors, metonymies, synecdoches and ironies, when they emerge as thematically relevant, will be discussed in the analysis. Therefore this research will have a reflective orientation toward tropes, one that is seen as under-utilised in tropological analysis - this will involve seeking to develop chains of associations among metaphors in use in a context specific manner (Oswick, Putnam and Keenoy, 2004, page 121).

Emotional labour research has been critiqued for taking a phenomenological perspective in dealing with interview data, whereby participants' responses are seen as truths and the discursive work done by research participants is not acknowledged. (Frith and Kitzinger,1998). On the other hand, "poststructuralist research often problematically presumes academics to be capable of seeing through social discourses and fails to submit to scholar's paradigmatic and personal presuppositions to analytical scrutiny" (Saukko, 2000:301). In response to this binary problematic, Saukko (2000) advocates undertaking research so as to think of it as a "technology of the self" (Foucault, 1988). This understanding allows us to view both researcher and research participants as discursively constructed objects but also as subjects who are "capable of critically assessing the discourses that constitute us and of adopting new ones that, again, will have their problems as well as possibilities" (Saukko, 2000:302).

Part of the sense-making was reflexive (this will be discussed below) and part of it was a sub-conscious process, where the ideas from the interviews seemed to have been placed in a slow cooker that I had access to - analysing these narratives was therefore akin to creating good food out of ingredients usually cast aside because of being potentially threatening ingredients. This has been especially hard at times when writing about race in a way that enables me to challenge existing stereotypes, while at the same time potentially essentializing qualities of dominant

groups of through use of what might be seen as stereotypical constructions of these groups - this has often meant heavy use of referencing and facing up to the risk of retribution from dominant groups while writing parts of the interpretive chapters. The interpretive process was experienced by me often as sudden insights that brought clarity. This is not unusual in qualitative research but this does mean that some of my nuanced sense-making was beyond my conscious radar.

### ***Rigour and Validity in qualitative research:***

Generalisation is a laudable objective for essentialist research and for researchers that construct knowledge generation as discovery rather than creation. This research project is focussed on exploring, describing and critique, rather than on arriving at general principles that aid in the prediction and control of emotion in organizations. The methodology being used is one that privileges particularistic accounts albeit frames these accounts within the social, historical and cultural norms in which the research participants are located. Therefore, this research is embedded within a critique of the sociology of science and knowledge generation and makes no claims about reaching total or statistical generalisations. However, *moderatum* generalisation, understood as generalisation “where aspects of a situation are examples of a broader set of features” (Williams, cited in Heracleous, 2006:29), are seen as legitimate accomplishments of interpretive research.

While the place of reliability and validity in qualitative research is debatable, this research has two possible ways of responding to quality criteria. We could work with the poststructuralist notion that a whole different set of criteria are needed to ensure the quality of qualitative research. Qualitative research can aim to be transferable, credible, dependable and confirmable (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Coherence between the focus of the research, the theory being used and the methodology being pursued is also considered very important for a sound research (Savage, 2004).

Acknowledgement of subjectivity, emotions and feelings in the research is also advocated as part of the reflexive project of qualitative research, (Denzin and

Lincoln, 1994). Rather than being a problem, subjectivity is seen as an opportunity by Finlay (2002). Proposing five types of reflexivity including introspection, intersubjective reflection, mutual collaboration, social critique and discursive deconstruction, Finlay (2002) places self-awareness at the centre of the research. Reflexivity also gets me to think about the conditions of this collaboration and makes me aware of the possibility that particular participants participated in the research because they could not possibly refuse their snowballing lead. Reflexivity was discussed as an important aspect of the methodology of this research and as reflexivity is a nuanced and integral aspect of my researcher identity, it would be useful to explore this in some more detail.

### ***Reflexive Marginality:***

Many researchers who study emotion in organizations may not have an additional burden which forced Hess (1990) to rhetorically ask “Why is it only women or people of color or gays and lesbians who have “political” agendas.... as if whites do not have “race” or men are immunized from gender politics?” (Hess, 1990:82). While I agree that this burden needs to be shared and we do not need to ‘essentialize’ the carriers of this burden I do fit the category of being yet another woman of colour with a political agenda. Here I need to bear the burden of my epistemic advantage and continue to politicize events that rock the proverbial boat. In carrying this burden I have been able to draw on the legacies and practices of various scholars before me and some names that come to mind include bell hooks, Stella Nkomo, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Sandra Harding and Gayatri Chakrabarty Spivak. These scholars remind me that seeking change is a slow and painstaking process and requires perseverance. There may be no drastic change from this research but it is part of other efforts to try and improve the social conditions of existence:

“For example, when we actually brush our teeth, or clean ourselves everyday, or take exercise, or whatever, we don’t think that we are fighting a losing battle against mortality, but, in fact, all of these efforts are doomed to failure because we are going to die. On the other hand, we really think of it much more as upkeep and as maintenance rather than as an irreducibly doomed

repeated effort. This kind of activity cannot be replaced by an operation” (Spivak, 1990:41).

The scholars I draw on have valorised the margins of disciplines (bell hooks, Sandra Harding) and have also informed the critique of residing in disciplinary margins such as the ‘provisional discursivity of the margins’ (Suleri, 1992: 758). We shall now examine the role that margins play in the epistemological concerns of this study. I see myself as working with host of marginalized concepts, at a conflux of margins: emotions, inequality and marginalised employee concerns. Choosing to research in the margins is something that many feminists have been systematically developing. Researching at the margins can be seen as related to the decolonisation project, which Smith (2005:91) describes as a ‘highly political activity that can be perceived as threatening, destabilizing’ as it explicitly challenges status quo. Choosing this kind of an identity as a researcher is related to my experience of being labelled ‘emotional’ (in fact, all subaltern peoples are assumed to be too emotional (Harkin, 2003) and feeling marginalized in various settings because I often find that I do not subscribe to the mainstream agenda. More importantly however, choosing this identity as a researcher is what I find to be a valid expression of my knowledge making commitments, which are primarily about questioning, challenging and reformulating ‘taken-for-granted’ ways of knowing and being in this world. bell hooks talks about the margin as a space of radical openness (2004:156) and therefore as a risky and unsafe place where one needs a community of resistance. Margins therefore become loaded with the potential for imagined possibilities/alternatives. As this is a ‘chosen’ margin that I *author* from, it gives me *authority* to conceptualise differently and is therefore not a deprived margin, but one that is full of possibilities.

Postcolonialism and feminism both have claims on the margins, which could lead to “unthinking celebrations of oppression, elevating the racially female voice into a metaphor for “the good” (Suleri, 1992:759). While trying to uphold both feminist and postcolonial ideas I need to be cautious that

“until the participants in marginal discourses learn how best to critique the intellectual errors that inevitably accompany the provisional discursivity of the

margin, the monolithic and armed theorised identity of the centre will always be on them” (Suleri, 1992: 757).

Apart from the already discussed careful commitments to ontological, epistemological and methodological choices, reflexivity also provides us with opportunities to overcome the ‘provisional discursivity of the margins’. We discuss this in some detail in the section below.

## ***Reflexivity***

### **Attempting quadric-hermeneutics?**

Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009) suggest that attending to the unconscious, power, dominance and ideological factors while interpreting the responses of interpretive beings has been called ‘*triple* hermeneutics’ (ibid.:174). With the addition of a reflexive orientation, this turns into ‘*quadri*-hermeneutics’ (ibid.:271). This seems like an ambitious endeavour but my professional practice as a social worker, a social psychologist and most recently as a lecturer, all require reflexivity due to my ethical stance as a practitioner. I teach modules that focus on reflexivity and it is an important part of my professional and personal persona. In this context, opting for a research that did not allow me the space to be reflexive would have been an ambitious endeavour, one that I may have struggled with even more because of my epistemological discomfort with ‘objective’ knowing.

For the purposes of this research, reflexivity involves being able to recognize and acknowledge the discursive strategies that I use in order to make any meaningful and politically engaged statements in this research. Self-reflexivity has its limitations including the most obvious one that there cannot be a standardised process within which we can claim our reflexivity. It involves an ability to observe and intervene in an ongoing sense in our research and knowledge making practices.

The use of social constructionist analytic methods that informs the analysis of narratives in this dissertation lends a particular set of characteristics to the framing and understanding of the research questions. It highlights issues of power and

hegemony for example and suggests that language and social practices are co-constructed by these processes and are also carriers of these processes. However, it also encourages an analysis that seeks to recover some space for human agency. These notions have had an impact on the analysis. This is not to say that I have found what I went looking for; rather it is to foreground that the analytic and interpretive output draws from the corpus of ideas that become institutionalised in particular methodologies.

Spivak (1991:177, cited in Walker, 1994) has talked about the difficulties in being reflexive when she says that “(t)he field of practices are broken and uneven place, heavily inscribed with habit and segmented understandings”. Even our reflexivity could therefore be co-opted. Drawing on poststructural understandings, if a subject is always inscribed by language then my engagement in reflexive practices is inscribed by my subjectivity and my ability to become aware of the links between my discursive production and what I discursively produce as I produce my analysis. The predicament involved in performing the circuitous task outlined in the previous statement is baffling to say the least. Reflexivity therefore is also about owning up to the limits of reflexivity. While there are some excellent overviews of reflexivity that share thoughts on reflexivity (MacBeth, 2001; Davies et al, 2004), it cannot be treated as a prescriptive activity. To an extent therefore, I engaged in an ‘in-disciplined’ reflexive process that I need to own.

It would be very important to acknowledge that any scholarly reflexivity is not synonymous with a self confessional practice. One important way in which these two differ is in the notion that scholarly reflexivity involves becoming aware of the discursive strategies of the theoretical fields that the scholar draws ideas and inspiration from. In this sense part of my task in being reflexive involves becoming aware of the narrative apparatuses that postcolonialism, emotion in organizations research and feminism deploy in the frames that they provide me for my interpretive analysis (Denzin, 1998). Polarity, rationality, colonialism, patriarchy, and their critique have all framed my interpretive lens. My ability to see the patterns and divergences in the interview transcripts and my ability to use deconstruction as

a technique of analysis, have also framed my interpretive lens. Here it is pertinent to pause and reflect on some criticisms of postcolonial scholarship.

Postcolonial scholarship and criticism is not an easily worn identity for any scholar from the 'Third World'. Postcolonial contributions have been critiqued by Marxists for being ahistorical (Ahmad, 1992), the feminists for interfering with solidarity (see Gandhi, 1998) and cultural theorists for being part of the "*comprador* intelligentsia: a relatively small, Western-style, Western trained group of writers and thinkers who mediate the trade in cultural commodities of world capitalism at the periphery" (Appiah, 1991:348). Postcolonial scholarship and critique fails on many other accounts as well. It seems to provide too overarching an analysis of the effects of colonialism when in historical terms colonial relations existed in varying guises. While being post-structural in its orientation, it does elevate the colonial encounter to grant it a status of a grand theory. Despite these limitations postcolonial theory, it is seductive in the proposals it puts forward with regard to subjectification processes and for its ability of bringing together politics, psychology and humanities in theorising the human effects of post/colonial encounters. The feminist critique needs to be examined in some detail before looking at ways out of the critical conundrum.

As far as the feminist critique of Postcolonialism goes, having set off on 'a path of convergent evolution' (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1995: 249), postcolonialism and feminism today experience "collision and collusion" (Gandhi, 1998:83). There are things about feminism that postcolonial theorists object to, such as "the figure of the 'feminist imperialist'-much like that of the 'third-world woman'-fractures the potential unity between postcolonial and feminist scholarship" (Gandhi, 1998:91). These ruptures coupled with the civilising prerogative whereby "(w)hite men are saving brown women from brown men" (Spivak 1988:296) do not bode well for friendship between 'universal' feminism and postcolonialism. The feminist 'margin' as a space for 'radical openness' (hooks, 2004:153) re-inscribes itself as a margin that is at the service of the centre (Spivak 1993: 55) and the Third World woman becomes Western liberal feminism's 'Other'. While these territorial meanderings could be construed as another desired outcome of divide and rule policies, the

lively debate and restlessness that these two critical theories achieve for each other the identity of being robust and creative knowledge making commitments that do not suffer from the inertia of preaching to the converts.

Therefore, as a postcolonial scholar I need to concede to the critique that I might be occupying a discursive position whereby I continue to be the 'native informant'. I need to open myself up to the charge that I am creating narratives of (post)colonial subjects so that I may be able to justify a particular set of "truth claims" about the subjectification processes for colonial subjects. In order to clarify this somewhat I could use an example whereby if I interpret the narratives that were shared with me to foreground the resistance in those narratives then I create particular truths about the resistance potential of postcolonial subjects. Therefore I might represent all national workers of INGOs "as if they were speaking collectively as the unified political subject" (Morton, 2003: 35), and therefore erase and assimilate divergent views. However, I could also do this deliberately and intentionally; to foreground consensual aspects marginalised organizational narratives. This can then be viewed as a political act that deliberately focuses on consensus rather than dissensus in narratives, without seeking to assimilate divergent views.

Any reflexive engagement that involves writing (or other kinds of action) also implies potential post-facto reflexivity because the circuitous vortex of reflexivity could keep us stagnant and immobilize us into sustained inaction. In some ways therefore this research process has had to accommodate reflexive and not-so reflexive engagements and hold these up to each other in order to foreground ethical dilemmas and perplexities while continuing to produce the work with limited reflexive capacities. What helped here was the idea that "a critical/semiotic reader is able as a naïve reader to relate to the text directly, in addition to being able to appreciate how cleverly the text has been written" (Eco, cited in Czarniawksa, 2004:77) and therefore reflection need not be avoided out of the dread of inaction, but rather when embraced, it could lead to action.

If reflexivity were to be self-conscious it would need to acknowledge that it was a discursive production that enabled qualitative research to answer the criticisms that



were levelled against the validity and reliability of the studies that followed this tradition. In this sense reflexivity is a critical interrogation that scholars engage in owing to their critical inclination. While acknowledging the reflexive dimensions of knowledge creation should be able to foreground that all knowledges are not 'realist', it has to be acknowledged that the more privileged 'scientific' researchers continue to not engage with reflexive practices. This is a significant limitation of scholarly reflexivity; it is limited in its ability to really shake up or transform the privileges around knowledge creation.

'Research is not just a rational activity, but also a highly political, moral and emotional one in its processes and outcomes' (Sturdy, 2003). Reflexive research could therefore also be seen as political, moral, and emotional and therefore embodied concerns are part and parcel of the research process. Reflexivity could be seen as made possible by embodied concerns but also as limited by embodied concerns. Embodied concerns could be understood in different ways and therefore my embodiment as a particularly embodied researcher, which could impact on the interview process in uncertain ways (Phoenix, 1994) as well as my research practices being dependent of my bodily concerns are both relevant here. For example, throughout my PhD process I have had health concerns emerge for me. These were extremely anxiety provoking and had an impact on my research experience. When I conducted some of the interviews in India, between interviews I travelled in the summer heat in an 'auto rickshaw' and at times felt I was going to faint. At first I thought I was getting used to living in England and losing my ability to live in hotter climes. Later I found out that this was due to an undiagnosed hypothyroidism. Before getting on treatment to 'normalize' the level of hormones, at times I felt like someone had taken a pair of scissors and cut right through the colourful and painstakingly created loom of ideas. Later I found out this was called a brain fog, another symptom of hypothyroidism. These embodied experiences have been part and parcel of this research and have tampered with the pace of the study at the very least. Now as I write this section I have also developed an extremely painful wrist, which could be an indication of severe anaemia. Therefore as I write this, I am preoccupied, anxious about my health and the impending blood test, and about completing the PhD with the dedication that I can muster in this

context. A commitment to reflexivity has enabled me to consider the impact of these experiences but also to prioritize an iterative journey in this research, which has been very helpful in dealing with my embodied concerns. *Therefore on a third re-reading/writing of this section, I no longer feel the pains I talked about earlier and know that the treatment is working. This iterative journeying helps develop the overall product, and my overall research experience and learning.*

Despite the limitations of reflexivity, my reflexive engagement has helped me practice my research in an ethical way, prioritising the comfort and willingness of my research participants, refusing to ask them leading questions, engaging with them in a sensitive and respectful manner, and interpreting their responses with a commitment to interpreting their voices and stories to transform their work life in an emancipatory manner. My interpretations could therefore be seen as co-produced analysis, political in the claims they make and engaged in transforming organizational practices. Therefore while I said before that the margins gave me the authority from where to author different knowledges, reflexivity problematizes the positioning of 'my voice' as the voice of authority and therefore reminds me that this authorship is a collaborative outcome.

As a prelude to the interpretation chapters I would like to end with what one of the research participants asked me. He said prior to the interview, "If I speak to you about this, are you willing to make a noise?" Activist research is about making those voices that are usually unheard into a noise that cannot be ignored. This could mean that "we need to suspend our support for a rhetoric of reason and decorum and lend an ear to the rhetorical possibilities of noise" (Kennedy, 1999:26). I hope to achieve some success in this endeavour. Therefore, apart from this scholarly work, it is important for me to publish in practitioner journals and participate in humanitarian online forums so that the insights can lead to relevant organizational changes.

## **Introductory note to interpretation chapters**

Conceptualising disaster intervention as an emotional arena helps us explore the links between the micro experiences of national workers and macro organizational structures within which they perform their work. It also helps us unravel how the reported emotional experiences are made possible because of organizational possibilities and constraints.

It is argued that for Goffman, 'real' reality was always backstage (Wolfe, 1997). Following Goffman's lead, ethnographic research traditions attempt to analyse the backstage of social orders (Hochschild, 1983). Rather than continuing to investigate the backstage, what was shared in this study has been metaphorically situated in the green room. The green room is neither the back stage, nor the front stage. It is often a place where actors are prepared to be interviewed while they gear up for their on-stage presence. It is also a space where actors comment on what they might be doing backstage and how they wish their on-stage persona to be perceived. The green room is a performative space and the narratives of national workers were collected as their reflections on their experiences on-stage as well as off-stage. This has meant that the research participants have not been engaged with under the assumption that they are cultural dupes (Czarniawska, 2004:50). Rather they have been approached as people with critical insights about their shared emotional realities in organizations. If we delve into the metaphor of an emotional arena (Fineman, 2008) we need to acknowledge that performances in an arena are always for 'spectators'. In this study the researcher has been located not as a spectator but as involved in engaged spectatorship or 'collective witnessing' (Zorn and Boler, 2007:143), whereby a 'self-reflective participation' (Zorn and Boler, 2007:143) has been the core guiding principle in this research.

In the interpretation of the narratives, the constructions of INGOs as an emotional arena have been organized around the three research questions discussed earlier in this dissertation:

1. What are the political and regulatory features of 'INGO disaster interventions'?

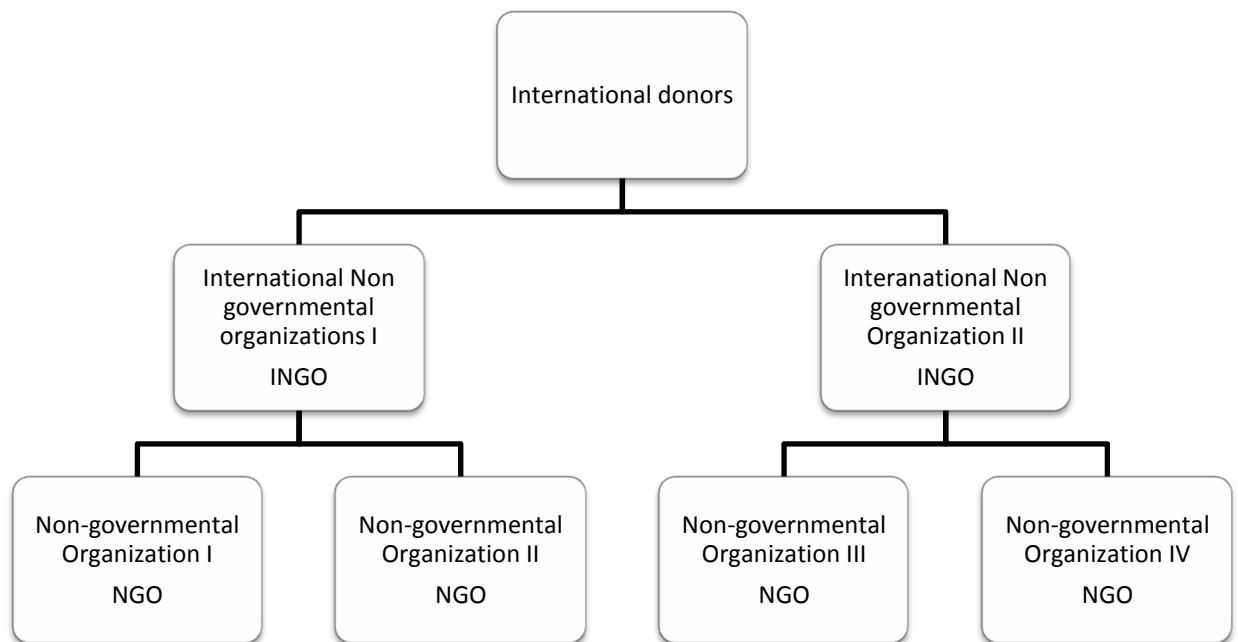
2. What are the dominant forms of exclusions and inequalities discussed in the narratives that focus on emotions in INGOs?
3. How do National workers 'manage' their emotions in disaster intervention INGOs? What are the strategies of resistance, if any?

In the first analysis and interpretation chapter the cultural and political alliances of INGOs are explained and examined. The narratives suggest a strongly controlled emotional environment that has been interpreted as an instrumental emotional arena. This instrumental emotional arena is discussed in detail in response to the first question.

In response to the second question, the exclusions and inequalities in the narratives are discussed using the constructions of the National workers who describe themselves as compassionate but 'tied down' by the practices of their employing organizations. The exclusions and inequalities are seen as creating two sub-systems of National workers and Expatriate workers and between these sub-systems, a "defensive practice that reiterates differences and promotes scepticism" (Vince, 2001:1345) is seen to be operational.

The third question explores the shared intra-personal aspects of the emotional arena for the national workers. Here emotional expression and emotional control are both examined as aspects of emotion management. Further, resistance to dominant discourses around emotion management are foregrounded in order to contribute to theoretical extension in emotion in organizations theory.

It will be helpful to note the following hierarchical relationships prior to the interpretive chapters. This hierarchical relationship between international donors and INGOs and a corresponding hierarchical relationship between INGOs and NGOs is the backdrop to the discussion in the following chapters.



**Figure 4A.1: Diagram representing hierarchical relationship between donors, INGOs and NGOs**

As mentioned in the methodology chapter the interpretation took the shape of three kinds of reading. The following three chapters present a synthesised account of the three forms of reading in response to each of thee research questions. The next chapter will begin with a consideration of the political and regulatory features of disaster intervention INGOs as an emotional arena.

## **Chapter Five- Political and regulatory features of the emotional arena of disaster intervention INGOs:**

In this chapter the political and regulatory features of the emotional arena of INGOs is discussed using the three forms of reading proposed in Hernadi's triad(1987, cited in Czarniawska, 2004), to interpret the narratives that were shared in the research process. As suggested by Czarniawska (2004), the insights from these different readings have been interwoven in the writing up of the interpretation. However, the explication of the narratives strands has also been included as a snapshot in the appendix D (i).

In the narratives, corporatization and professionalization were constructed as the key political and regulatory aspects of the emotional arena of INGOs. The INGOs are then constructed as corporate organizations that have a professionalized approach. The corporatization of INGOs has an impact on various interactions in the disaster sector. These interactions are examined using excerpts from the interviews. Corporatization, as employed in INGOS, prioritizes decisions based on monetary gain, and it also prioritizes competition between INGOs rather than a collaborative approach toward disaster interventions. Professionalization, as discussed within INGOs, is seen to have both positive and negative repercussions and these are also examined with the use of excerpts from the transcripts. Corporatization and professionalization are together understood to create an instrumental emotional arena for INGOs. This is interpretively located within neoliberal practices and the postcolonial significance of this location is explained. It is proposed that the instrumental emotional arena of INGOs is amenable to neoliberal logic and practice. The repercussions of this include the marginalization of emotion and the marginalization of value-based considerations in disaster interventions. The potential for resisting this alignment is identified as an area that could be further illuminated through the interpretation of the narratives which will be undertaken in the following chapters.

### ***Corporatization of INGOs:***

One of the strongest recurrent narrative strands that emerged in the reading about the regulatory ideals that impacted on the emotional arena was the construction of INGOs because it suggests that rather than INGOs, the organizations could have been thought of as multinational corporations. At one level, this was a counter-intuitive, disturbing and ironic formulation as INGOs are typically discussed as altruistic and humanitarian organizations. At another level however, this description of INGOs is well aligned with the critical ways in which INGOs and humanitarian organizations have been studied (Klein, 2007). This then suggests that National workers often subscribed to a critical view of their workplaces, or that they normalized this business-minded approach because they regarded it as the only way to deliver services efficiently. In either case, this deserves further engagement.

### **INGOs as ‘Corporates’:**

In an overwhelming majority of the narratives, INGOs working in disaster interventions were constructed not as altruistic, humanitarian and not-for-profit organizations but as large corporate entities with corporate structures and elite ways of working.

*“the structures are very corporate, our career progression is very corporate in nature, that has to be broken, ...English language and documentation skills but also wages, air travel all makes us corporatized....it kills your empathy and your conscience because you being a National worker, you yourself are an elite ...how will you understand someone who has walked 18 kilometres to sell their produce or walk 5 kilometres to get water...it is criminal to spend money that was meant for poverty.” (Vijay)*

This corporatization involves a focus on being a profitable business rather than a sustainable non-profit and a prioritization of business objectives around fund raising and aid spending. It also involves detachment from human feelings in order to enable the prioritizing of the business objectives. This was widely discussed in most narratives:

*“Eventually it is a business. Let’s face it.” (Hemant)*

The business orientation of INGOs was seen as instrumental in severing compassionate links with beneficiaries because in order to continue to flourish, the business of INGOs required constant movement, from one disaster to another, one after another. Further this business orientation and management driven practices were seen as a Western import by a significant number of research participants:

*“Recent disaster has brought many management graduates and they would like to see everything from the management perspective, they think that Aid can be you know, systematised, which is not possible, you will eliminate a lot of good organizations and individuals, the whole philosophy of looking from a management perspective is a western import and has to be thrown out when handling disasters.” (Vijay)*

In keeping with the business metaphor, disaster interventions were discussed as part of the capitalistic market place where ‘brand recognition’ and ‘absorption capacity’ rather than relief and rehabilitation goals were prioritized leading some research participants to consider INGO intervention as part of disaster capitalism (Klien, 2007 ). This notion of absorption capacity and the importance of brand management was mentioned by most of the research participants and was therefore a strong strand.

*“I have actually come to terms that perhaps it is more of a ritual, more of a massive fundraising plan on the part of the different international organizations and the UN, and but actually we don't want to change the position of the community, those who suffer.” (Subhash)*

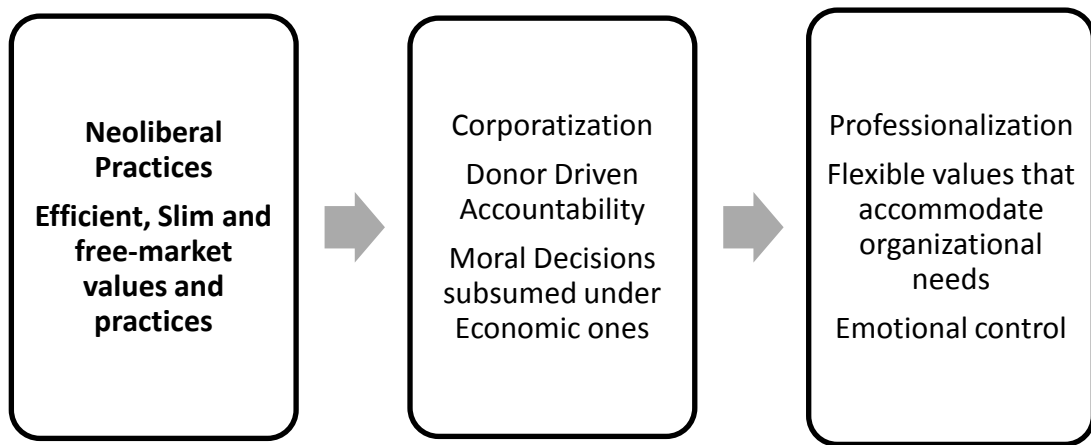
The narratives therefore suggest that INGOs function as capitalistic organizations in a neoliberal economy. The ability of INGOs to spend money is understood as their ‘absorption capacity’ and this becomes **the** bottom line. This conceptualization of the emotional arena as instrumental, corporatized and professionalized could be situated within a larger context of neoliberal organizational practices.

“Neoliberalism is ... a political rationality that asserts the market as the central value of all social relations, whether economic or not. ... Ultimately, the neoliberal polity is not a collective at all; rather, it consists of a loose group of individual entrepreneurs and consumers” (Philipose, 2007: 68).



Neoliberal practices can therefore begin to emerge in contexts where money becomes the definitive logic. Within this interpretation, the INGOs are encouraged to become efficient and slim free-market oriented organizations although their funding pool remains defined and confined to the donor community. This ensures a focus on donor driven accountability which is achieved through corporatization and competition. Further the spread of neoliberal practices has to involve the shaping of the professionals in the disaster industry and professionalization enables this transformation by creating professionals who undervalue their emotions and strive to be flexible and accommodating toward the logic of profit, free market and absorption capacity.

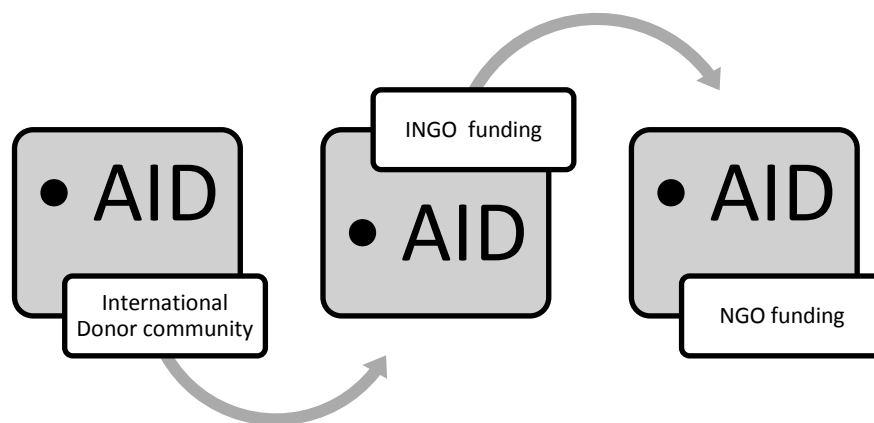
The priorities that define the instrumental arena of disaster intervention INGOs can be pictorially represented as below:



**Figure 5.1: Neoliberal practices drive the agenda for corporatization and professionalization of INGOs**

This characterization of INGOs is of significance when examined from a postcolonial perspective. An explanatory reading of these narratives then leads us to acknowledge that it is important to foreground a few significant linkages between capitalism, imperialism, colonialism, on the one hand, and neoliberalism, neo-imperialism, neo-colonialism, on the other. Colonialism involved a “reconfiguration” of the economy of the colonized territory, “resulting in a dependency relationship that often continues to this day” (Banerjee, 2008:1543). Imperialism is seen to have capitalist origins (Banerjee, 2008).

Following Lenin, Banerjee states that imperialism is understood as “the highest stage of capitalism” as well as the “highest stage of colonialism” (Banerjee,2008:1543). Further what was started in imperialism and colonialism did not finish with the departure of colonial government from the colonized territories. New economic dependencies had been established and institutionalised, which now shape how imperial power and influence are exercised. These dependencies were identified in the explication based reading as consisting of one-sided hierarchical relationships between the donor agencies and the INGOs and a corresponding hierarchization between INGOs and NGOs. Both these dependencies were characterized by the dependencies around money in the form of donor decisions. The institutionalization of these dependencies ensures that imperial power and influence continue to be exercised with minimum organized challenge to these imperatives.



**Figure 5.2: Money, Money, Money: Dependency flows between International Donors, INGOs and NGO are organized around financial aid**

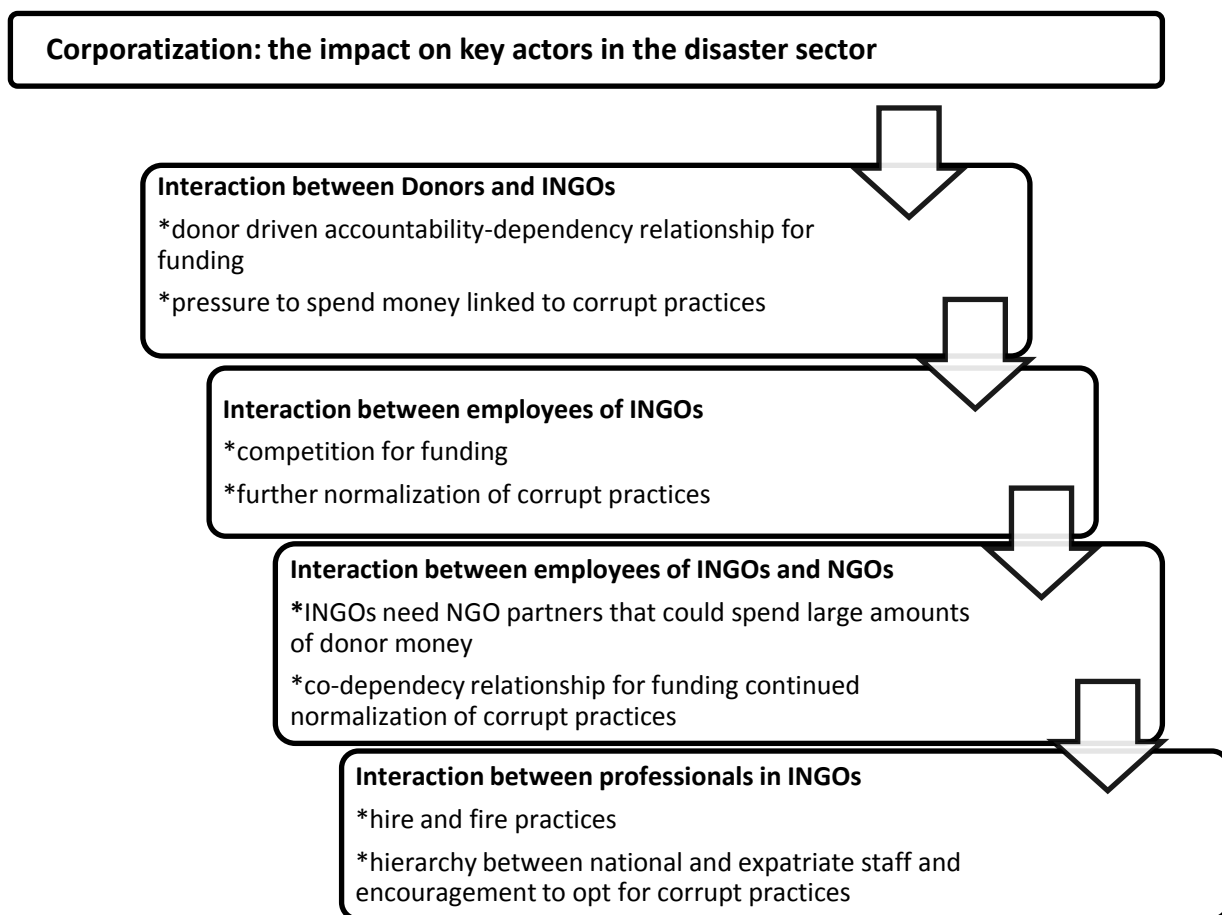
It has been powerfully argued that within the nexus of neoliberal, neo-colonial and neoimperial forces “(n)atural disasters such as hurricanes, tsunamis, and earthquakes become enabling conditions of disaster capitalism” (Banerjee, 2008:1558). Neocolonialism, neoimperialism and neoliberalism are therefore cultural, political and economic forces that lead to what Stoler (2006, cited in Banerjee, 2008) calls ‘imperial formations’. In this sense therefore, “the end of direct colonial rule did not mean the end of imperialism” (Banerjee, 2008:1543). Seen in this way, the disaster intervention INGOs are part of the imperial formation and for its sustenance, it requires “the complicity of the political elites in the former colonies” (Banerjee, 2008: 1546). This complicity of the political elites becomes apparent in the explication reading when the paradoxical way in which INGOs actually depend on politically savvy NGOs with big budgets in order to meet their own spending criteria and absorption capacity is mentioned in several narratives. This complicity is at the core of keeping the international framework of operations functional and explains the obvious biases toward the bigger players in this sector.

This complicity can be examined by exploring the types of interactions that were discussed in the narratives. Overall the narratives suggested that this corporatization had repercussions for four important interactions in the disaster intervention sector:

- a.) The interactions between the donors and the INGOs whereby donor accountability was prioritized and there was overwhelming pressure to spend money in order to increase the absorption capacity (or spending capacity) of INGOs. This was maintained by INGO dependency on donor communities for funds.
- b.) The interactions between employees of INGOs whereby a competitive rather than a collaborative environment was prioritized leading to normalization of corrupt practices and brand-building wars. This was maintained by dependency of INGOs on competition for funding.
- c.) The interactions between employees of INGOs and NGOs whereby a hierarchical conceptualization meant that INGOs looked down upon NGOs. This was maintained by NGOs dependency on INGOs for funding. This furthered the normalization of corrupt practices.

d.) The interactions between professionals within organizations where emotional control and project oriented thinking rather than cause-based action was prioritized. This was maintained by insecure working arrangements and hire-and-fire practices.

In each of these interactions the corporatization ideal led to some co-opting and some exclusion. The pressure to spend money, the competition between INGOs, the status hierarchies between INGOs and NGOs and the status hierarchies between different INGO employees were discussed whereby the INGOs that did not spend enough, the National NGOs, and the National workers, were all treated in ways that suggested that they had a lower value.



**Figure 5.3: Narratives about INGOs prioritized corporatization that had an impact on various organizational interactions as shown in this figure**

### **Interaction between Donors and INGOs:**

The narratives suggested that there was an overwhelming pressure to spend the money that was raised as disaster aid. This was linked to the notion of absorption capacity on the basis of which the success of different INGOs is evaluated by the donor agencies. The higher the absorption capacity of an INGO, the more likely it was to raise more funds when disasters struck again. This was mentioned by almost all of the research participants.

*“So within the deadline, the fund would have to be spent. So failing to spend that particular amount would be actually a management liability. (Binoy)”*

The pressure to spend was seen as linked to the international media coverage as well as accountability to the houses parliament of the donor countries, rather than because of the requirements in the field where disaster intervention was required.

*“The pressure to spend is immense. I have known cases where you are required to spend say 3 million pounds or something, those kinds of monies as soon as possible because they want to answer back in the parliament as to what are we doing, because, Reuters and everybody’s printing of those images of crying children.” (Hemant)”*

In a significant number of the narratives, the pressure to spend was seen as an outcome of the systemic issues in funding decisions that were controlled by western conglomerate of INGOs and western donor agencies.

*“the way that funding is organized ....(for example) the disaster emergency committee (puts a lot of pressure)... and I have been in situations where (I have been told) “you’re not spending enough” and actually that will go against you in the next disaster...at the UK level ...(because) whoever spent the most money is the best ...and (the highest spenders) get the highest allocation...in the next disaster.” (Nisha)”*

When spending money becomes the first priority of INGOs in disaster work then the most powerful form of accountability is limited to donor accountability and donor evaluation of INGO work takes priority. This means that the beneficiary driven accountability agenda receives a set-back and compassion and the helping

imperative become sidelined.

*“The INGOs that take the money such as RaceAhead, Headco, Children futures, and Childgiving etc. at a management level get into a sort of ‘desperation’ to spend the money because they have raised the money... that objective (of spending money) overtakes the objective of helping people, that happens actually. It’s like a drama that takes place.” (Rishabh)*

This dynamic places the donors as the most powerful actors in determining the spending strategy of INGOs and also has an impact on the other interactions that are discussed below.

### **Interaction between INGOs:**

In order to meet donor demands and be able to demonstrate the highest absorption capacity, the narratives also suggested that the INGOs were in competition with each other. Even though the relief and rehabilitation goals that they were working toward were shared and collaborative working practices would have ensured better utilization of resources, spending resources rather than maximising them is what gets prioritized. The humanitarian goals were therefore considered less important than the goal of maximizing absorption capacity which alone would be used to ensure the continued bounty of donor agencies, which was a critical concern for nearly all of the research participants.

*“There was this meeting where another international agency came and told me that ‘we don’t have a field presence in this area, so we are willing to bring all our resources and give them to you’....but they also say that if we pool our resources, ‘every media release has to have our name first’ and things like that you know, these are the things that really makes you disappointed.” (Nisha)*

This competition takes the shape of wanting more brand visibility than competitor INGOs as brand visibility becomes one of the indicators used in evaluation of INGO performance. Further, INGOs often end up dismissing each other’s work in order to appear better:

*“For example, GYMGO was itself as bigger than ASPIRE in certain geographical area. GYMGO would claim, “Oh, ASPIRE is doing nothing*

*absolutely, it's all rubbish, and we are doing our best.” So in a forum of the emergency network with UN forum, they would try to project themselves, they do higher than the other international organization.” (Ajeet)*

This competition was discussed in all of the narratives and in some was in fact discussed using a metaphor of a beastly rivalry, whereby competition, rather than disaster intervention, became the dominant motivation:

*“So we tend to become competitive in the process, inherently, although, we don't display it. Like, dogs and jackals but inherently we are like that.” (Rishabh)*

Continuing with the beastly metaphor, another way in which the competition was described was as a territorial one:

*“People are quite territorial and becoming more and more like that.” (Sandeep)*

The competitive environment was seen as an important aspect that sustained and furthered the corporatization of the sector. This was because corporatization was seen as an aspect that would improve the INGOs competitive edge against rival INGOs. The competition between INGOs has a direct impact on the interactions between INGOs and NGOs.

### **Interaction between INGOs and NGOs:**

On the one hand NGOs were dependent on INGOs for funding but on the other hand INGOs were dependent on NGOs to ensure that they met their absorption capacity through the disbursement of funds. This meant that while there was a general hierarchy between INGOs and NGOs with the NGOs at the receiving end, the theme of competition between INGOs continued as they also had to compete between each other to gain access to 'better' NGOs who could spend the INGO money quickly and efficiently, rather than effectively.

*“Once you have a lot of money, you want to give the money to a bigger organization, so ... because you can give a bigger chunk and then forget about it. This absorption capacity is a bull-shit concept according to me. But at the same time it makes my job as a funder very easy ... So you end up*

*picking the NGOs who already have more muscle power, more geographical spread, more savvy NGOs rather than smaller agencies that are there.”* (Nisha)

All of the research participants who had been in any management role seemed to suggest similar things. Further the pressure to spend and the competition to spend was seen by National workers to be at the base of the corrupt practices that are part and parcel of disaster interventions.

*“There was a frenzied rush to get the right guy to partner with you and you have to make him a bid higher than the previous development agency. This is what was happening.”* (Nisha)

This was a counter-discursive understanding that was gleaned from the narratives as rather than constructing INGOs as egalitarian and altruistic organizations, the narratives constructed them as corrupt capitalistic organizations. Despite the lack of any question focusing on corruption, it was an emergent aspect of great relevance in most narratives.

*“In that case, we have to spend and the reporting is more in terms of amount of money you spend and there is a virtual competition. This gives rise to paper head NGOs and – and then there are lots of frustrations and then, there is corruption.”* (Hemant).

Corruption therefore takes place in firstly wanting to spend as much money as possible and therefore offering NGOs that are able to spend more money for the same task than a rival INGOs and secondly with NGOs wanting a piece of the action and creating paper-head NGOs that seem viable partners who will increase INGOs absorption capacity. This desire to give bigger chunks means that a lot of agencies that do good work do not get international funding. Money that could have been ‘stretched’ and made to do more is then instead spent in a rush. Smaller NGOs are then not able to convince INGOs that they also make ‘business sense’ as their capacity to spend is restricted and partnering with smaller NGOs increases the number of NGOs that INGOs needs to financially monitor and give accounts about.



*“The rupee can cover a larger distance, you know, you can get a bigger bang for the buck but this opportunity is often missed because the focus is on giving their own INGOs big names. ... because the current funding practices are distorted, lots of good NGOs (that drew on informal processes) have left their good work, because eventually funding drives everything.” (Hemant)*

The NGOs that get the funding for grassroots work are therefore those NGOs who have a higher status and presence and who can produce accounts of their spending and spend money quickly. This earns them the label of being ‘donor darlings’ in one of the research participant’s narratives, a term that is apparently in circulation in the aid industry:

*“There are NGOs and there are people who are in this community of donors known as donor darlings...unquestioned funding would go to them, ... every donor needs donor darling because you need to spend the money in good time, and donor darlings are generally exhibited...but at local level one needs to have a different kind of sensitivity; that is lacking.” (Swagato)*

The use of the term ‘donor darling’ connotes a sexual metaphor and invites meanings that involve illegitimate but profitable liaisons. It also places NGOs firmly at the receiving end, whereby NGOs are feminised and seen as vying for donor attention and having to dress themselves so that they seem attractive options. Corruption then gets played out at several different levels in the disaster sector. Apart from the inter-agency interactions, corporatization also has internal implications for INGOs.

### **Interaction within INGOs:**

Within INGOs there is competition between employees and this takes place using the categorization of National employees and Expatriate employees. Expatriate employees often have managerial responsibilities and are constructed as identifying with the INGO agenda of maximizing spending at all costs. They then instruct National workers to tow the organizational line, even if it means engaging in corrupt practices. This was discussed in all of the narratives where the research participant had a project management role:

*“My superior who came from the UK was in charge...he bluntly, unequivocally instructed me to pay the money...and....put all my organizational mandates and principles and standards in the dust-bin. If I don't do it, I may well be sacked ... organizations cannot afford to have weak legs ... You have to be cut-throat.”* (Rishabh)

Therefore the relentless and merciless characterization of INGOs as murderous cut-throat competitors meant that internally if a National workers was unwilling to bend his/her values in order to compete successfully, s/he could face potential joblessness. Again this was a shared concern in some of the narratives:

*“I, I didn't take like that they were pressurizing me to give support to their favoured agencies ...when I did not pay attention to them....they tried to malign me.”* (Samaya)

When National workers did not succumb to the pressure they were socially maligned and considered to be weak and ineffective. The Expatriate workers were often not at the forefront of service delivery and had their focus on increasing the brand visibility of the INGO. This meant that they had a different mandate from the National workers and the National workers views were consistently marginalized. While many National workers expressed this in different ways, it is expressed clearly in the excerpt below:

*“And then you are called in for a meeting (after hard work in the field) and they (the Expatriate staff) start discussing "brand building" (loudly said)...I am trying to organize some food or whatever to be distributed rather than building a brand but this is obviously something that the development agency needs to do.”* (Nisha)

Apart from competition between National workers and Expatriate workers, all the narratives constructed the disaster industry as one where a hire-and-fire culture shaped the industry. This created a very uncertain workspace where employees felt vulnerable and were therefore propelled to take corrupt or morally objectionable actions that they could have resisted had their job conditions been stable and secure.

*“The kind of organization we work, they are highly insecure because you have a contract for six months, or a year, two year, you don't have any protection*

*from the government, you don't have any federation, or union, or whatever staff council. So there is basically, you don't have any protection, so it's very difficult to do anything except saying okay, if you want me to do, I'll do, what else I'll try to do.” (Gagan)*

At the same time however, disaster were seen as opportunities for both employers and employees by a few of the research participants.

*“Job marketers are also very quick, you know, some people would say, “okay, come to UN.” So there is a lot of opportunity. During disaster except for the victims there are opportunities for everybody.” (Binoy)*

This opportunity could be maximized by those professionals who were not invested in their present jobs but were willing to move in order to maximize their potential for salary and career development. Corporatization was a strong strand in the narratives. It was seen to inform all the significant relationships that shape the disaster industry and was therefore a political and regulatory feature of the emotional arena of INGOs. Along with the established dependencies, neoliberal practices also lead to an established pattern of exclusions as particular players are systematically ‘weeded out’. INGOs that cannot spend quickly are weeded out, as are NGOs that are small with small budgets, as are employees who refuse to conform to the flexibility about their values and commitments by moving to neoliberal forms of work practices that are considered slim and efficient.

Duffield (1994) discusses the ‘crisis of humanitarianism’ where humanitarianism has been subjected to massive expansion in the absence of fundamental questioning and critique. It has been seen as more interested in organizational growth rather than altruism, invested in ‘short termism’ and humanitarian crisis seems to have ‘become normalized (Pupavac, 2006:24). This has even led Pupavac (2001) to claim that the philanthropic and altruistic aid economy ironically channels ‘misanthropy without borders’. In keeping with this insight, the constructions of the national workers suggest a critical engagement with their discursive reality. Some national employees expressed a critical discomfort with the corporatization of international non-governmental organizations. This corporatization was seen as unethical as it prioritized a competitive environment

within disaster interventions rather than an environment of mutual co-operation between different INGOs. This acknowledgement suggests that National employees were aware of the critique of the dominant discourses that shaped their organizational practices.

### ***Professionalization of INGOs:***

Another significant narrative strand concerned professionalization. It served as an important regulatory mechanism in the emotional arena of INGOs. It is important to highlight that both corporatization and professionalization were also political in their effect because these practices channelled power in particular ways within INGO interventions. While the role of National and International governments could also be undertaken here, the focus in the interpretation was limited to organizational level mechanism in order to aid an in-depth analysis.

Some of the narratives discussed the issue of professionalization in quite a detailed way. It emerged as one of the dominant strands in the narratives that explained emotional conduct in organizations. Professionalization was seen primarily as a helpful aspect at work and professionalization was understood as a positive process. It entailed providing mutual respect and was therefore constructed as essential to organizational dealings. Julia Evetts (2009) writes about the different interpretations of professionalism. Professionalism as an occupational value, as an ideology, or a strategy for market closure, were different interpretations where “professionalism was regarded as an important and highly desirable occupational value and professional relations were characterised as collegial, co-operative and mutually supportive” (Evetts, 2009:20). Being a professional was endorsed as part of their identity by nearly all of the National workers.

*“So I’m very clear that I’m a professional....mutual respect should be there.”*  
(Binoy)

Apart from being professional in behaviour toward colleagues, professionalism was also seen as instrumental in keeping employees engaged in their own

development and survival in the disaster industry. This was discussed in a few of the narratives:

*“in INGO ... you have to constantly enrich your profile, build on new skills ... in order to survive it’s very important you kind of carve a place for yourself and that’s very important and also constantly build on your profile ....if you are just concentrating yourself on the local issues then probably your world view doesn’t go beyond that so it’s very important to keep a tag of what is happening around you.” (Indira)*

The ‘personal’ world of values and ethics and feelings was seen in many narratives as irrelevant in the professional sphere.

*“I never carry, I, I didn’t carry anything personal because the project was a professional project. I mean I was working in a professional domain. The people those who are working there are also professionals. So no need to, you know, react to them in a very professional way. So, that was my back of my mind.” (Binoy)*

Therefore professionalization was seen in positive terms, impacting on the overall and holistic development of the employee. However, the neo-liberal corporatized context was maintained by the anxiety generated by the hire-and-fire culture that is predominant in recruitment in disasters. Neoliberalism seeks and encourages the currency of entrepreneurial selves. The idea of ‘professional’ who is engaged in a life-long career underscores a commitment to certain disciplinary practices (Foucault, 1980) that serve organizational ends. In this sense

*“the ‘career’ can be seen as depending both on the construction of forms of inspection, examination and control to regulate job movements (and) also the construction of particular forms of ‘selfhood’, as individual employees themselves come to recognize the ‘career’ as something which they should pursue” (Savage, 1998:69).*

Together the ideas of career progression and professionalism also enable new forms of surveillance which are managed by the ‘self’ who has internalized the ideals that are responsible for his/her career growth and professional standing which primarily are designed to serve organizational ends. Becoming a professional is linked to continuously developing oneself and the notion of a

'career' becomes another interesting area where National employees of INGOs subjectivate themselves to the ideals that help neo-liberal organizations. Clubbed with the insecurity and contractual nature of jobs as well as the lack of unionisation, professionalism becomes an oppressive rather than an empowering discourse for National workers.

Professionalism can also be seen as a discourse of occupational change and managerial control" (Evetts, 2009:20). In work organizations, this discourse is increasingly applied and utilized by managers. Fournier (1999) deems the application of professionalism as a 'disciplinary' mechanism in new occupational contexts. In a Foucauldian vein, she suggests how the discourse of professionalism works to encourage 'appropriate' work identities, conducts and practices. She considers this as 'a disciplinary logic which inscribes "autonomous" professional practice within a network of accountability and governs professional conduct at a distance' (Fournier, 1999:280). Further, various professional groups are seen to have slightly different discourses about this form of professionalism. This form of professionalism was reflected in the narratives of the National workers. Reflecting on the exercise of control through professionalization, despite acknowledging the positive aspects of professionalization, the narratives also indicated that part of this professionalization was about keeping 'personal' value judgments about global events away from the professional persona. This entailed that people needed to be flexible and adaptable and not let their values come in the way of being professional. Professionalization was seen to entail grooming that made National workers more flexible and adaptable as well as less expressive and at least four research participants spent a lengthy part of their narratives in discussing professional conduct:

*"One of the key characteristics of this typical professional conduct that we have is that we are groomed and we are trained in the way informally, not formally, to be more adaptive, hmm, to be more accommodating, less expressive of ourselves, emotionally."* (Rishabh)

While professionalization became a dominant organizing ideal for National workers, one area of critical awareness that was present in the narratives

concerned a discomfort about the particular kind of professionalism that was being developed in INGOs. This professional was seen to be savvy, extremely civilized and polished and able to respond to the managerial requirements of accountability and reporting. At the same time, this professional was also seen as necessarily requiring an emotional distance and to forego any compassion toward those people who were in need of disaster interventions. In some ways, the professionalization could be seen as inspired by modern colonial ideals about human interactions:

“The modern colonial view suggests that emotionality reflects weakness in racialized and gendered ways, whereas control over emotions marks masculinity and ‘whiteness’. The current terrain of global politics is further complicated by neoliberalism as a subjectivity that truncates the scope for emotions to be politicized” (Philipose, 2007:61).

This is similar to Gunaratnam and Lewis’ (2001) proposal whereby they contend that the ‘bureau - professional imperatives’ of organizations are ‘based upon an ambivalent and uneven privileging of rationality over emotion... (and lead to) the suppression, repression and regulation of emotions that feeds into and off specific forms of the defensive splitting of emotions around racism’ (Gunaratnam and Lewis, 2001:135). This would then be relevant for INGOs.

The negative aspect of keeping the personal values aside were also acknowledged as a problematic aspect about the professionalization of INGOs because it ensured that professionals had to be apolitical about world issues and while the notion of ‘world issues’ was explicitly stated in only a few of the narratives, the need to be apolitical was more widely articulated:

*“The organization gives your platform and privileges you with resources but the organization is also doing business, they train you to be diplomatic. .... it IS a competition that should not suffer. Whatever you do as an employee, the competition should not suffer ...and so.... you have to be a little bit diplomatic sometimes... for example if you have taken US money so let us not speak about US aggression or US bombing in Afghanistan.” (Ajeet)*

The narratives constructed the INGO professional as a polished, diplomatic and controlled person, who had training and appraisal processes in place to ensure

consistent behaviour at work. This was also constructed as conveying that interactions between colleagues were supposed to follow the organizational script rather than be genuine. Along with a controlled and trained demeanour toward colleagues, this professional was also seen as necessarily requiring an emotional distance and to forego any compassion toward those people who were in need of disaster interventions. Professionalization is seen as important to counter those aspects of being human that might be problematic for organizations and these were noted in a few narratives:

*“Being a human being, there might be personal affection, affinity that may develop with a particular family, particular child, particular group and that has a dangerous consequence.”(Rajesh)*

Being detached in ‘professional’ conduct can help employees move from one project to the next, which was important of the INGOs operations and for career development. In this sense professionalization was seen as different from activism and compassion that several employees could have felt but was seen as counterproductive for the business for INGOs. This was not seen as a positive aspect by all the research participants. One commented:

*“So I see a certain level of, certain kind of hypocrisy in the way that we have converted our organizations in the name of professionalism...in the style of corporates... (They have) ... made us look healthy, slim, efficient and systematic and tell stories very efficiently and raise more funds. ...we have lost out in this process (the) people who are genuinely able to connect with the issues, genuinely able to connect with the poor and marginalised” (Rishabh).*

While there are career benefits to be accrued with the adoption of professional norms, they were also seen as being linked to the lack of reflection as well as automaton-type behaviour at work. McClelland’s (1990) categorization of professionalization is important here as he differentiates between professionalization ‘from within’ (i.e. by the occupational group itself) and ‘from above’ (by imposition of professional norms from external sources). Both Evetts (2009) and McClelland (1990) conclude that when professionalization is a result of a disciplinary logic, from above, then it serves as an imposition that selectively



promotes the kind of occupational changes that increase the control by organizational managers and supervisors. This is a paradoxical achievement because despite its oppressive potential this “discourse of professionalism is grasped and welcomed by the occupational group since it is perceived to be a way of improving the occupations status and rewards collectively and individually” (Evetts, 2009: 23). This is the form of professionalization that the disaster ‘professionals’ have been subjected to because they have not been consulted collectively on the terms of their professionalization.

In this regard there was a great deal of variability in how different participants engaged in professional performances and their level of discomfort with it. Crucially, those participants who expressed a critical and cynical opinion of the professionalization agenda and were nonetheless successful in their chosen careers seemed to engage in various practices that could be linked to the idea of self-care as discussed by Foucault (1988). In contrast, those participants who offered narratives that were focused on their adaptive capacities rather than their critical views seemed to find positive outcomes for their self-definition through their work.

In several narratives there was an understanding that the professionalization did not always entail respect for professional decision making as the corporate objectives set by the INGO was the binding one and professional objectives had to be shaped within these. The reflection that professionals undertook to learn from their previous experience was therefore limited in its ability to exert changes in practice as these changes would come in the way of organizational objectives.

“Organizational objectives (which are sometimes political) define practitioner/client relations, set achievement targets and performance indicators. In these ways organizational objectives regulate and replace occupational control of the practitioner/client work interactions thereby limiting the exercise of discretion and preventing the service ethic that has been so important in professional work” (Evetts, 2009: 23, brackets mine).

Echoing this paradoxical situation where reflection took place but did not impact on practices is this excerpt from Rishabh:

*“In normal times, everybody feels okay, these practices should not have happened and so on. We have a lot of learning workshops...international organizations ... are ‘learning organizations’ (said with slight sarcasm in tone), we cherish learning. Therefore we learn the same thing after every disaster (both laugh loudly) and we keep on doing that.” (Rishabh)*

This was certainly a strong element in the narratives as various National workers mocked the notion of a ‘learning organization’. The notion that ‘we learn the same things each time’ is an important one to explain from a postcolonial perspective whereby the Imperial powers often behave in ways that sanctions their ignorance (Spivak, 1999) and ‘counter-mnemonic innocence’ (Radhakrishnan 1993). This is also recognised in other research and is considered an outcome of the inherent tension between being munificent on one hand, and fiercely competitive and interest-maximising on the other (Walkup, 1997). This leads to humanitarian organizations assuming a predominantly defensive organizational culture. This defensiveness negatively informs the organization’s capacity to learn from their experience and as a result these organizations “often fail to co-operate with researchers seeking to improve efficiency and effectiveness and are often unwilling to open details of internal decision-making too much-needed evaluation” (Walkup, 1997:53).

Professionalization is constructed as a gain but also as a potential loss for the disaster intervention sector by the National workers. Therefore there was some acknowledgement that professionalization need not be understood as merely turning into ‘cut and dried’ workers. This emerged as another interesting counter-discourse as it suggested that emotional control could lead to disengaged behaviour that would be inappropriate for the professional requirements of the disaster industry.

*“I think you need to be really passionate and have that drive to make some kind of a change whatever you do it may be the simple financial procedure but, is it going to make a difference ... that conscious thinking should always there be in mind ...you cannot be very cut and dry...” (Indira)*

Therefore while professionalization was seen to have the potential for engendering mutually respectful working environment, it was also seen as an attack on radical, passionate and political ways of being involved in social issues such as disaster interventions. The corporate agenda of making money was prioritized and the social cause was seen as incidental to the fundraising. Having familiarised ourselves with two strong aspects in the narratives, we will now move on to examining the impact these processes have on INGOs as an emotional arena.

### ***INGOs as instrumental emotional arenas:***

When reviewed together these narratives of corporatization and professionalization suggest that the dominant constructions of INGOs were as 'instrumental arenas' whereby emotion and instrumentality are separated (Hearn, 1993:155). Hearn (1993) links this separation to other forms of systemic oppressions such as imperialism, capitalism and heterosexuality and these apply to INGOs as well. The instrumental emotional arena of INGOs would therefore indicate not only an arena where the commercial and organizational feeling rules over-ride other feeling rules, it would also indicate a defended organization that prioritizes rationality over emotion that could then lead to "specific forms of defensive slitting of emotions around racism" (Gunaratnam and Lewis, 2001:135), as suggested earlier.

The phrase used by research participants conveyed that employees purely become 'instruments' or 'tools' for the organization (for example, Rishabh, Ajeet, Nisha). This is an important metaphor as it suggests that the self is made into a tool for organizational purposes and the values associated with the self are sidelined in order for the tool to function as intended for the organization's business. The use of this metaphor points to a kind of post-emotional society (Mestrovic, 1997) of professionals, where feelings are 'conjured up' on the basis of the requirements of a primarily capitalistic world order and become yet another resource to be circulated for capitalistic purposes. The conjuring up of required feelings was also something that was imparted through the training on human resources issues.

In its purest form, organizational professionalism is a discourse of control used increasingly by managers in work organizations (Evetts, 2009). It subsumes rational-legal forms of power, hierarchical decision-making and prioritizes managerial control that standardizes the work of different employees. It relies on externalized forms of regulation and accountability measures such as target-setting and performance review. Managerialism and New Public Management are western management strategies that have been globalized and have especially been applied in solving the development problems of the third world (Cooke, 2003; Dar, 2007). This global discourse can itself be seen as a colonial discourse because it seeks to universalize certain Western practices (Fairclough and Thomas, 2004). The appeal to professionalism of this sort can be seen as a powerful motivating force of control 'at a distance' (Miller and Rose 1990, Burchell et al. 1991). At the same time however, this kind of bureaucracy is seen to "generate anxiety" (Gabriel, 1998:293). Encouraging professionalism ensures that micro-management is not required and management can take place at a distance as the controls are internalized as professional norms but the anxiety that is required to enable this is also another form of control that professionals are subjected to. It makes them more liable to conform, makes them more pliable (Foucault, 1977a). This idea links very well with the colonial strategy of management at a distance as Bhabha (1994) suggests that the government of colonial India was based heavily on reporting, for example.

Professionalization is potentially empowering and a potentially oppressive process and it is this double-sided conceptualisation that makes resistance against the negative aspects of professionalization difficult. Professionalization of the disaster sector has certainly had a role in framing the kinds of interactions that can legitimately be had within organizational contexts; professional behaviour requires a certain kind of diplomacy and self-censoring, which becomes very important in a corporatized, competitive environment.

First of all, the professional in a neo-liberal work environment is cautious about their political commitments. This is an achievement of neoliberal discourse

because political values can make professionals full of friction, which prevents the smooth operation of what neoliberalism values.

“In both the colonial knowledge that traverses western philosophy, and the neoliberal variants of empire that we see now, emotions are marginalized, contained or sublimated. It is precisely the fact of having emotions, however, and the act of acknowledging and recognizing the emotions of others that contribute to a mutual recognition of the humanity of others, precisely what we seem to be missing in global politics. In other words, a focus on the emotions of politics contributes to bridging the gap between ‘us’, those with whom we already have affinity, and ‘other Others’, those who are not yet included in our community of sentiment. Humanizing those who are not already part of our communities by acknowledging them as emotional and affective agents contributes to the expansion of transnational public spheres and aids those of us who are not ourselves under active occupation to grasp the brutal complexities of imperial politics” (Philipose, 2007:61).

Therefore the sphere of practice of INGOs creates an emotional arena that favours procedural and controlled actions which are designed to deny any emotional significance and are based on severing emotional-decision-making. At the same time however, within emotional arenas, there exists the scope for challenge of social constraints because “in the presence of others we become vulnerable through their words and gesticulation to the penetration of our psychic preserves, and to the breaching of the expressive order we expect will be maintained in our presence” (Goffman, 1983:14) and they become vulnerable to our transgressions of the emotional order.

Therefore while neoliberal organizational practices are operational in INGOs, the corporatization and professionalization is also resisted because of the prevalence of some counter-discursive construction of INGOs as altruistic organizations and as organizations that need compassionate engagement from employees in order to meet their ‘real’ objectives. In this discourse, the ‘real’ objectives are not about meeting donor accountability but about helping the designated beneficiaries. In this sense, research participants use the prevalent discursive resources to challenge the corporate agendas. While these challenges are limited in their potential to transform things, they are worthy of acknowledgement.

This business-like instrumental construction of disaster interventions is seen as disappointing, morally questionable and a fact that just has to be accepted despite it being paradoxical. This causes unrest in the National workers because it requires an engagement in a corporatized sphere of work that National workers construct as a compassionate sphere of work. While the interpersonal emotional interpretation has not been discussed in this chapter, it would be pertinent to mention that frustration, cynicism and moral dilemmas were constructed as the norm amongst national workers in INGOs working in disaster interventions.

To sum up, disasters were seen as a neoliberal sphere of work that was capitalistic and corporatized in its practices. In the absence of accountability toward beneficiaries, this particular form of corporatization responds only to the indicators identified by the donor agencies. Accounting and reporting to donors was seen as the priorities that came in the way of compassionate engagement with the victims of disaster around whom the supposed intervention is supposed to be organized. This was striven for by requiring 'professional' involvement that enabled 'detached' professional practice from career-minded development professionals who engaged in project based short term interventions rather than by compassionate workers interested in long-term engagement, activism and social change. Further, through discourses of professionalism, neoliberalism also creates new subjectivities through newer forms of governmentality, or efforts that discipline the professional self that engages in disaster work. The promotion of professionalism and the 'valorisation' of the market or quasi-market relations are intrinsic to the kind of change that neoliberalism favours (Nightingale, 2005). However, it is important to mention that the neoliberal terrain is an uneven one, and therefore there are strategies for resisting that are deployed in dealing with neoliberal mandates (Bondi and Laurie, 2005). Echoing this notion is the idea that activism can often get tied up with processes of professionalization (Power, 2005). Professionalism constrains activism but crucially professionalism and activism can form a complex of powerful ideas that can pose an effective resistance to neoliberal strategies (Bondi and Laurie, 2005). The moot point seems to be that while "(n)eoliberal politics relies on the assumption that there is "no alternative"" (Katz, 2005: 631), one effective resistance to neoliberal politics would be to demonstrate that there

are alternatives, “that “subjects of professionalization” can appropriate knowledge consciously to create spaces of self determination” (Katz, 2005:629).

We see in this chapter that the political and regulatory features of INGOs make INGOs into instrumental emotional arenas. In these arenas, compassion and values are severed from organizational decision making. Particular and truncated versions of professionalization, corporatization and competition in INGOs that aim to accumulate monetary gain and donor driven accountability become major discourses that control organizational employees. Imperialism, neo-colonialism and neoliberalism are all implicated in these processes. We also see however that organizational employees continue to engage critically with these processes and also with contrary discourses about INGOs whereby activism, compassion and beneficiary driven accountability are prioritized. Instrumental emotional arenas create polarized groups by treating employees as tools for organizational ends thereby creating negative emotions, which in turn, could enable resistance.

In the next chapter we will examine interpersonal interactions that take place within this instrumental emotional arena.

## **Chapter Six- Emotional Encounters: National workers' Narratives of Organizational Emotions**

We have discussed key features of disaster intervention INGOs such as corporatization and professionalization. We have acquainted ourselves with the ways in which these features sustain a competitive environment rather than a collaborative one in the disaster sector, and how these contribute to the maintenance of corrupt practices. We have also looked at how the ecology (Bonfrenbrenner, 1995) of INGOs maintains hierarchical relationships between the developed countries (donors) and the developing countries (recipients) through the institutionalisation of hierarchical relations between northern and southern NGOs. Within this ecology the hierarchical theme continues to resonate between relationships of Expatriate workers (representing the Northern countries) and National workers (representing India, a country in the South) within INGOs. The 'National' workers shared many stories of being frustrated with, angered by, and cynical about, the unequal relationships that the INGO policies and practices fostered between Expatriate and National workers during disasters. This chapter will interpret these narratives to examine the kind of emotional encounters that characterise disaster interventions by INGOs.

In this chapter following recommendations from Hernadi's hermeneutic triadic reading (Czarniawska, 2004) the various readings are presented along side in order to present a contextualised interpretation of the narratives. However, a snapshot of the explication reading of the narratives has been included as an appendix D (ii). This chapter will begin with an overview of the emotional 'encounters' (Ahmed, 2000:8) between Expatriate and National workers. The encounters that were discussed focussed on exclusions and inequalities felt by National workers. This will be followed by a discussion of the representations and constructions of Expatriate workers that were shared by the National workers. Here we will engage with the presence of counter-discourses that enable National workers to construct Expatriate workers as 'lacking'. These encounters will be located within historical and contemporary power relations. Insights from postcolonial analysis (Ahmed, 2000, 2004a; Fanon, 1986, 2004; Nandy, 1983),



feminist analysis (Czarniawska and Hopfl, 2002; Puwar, 2004; Grewal and Kaplan, 1994) and human geography (Zorn and Boler, 2007; Hargreaves, 2000) will be used to highlight how these practices draw from discourse and to theorise the operation of emotional exclusions in the emotional arena of INGOs. In the concluding section, attempts will be made to suggest ways out of the binary classifications that dominate INGO working practices and policies.

### ***Emotional Encounters:***

In the previous chapter we thought of disaster INGOs as an 'emotional arena' (Fineman, 2000) where pecuniary feeling rules (Bolton and Boyd, 2003) are prioritized leading to an instrumental emotional arena (Vince, 2001). Continuing to think within the metaphorical frame of an arena, it would be pertinent to think of emotional interactions or contests that take place in INGOs as emotional 'encounters' (Ahmed, 2000:8). Encounters can be defined as "meetings...which are not simply in the present: each encounter reopens past encounters" and involves conflict, antagonism and an asymmetry of power (Ahmed, 2000:8). We can then proceed to acknowledge that 'particular' emotional encounters are always framed within the "broader relations of power and antagonism" (Ahmed, 2000:8). The complex relationship between colonial histories and ongoing neoliberalism and globalisation then provides the broader relations of power and antagonism that frame particular postcolonial emotional encounters in INGOs.

The research participants took pains to explain that they did not wish to generalise in their narratives but they recalled several emotional stories about inequality and exclusions in INGOs. Further several of these stories involved 'emotional encounters' with Expatriate workers of INGOs. National workers are not just already constituted selves but they embody discourses (Cooren et al, 2007) that construct them as National workers and they are socially ordered in hierarchized space through discourses (Fournier, 1998). Their subjectivities are socially constituted and performed within the dominant constructions that exist for National workers in INGOs but also within a context of discursive practices of critique of imperialism amongst other political discourses. Therefore subjectivities deploy

discourses and also provide means of resisting discourses even though these resistances themselves may be circumscribed by dominant and dissident discourses (Fleming and Spicer, 2003). This dynamic is then the setting for various emotional encounters for National workers. The National workers recalled emotional encounters where their accountability, their knowledge and their status were subjected to inequalities or exclusions in ways that were framed by antagonistic power relations. We will discuss each of these in turn.

### **National Workers and Accountability:**

Concerns around accountability featured as a significant subject in the emotional encounters that National workers narrated. Given the instrumental emotional arena of INGOs (discussed in the previous chapter) donor accountability is prioritized in INGOs. The New Public Management (Dar and Cooke, 2007) in the development sector has had a significant impact on the accounting practices of INGOs and the managerialism institutionalised in INGOs caters to the production of accounts that can pacify and convince the donors that their money is being spent as per the indicators agreed for funding. In this context, the National workers shared that they were deemed incapable and considered unfit to deal with large sums of money. This was then a disadvantage for National workers when operations required huge budgets as it kept them out of prestigious roles during disaster interventions. Almost all of the National workers acknowledged that their budgetary and decision making responsibilities were curtailed in favour of expatriate workers:

*“We have a system where if it is a small response it stays with me as an in-charge here, if it is a big catastrophe, a big response, then the charge shifts to the head office, the UK team, because it needs to deal with millions and millions of dollars and we cannot be accountable for so much money ... (so when the UK team arrived) my responsibility shrunk from entire South India to ... a small district (in South India).” (Rishabh)*

Here, the use of the phrase “we *cannot* be accountable for so much money” suggests an open ended lack of accountability that National workers seem to suffer from - the word ‘cannot’ could suggest that the National workers are unable to do it because of lack of abilities, or that organizational practices do not allow them to do it, or due to a mixture of both of these aspects. As a contrary assumption, western

Expatriates are seen as the 'natural' holders of the ability to disburse aid money. The organizational practices that were based on these two guiding assumptions normalized and mandated the 'take-over' of usual National worker roles by Expatriate staff during disasters. The temporary organizational change that accompanied disasters was seen to have an international flavour and it excluded National workers from budgetary and decision making roles in disasters. This intra-organizational 'take-over' kept decision making powers and budgetary powers restricted to higher level officials, who were predominantly Western nationals from the head-offices of the INGOs usually based in the West. Even though some INGOs have made a conscious decision to move their head-office to a developing country, the general bias toward western organizational leaders remains a common practice. Each disaster intervention then involved the emotions usually highlighted in research on mergers and acquisitions of organizations when different National cultures are involved. Vaara (2000) reviewed these studies and proposed that the "central finding of these studies is that post-merger change processes are particularly problematic if they create ...the type of cultural juxtaposition where the actors identify themselves with particular cultures" (Vaara, 2000:84). The emotional encounters in such organizational contexts draw from xenophobic interpretations (Vaara, 2000). This is precisely what the INGO organizational changes during disasters accomplished for their employees. The INGOs create organizational roles that are based on 'particular' Nationalities and thereby ensure the continuity of acrimonious relationships between National workers and Expatriates. The budget is kept under Western (Expatriate) control. This can be understood as an organizational practice of INGOs that is meant to contain organizational anxieties (Menzies Lyth, 1988) and donor anxieties about accountability. The Expatriates represent the donor community due to their 'shared' Western identity and therefore the donors are seen to trust INGOs to be more accountable when Expatriates give accounts of their practices. However, all anxiety containing mechanisms are defensive in their function and can turn disruptive for the organizations rather than serve a productive function (Menzies Lyth, 1988). Psychoanalytic theorising on organizations contends that in mixed-race organizations, when defensive practices are institutionalized they lead to defensive splitting and projections along racial lines (Gunaratnam and Lewis, 2001). By continuing to distinguish between workers

on their National categorization, INGOs use racial categorization, and create a situation where the histories and structures of social oppression are validated to continue a 'defensive splitting of emotions around racism' (2001:135).

In this vein, the excerpt above shares that National workers were not only seen to lack the skills to 'give accounts' but were also not seen as '*not* being accountable'. This was a very common scenario in several narratives whereby the locals are viewed with suspicion and stereotypically characterized as corrupt. This is an assumption that has its origins in colonial discourse whereby 'native' communities were often constructed as 'litigious and lying' (Bhabha, 1994) and therefore corrupt and untrustworthy. Corruption has continued to be a concept that is defined and measured by the West and counter-conceptual efforts from developing countries is thwarted as being unscientific or cultural (De Maria, 2008). Thus the power to label Nations as 'corrupt' resides in the western institutions. If we link this to the previous chapter, the interesting aspect is that INGOs routinely engaged in corrupt practices but were able to deflect the criticism of corruption only to the National workers while keeping budgetary decisions away from them. This also continues to maintain the status of the Expatriates in a 'moral order' (Heron, 2007:12) and a 'planetary consciousness' (Heron, 2007:38), which gives westerners the privilege and responsibility to help others. There are various stereotypes about National workers that National workers felt Expatriate workers held about them. These stereotypes then formed the assumptions that framed the interactions of National workers and Expatriate workers. The exclusions and inequalities discussed then did not belong to individual National workers but to National workers as a collective. Emotional encounters always involve the presence of collective alliances because emotions "work to align individuals with collectives – or bodily space with social space" (Ahmed, 2004b: 26). The relation between the psyche and the social, and the individual and the collective are mediated by emotions (Theodosius, 2006). In a psychodynamic perspective, interacting individuals and groups are seen to be motivated by biographical and unconscious, "emotional subtexts" (Fineman, 1996). Feelings of exclusion that National workers discussed in their narratives can then be quite powerful triggers for other unconscious emotion subtexts which are drawn from biographic and discursive elements of National workers' identities. Therefore

the narratives that National workers shared when thought of as encounters are not merely the result of personal and individual difficulties with Expatriate workers in the present, but are also about the reopening and reliving of collective past experiences.

The stereotype about lack of accountability was not limited to financial decision but was also applied to all other professional spheres. This was discussed in many of the narratives. Mentioning an example of this, Anita spoke of a time when there were two consultants working on a particular project for a disaster INGO - one was an Expatriate consultant and the other was an Indian consultant.

*“When I selected (the Indian consultant), I did not know him at all from before, this was purely a professional hire...initially there was no question about him because he had good credentials ... but when they saw his report where he was explicitly writing off three Expatriates, and he came up with a lot of gaps about how the country office was being managed, the Expatriate manager started questioning me and asking me ‘Who is this guy? From where did you get him? What, what has he done in the past?’... So, it’s hard to deal with you know, so what you do at that point, as people without power.” (Anita)*

Therefore as soon as the conclusions of the Indian consultant were critical of the INGO’s practices, there were questions about whether the selection of this Indian consultant was a professional decision and whether the National worker worked in an unprofessional way in recruiting the Indian consultant. There are two aspects worth problematizing here. Firstly, the critique of the Indian consultant is then disowned and made invalid. Secondly, instead, the criticism is displaced on to the National worker who recruited the Indian consultant. We will discuss the disavowal of critique in the next section but here we can see how the notion that Indian workers would recruit based on personal favouritism rather than on selection of deserving candidates gave credence to the notion that they were not professional and accountable in their dealings at work. Given the powerless conceptualisation of National workers in several narratives, their ability to challenge the patronising ways in which Expatriate workers engaged with them was limited. National staff members therefore thought of themselves as continuously having to deal with bosses who knew less than they did but held more power than them and had a lowly assessment of the abilities of National workers.

*“Whenever there was a policy level decision it was always with the Expatriates of the first world country. Basically the people who are donors you know, and most of the donors are from the developed countries, so they have ... the final decision, policy level decisions are with them and ... there is always a "Lakshman rekha" (A Hindu-mythological boundary that is not to be trespassed) which you should not cross because you are an Indian...And the frustration is more when your boss knows less than you and tries to dominate you. Oh! It is very well recognised, quite a lot.” (Gagan)*

Thus the Expatriate workers were seen as sharing the status of the donors and separated by the National workers by an impenetrable boundary, the ‘*lakshman rekha*’. The ‘*lakshman rekha*’ discussed in the excerpt above figures in a major Hindu epic, the Ramayana, where the female protagonist is asked by her husband’s brother to stay within a particular boundary in order to continue to be safe from any attacks on her chastity. However, the female protagonist disobeys this order and while being morally irreprehensible, she is then questioned about her chastity when reunited with her husband. The ‘*lakshman rekha*’ can then be thought of as a patriarchal boundary that keeps the status quo by preventing transgressions and in the context of this excerpt it serves as a racial boundary that prevents transgressions and maintains the status quo in INGOs.

Another way in which National worker’s professional accountability was doubted was because they were constructed as being discriminatory, which was mentioned often enough for it to stand out as a striking shared strand of concern for national workers. This conceptualization of National workers as discriminatory then became the justification and rationale for the well deserved disrespectful treatment of National workers by Expatriate workers:

*“One big issue around treatment of Indians by Expats ...it is disrespectful, not treating with dignity or you know, basic things and which can create a kind of an uproar...Yeah, so, anything would be seen with that stereotypical lens. So, all Indians are corrupt and Indian you know, argue too much, they can’t deliver, you know, assumptions and stereotype typical kind of understanding of a culture and then if you are heading an operation in that country either you shouldn’t come, take that job if you think so badly of the country or if you come at least try and work with people who are actually not corrupt and who are there to help you. ...if you continue say I am the one, you know, who has*

*come to save you, you are not going to get many followers. People like that continue to write mails that I have diagnosed this is the problem with your country office, I am going to fix it, okay.” (Anita)*

This reductionist and diagnostic attitude of Expatriate managers suggests a form of colonial hangover whereby the ‘problems’ of the primitive countries were seen as things that the colonizers could solve with their acumen. This notion of ‘saving’ (Kostera, 1995, cited in Prasad and Prasad, 2002:203) the natives was used as a justification for oppressive interventions in the colonized nations. Those that were colonized were not seen to have the ability to shape their own future or solve their own ‘problems’. It did not matter that the colonized did not recognise their problems in the way that the colonizers did because their views could be entirely dismissed.

The National workers and the Expatriate workers based in INGOs operating in India do have historical and biographical contexts where the possibility of reopening and reliving past experience exists for contemporary organizational colleagues. This is because of India’s colonial history and the institutionalisation of development itself owing its presence to a colonial past (Kothari, 2006c). Apart from the invisible and structuring ways in which the colonial past is always present in postcolonial contexts, another way in which the past is always present is through the encounters between people of different colours of skin. How people are embodied might deny them ‘access to types of work that carry more opportunities to exercise discretion’ (Wolkowitz, 2006: 141). On the one hand this seems like an irrelevant suggestion amounting to ‘making a mountain out of a mole hill’ and based on ‘skin-deep’ thinking. However, the notion that blackness of skins is ‘visible’ and therefore serves as a trigger for deployment of “crude ‘scientific’ racist genetic theories (which in turn unleash) the powerful dynamic of hostile stereotyping” (Anthias, Yuval-Davis and Cain, 1992:136) is well noted. The colour of skin is an inherited characteristic, and therefore as a visible trigger for racism, it has cross-generational validity. The stereotypes triggered by this skin-racialization are of different types but they all involve a denigration of those perceived as black. Skin colour then becomes a signifier that triggers racialized theories and has an impact on emotional encounters:

“ ‘Black’ and ‘White’, which represent so crudely the differences in the shade of skin between groups of human beings - are used to symbolize distinctions between vice and virtue, hell and heaven, devils and angels, contamination and purity” (Tajfel, 1965:130, cited in Anthias, Yuval-Davis and Cain, 1992:138).

Recognising that visible signifiers can organize our emotional responses in encounters then leads us to acknowledge that

“how we feel about another-or a group of others - is not simply a matter of individual impressions, or impressions that are created anew in the present. Rather, feelings rehearse associations that are already in place, in the way in which they ‘read’ the proximity of the others...The impressions we have of others, and the impressions left by others are shaped by histories that stick, at the same time as they generate the surfaces and boundaries that allow bodies to appear in the present.... it is here, on the skin surface, that histories are made (Ahmed, 2004:39).

Then we can “begin to think of the skin as a surface that is felt only in the event of being ‘impressed upon’ in the encounters we have with others” (Ahmed, 2004). This conceptualization of the ‘skin’ as a boundary that is perceptible only during encounters can be understood as a continuation of the concept of ‘epidermalization’, which is ‘the inscription of race on skin’ (Fanon, cited in Puwar, 2001). “Historically the body has served as a cultural map, a mode of interpreting the relationship between physical characteristics and social potential” (Glenn, 2007: 412). The skin then becomes a boundary that designates different sides of inter-racial emotional encounters.

Here it is pertinent to then deal with the notion that emotions are social constructions and are constructed in contexts of histories of relating, of power dynamics and other contextual factors (Burkitt, 1997; Jaggar, 1989). Therefore epidermalization is involved when confrontations take place between National workers and Expatriate workers; the emotions subtexts are drawn from racialized thinking that classifies National workers into ‘degenerate types’ (Bhabha, 1996: 92) that need to be civilized. This was quite a significant area of concern for National workers, mentioned emphatically in a number of narratives:



*“I had a one huge confrontation with one of the Expatriates ... he was ...saying “You Indians always discriminate, you Indians are very class conscious....all these things, the way the foreigners think we are, he applied all of those judgements to me... then one of my seniors came and he consoled me and tried to normalize it saying that ‘things like this happen’, rather...he asked me to offer an apology to the Expatriate saying the expat is young guy, leave it, he has just joined, he knows nothing.” (Subhash)*

National workers then carry the ‘burden of representation’ whereby they represent the capacities of the groups they belong to. By becoming “representatives of their race” (Puwar, 2004:64-65) National workers also become defined by the stereotypical representations of their race. Consequently, the Expatriates then become the bearers of the ‘white man’s burden’ (Bhabha, 1996:92) of saving the natives from themselves. This phenomenon points to the preponderance of stereotypical assessments about India as a developing nation and Indians as a primitive people. Thus the Expatriates are seen to have very negative views about National workers and about Indians overall. However, in the excerpt above, it is also worth noting that the National worker was asked to apologize to the Expatriate worker by a senior (National) worker because as mentioned above, *‘the Expatriate worker was only new and knew nothing’*. Expatriate workers knowing nothing about cultural contexts was then normalized. Therefore there was a general problem of lack of orientation about the cultural context and lack of respectful orientation toward National workers that was mentioned by the research participants.

The lack of respectful orientation can be further examined using the ‘skin’ (Ahmed, 2002) and ‘surface’ (Fanon, 1963/2004) based explanation of racialized emotional encounters. When, following Ahmed (2004a, 2004b and 2004c) a collective conceptualisation of emotion is owned and when skin and surface are seen as important markers in determining the sides that different workers take in emotional encounters, the ‘orientations’ that we take toward others then help us derive the surfaces of our own bodies and skin then becomes a boundary that feels. As Ahmed (2004b) states, “emotions play a crucial role in the ‘surfacing’ of individual and collective bodies” and “define the contours of the multiple worlds that are inhabited by different subjects” (Ahmed, 2004b: 25). Conceptualised in this way, Fanon’s re-conceptualisation of the ‘surface’ of black skin as ‘the depth of black

skin' (Gauch, 2002:118) becomes relevant. Fanon (1986) thought of the colonizer's stigmatisation of the colonized as a process that employed the marking of skin surfaces with pre-determined particularities that were pejorative and derived from colonial discourse. These surface-related particularities continue to be in circulation when skin becomes the boundary of emotional encounters (Ahmed, 2002) and when somatic norms continue to shape organizational experiences of communities that are marginalised (Puwar, 2001).

Surface particularities then become associated with the depth of the identities of the colonized. The emotional orientations of Expatriates, when unmediated by critical reflection (Heron, 2007) or social change, merely enact the historically shaped deployment of emotions that 'stick' (Ahmed, 2004:124) in a persistent way to the 'particularised' and 'stigmatised' surfaces of the skins of National workers. Emotions then 'move' and 'work' to create orientations toward other bodies that are understood to belong to other collectives and create the distinctions between the inside and the outside which also informs the interweaving of the personal with the social in emotional encounters. It is "the failure of emotions to be located in a body, object, or figures that allows emotions to (re)produce or generate the effects that they do" (Ahmed, 2004:124). The narratives that suggest that Expatriate workers are 'oriented' away from the National workers and that they are 'not' oriented about the cultural contexts of their operations then continues the legacy of skin-deep or surface distinctions in emotional encounters. The exclusions that Expatriates workers of INGOs seem to engage in are then located in other emotional histories of exclusions. The emotional encounters are enmeshed in emotional histories that stick, and continue to mark the boundaries of self and others as collectives.

In this regard, the words that the narratives are peppered with are 'corrupt', 'inefficient', 'poorly qualified', 'argumentative', 'cannot deliver', 'discriminatory' (classist, sexist), 'poor at English usage'. These become the stereotypes that define the limits of the achievements of National workers. Bhabha (2004) discusses the use of stereotypes in colonial discourse and these stereotypes are evidently very much in circulation in the ways in which National workers experience their work spheres. Colonial discourse works with the anti-critical deployment of

stereotypes and colonial stereotypes are articulated as “a range of differences and discriminations that inform the discursive and political practices of racial and cultural hierarchization” (2004:96). Colonial discourse needs to circulate stereotypes in order to come into existence. Even though stereotypes are created to inform racial and cultural hierarchies, their constructed nature is denied in colonial discourse and Bhabha demonstrates how colonial discourse ‘props’ itself up using ‘realism’ and realist notions for the sustenance of the stereotypes. Further, he suggests that the stereotypes manage to limit the possibilities for those that are stereotyped by imposing limits on the varieties of representations that the stereotypes subjects can claim for themselves: “The stereotype is not a simplification because it is a false representation of a given reality. It is a simplification because it is an arrested, fixated form of representation that, in denying the play of difference (which the negation through the Other permits), constitutes a problem for the *representation* of the subject in significations of psychic and social relations.” (Bhabha, 2004:108)

Therefore, these stereotypes are upheld by a moral judgement of the ways of being of those that are stereotyped and are further confirmed by ways of making knowledge that are passed off as scientific and truthfully objective discoveries. Prejudicial and discriminatory ideology is made ‘real’ through the findings of modern and scientific research. These apparently progressive Western responsibilities such as the ‘civilising mission’ and the ‘white man’s burden’ (Kipling, 1899) institutionalise discriminatory and authoritarian forms of political control which are seen as essential to deal with the ‘degenerate type’ (Bhabha, 1996: 92) of people that the colonized are.

These stereotypes help to mark the National workers as the Other, bounded by his/her different skin. They justify and further the lack of positive orientation of Expatriates toward the cultures and concerns of National workers. This barrage of stereotypes constructs National workers as somatically unfit for professional purposes. Corporeal attributions of quality lead us to acknowledge that “in the discursive field texts and practices are every bit as important as, indeed inseparable from the substance of the body” (Shildrick, and Price, 1998: 1).The

universal 'somatic norm' (Puwar, 2001, 2004) refers to "to the corporeal imagination of power as naturalised in the body of white, male, upper/middle-class bodies" (Puwar: 2001:652) and is relevant in INGOs as it organizes the experiences of National workers as somatic outcasts who deviate from the norm. As mentioned earlier, this also links with Bhabha's notion that stereotypes create a 'degenerate type' that need to be controlled, civilized and made better (1996:92). Even when National workers are a numerical majority, the INGO organizational spaces continue to subscribe to a white, universal, somatic norm, thereby constructing National workers as 'space invaders' (Puwar, 2004) in INGO spaces, which are constructed and inhabited as white spaces. The institutionalisation of this somatic norm through financial and decision making powers is supplemented with the particularisation of the abilities of National workers.

### **National workers 'particularised' knowledge and poor abilities:**

The National workers were not seen to possess universally applicable knowledge, their knowledge was seen to be derived from virtue of belonging to the groups they belonged to, was particularised and considered to be a lower level knowledge to the technical expertise held by the Expatriates, which was seen as context free and therefore considered a higher level universal knowledge. This is another continuation of the 'epidermalization' thesis (Fanon, cited in Puwar, 2001) whereby the skin of the colonized was subjected to an overwhelming particularity that excluded them from the 'universal' somatic form of the European colonizers. This has meant that rather than look at various struggles between the colonizers and the colonized as the struggle between two kinds of particularity, they were construed as struggles between the particular (colonized) and the universal (colonizers):

'The resistances of other cultures were... presented as struggles not between particular identities and cultures, but as part of an all-embracing and epochal struggle between universality and particularisms – the notion of peoples without history expressing precisely their incapacity to represent the universal' (Laclau, cited in Gauch, 2002).

What was central to National workers, their cultural skills, were seen as an add-on by INGOs because the INGO practice suggested that ‘technical skills’ were central and cultural skills could merely be supplemented. One crucial aspect that was relevant was that Expatriates were seen to work in a way that suggested that the only role that locals could play was in translating or interpreting for them. Translation and interpretation was the primary purpose of educated natives in colonial times (Bhabha, 1994). Therefore this was a continuation of a theme that resonates with colonial inequalities and was voiced by a few of the National workers.

*“National should be comrades in building the local society but (with Expatriates around) they (only help with) interpreting the language. Or as a guide.” (Ajeet)*

However, the ‘National’ staff members were extremely critical of these practices and felt that the translation was not used effectively and this was a widely shared concern in several narratives.

*“the international staff could not stay with you in the field so much because one, they did not understand the language and two, there would always have to be some senior person translating for them and that senior person time would be **entirely** wasted.” (Nisha)*

Further, translation was not simply a bilingual process but sometimes involved National workers first translating another language in which they may have had limited fluency and then translate that into English for the Expatriates. This was discussed by some of the National field workers:

*“One thing I used to get a little irritated with the translation part and like India is like every state is a country itself and there are different languages.... I mean I found it little irritating like all the time you have to first understand, you have to translate and then again another translation for the Expatriates...so... and ...like they don’t have culture sensitivity...they don’t have local knowledge, understanding about the purpose and the situation ...and so there were differences of opinion...there’s confrontation...and then it is not always possible to find a win-win situation.” (Suleikha)*

Translation has been understood as an 'impossible' (Spivak, 2000:13) political act and also as a task involving inevitable ethical dilemmas but it is treated as a straightforward representational (Hall, 1997) activity in the context of INGOs. What could have been used to supply an abstract and philosophical basis to the work of National workers is made 'merely' literal because of organizational practices. Language however is not merely a local communication tool, it is a social and symbolic community resource that has an impact on thought itself (Vygotsky, 1964). Language cannot be divorced from "the constitution of subjectivity" (Yegenoglu, 1998:22). However, when technical knowledge is considered universal and context free, then the *only* 'cultural' or 'contextual' issues that divide expatriates from the local set-up is the language issue. This sort of construction of language as merely representational is typical of an ahistorical approach, whereby the history of unequal, prejudiced relationship is obfuscated by the INGOs. This is also highly resonant of the colonial idea of 'mimic men' or Lord Macaulay's benign interpreters (Bhabha, 1994) who would translate and interpret using the frameworks that were used by the English themselves. This form of highlighting only a portion of people's abilities to subsume their whole self is a form of metonymy whereby National workers abilities are made synonymous only with their language abilities and their other skills are minimised.

The recognition and high status accorded to universal knowledge has been at the heart of colonial expansion and of the struggles between knowledge systems (Apffel-Marglin, 1996; Apffel-Marglin and Marglin, 1996; Jovchelovitch, 2006). In the disaster industry, it ear-marks job-openings for Expatriates in a context where the struggle to define their distinct areas of operation is getting more and more difficult for Expatriate workers because even when judged by western parameters the competence gap between Expatriates and National workers is becoming smaller (Pieterse, 2000). Within traditional development practice, Expatriate interventions have been exposed to sustained criticism (Stirrat, 2008; Walkup, 1997) and therefore the disaster sector and its focus technical interventions is a safer haven for Expatriate workers.

Expatriate workers and INGOs proffer to work within a universalistic paradigm whereby technical knowledge is seen as context free scientific rationality and National workers knowledges as only cultural and contextual, with no universal mobility. This is a well recognised duality in the contests between different knowledge systems whereby a hierarchization is presumed to exist between what has been called episteme or what have been understood as the dominant knowledge systems of the West, and techne which can be understood as the traditional knowledge systems of the colonized peoples. Episteme is inoculated with its 'imperialistic pretensions' (Marglin, 1990:25) to the extent that it only treats competing knowledge systems with contempt. Political and economic forces are aligned with western episteme and this enables the dominance of episteme in the struggle between knowledge systems. Further, western knowledge is able to propel itself as disembedded (Appadurai, 1990) and so it is able to marginalize any criticism of it. Those that are bearers of techne on the other hand are considered inferior and 'unscientific' and therefore unworthy of the status of being knowledgeable (Apffel-Marglin, 1996). Universalism claims to be context free and in the struggle between knowledge systems, 'episteme' appreciates universality where 'techne' derides an exclusive focus on universalism.

The concept of emotional geographies (Hargreaves, 2000, 2001) has offered some interesting ideas that have the potential of being usefully employed in understanding the encounters of National workers and Expatriate workers. *Emotional geographies* can be understood as consisting of "spatial and experiential patterns of closeness and or distance in human interactions and relationships that help create, configure and color the feelings and emotions we experience about ourselves, our world and each other" (Hargreaves, 2001: 1061). The idea of socio-cultural distance in emotional geographies points to particular kinds of emotional engagements that are "physically, socially, and culturally removed from the communities" (Hargreaves, 2001: 1063) being encountered, which results in stereotypical treatment of the encountered communities. Boler (1997; 1999) complicates the conceptualisation of emotional geographies by elaborating that emotional understanding or misunderstanding happen due to historical and privilege related emotional blunting. Socio-cultural distance then becomes

politicised as social and historical rather than an apolitical matter of individual preferences. Emotions therefore serve as ‘a structuring principle of ongoing social relations in nearly every setting and institution in our society’ (Maracek 1995: 109, cited in Zorn and Boler, 2007).

In INGOs the skin continues to perform as a heuristic that places its employees either as composed of ‘episteme’ or as composed of ‘techne’ whereby the Expatriates are assumed to be capable of rational, abstract and universal knowledge and the National workers are particularised and therefore deemed inferior. Inferior knowledge is then inscribed on the bodies of National workers. Drawing from Butler (1993) bodies come to signify particular sets of values as they are materialized and they also matter or are valued more or less than other bodies. Gender, race and disability of bodies can lead them to ‘matter’ differently (also see Anagnost, 2004). This materialization can be understood as racialization in the context of National workers. Elaborating on racialization, Gail Lewis (2007) cogently proposes that

“we can think of racialization as signalling three overlapping processes. First, the emergence of a discourse in which human physical and cultural variability became constructed as coterminous with, and representative of, the division of human populations into distinct races. Second, is the construction of ‘whiteness’ as devoid of cultural specificity and thus its inauguration as the universal ‘human’ category. A third element is the forms of appropriation of and challenge to dominant forms of racial categorization that are themselves expressed on the terrain of racial discourse. Racism is an integral and mediating force running through these three processes, and signals the ways in which the structure of hegemonic systems of racial categorization acts to define the terms of inclusion in, modes of relation among, and the horizons of the racialised social. Importantly, exploration of practices of the everyday can help unlock the ways in which the horizons of the social are structured by, and structuring of, racialised culture” (Lewis, 2007:873).

This structuring of the social through racialized embodiment is evident in the excerpt below:

*“My race, evokes sympathy, ...little (achievements of mine such as speaking English) are big things for them, and big things are not expected from me.... they come with a kind of self-suggestion that they have to ... accept a certain level of inefficiency, indiscipline, from me....as soon as I say something they*



*go clap, clap, clap....(as if to announce that I have now said what I had come to say)...I am only accepted as a 'refined beneficiary', not as a competent fellow human being, ... what they think they have to learn from me is about the community, nothing else!"(Rishabh)*

Therefore firstly, cultural skills are seen as marginal in relation to technical skills and secondly, National workers are confined being representative of the beneficiaries of INGOs as they share their race. The National worker therefore becomes a metonym for the 'beneficiary' community and not a professional employee of the INGO. The abilities of the National workers are undermined and 'great' things are not expected from them. These metonymies are disempowering in emotional encounters. This excerpt demonstrates that National workers are seen as incapable of higher cognitive tasks and their worth is seen as linked to their own status as representatives of the beneficiary community. Puwar proposes that professionals who do not fit the normative corporeal form are subjected to 'infantilisation', whereby it is presumed that they have 'reduced capacities' or 'lesser faculties' (Puwar, 2004:60). This infantilisation is experienced as patronising and disrespectful but is institutionalised due to the decision making and budgetary powers residing with the Expatriates. Therefore the flip side of confining the knowledge of National workers to cultural knowledge is that their professional opinions are undermined as they are 'particularised' and they are expected to be inefficient and less able than the Expatriate workers. Drawing on Rey Chow's (1993) notion of the circuits of productivity of knowledge, it would be important to note here that the National workers are seen as not good enough to represent themselves in a coherent way; this then keeps the space open for others, notably Western others, to represent them. This also keeps the Western others from reflecting on their own privilege and endowment by keeping the focus on their presence as important to highlight others' marginalization.

Along similar lines, one research participant talked about a plan that the National workers developed within a short period of time and the fact that the Expatriates did not believe it was developed so quickly:

*"So the Expatriate worker was not able to digest that the plan could be developed in a span of seven days or so. You know, and then there was a bit*

*of a fight between, you know the Expat and the operational staff from the country.” (Binoy)*

The Expatriate workers therefore express disbelief when National workers demonstrate any competence. They also prevent the display of competence of National workers by not expecting any ‘big’ things from them and foreclosing discussions rather than going into any depth in conversations with National workers. Inferiority is then inscribed on the bodies of National workers, and greatness is inscribed on the bodies of Expatriate workers. Another important element of the narrative shared above is that the National worker constructed his ability to speak English as a ‘little’ achievement. Bilingualism is a prevalent practice in various hitherto colonized countries. Therefore National workers do not construct knowledge of English as something that differentiates them from Expatriate workers. This is an important qualified rejection of particular forms of Othering whereby English as a language is seen to belong to the Expatriates whereas National workers also claim ownership to it. Language related conflicts take various avatars in emotional encounters to the extent that language could be characterized as an important site for emotional struggles. We have already discussed the notion of National workers being ‘reduced’ to interpreters and translators rather than having any other professional input. The two that we have already discussed include translation and interpretation and the undermining of the status of ‘local’ Indian languages whereby these languages are seen as easily ‘translatable’ into English. The final concerns we will now discuss is about the dominance of English as a ‘universal’ language where there continues to be a hierarchization (Mirchandani, 2004) that furthers its imperial project. The narrative below is an evocative example of this:

*“A report came from the Expatriate consultant to me and I sent it to my Expatriate supervisor before I finalized the pay of this person..., she walked back to me to give me a hard copy with her corrections marked all over and said ‘oh it requires a lot of work, this is not at all ready to be approved or anything. So, please ask your staff to do it better.’ So she had an assumption it was written by my Kerala ( Indian) colleague ...So, when I pointed out to her that this is a draft that came straight from the Expatriate who had been recruited by her, she was shocked, she just couldn’t believe it...but did not apologize to me...this was completely unfair.” (Anita)*

Therefore the tasks presumed to have been done by National workers were assessed with the intention of surveillance based on an assumption of lesser faculties. This was mentioned in many of the narratives. National workers were subjected to 'super-surveillance' whereby their 'imperfections are easily picked and amplified' and are 'taken as evidence of authority being misplaced' (Puwar, 2004:61). Even though English was often not the most relevant language required for the work, because it was the language in which accounts of the work had to be given, it was treated as an essential skill for the workers. The postcolonial status of English is the subject of great scholarly interest and a space where various forms of resistance to imperial language take place (Parakrama, 1995). However, the National workers who did speak English were treated with the assumption that their English was not good enough and when a sub-standard task was encountered, it was assumed to have been worked on by National workers. Mistakes committed by National workers could lead to strengthening of existing negative stereotypes. While the cultural and linguistic knowledge that National workers had was considered marginal, the cultural knowledge that Expatriates had in terms of their knowledge of English was deemed to be a universal linguistic skill, not particularised cultural knowledge. Here again the cultural resources of the Expatriates were universalized and cultural resources of the National workers were particularized. This is well known in postcolonial theory and has led to the calls for 'provincializing Europe' (Chakrabarty, 2000), a move not intended to diminish Europe or to invite a slide into relativism but one that could help us recognise that all languages are only dialects supported by 'armies' (Chakrabarty, 2000). Taken in this context the notion of provincializing Europe implies that the prominence of certain languages does not establish their superiority, it only establishes that language is located within an effective nexus of economic and defence power structures. English is then located as a powerful language and the ability to use English effectively as a universal resource is ascribed to the bodies of Expatriate workers, and kept away from the skins of National workers. This is another disempowering ascription for National workers. Thus even when those that are Othered, own and speak colonizer's languages, "language intervenes in the stigmatization of a surface as a sign of insurmountable difference (Gauch,

2002:126). The use of English as the medium of INGO business plays a major political and economic part in both securing consent and producing capital for INGOs. This needs to be acknowledged because it enables the “recognition of cultural domination as just as important as, and perhaps even the condition of possibility of, political and economic domination” (Buck-Morss, 2003, cited in Giroux, 2005:14).

Further, as briefly introduced above, there is a nuanced analysis of the ways in which there is a ‘racist hierarchization’ (Philipson, 2001, cited in Mirchandani, 2004) with regard to English. In this regard it would be important to examine the way in which the excerpt above alludes to a ‘Kerala’ colleague because in the hierarchies of English accents, there are ways in which North Indian accents fare better than South Indian accents. Struggles over language reflect “the struggles between dominant and dissident discourses” (White, 1990:80). The annoyance that the research participants have expressed in the narratives when they are viewed as *mere* translators, interpreters or guides is therefore also about a challenge to universalistic claims. Language and the symbolic order are involved in constructing our thoughts - language skills therefore also signify context specific symbolic resources. The postcolonial relevance of this is significant as English was the language of the colonisers, who branded all other languages as ‘vernacular’ and sometimes also forbade their use and made the vernacular language usage illegal so as to curb any resistance during colonial times.

Having examined the narratives about the poor abilities of National workers, we shall now move on to examine another strong narrative construction about the poorer gender/class positioning of National workers.

### **National workers weaker gender and class positioning:**

Apart from the poor accountability of National workers and their poor professional abilities, they were also seen poor in terms of belonging to a lower economic class as compared with Expatriates working in INGOs. Expatriates were given preferential treatment when it came to organizational expenses also and larger amounts of money were spent on accommodation for Expatriate workers as

compared to National workers because it was assumed that they were used to a higher standard of living. This was a basic assumption implicitly or explicitly mentioned in all the narratives:

*“In (most disaster settings), most of the expatriates are living in hotels, the best hotel. Most of the meetings take place in that hotel. For a local, even going there for a glass of water is a big thing (laughter).”*(Ajeet)

The organizational realities of National and Expatriate workers were therefore very different and the spheres of operation were shared but the spaces occupied by National workers and Expatriate workers were marked by an elitist definition of Expatriate spaces with one research participant stating:

*“I would see Expatriates who’d spend a lot of money ...for me it was like incongruous because they are flying in and flying out and they would have blackberries and all this but on the ground ...the cost-cutting was at the national level.”* (Nisha)

The narratives conveyed that the assumption behind organizational practices was that there was a ‘class difference’ between Expatriates and National staff, with the Expatriates belonging to a higher class and being used to the facilities that were seen as a luxury for the National staff. Thus a monolithic construction of developing countries whereby it was not recognised that there is a first world in the third world and a third world in the first seemed to be in operation in INGOs organizational practices. This is especially relevant when we consider that an important player in disaster interventions is the United Kingdom which is placed very low in terms of class mobility and income inequality in western Europe and has a host of social issues to deal with including ‘child poverty’. The link between whiteness and class has been problematised for western Expatriates whereby it is now recognised that Expatriates do perform jobs in distant locales that might not be highly remunerative (Farrer, 2010; Leonard, 2010 and Coles and Walsh, 2010), an example of this would be Expatriate workers engaged in English language teaching. Paradoxically however, many Expatriates experience much higher status than they might in their home countries (Heron, 2007) . This meant that National staff was presumed to be

from a lower class than the Expatriate staff and this was resisted in the narratives but seemed to be in operation. This was again a common concern:

*“you don’t even think it can be questioned if an international staff comes and stays in a five star hotel because ... they are used to that standard of living and you will assume that all Indians come from some small time place and ... don’t have any convenient facilities at home ... So, in the INGO scene, there are lots of hypocrisies and different treatments.” (Anita)*

Class is a gendered social concept (Acker, 1988), as is universalism (as is evident is Gilligan and Kohlberg’s debate about morality where men are ascribed universal morality; see Gilligan, 1982) and race (Nandy, 1983) as well as nationality are also gendered because patriarchal relationships can be observed between races and between Nations (Grewal and Kaplan, 1994). Therefore the insights we develop from examining the struggles with regard to universalism and class also enable a gendered analysis. The kind of dualistic conceptualization of organizational practices along racial lines that is prevalent in INGOs has been interpreted as an outcome of the use of Nationalistic terminology in defining the INGO workforce. Nandy discusses the colonial project as based on ‘hyper masculinity’ (1983:32) of the colonizers, which constructs the Indian man as effeminate and therefore operates using homologies between sexual and political dominance as well as homologies between childhood and the state of being colonized. Transnational feminism examines gender as a construct but also include class and nationality as sites of patriarchy which leads us to acknowledge that feminism cannot be nationalistic and therefore must engage with colonial discourse and discourses of race. Together these two proposals then advocate for a critical analysis of Nationalism that incorporates how Nationality is a racial, classed as well as a patriarchal project (Nandy, 1983; Grewal and Kaplan, 1994). When conceptualised as interrelated sets of ideas, then postcolonial criticism is also a criticism about gendered relations and vice versa. Further when men in postcolonial contexts prioritize their masculinity and act oppressively, postcolonial theory could also be used to effectively challenge this as an oppressive act. The fields of critique can be enmeshed and must be enmeshed so that there are no theoretical havens for oppression based on race or gender or class.

In this enmeshed critique, it must be noted that disaster work was discussed as a masculine sphere of operations. This was an interesting insight because rather than focussing on the care and compassion required in disaster work, disaster work was seen more in instrumental terms as discussed in the previous chapter. It seemed to require people who could contribute in operational terms, people who could hit the ground running with very little attention to their own needs.

*“Yeah I would say you know a project related with disaster is very very different from a development project..here you need to take quick decisions and respond quickly.... the communications is totally out of control I would say, it's totally breaks down... the mobile doesn't work, the internet doesn't work... even if you want to get in touch with your supervisor it's tough..and it's basically taking the decisions at the moment very instantaneously...” (Kashif)*

The speed and multifaceted nature of disaster interventions was also noted and time constraints were therefore a significant aspect of these narratives:

*“What happens in humanitarian situations the programme is delivered in a very high speed and things happen very fast like - money is coming, the proposals are going, the contracts being given so lot of things happen at the same point and time.” (Indira)*

The distinction between disaster work and development work is challenged in scholarly work (Duffield, 1994) but is a very important discursive manoeuvre because it constructs disaster work as masculine, penetrative, and reactive with urgency and quickness of response required whereas constructs development work as its antithesis, requiring a lengthy time investment and a broad base of support and a slow pace of action. This conceptualisation of a disaster makes it inimical to the role of women workers. In fact, it was terribly hard to find women who have worked in disasters in the field. Lack of food, lack of sleep, lack of adequate shelter, lack of transport facilities, were all mentioned as resulting in frustrations. Therefore, disaster work was seen as ‘tough’:

*“You have to develop toughness; some thick skin or you will burn out” (Satya)*

National workers were considered tough and masculine if they were able to follow organizational mandates and weak if they followed any other commitments. Disaster work was seen as something that 'gave a kick' and involved high level of adrenaline and quick decision-making. It was also a way of rising up in the organizational hierarchy within a shorter time-frame. This again helped keep other gender hierarchies in the organization favouring the male employees. It was also seen as a good career move that could catapult employees into strategic positions and get a kind of exposure that was not possible within the development work that their organizations might usually be involved in. Therefore disaster work is constructed as very amenable to Expatriate interventions and to National workers who are men. It appears that there is a continuum of embodiment of competence whereby the cultural and soft skills are embodied by women and in their absence, by all National workers. The embodiment of technical, universal, hard skills is done by Expatriate workers and in their absence by National workers who are men. The status of women Expatriate workers is privileged in this continuum (Heron, 2007) and they are attributed masculine traits due to their racial embodiment. However, the gendered struggles between Expatriates could continue in this dynamic, although these were not the focus of the narratives and consequently have not been analysed in any depth in this study. Further the masculine construction disaster work, it was seen as associated with display, recognition and testosterone related metaphors (such as 'a kick'):

*"There are people who get a kick out this kind of work, you know, they get recognition and they are able to display their ability." (Satya)*

Therefore going into the disaster first became a status related role, almost like the status granted to other 'seminal' moves as discussed by all the women who were interviewed and some men as well:

*"If I start with like...the moment emergency comes in like in an organization..it always seem like emergencies have given good recognition to the staff who got involved in it they got like good recognition...like he or she was the person who went 'first' to work on the Tsunami, and all.... and so staff would like to grab the opportunity." (Suleikha)*



Offering an obviously feminist response, Samaya also suggested that the disaster interventions sector is steeped in masculine bias:

*“When it comes to disaster, disaster involves lot of money and lot of travel, so that to a certain extent you know isolates women to get into disaster management. It starts from that, from the very beginning, disaster means you have to be in the field for twenty days, you have to be with the communities, you have to travel extensively and there may not be proper food, shelter for you when go to the disaster affected areas and also there is always this constant you know fight, disaster means lot of money because and money and power is where we (women) usually lose out.”(Samaya)*

Nisha also offers her view about how INGOs were very masculine in their operational practices:

*“I think that most international agencies are very masculine ...and the disaster field ... they have a gender agenda (and) a gender expert in everything but honestly the day-to-day work is not influenced by the gender expert. It's like the gender expert writes her report looks for the story that puts them together and whatever but the day-to-day work is completely not influenced.”(Nisha)*

This then would also help us revisit the corporatized and professionalized context of INGOs as a masculine organizational space. In this sense women’s clothing and aesthetic aspects are controlled much more as part of their biopolitical control as INGO employees. Women’s agendas are placed in competition with other identity agendas, most relevant amongst which in the Indian context is ‘caste’. However, while the masculinity of disaster work was recognised, it was not the only way in which disaster work was represented in the narratives with the importance for gender as a variable being clearly recognised. There was a greater variance about how gender was discussed in the interviews as compared to the narratives on Expatriates. Gender did seem to be a topic where open discussions and debates could take place and alliances across gender existed in INGOs. Therefore the emotional geographies that were applicable to women resembled those of the National men but had intersectional concerns. However, women have formal avenues to address these issues and these are well recognised in INGOs. This is in distinct contrast to the socio-cultural distance between Expatriate and National workers, which is brushed aside, away from a critical gaze.

It has been claimed however, that the gender lens serves as a racial blinder (White, 2006) in INGOs and the western feminist engagement with 'third world' women has also been criticised (Mohanty, 1988, 1989; Mohanty et al. 1991). Reflecting this claim, there is a great deal of critical analysis of gender and disaster as well as humanitarian interventions (Ariyabandu, and Wickramasinghe, 2005; Enarson, Fothergill, and Peek, 2007; Dawson, 2005). Further, gender policies and 'named' gender workers exist as a formal part of several INGOs. All of these organizational ways of acknowledging gender are missing in the case of race as a category under which discriminatory experiences could take place. Although hurricane Katrina was subjected a racial analysis of the affected population (Giroux, 2006), this analysis was focussed on the beneficiaries rather than on the organizational arrangements themselves. As a result the intersectional concerns that collapsed gendered and racialized concerns were chosen as the focus in this particular interpretive rendering of the narratives.

The notion that the Expatriates have come to 'save' the Indians continues to be the civilising motive for the involvement of Expatriates (see Kipling's 'White Man's Burden', 1899). Therefore the civilizing metaphor whereby the Expatriates came to save the primitive population from themselves continues to be a relevant frame in the ways National workers interpreted their experiences.

"Postcolonial authors have argued that Western identity and culture are fundamentally forged by an othering logic, one that dehumanizes or devalues other people, such as primitives, uncivilized, orientals, blacks, non-believers, women and so forth. An essential feature of othering is denying the Other his/her own voice, denying him/her the opportunity to speak for him/herself and instead attributing qualities, opinions and views that refer to one's own identity and culture" (Stokes and Gabriel, 2010: 9).

Thus othering seems to generate attributions of 'lack' or attribution of 'resources' worth preserving and it is acknowledged that Western attitudes towards those that are othered seem to indicate the operation of the following assumption: "if we could only break it open, strip the veil of otherness, differences could be understood, nurtured, or remedied, and the 'Other' could join 'us', maybe even be grateful for

the privilege” (Fournier, 2002: 68). Another way to understand Othering is linked to the notion of abjection (Kristeva, cited in Tyler, 2009) which

“refers to the state of being cast out... it refers to the symbolic process through which we seek to repel or to repress those aspects of ourselves and our bodies that we learn to think of as unclean, as improper, threatening, as dirty or dangerous... ... the very nature of abjection means that it can never really be got rid of because it is so fundamental to the construction of the subject, to the formation of the subject position” (Tyler, 2009: 69-70).

Tyler (2009) then discusses emotions as an abject phenomenon in organizations and suggests that abjection

“relates to inequalities associated with power, resource allocation, treatment and representation...In organisational terms then this implies a casting out or an exclusion of what ... threaten(s) the rationality, the order and the identity of organisations” (Tyler, 2009: 69).

Being made the abject employees is therefore another way in which National workers might be cast in white organizational spaces (Ahmed, 2007). However otherness is not always only a “passive state of victimhood to which the Other is condemned” (Fournier, 2002: 69), but those that are Othered could be actively involved in creating their otherness using what Fournier has termed ‘practices of disconnection’ (2002:68). These practices emphasise that otherness is different from difference, it cannot be arranged hierarchically as more than or less than the one, and that it is versatile and undetermined - otherness is then based on a ‘disconnection of the ‘not’ (Taylor, 1993: cited in Fournier, 2002:69) whereby the other becomes versatile. These practices of disconnection can be seen as located in counter-discourse that National workers draw from to deal with their deeply negative surface ascriptions.

### ***Othering and Counter discourse:***

The INGOs work using a universalistic paradigm that has a view of development as being a universal experience that the West has been able to achieve and the rest and trying to achieve (Escobar, 1995). In contrast, National workers suggest that a developing country is not the same as a developed country but it is **not** less

developed; it is not hierarchically arranged with regard to the developed country. National workers therefore prioritized a narrative of Othering that is not modernist in its intent, where difference is not the same as 'less than', for example. National workers constructed the issues of India as a developing country as not the same as the issues of other developing countries as well, thereby further 'particularising' the intervention scenario. They underscored the importance of recognising that the context of different developing countries was not the same, and therefore what worked in one place could not be unproblematically replicated in another. However, given the modern institutions (Escobar, 1995) that INGOs are, difference is always worked on to add dimensions of inequality as was made evident in the interpretation of the narratives. This then becomes a major area of contention. Expatriates were seen as holders of better salaries, better working conditions and decision making power. In some sense therefore, National workers were able to reflect on themselves as the 'Other'. Their narratives then help us "scrutinize the *production* of ordinary, everyday assumptions, that contribute to the *maintenance* of inequalities" through othering (Czarniawska, and Hopfl, 2002:2, italics original) in INGOs. In '*Casting the Other*' (Czarniawska, and Hopfl, 2002), Othering is seen to continue the use of collective classifications that are very much like 'primitive classifications' (Durkheim and Maus, cited in Czarniawska, and Hopfl. 2002:2) and therefore the practice of othering is an important practice that confirms that "we have never been modern" (Latour, 1993, cited in Czarniawska, and Hopfl, 2002:3).

The disrespect that National workers feel from Expatriate workers is linked to the historical relationships between these two identities, and furthered by contemporary INGOs practices that rehearse those historical hierarchies. Whilst the official stance was that Expatriates were often recruited because of their technical expertise, the generally held notion amongst the National workers was that their claim to expertise was linked to their racial identity and their Western nationality, somatic packaging and surface appearance which embodied them as skilled. Leggett (2010) discusses whiteness and expertise and points at the continuing deployment of colonial stereotypes in postcolonial contexts. This was also expressed clearly in several of the narratives:

*“The Nationals no matter how much they have studied, how many years of work experience they have or in the organization they can never move to the next layer, the salary will increase by bit every year but really not move to next layer, you can't because you are a national, the Expatriates no matter they could just be graduates or whatever but they are experts obviously...”*  
(Ananya)

Despite this acknowledgment, National workers constructed Expatriates as lacking in skills and abilities of various kinds instead. These include contentions such as Expatriates lacked cultural knowledge and cultural sensitivity, lacked moral commitment to any causes, lacked respect for National workers and lacked the ability to critically reflect on their exclusionary practices. They were constructed as workers with a sense of undeserved superiority about their abilities and a concomitant undeserved superiority about the status of English as the language that demonstrates peoples' abilities. These constructions can then be understood as the outcome of National workers acting as practical theorists (Moussa and Scapp, 1996) whereby they managed to open up the space for the voices of the silenced to be produced as counter discourse. In this counter discourse Expatriates were constructed as operating in the colonial mode, whereby their paternalism and privilege tainted their bodies. This was specifically discussed in a few of the narratives, and one interesting excerpt is presented below to explain this further:

*“If you go to any (developing country and) African countries in particular, the rich country members are very paternalistic in their behaviour, they feel that it is their ex-colony (nervous laughter), Local people look at the expatriates from two angles. One is that they look at these people as very rich, full of lots of money, so they accept them at that level. The second thing is that they are very critical of the way they behave...In India, where the consciousness level is very high and we know about the colonial operation, colonial behaviour and the colonial literature we feel ‘that this paternalism is not done, Boss!’ (Laughs) So we often challenge them and sometimes also discourage them from behaving superior, behaving like they know everything, so all these dynamics exist.”* (Ajeet)

Armbruster (2010) writes about how the white Expatriates continue to engage in discursive work that involves an unwillingness to acknowledge the devastating impact of colonial encounters to local populations and how they instead claim that the countries Expats come from are involved in the ‘development’ of African

countries. This is certainly evident in the way that practices of Expatriate workers in INGOs were talked of in the narratives. Recognising this as paternalistic and as a colonial continuity in the narratives is then a political act for the National workers. In this sense the National workers seemed to engage in a politics through their 'talk' about emotional encounters - this is because the 'very act of speaking could be considered political' in Foucauldian terms (Moussa and Scapp, 1996:89). "Discourse is not simply that which expresses struggles of systems of domination, but that for which, and by which, one struggles; it is the power which one is striving to seize" (Foucault, cited in Terdiman, 1985:55) and so dominant discourses are always open to contestation. In other words, counter-discourse exists wherever discourse does. Counter-discourse is about "clearing a space in which the formerly voiceless might begin to articulate their desires - to *counter* the domination of prevailing authoritative discourse" (Moussa and Scapp, 1996:88). The National workers contest dominant discourses in their discussion about emotional encounters. In the sphere of organizational practices in INGOs, the presence of the counter-construction of lack (of Expatriates) suggests the presence and success of counter-discourses amongst National workers. This is because in constructing Expatriates as 'lacking', National workers are able to 'resist the power seeking to oppress them" (Moussa and Scapp, 1996:89). By constructing Expatriates as composed entirely of 'lack', National workers are effectively engaging in attempts at 'talking back' (hooks, 1989). When Expatriates are constructed as lacking, their assertions about the lack of abilities of National workers become worthy of being questioned and even ignored.

To continue our engagement with counter-discourse, it can be understood as "revolt, nonconformity, alienation, resistance, rebellion" (Terdiman, 1985:77) and "counter-discourses are the product of a theoretically unpredictable form of discursive labor and real transformation" (Terdiman, 1985:77). Counter-discourse is a strategy that is able to challenge, resist and subvert the dominant discourses by using pluralistic techniques, tactics and devices. If there was a coherent counter-discourse thread, it would be easy to dismantle. In some sense therefore counter-discourse is metaphorically similar to 'guerrilla warfare', a tactic of battle that can help a non-dominant army win because they use an alternative form of

warfare that does not follow the rules of the dominant army. It is a tactic that surprises and befuddles the dominant, and in doing so, achieves victory, howsoever transient, despite being vulnerable and weak.

Arguably, studying and reporting on counter-discourse is not a worthwhile task for scholars who are engaged in challenging dominant discourse. This is because it is important for counter-discourse to remain counter, in order for them to continue to be powerful. Once studied, they can easily be categorised as another form of 'difference' and co-opted into something to be managed.

“By emphasizing “difference” as something to be managed many organizations institute ‘the problem of difference’...Management, under such circumstances, comes to refer to the management of appearances which substitute for (other) more radical acts” (Czarniawska and Hopfl, 2002:1).

Therefore the potential of counter-discourse to truly be counter can be effectively annulled by managing it as just another form of difference (Prasad, 2006). However, examining counter-discourse could also serve as a useful way to get dominant groups to reflect on the limits of their dominance.

Dominant identities often sustain their dominance as a result of their lack of reflection. This lack of reflection is an important achievement of privilege and has been thought of as important in maintaining status quo; this has led Burkitt (2002b) to suggest that

“unreflective patterns of habit serve those who monopolise social power, for the leaders can do the planning while the majority are simply required to do the work, without questioning their actions or position. People in this situation tend to unthinkingly reproduce social institutions rather than reflectively adjust their actions with the aid of critical thought. There is an element of disciplining humans in this mode of habitual activity that is always bound to stand in the way of the development of full democracy... capacities are found to be stunted and underdeveloped in capitalist society, where little is required of the majority of people except the unthinking repetition of the most basic tasks. Under this system, the majority of people are always bound to never realise their full potential for the techniques they are subject to do not require them to develop their capacities to the full; in fact, the opposite is true, as most people are prevented from doing so” (Burkitt, 2002b: 232).

The unreflective dispositions that privilege can grant to dominant identities are likely to reduce privileged peoples' abilities to access, or even make sense of counter-discourse. This is because as the name suggests, it is counter to that what has passed as common-sense and it counters the certitude of privilege with the epistemic advantage of the oppressed. Therefore in studying and discussing counter-discourse, this study itself could be considered a part of counter-discourse.

Fournier (2002) discusses the agency of women entrepreneurs using the idea of 'practicing disconnection' though keeping a veil of otherness. Fournier distinguishes between 'difference' and 'otherness' and also complicates otherness as a contextual and shifting tactic rather than something fixed in its oppositionality. Otherness can therefore be used in resistance if it is deployed in an indeterminate, disconnected, versatile and unpredictable manner (Fournier, 2002:79). Fournier therefore categorises otherness as a 'not' rather than a more or a less and in doing so, grants it flexibility for being separate rather than aligned in a hierarchical relationship. Using this insight, some ways in which National workers employ 'practices of disconnection' can be interpreted in the narratives. In constructing Expatriate workers as lacking, National workers used discourse drawn from dominant Othering when convenient, but they challenged the essentialism of difference and also proposed other forms of Othering whereby the dominant group becomes the Other's Other.

Using these different forms of countering tactics, National workers are

- able to advocate for their engaged, authentic, and community-centred accountability practices (being the Other) which is opposed to the instrumental, efficient, and donor driven accountability of the Expatriate,
- able to construct the Expatriate worker as culturally ill-equipped, inefficient and morally corrupt (Other's other) and therefore as less able than the National workers themselves who are culturally sound practitioners



- able to construct INGOs as organizations that do not ever 'learn' how to enable participation or consult their employees and thereby construct themselves as critically aware but cynical and marginalized employees of INGOs

We will now examine these tactics using the narratives from the research transcripts:

### **'Be' the Other:**

While National workers constructed themselves as sceptical and disturbed by the corporatization of the disaster sector, they constructed the Expatriate workers as unproblematically aligned with the corporatization ideal of INGOs. The under-acknowledged but widely held notion was that the Expatriates were selfishly involved in disaster work. Along with the emotional detachment, the Expatriates were also seen as being career oriented and their career progression was based on emotionally detached actions that were required to succeed in the organization. Emotions provide the experiential basis for values and are conceptually connected to observations and evaluations (Averell, 1980). When constructed as unemotional, the Expatriates were then also constructed as instrumentally involved in their work. Instrumental engagement could then itself be understood as a prioritising of masculinised emotionality whereby 'separation anxiety and paranoia' or 'an obsession with control and a fear of contamination' (Jaggar,1997:394) are prioritized. Typically Expatriate workers were seen as disconnected from local issues, merely dabbling in disaster relief and visiting one disaster after another, not having reflected or changed any of their undeserving 'superior' ways of being. Despite these negative ways of understanding Expatriate motives for involvement in disaster work, they were considered important for the functioning of INGOs because of the immutable link in dominant discourse between Expatriates and accountability. This was related to the corporatization that was discussed in the previous chapter, which in turn was seen as a Western imposition by some of the National workers, but was recognized by nearly all the research participants as being donor-driven, and therefore also western:

*"The institutional mechanism is based in the west...those institutions are comfortable with the people with whom they have worked in the past and that*

*is why huge amounts of money are paid to Expatriate consultants.... information flow is not there (for the National workers)...even the minutes of the meetings are not shared...unless I go to the bar where people sit and drink and people pass jokes, otherwise it is very difficult.” (Vijay)*

The narratives therefore link the accountability toward donors to Expatriate presence but also situated beneficiary related accountability concerns as unimportant and marginal for Expatriates. This furthers the instrumental conceptualisation of Expatriates. The narratives point to a conceptualisation of the Expatriate worker as engaged in disaster work to improve their ‘CVs’ (curriculum vitae) rather than to effect any changes on the ground. This was also very prevalent as a narrative strand with several research participants voicing these concerns:

*“ There have been people who have said that they are doing the job because it is good to have disaster on a CV and it's like I seriously believe a lot of the time it's like borrowing your watch to tell you the time...So then obviously there's going to be that resentment you know that someone is just going to come for two weeks and then be able to say that you know we're doing this or whatever and then go back and have no clue about what it means to work in this setting.” (Nisha)*

The presence of expatriates was required because to the INGO and the donor community, they represented ‘better’ accountability because of their surface characteristics, rather than because of any moral or skill based superiority:

*“It is just perceived that they have more skills, I think we are no less...” (Vijay)*

Their high-flying and luxurious visits to disaster sites were viewed by several research participants as unethical and were seen as a central part of the accountability drive of the aid industry where donor money comes from the West.

*“Without really making any connect with the grassroots or any connect with the people, marginalised people they think it is a licence to, just to get into a luxurious organization and luxurious living, which is a sad, sad development which I see but I, as I said there are merits in this. In this sense INGOs are able to give more accounts of ourselves.” (Rishabh)*

Alongside, there was a preponderance of measures whereby emotions were marginalised and western criteria and standards were institutionalised as universal ones. This was reflected upon by some of the research participants:

*“They give funds and information and guidelines but the emotional attachment I think is missing, attachment with the people and with the work. National workers, because we are proximal to the point of action, we are a bit attached to our work. Somebody is attached emotionally, somebody is attached practically that’s a different thing, but the perception is very different than from a person who is from overseas.”(Ajeet)*

Therefore the funding that comes from the west was seen as a substitute for actual emotional involvement from the Expatriates who come from the West. Detached from local values, contexts and cultural concerns could be alternatively understood as attached to movement, global and universal conceptualisation. This then also situates Expatriate workers as global nomads (Ahmed, 2004b), which is akin to ‘tourists’ in Zygmunt Bauman’s (2000) formulation, who are attached to nothing else but ‘movement’ (as global nomads are formed by the giving up of local attachments) and are part of a highly ‘skilled’ workforce that can look ‘beyond the local’ (Ahmed, 2004b:38). As a corollary, National workers become the vagabonds (Bauman, 2000), the locals who cannot be attached to movement because their movement through the surface of the globe is subjected to tighter controls in this ‘global’ world. This can also be understood as the notion that the global movement of certain bodies is achieved through the fixing of others as local (Ahmed, 2004b). In this sense, the ‘traces’, ‘legacies’ and ‘imaginings’ of colonial relations are said to continue today leading to ‘privileged tiers of movement’ for the western Expatriates (Fechter and Walsh 2010:1204). This is further materialized through the existence of separate linguistic labels such as Expatriate for white bodies and Immigrants for Non-white bodies. These discursive practices create distinctions which construct the expatriate as superior.

The attribution that the Expatriate workers were detached and did not share an ambivalence about the ‘corporate practices’ of brand building and absorption capacity meant that they were seen as part and parcel of the corporate enterprise and not as altruistically involved. Expatriate motives were doubted because of their

obvious comfort with the 'detached' practices of INGOs. Organizational decision making ensured that the Expatriate workers were better placed and held more power within the organization. This made one research participant comment:

*“Look, when the reality is, when the person is from a developed country that person come as a boss, that person doesn't come as a staff member”  
(Gagan)*

However, the powerful position of Expatriates was dismissed by many National workers as unethical because it was seen as a result of their professionalization that entailed a disconnection with their compassionate side:

*“Expats are in powerful positions, they appear to be sensitive but they are extremely professional, they are into job-hopping rather than seeking some change and the wage difference is ridiculous...even though there are coordination committees INGOs rarely meet each other because it's like they have their own kingdoms where they are the donors.” (Vijay)*

Interestingly, sensitivity is conceptualised as an alternative to professionalism in the excerpt above and INGOs are called kingdoms. Another form of detachment that the Expatriates were also critiqued about was because they were seen as being detached and removed from the ground realities as they had a higher status in the kingdom of INGOs. This form of alignment of nationality and responsibility was seen as problematic by the National workers but was part and parcel of INGO practices.

Therefore National workers donned the role of the Other who may not be professional but was sensitive, and who may not be powerful but was committed to changing lives, rather than being a disaster tourist. Several qualities that were part of being the 'Other' were honoured by National workers as worthy and necessary in their practice settings.

### **Expatriates as the Other's Other:**

Apart from owning attributes of the Other, National workers saw Expatriates as culturally incompetent and therefore also had ways in which they assessed the

Expatriate workers as inferior. This involved the assessment of the Expatriates as not appreciating the role of cultural and contextual knowledge in their work as well as not engaging to include national workers in their socialising circles. This was an overwhelming concern in all the narratives:

*“Expats kind of don’t understand the local context and they kind of try to draw their experiences from other countries and try to put it in the context of India so there is bit of ideological differences that happens and it depends how well they can get along with the local team, how well they respect the intellectual capacity of the local team, thinking as somebody superior behave or something like that. We have too many examples of this.” (Indira)*

Further, it was well recognised that there were Expatriate enclaves - places where they socially interacted with one another, where National workers did not really belong. This notion of separate spaces of informal socialization was alluded to in several of the narratives. This was also associated with the practice of ‘drinking’ together after work by at least 4 of the research participants. Drinking in a pub was seen as the ‘normal’ way for Expatriates workers to engage informally and something that the National workers had to engage in if they wanted to be successful:

*“So they create an exclusive club among themselves, they discuss their own agenda, most of the things are discussed in elite clusters. There is an exclusive club - they will come, they will have their own friends, they will have their own meetings, and they will have their own parties.... So the exclusivity is definitely there.” (Ajeet)*

Therefore the cultural difference rather than the shared employment scenario was prioritized in most of these narratives:

*“There is always cultural differentiation when your Expats have their own set of people they socialise with, basically...they want to maintain their own status, they want to keep a kind of certain distance with the national staff, they do not share as much as national staff would have liked to.”(Gagan)*

The motives of Expatriate staff for being involved in disaster work was seen as an exercise in globalising the local phenomenon, a form of appropriation of local knowledge (Apffel and Marglin, 1990). Accusations of appropriation and feelings of

being 'used' for Expatriate career progression were important constructions in some of the narratives.

*“(Expatriate) people come to see an emergency for two reasons. One to see the damage and a kind of a disaster tourism, but also they come with a mindset to find out what is extra that is happening which they can sell conceptually, you know, from the professional point of view, which would be replicable in the rest of the world. For example, we experimented with social audit in the field. An expatriate came. He took so many pictures of social audit. He went back and I think one e-mail he wrote, but after that there was no contact at all, you know, and we were very sure that these things would happen. These guys would come and then they would go and then they would write one thank you e-mail and would never return. We are pretty sure about these kinds of practices.” (Binoy)*

The notion that the West and its inhabitants have gained from the appropriations of the non-west is part and parcel of analysis that is aimed at decolonizing. The analysis of colonial processes and its economic impact has often acknowledged how the 'raw materials' that were taken from colonized were then sold back in processed forms to the colonized and even important status symbols of the West can be seen as 'stolen' goods from the colonies:

*“Europe has stuffed herself inordinately with the gold and raw materials of the colonial countries: Latin America, China, and Africa. From all these, under whose eyes Europe today raises up her tower of opulence, there has flowed out for centuries toward that same Europe diamonds and oil, silk and cotton, wood and exotic products. Europe is literally the creation of the Third World. The wealth which smothers her is that which was stolen from the underdeveloped peoples” (Fanon 1968: 102; also see Anthias, Yuval-Davis and Cain, 1992).*

What applied to 'raw material' and precious metals also applies to knowledge when it becomes a commodity. Knowledge that is created by the national workers in the field is seen as being appropriated by the expatriates and used for their own career development in a way that is reminiscent of colonial relationships. This is also a useful critique of the notion of expertise because the work that is being appropriated is that of the National workers, without any acknowledgement. Patenting and other processes involved in the legalistic definition of intellectual property rights are often seen to disadvantage cultures where knowledge is not

seen to belong as a property of an individual (Ntuli,2002; Hountondji,2002). Expatriates were then constructed as well versed in claiming knowledge through naming it and acquiring it as their own creation and by making exaggerated claims about their achievements in their short-term involvement in disaster interventions. This again is linked to some colonial processes whereby Western explorers were seen as those that 'discovered' a place. Claims such as for example either Amerigo Vespucci or Christopher Columbus 'discovered' America, locate the Westerners as the only ones who can ever discover something. The fact that these 'discovered' places already had human inhabitants who had resided there for a long time is negated in recognising all discoveries as western discoveries. Naming and classifying is a hugely political task and has been linked to one of the powerful process associated with the creation of knowledge (Foucault, 1973). Apart from the struggles over naming and classifying innovations in the field of disaster work, the Expatriates were also constructed as disengaged and culturally incompetent. The career-focussed orientation of Expatriate workers was constructed as an instrumental engagement made possible by the lack of cultural knowledge and emotional attachment that Expatriates had toward their job. They were detached from various forms of context - cultural context, value-based context and ground realities of their field of operation. This was discussed in a few of the narratives:

*“Traditional wisdom, women’s rights and cultural issues are sidelined and even the humanitarian charter standards you know I am not comfortable with them because they standardize certain things, it is about meeting quality controls but it discounts human feelings and cultural aspects.” (Vijay)*

The Expatriates were therefore construed as part of an enterprise that was not interested in empowerment, or in strengthening traditional institutions or modern ones. The inability of Expatriates to learn about culture was located within larger institutionalised processes, which we will now examine in some detail. The Expatriate as the Other's Other was therefore also a holder of negative qualities.

## **INGOs as incapable of 'learning' new rules of participation and consultation:**

Apart from owning with pride some aspects of the Other, and engaging in the Othering of Expatriates, National workers were also able to diagnose the organizational processes that keep things as they are and prevent organizational change.

Expatriates were seen as having the power to obfuscate or deflect criticism, which impacted negatively on their ability to learn from National workers. This was evident in several excerpts where Expatriates did not engage with criticism or refused to apologize to National workers. Some of these were discussed in the previous section of this chapter. This has been noted by various postcolonial scholars and has been labelled 'counter-mnemonic innocence' (Radhakrishnan 1993) or 'sanctioned ignorance' (Spivak, 1999). This could also be seen as an epistemic disadvantage of privilege (drawing from Nandy, 1983) and forms an integral part of deflecting criticism. This suggests that the frameworks that Expatriate workers hold are universally applicable and so what is not self-evident to them does not need to be engaged with. This becomes another area of contention in emotional encounters. This state of affairs continued due to the lack of Expatriates ability and interest in reflection:

*“and unfortunately I've seen from disaster-to-disaster, there is very little done. The same mistakes are repeated.”(Satya)*

In fact some National workers suggested that the entire sector was one that has an inherent inability to learn from its experiences.

*“One thing I'll tell about our organization and other international organizations is that we are 'learning organizations' (said with slight sarcasm in tone), we cherish learning. Therefore we learn the same thing after every disaster (loud laughter) and we keep on doing that.” (Rishabh).*



Their lack of awareness, reflection and learning was facilitated by a comfort whereby the Expatriates did not seem to need to learn anything that they did not already know. In a discussion about multicultural involvement, the expatriates seemed to be unaware of the notion that they often worked in ways that excluded 'others'. In an ironic situation, this exclusivity was omnipresent and visible in the constitution and membership of this discussion group that was discussing exclusion and multicultural working, where only one member from a developing country was present, and that too, because she was representing a West based office when the discussion was held.

*“so in that conference it was completely explicit that there is no representation from developing countries or the places for which the all these organizations are supposed to be working for.... So, that was a big glaring kind of a miss and more glaring thing was a lot of the people, they were completely unaware of it....Unaware of that absence. ....if you are trying to understand and you know, improve your system to be really truly multicultural and representing, you can't figure it out without including those people in the discussion who are also excluded in the operations...”(Anita).*

Concerns around inclusion and representation of National perspectives are very dominant in the narratives. This often translates into lack of participation by National workers in reviewing the way in which INGOs are run or disaster interventions are performed. The INGOs are noted for being non-reflective organizational spaces (Walkup, 1997). Deflecting criticism often takes the shape of undermining or minimising the source of the criticism and this was also the case in the incidents narrated in the interviews. All this adds up to National workers not being able to voice their opinions and not being 'heard' even when they are allowed to speak. The marginalisation of participatory processes was therefore an outcome of treating it as something extra, rather than as something crucial. Sara Ahmed (2002) deliberates on the problems that exist for communication with others and offers an analysis of how skin is conceptualised, to understand communication difficulties whereby she proposes that *“the forms of the skin are a living history of this other's encounter with other others”* (Ahmed, 2002:564). In Ahmed's (2002) formulation, the skin is able to communicate that which cannot be voiced because we could think of

“hearing as touch ...to consider that being open to hear might not be a matter of listening to the other’s voice: what moves (between) subjects, and hence what fails to move, might precisely by that which cannot be presented in the register of speech, or voicing” (Ahmed, 2002:564).

Therefore the skin as boundary between National workers and Expatriate workers works to orient them away from each other and complicates the process of ‘hearing’ what is voiced through these orientations. This leads to a situation whereby the powerful Expatriates can orient themselves away from the concerns of the National workers who are perceived as the Other, bounded by their skin, which is different from that of the Expatriates. Racial thinking is then made possible due to the sedimentation of surface perceptions and the Othering based on this surface-depth is circulated anew in encounters that rehearse historical associations.

This lack of ‘hearing’ of the voices of the National workers can also be understood as an outcome of ‘Inscribed habits of inattention’ (Boler, 1999:16), which suggests that how we respond to Others, whether through mis/understanding depends on culturally learnt modes of attention and inattention. Therefore emotional misunderstanding is based on the embodied historical and cultural distancing which always implicated in unreflective emotional geographies. Part of the reason for the continuation of emotional geographies based on misunderstanding is that challenging these notions will involve dealing with the privileges that come ‘naturally’ to Expatriate workers primarily through unlearning ‘their privilege as loss’, which is based on Spivak’s notion of ‘unlearning’ (Spivak, 1990:9). This can be explained concisely in the words of Landry and MacLean:

“Our privilege, whatever they may be in terms of race, class, nationality, gender and the like, may have prevented us from gaining a certain kind of Other knowledge: not simply information that we have not yet received, but the knowledge that we are not equipped to understand by reason of our social positions. To unlearn our privileges means, on the one hand, to do our homework, to work hard at gaining some knowledge of others who occupy those spaces most closed to our privileged view. On the other hand, it means attempting to speak to those others in such a way that they might take us

seriously, and most important of all, be able to answer back” (Landry and MacLean 1996: 4-5).

This also necessarily involves the willingness and ability to “recognize oneself as implicated in the (creation of) obstacles the other must confront” (Zorn and Boler, 2007: 142-143). These ideas hold a great deal of resonance for the relationships between Expatriate and National workers of INGOs. First of all, this critical look at emotional geographies of INGOs makes it clear that the mis/understanding between categoric identities is an outcome of ‘culturally learnt modes of attention and inattention’ (Zorn and Boler, 2007:142). The INGOs have a culture whereby the Expatriate workers are encouraged to view National workers in stereotypical ways and to not pay attention to their circumstances. If private feelings reveal the global effects of power then the Expatriate’s privilege to be inattentive is an outcome of the inscribed colonial habit of inattention as well as the outcome of the inattention that accompanies their continuing global privilege.

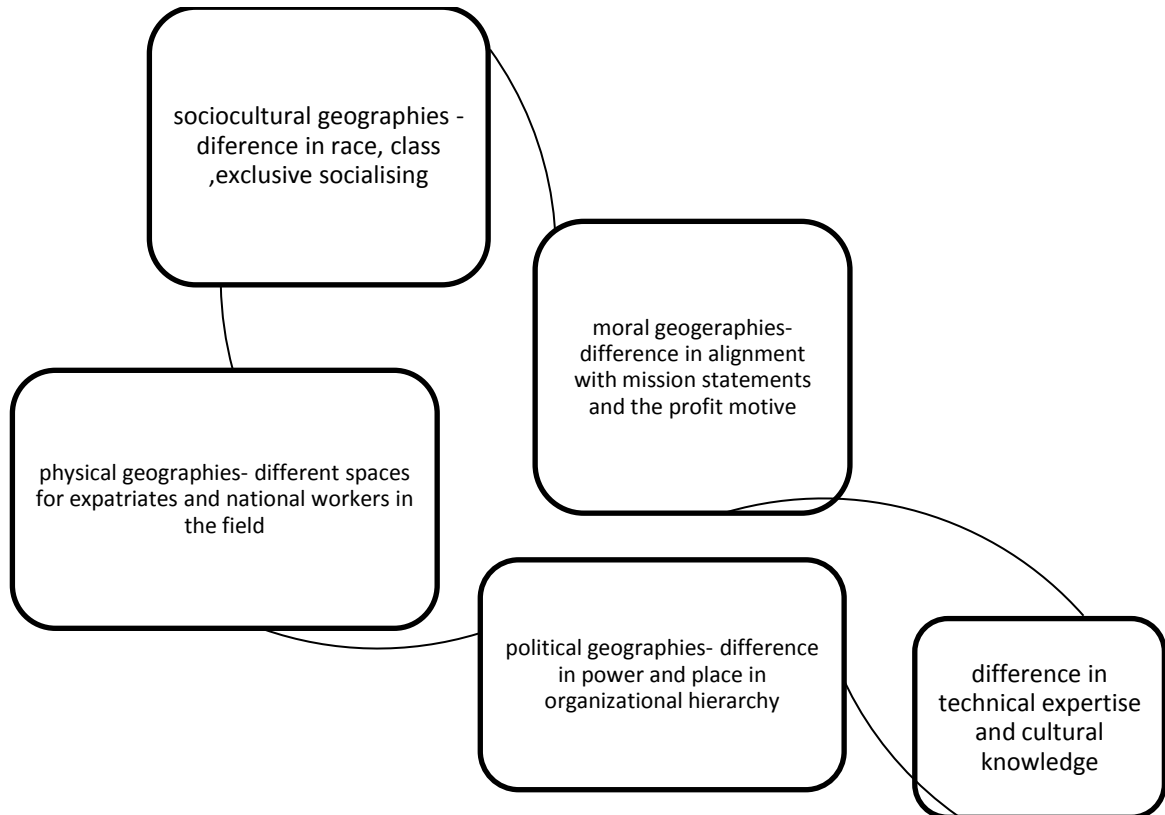
It is through emotional misunderstanding and inattention that power is exercised in organizations which continue to operate in an imperial mode. To the extent that Expatriate workers carry on with their work without feeling interested or able to challenge or change the realities of National workers, they are implicated in the continuation of the habits of inattention. These habits are embodied, historical and cultural and have an ongoing impact on the culture of INGOs. The presence of forms of emotional distancing affirms the presence of emotional misunderstanding that is at the core of the continued perpetration of stereotypes and inequalities that INGOs engage in. The presence of distances in emotional geographies represents the prevalence of emotional misunderstandings in these relationships. Further, these emotional misunderstandings are not an outcome of individual and ahistorical personality factors; rather they are a product of a culture of misunderstanding that the INGOs participate in through their organizational practices, including Othering:

“Othering’ is a concept that occupies an important place in contemporary philosophical, gender, postcolonial discourses. It refers to the process of casting a group, an individual or an object into the role of the ‘other’ and establishing one’s own identity through opposition to and, frequently,

vilification of this Other. Othering is a process that goes beyond 'mere' scapegoating and denigration—it denies the Other those defining characteristics of the 'Same', reason, dignity, love, pride, heroism, nobility, and ultimately any entitlement to human rights" (Stokes and Gabriel, 2010: 8).

These misunderstandings occur along gendered and racialized patterns that are ongoing outcomes of post/colonial discourses that draw on stereotypical notions and 'othering' to prevent emotional understandings and attachments from developing. In the case of National workers and Expatriate workers, emotional distancing takes places along sociocultural, moral, physical, political and organizational practices of INGOs. This can create a hostile terrain of differences whereby people placed on either side of the divide feel incapable of bridging the divide as the terrain encompasses many social variables that are hard to navigate. The Expatriates were mistrustful of the morality of the National workers and therefore engaged in surveillance on behalf of the INGOs. The Expatriates had reasons to continue exclusive socialising practices so as to prevent their 'turning native' (Ashcroft et al., 2007:106) whereby they could be subjected to the same stereotypes that they pejoratively held against the National workers. Therefore sociocultural, political, moral, physical and organizational aspects were all implied in the emotional geographies that separated the National workers and the Expatriate workers.

Below is a figure that tries to capture these distances in an amalgamated form, to explain how these differences divide INGO employees.



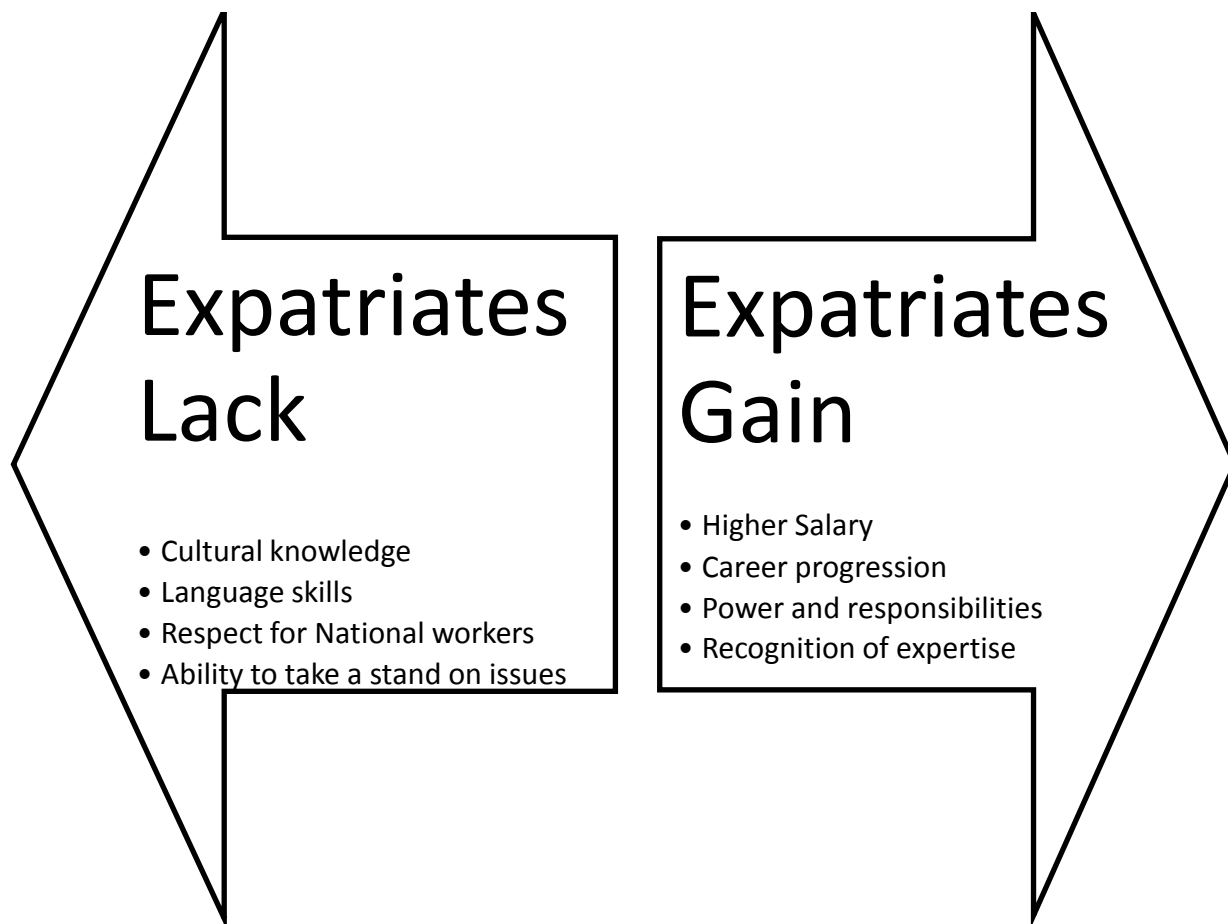
**Figure 6.1: Emotional Geographies (based on Hargreaves, 2001)- Separation between the Expatriate and National Worker in INGOs**

Even when a postcolonial frame is not explicitly used in academic research, the Expatriates are seen to have a difficult time adjusting in their destination of expatriation, and also seen to have negative views of the host nations. For example, the problems of expatriates have been alternatively conceptualised as 'culture shock' which can be understood as a sense of confusion about expected role and also to low self esteem, sense of self-doubt, loss as well as disgust and

surprise at the new culture (Furnham and Bochner, 1986). It has also been recognised that the culture shock could lead Expatriates to stereotype and be hostile to host nationals, even though Expatriates could recognise that stereotypes need not apply to all local people and could be paradoxical (Osland and Osland, 2005). In these studies, the length of time in the context of Expatriation is considered crucial for full adjustment, with a longer engagement leading to better outcomes for Expatriates and host nationals. However, the INGO policies move Expatriates fairly quickly, preventing an engagement with the paradoxes of stereotypes about locals.

These studies create a speculation that if critical ways of engaging with the colonial encounter could be made more prevalent then the Expatriates could be encouraged to reflect on their 'ignorant' ways of being oppressive. This also links with Gunaratnam and Lewis' (2001) notion that an organizational space that is not defensive and where splitting is not the favoured mode of being would be a useful way forward for INGOs. However instead of closing in on the distances, the disaster sector reifies and refines the difference lexicon as is evident from the institutionalisation of a new category of disaster workers: 'regional workers'. To explain this further, traditionally the term expatriate was reserved for those workers who came from one country but worked in another. While this continues to be the case for a majority of Expatriate workers even today, a new category of Expatriate workers also seems to have emerged. These are Expatriates in the sense that they work in a country other than where they are National workers but they are not called Expatriate workers; they are termed 'regional workers'. These regional workers are ex-national workers from developing countries who have started to also contribute to disaster interventions in other developing countries that come from the same region as theirs. The unproblematized prevalence of this terminology in the narratives revealed something interesting about the discursive construction of the employees that participated in disaster interventions. The label 'international' represents Whiteness when applied to a person and the developing world when applied to a context (Crewe and Fernando, 2006).

Further, all of the aspects that are recognized as problematic about Expatriates by the National workers are associated with gains for the Expatriate workers. In some sense therefore the INGOs advantage Expatriate workers if they continue to engage in the emotional distancing with National workers.



**Figure 6.2: Underserved Benefits and Gains for Expatriates Who Lack Essential Skills and Qualities**

The INGOs therefore seem to perpetrate distance between National and Expatriate staff and this is a complex process that we will now engage with. To start with, while in the narratives, the construction of lack that prevails about National workers in public discourses about competence (for example, they **lack** qualification, competence, presentation skills, finesse) is reciprocally applied to the Expatriates, the Expatriates do not suffer from any negative consequences for their lack. While National workers exercise their counter-discursive agency, this does not lead to any organizational acknowledgement. Despite the construction of lack as described in figure 7.1, the Expatriates continue to benefit in INGOs.

**Table 6.1: Building an Expatriate as composed of ‘lack’, using the descriptions in the narratives**

Disaster tourists/visitors	<b>L A C K</b>	Emotionally detached
Unable of reflect		Temporary and short term workers
High opinion of self		No value based commitments
Low opinion of National workers		Appropriating local knowledge for self
Culturally insensitive		Money minded in endeavours

This recognition of Expatriate’s ‘lack’ could therefore be conceptualised as a resistant move by National workers but this resistance can be seen as gendered and operating in ways that are similar to the resistance of women when they construct men as ‘lacking’ emotional skills and being ‘emotionally vulnerable and full of doubt’ (Frith and Kitzinger, 1998:311). Women thereby construct themselves as stronger and more knowledgeable (Frith and Kitzinger, 1998:312). While this form of conceptualisation need not be viewed as a myth of the weak and the meek and could instead be viewed as an epistemologically subversive view derived from the epistemic advantage of those that experience conventionally unacceptable emotions (Jaggar, 1987), the INGOs do not engage with this construction of expatriates.

Therefore what is most significant about these emotional encounters is that they construct a binary picture whereby for example National workers are argumentative and Expatriate workers are detached or National workers are technically under qualified and Expatriate workers are culturally under qualified. This form of a binary construction of lack suggests a conflict about epistemological issues such as what constitutes knowledge, how it can best be gained and how it can best be applied. In this sense, these constructions of lack draw from age-old epistemological debates where there are universal theories and socio-cultural theories vehemently proposing opposing views about knowledge. As poststructuralism has become more mundane, questions about the characterization of knowledge are not as revolutionary as they used to be but in professional practice the struggle over superiority of particular knowledges is a critical experience. Together these



processes are consequences of INGO recruitment policies and lead to a situation where 'Expatriates' and 'Nationals' become binary classifications. National workers discuss Expatriate workers as 'lacking' in the qualities that they assume themselves to have in abundance. However, this is also a defensive manoeuvre in regard to the way in which INGOs construct National workers as lacking in skills, qualifications and experience in order to keep them at the lower levels of organizations. Lewis and Simpson (2007:2) caution us to "move beyond the binary divide to consider how men and women draw on emotions and difference to make sense of their reality and to construct their sense of self". In the same way, we need to consider how much National workers draw on difference to affirm their own sense of self. Organizational practices in INGOs aid the splitting (Gabriel, 1998) that is an unconscious psychoanalytic means of dealing with anxiety, both at the level of the individual and at the level of the organization (Menzies Lyth, 1988). Gunaratnam and Lewis propose that 'the development of organizational defences is not simply psychically felt and socially structured in relation to the nature of specific forms of service provision and organizational tasks, but is also socially constructed in relation to histories and structures of social oppression' (2001:136). They therefore propose an understanding of emotion in organizations that addresses 'the mutually constitutive connections between social structures, organizational dynamics, subjectivity and micro-political relations.' (2001:136).

Following this advise, if INGOs were to move toward policies where these categories of National and Expatriate workers were made redundant they might enable a different phase of learning and growth for the organizations. This change in policy would require that INGOs recognise the damage inflicted upon their common purpose because of their conscious or coerced participation in neoliberal aid agendas that continue to defended practices of mixed-race organizations. One participant spoke of his own work as a Manager whereby he sought to minimise the differences between Expatriate workers and National workers and challenge the binary conceptualisation:

*"I have tried to bridge this gap by exposing them (National workers and Expatriate workers) to each other's work ... through interactions, through*

*change of role sometimes, through various other techniques of this kind which help them understand and understand others job conditions and what exactly they do and what kind of work stress they go through, so then they start appreciating (each other).” (Manoj)*

However, this practice was not seen as standard in the disaster sector. Bhabha sought to realize the potential of ‘a third space’ (1988), which is similar to what this particular manager is trying to bring into existence through the encouragement of appreciation of each other by National and Expatriate workers. This is a space where essentialized narratives are questioned and different, transformational possibilities, become imaginable. **The third space** is therefore a hybrid space: “This third space displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom” Bhabha (cited in Huddart 2006: 126). For Bhabha the third space is a very critical space where anti-essentialist and impure practices are normalised and “the inherent originality or purity of cultures are (made) untenable” (Bhabha, 1994/2004:55). Linking the notion of the third space to the kind of organizational practice that Gunaratnam and Lewis (2001) discuss, it is worth speculating whether the third space is a space where interactions are not burdened by the transferences, introjections, projections and splitting that is collectively undertaken within the auspices of colonial discourse.

In INGOs therefore the alignment with categoric terms such as National and Expatriate workers can unleash a politics of identity which exercises a ‘concertive’ (Barker, 1999, cited in Alvesson and Willmott, 2002: 623) form of control that is more coercive and oppressive than bureaucratic, supervisory methods of job regulation. Identity as a concept can be usurped for devious causes “because it is grounded in nothing more compelling than the legitimation of difference, rather than in institutional scripts which give meaning and legitimacy to certain kinds of behaviour more than others’ (Axford (1995), cited in Alvesson and Willmott, 2002:623). While it may seem like quite an accusation to claim that INGOs create identity based struggles in their employees for organizational gains, other researchers have noted that “(f)lexible activation and de-activation of a set of identity elements is increasingly on the agendas of human resource strategists and

developers” (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002:623). Therefore it would be important to acknowledge that “identity regulation is a significant, neglected and increasingly important modality of organizational control” (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002:621).

However, expatriate workers and International Aid workers who have worked as expatriates have written several pertinent memoirs where they have reflected on the inequalities that they have benefited from (for example see *The Despairing Developer*, authored by Timothy Morris, or *Emergency Sex and Other Desperate Measures* authored by Postlewait et al.). In these autobiographical accounts one aspect that stands out is that as the Expatriates length of involvement in the Aid industry grows, so does their ability to problematize organizational practices in this industry. It could be argued that rather than Expatriates being power hungry individuals, INGO policy might mandate that Expatriates move quickly from one location to another, making Expatriates commit to movement rather than attachment. This prevents the formation of the Expatriate’s contextual critical abilities and could also be seen as an extension of the ‘fear of going native’ that characterises colonial conquests:

“The fear of contamination that is at the heart of colonialist discourse, and which results in the menacing ambivalence of mimicry ...is often expressed through a fear among the colonisers of going native, that is, losing their distinctiveness and superior identity by contamination from native practices” (Ashcroft et al, 2007: 142).

In this regard, “the phenomenon of ‘going native’ was recognised, feared, and anatomised from the beginning of the colonial enterprise. The serious problem for the coloniser is the sense that there is no ‘himself’ that he actually ever was or could ever become” (Huddart, 2006:65, use of male pronouns sic!). Going native is often viewed as contamination, and while it could be argued that ‘Europeans who ‘go native’ acquire the capital necessary to enter a different lifestyle’ (Ashcroft, 2001: 42) and this acquisition of cultural capital is seen as a threat to the universal dominance of imperial culture. Therefore ‘going native’ attracted hysteria from imperial society (Ashcroft, 2001).

Expatriates are recruited for short-term projects. This ensures that they do not gain enough contextual knowledge to ask problematic questions from their employing INGOs. Seen in this way, Expatriate workers are also subjected to powerful forces that make them conform to what the organizations benefit from, an uncritical and compliant Expatriate. When privilege is critically engaged with, it can promote a move away from binary conceptualizations (Heron, 2007). Unlearning of privilege (Spivak, 1990:9) does require a persistent working at emotional attachments that creates our experiences of the surfaces of our bodies and challenging the distances in our emotional geographies. Rather than viewing the quick movement of Expatriates as freedom and career-mindedness, it is worth considering that they might be subjected to

“(n)ew forms of control ...(that) involve or solicit a *processing of subjectivity* in order to constitute employees who are not only more ‘adaptable’ but also more capable of moving more rapidly between activities and assignments where they may occupy quite varied subjective orientations or subject positions, especially within self-managing, multi-functional work groups or teams” (Ezzamel and Willmott, 1998, cited in Alvesson and Willmott, 2002:623).

The resultant lack of perspective and grounding can render

“employees more vulnerable to the appeal of corporate identifications, and less inclined to engage in organized forms of resistance that extends their scope for exercising discretion and/or improves their material and symbolic rewards” (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002:623).

Therefore one possible interpretation of the system of having fly-by Expatriates is that it keeps the subjectivity of the Expatriates dependent on corporate identification and therefore makes them less likely to resist organizational practices. Carayannis (1999) discusses the relationship between knowledge and meta-knowledge with regard to knowledge management in organizations and his suggestions indicate that INGOs deliberately engage in strategies of ignorance (Alcoff, 2007) to prevent awareness in Expatriate workers. Carayannis (1999) proposes a grid with four possible relations between knowledge and meta-knowledge:

**Table 6.2: Grid adapted from Carayannis, 1999: Four states of organizational knowledge**

awareness of awareness	ignorance of awareness
awareness of ignorance	ignorance of ignorance

Carayannis (1999) further proposes that for ideal knowledge management in organizations, the movement in the grid should work towards awareness of both ignorance and awareness. He suggests that an organization's interests might be best served using an 'interactivity path' (Carayannis, 1999:228). "The interactivity path is enabled by what we call information socio-technologies and its emphasis is on effectiveness and on tacit as well as tangible inputs and outputs" (Carayannis, 1999:228). Tacit knowledge can be understood as that which is not openly expressed or taught but imbibed through processes of socialization (Wagner and Sternberg, 1985). The use of socio-technologies would involve an appreciation of the tacit knowledge of National workers and as was evident in the narratives of INGOs, National workers' cultural and tacit knowledge is discredited. This is not unusual because formal knowledge often discredits tacit knowledge and it has led to the assertion that "the process of formalizing all knowledge to the exclusion of any tacit knowledge is self-defeating" (Polanyi, 2009:20). INGOs thereby keep themselves confined to the ignorance sections of the grid. This needs to be challenged in INGOs in order to move toward an awareness of both knowledge and ignorance.

In this chapter we have looked at the ways in which emotional encounters in INGOs rehearse colonial encounters. The masculine and racialized construction of

competence was discussed. It was acknowledged that the National workers are constructed as lacking in skills and abilities but in turn, they characterised Expatriate workers and INGOs as lacking in compassion, commitment, cultural knowledge and critical-reflectivity. According to Jaggar (1987), outlaw emotions stand in a dialectic relation with critical social theory and at least some outlaw emotions are necessary to develop a critical perspective on the world (Jaggar, 1989:161). National workers therefore seem to exercise their critical perspective in constructing Expatriates as lacking. Further, when constructed as the Other, National workers also opt for different practices of disconnection (Fournier 2002: 69) whereby the Other can be indeterminate. However it was also proposed that the binary construction of INGO employees exerts control on both Expatriate and National workers and is reified by INGO practices. Therefore INGOs engage in identity practices whereby they continue the divide and rule tactics which are at the heart of exclusionary othering. By engaging with racialization, epidermalization, socio-cultural distances and habits of inattention, INGOs might be able to create organizations that move away from colonial continuities. "(I)t is through attending to the multiplicity of the pasts that are never simply *behind* us, through the traces they leave in the encounters we have in the present, that we can open up the promise of the 'not yet'" (Ahmed, 2002:560). Moving away from the binary conceptualizations into the 'third space' (Bhabha, 1994) will require a talking back that is engaged with, a critical reflection of privilege, and then a move forward for emotional encounters in the third space could open up different futures. Critical reflection (Raelin, 2007) is not a panacea in the absence of institutional changes however and changing the frame within which emotional encounters take place will require commitments at the levels of discourse, organizational practices and subjectivities. In the next chapter we examine issues of subjectivity and unpick its complexities in the case of National workers in INGOs. Through exploring the emotion management processes undertaken by National workers we will ascertain whether a commitment to radical transformation and transgressions can be read in their narratives.

## **Chapter Seven- Intrapersonal aspects of emotions in INGOs**

This study has so far examined from a postcolonial perspective, the emotional regime of INGOs and the complex 'emotional encounters' that are rehearsed in the relationships between Expatriate workers and National workers of INGOs. This helped to configure the organizational and interpersonal aspects of emotions in INGOs. The organizational aspects discussed included the operation of a particular rendition of a neoliberal paradigm in INGOs that created an instrumental emotional arena where pecuniary emotions norms were dominant. The interpersonal aspects discussed included recognition that contemporary emotional encounters between Expatriate and National workers are embodied and rehearse the historical encounters that draw from colonial discourse, albeit within a newer frame of neoliberal and postcolonial discourses. The binary constructions of National workers and Expatriates was acknowledged as an organizational practice of INGOs that had potentially negative consequences for organizational functioning as it was associated with the triggering of xenophobic relationships based on national identities. The categories of National workers and Expatriate workers were understood as crucial in sustaining misunderstandings and disengaged spectatorships in the emotional geographies of these worker identities. Ways out of this binary formulation were discussed to underscore the importance of productive critique that works to acknowledge the interlinkages between nationalism, patriarchy and class based analyses and works a way out of the binary construction of National workers and Expatriate workers.

The focus will now shift to the intra-personal aspects of emotion management as practiced by National workers. While emotion management is talked of as an intra-personal phenomenon, it must be noted that intra-personal practices are socially validated and constructed and therefore have a collective resonance. The classic definition of emotion management (Hochschild, 1983) privileges several binaries such as those between the private realm (where emotion work takes place) and those in the public realm (where emotional labour takes place). It also creates a binary distinction in the forms of emotional labour whereby workers could engage in surface acting or deep acting in order to meet corporate directives for emotional

display rules (Hochschild, 1983). Hochschild's (1983) classical theory has been extended and critiqued in useful ways. For example, along with surface acting and deep acting, a juggling between feeling rules (Bolton and Boyd, 2003) has been proposed as another way of conceptualising emotion management at work. Further, research that prioritizes poststructural conceptualisation of emotions and subjectivity has challenged the binary formulations of emotion work/labour, surface/deep acting and fake/real emotion has suggested instead that these binaries are unhelpful and that authenticity is itself a discursive accomplishment (Tracy, 2000). We will engage with these various ideas in exploring the impact of National workers' subjectivities (Hook, 2008; Rose, 1998) in their emotion management.

The chapter begins with a thematic overview of the prevalent feeling rules and display rules whereby the ideal 'emotionally managed' worker is embodied as the Expatriate worker. This particular idealized subjectivity of Expatriate workers is examined in some detail and linked with the instrumental emotional regime of INGOs discussed in Chapter Five, whereby the norms of detachment and suppression in INGOs were seen to be in operation. The ideal 'emotionally managed' Expatriate workers were motivated by INGOs missions and were seen to feel no dilemmas about this motivation. The emotionally controlled Expatriates were privileged in INGOs and this became a primary motivator for National workers to present organizationally required norms. National workers therefore looked at Expatriate workers as the ideal type and were encouraged to mimic them. This mimicry was enabled primarily through organizational discourses about success, emotional intelligence and maturity.

While it was acknowledged that the norms that were associated with Expatriates led to the predominance of anger, frustration and cynicism amongst National workers, they were nonetheless able to participate in different forms of emotion management to conform to organizational feeling and display rules. This participation was crucial in enabling them to continue to be present in, rather than be weeded out from INGOs. At the same time however, the narratives suggest that National workers also managed to resist some pecuniary feeling rules of INGOs by



drawing on counter discourses about success in organizations, emotional intelligence and maturity - the very phenomena that were also the subject of organizational discourses. This chapter therefore proposes that the tactics for minority groups, engaging with white institutional spaces (Ahmed, 2007) involve complex strategies that cannot be simplistically seen either as conformity or as resistance. These tactics enable the participation of stigmatised bodies while being 'space invaders' (Puwar, 2004) but also require a veneer of conformity. Conformity and resistance in emotion management are then seen as being in a 'both/and' relationship rather than an 'either/or' one.

The 'emotion management' of National workers and can be best understood using an embodied approach (Shildrick and Price, 1998) that can accommodate the classical as well as the poststructural engagements with emotion management. There are strongly argued research articles that lament the lack of an embodied approach to emotion management (Tyler, 2009; Knights and Thanem, 2005) and a postcolonial analysis of emotion management will help us address this oversight. Consequently, in this chapter, it is argued that the 'surface acting' and 'deep acting' (Hochschild, 1983) as well as 'technologies of the self' (Foucault's conceptualisation used by Tracy, 2000) can be understood as congruently linked with postcolonial concepts of mimicry, hybridity and sly-civility.

### ***Emotion norms in INGOs:***

The research participants suggested that the dominant construction of emotion in INGOs was that it was seen as destructive as it made people reactive, impulsive and impractical. It also made people prone to outbursts and was therefore risky and dangerous in organizations. In this context, the National workers demonstrated a keen awareness and knowledge of emotion norms. This awareness was an outcome of organizational training as well as informal socialization and feedback in organizations and was generally acknowledged in all the narratives. In the excerpt below we get a sense of how the developing professional is subjected to constant surveillance, not only by managers but also by peers and by employees lower

down in their organizational hierarchy because they are constantly observing each other:

*“... Your every moment and your every step is being observed and it is the subject of (potential) feedback”.* (Suleikha)

The norms included being polished and diplomatic in organizational dealings and not being expressive about their emotions. The overwhelming story about the norms of emotion management was one of suppression. Being diplomatic, being professional and being controlled, robotic and machine-like in their persona are all highlighted as the expected ways of being professional in the field and operating in the organization and several National workers who participated in this research reflected this in their narratives:

*“One of the key characteristics of this typical professional conduct that we have is that we are groomed ... to be more adaptive...accommodating and less expressive of ourselves, emotionally...(our)conduct...is largely determined by what we're going to feedback about each other.”*(Rishabh)

Emotion management is therefore constructed as a suppression of emotion at work. It has been noted that “aspects of work that can be textually represented as congruent with idealized masculinity will be considered “real” work and those that are associated with idealized femininity will not” (Fletcher, cited in Lewis, 2008:S133). Emotion management has also been masculinised in a similar vein, and those aspects of emotion work that are congruent with idealized masculinity such as emotional control and suppression are seen as work and those associated with idealized femininity, such as expression are seen as irrelevant ways of being ‘at work’. Emotionally managed performances have therefore been made synonymous with emotionally controlled performances. However, expressing emotions also requires work. In fact it is recognised that emotional expression is required in challenging the exclusions encountered at work (Mirchandani, 2003). When the norms of INGOs prioritize emotional control and suppression, they also prevent the contestation of exclusions through emotional expressions. As a consequence, INGOs construct expression of emotions as non-normative and

emotional expressions lose the potential to pose a normative challenge to the kinds of organizational exclusions which were discussed in the previous chapter. As a result of this masculinisation of emotion management, communicating anger, cynicism and frustration are made emotionally deviant (Thoits, 1990) responses in organizations. All challenges therefore get equated with dissent. This phenomenon has been noted in civil society and it has been proposed that because contemporary

“civic order is based on muted affect - that is, on the containment of emotionality, and especially negative emotions, to private life and its institutions of family, church, clinic and television, then emotional display can become a mode of dissent” (Hariman and Lucaites, 2001:6).

This disempowerment of emotional expression within INGOs can be understood within the context of the debate between Habermas (1985) and Seyla Benhabib (1992a) around the (im)possibility of communicative rationality. While Habermas (1985) asserts that rational discussion that is disinterested will help consensual decision making in the public sphere and could lead the way forward for participatory decision making, Benhabib’s critique (1992a, 1992b) reminds us that rationality itself could be the prerogative of those that are already privileged and could be seen as a gendered and racialized category that is ascribed to masculine and white bodies in the public sphere. This and other criticisms of rationality in the public sphere, turns conceptions of rationality into what is responsible for

“systematically marginalizing the voices of women and non-Western persons... women and non-Western persons more readily - than white, middle class men - employ aesthetic-affective speaking styles; their “speech culture” tends to be “more excited and embodied, more valuing the expression of emotions, the use of figurative language, modulation in tone of voice, and wide gesture.” In contrast, white, middle class men's "speech culture" tends to be "more controlled, without significant gesture and expression of emotion," which means such persons are generally more at ease with the didactic, disembodied, confrontational style that, according to critics, is privileged by Habermas” (Dahlberg, 2005:114).

Making ‘rationality’ the basis for discussions in organizations prioritizes the habitus (Bourdieu, 1985) of the privileged in a similar way, and therefore makes

participation in organizational spaces an uneven rather than an equal process for those identified as 'different'. INGOs circulate emotional control as the ideal and normative way of being. This circulation is a discursive achievement that is made possible through the shaping of the discourse of professionalization. Professionalism in INGOs has been constructed as an amalgamation of maturity, organizational success and emotional intelligence. Further, Expatriates have been constructed as the ideal professionals. Together these two notions foster emotional suppression by National workers. We will examine both of these constructions in some detail.

### ***Professionalism:***

As discussed in Chapter Five, professionalization is a regulatory factor in the instrumental emotional arena of INGOs. When it comes to exploring emotion management by National workers, professionalism emerges in the narratives as a strong shared concern. Professionalism is associated with diplomacy, emotional suppression and control and is constructed in opposition to the acts of 'speaking out' or expressing emotions, which in turn are categorised as comprising dangerous and unprofessional conduct. The National workers are encouraged to exercise emotional control through professional norms that prioritize the masculine dimensions of emotional control and suppression. To ignore their emotional/value based responses to organizational decisions then emerges as the only way to be a good professional for National workers.

In order to operate in this organizational reality, a diplomatic and polished appearance was constructed as the basic requirement from professionals and this then also served as peer-based control for the polishing of other employees' behaviours. This was prevalent in most of the narratives. Polished behaviours and diplomacy were understood in similar ways, involving some amount of deceit and lying as well as compromising with and rationalizing with oneself:

*"Headco is an organization where several levels of "polishing" take place... Polished in terms of your diplomatic skills, the way you handle (and) conduct yourself ...Polishing means that you do not do things that are naturally natural*

*to you ... and you pick up certain cultural values and social habits which are suitable to the community of your organization with whom you work... because you get money from those people to whom you have to give accounts, you have to be professional.” (Rishabh)*

We see from the excerpt above that the INGOs are constructed as culturally dissimilar to National worker’s culture and the ‘polishing’ that National workers have to commit themselves to enables them to participate in this dissimilar environment, making them similar to the culturally dissimilar Expatriates. One research participant explained what ‘polishing’ oneself meant:

*“Polishing means that you over a period of time, you gradually make up your mind in such a way, to get rid of certain ways which are naturally natural to you and say certain things, or do not say certain things, hide certain things, and understand and that only certain aspects are acceptable in the organization and you stick only to those kind of things and you pick up certain cultural values and social habits which are suitable to the community of your organization with whom you work. ... Contradictions are accepted in this polishing process.” (Rishabh)*

This excerpt suggests that the notion of space invaders (Puwar, 2004) is of relevance to understanding the emotion management of National workers. INGO spaces are conceptualised in the narratives as ‘white’ (see Ahmed, 2007) and culturally western. However, this control is not achieved in a top down manner; rather it is achieved by feedback from all colleagues. Shaping of emotional performances is not accomplished entirely in a top-down manner; rather, it is a discursive accomplishment (Tracy, 2000). Power is exercised through the constitution of National workers subjectivities as professionals. This is an extremely instructive deployment of power through informing the development of self and subjectivity (Foucault, 1988; McKinlay and Starkey, 1998). The organizations exercise power through their construction of the ‘professional’ whereby being disengaged from emotions becomes an organizationally worthwhile endeavour and being emotionally expressive becomes an employee’s individual problem. This disengagement from emotions is a requirement of INGOs as neoliberal work spheres and is highly congruent with other settings where the impact of neoliberalism on emotionality has been examined:

“(I)n neoliberalism we are able to put aside emotional responses ... and to respond in dispassionate ways... emotions are displaced from the realm of the social and the human ... by processes of commodification...In these ways, the space for emotions in politics shrinks and it becomes less acceptable for people to express their emotions as the basis for engaging politics and social life. (This leads to the) the normalization of the idea that emotions ought to be contained (Philipose 2007: 68-69, brackets mine).

Professionalism also meant becoming ‘tools’ for the organization and becoming subjected to constant feedback pressures that led to creation of professional selves that were controlled and not expressive of their emotions. This was discussed by a few of the research participants:

*“So the relationship between employees is not a relationship between two human beings, it is a relationship between two tools of an organization.”*  
(Rishabh)

The use of the metaphor of employees turning into ‘tools’ fits well within an ‘instrumental’ emotion regime and also suggests that there is a mechanization of emotions. The mechanization of emotions has been discussed as part of the ‘rational control of emotional life’ (Mestrovic, 1997, p. 162) which is a neoliberal inclination.

“Neoliberalism, with its foundations in colonial knowledge, conspires to support empire in numerous ways...(mainly by turning us into )...a population which cannot move unless personally affected, and which cannot be personally affected by the suffering and pain of others” (Philipose, 2007:74).

Further, the truncated way in which managerialist ideas have been enforced onto the management of INGOs (Dar and Cooke, 2007) has engendered “the turning of human relations into a thing” (Ana, 2009:123). In this mechanised context ‘managing emotions’ by becoming disinvested from the pain and suffering of others becomes a priority for National disaster workers and for INGOs. If National workers were to stop being political and stop feeling for their value commitments, they could be turned into ‘tools’ to achieve organizational ends without feeling subjected or oppressed. Their sole commitment would be toward their individual gains, and collective identities and compassionate engagement with causes such as ‘poverty’

would become irrelevant. Crucially this political emotion that National workers are encouraged to rid themselves of are linked with feeling compassion for the 'beneficiaries' or feeling emotional involvement in the causes linked with the 'beneficiaries'. Being aligned to values and committed to beneficiaries was seen as a sign of rigidity and was therefore not desirable in professionals working in disasters. Professionalism therefore meant polishing oneself to become flexible. In this way, negative emotions such as anger, frustration and cynicism have also been co-opted by neoliberal practices. Ana (2009) discusses the political-economic analysis of race and emotion and suggests that "negative emotions such as anxiety and anger are actually necessary to the operation of global business." This is because

"(c)ontemporary business cultures work intimately with negative feelings, harnessing, appropriating, and then neutralizing them for the advance of capital production ...Global businesses turn (the negative feelings of disaffection and cynicism) into professional ideals of flexibility for a contemporary working environment in which sudden and unpredictable changes are the norm" (Ana, 2009:110).

This analysis leads Ana (2009) to conclude that negative feelings are "important to neutralize opposition and maintain the status quo in capitalist society inasmuch as they articulate the criticism of it" (Ana, 2009:111). Through associating professionalism with polish and flexibility, National workers are encouraged to be free of friction, and neutralize the potential of their negative emotions. This need to be free of friction was linked to the need for polished existence in INGOs and was present in several of the narratives:

*"You do not need to state much of your values or your emotions ... you have to be as naive, as apolitical, as compromising is possible ... because if you value dominates ... you are believed to be a very rigid person. ...(you) will not take the organization ahead."* (Ajeet)

Emotions could then be turned into a commodity and used as resources for organizational gains (see Mestrovic, 1997; Philipose, 2007), which would then also lead to employee success in climbing organizational hierarchies. Lack of strong value commitments was then constructed as an employee's quality that was in

tune with the professionalization and corporatization agenda of INGOs. Some National workers imbibed the ideas of professionalism as detachment. This meant that as professionals, National workers were encouraged to develop a detached approach to their work, something that many National workers discussed in their narratives.

*“We have been consistently told by our institutions, by our colleges and latently told by our organizations, not directly, that emotionally connecting to your work is foolishness. You have been given certain objectives to fulfil in three years. Do it and move on. That’s it!” (Rishabh)*

This necessitated a lack of attachment to the projects being worked upon, and the observance of a naïve and apolitical professionalism. National workers constructed the ideal professional for INGOs as those that are capable of flexible decision rather than rigid commitments to well-defined value systems. However, this was not seen as an easy accomplishment. In this context, many National workers struggled with their value commitments and one research participant reflected that:

*“a lot of rationalization and compromising with yourself in involved.” (Hemant)*

Therefore the organizational emotion norms had an impact on the self of National workers; they had to engage in compromising and rationalizing with themselves, and in this way were involved in their ‘strategized self-subordination’ (Tracy, 2000). Strong attachments to a cause were constructed as a grandiosity that was untenable in the corporatized and project based mode of working of INGOs where funding rather than attachments to a cause was the main motivator. Some National workers were able to stop feeling aligned to a cause and align themselves with organizational motives instead:

*“Yeah think from head not from heart, heart means you know what right or wrong but what head will say is practical reality, you want to survive you have to (think with your head).” (Subhash)*

While neoliberalism as an economic ideology and as a moral position allows for a variety of engagements with the real world, neoliberal ideas, as applied in



developing countries, are often operationalised in ways that have been heavily criticised by social theorists (Chomsky, 1999; Giroux, 2003). In these instances of selectively employing aspects of neoliberal practices in truncated ways, what is compassionate is often eschewed from the realm of concern because maximum competitive edge for the success of the INGO is what is construed as good. While the instrumental suppression of value commitment and control of emotions was linked to organizational success, it was therefore also linked to the dominance of those values that could lead to corrupt practices in INGOs. This is one example of the potential negative impact of instrumental emotional arenas. This helped employees justify immoral actions in the name of meeting targets (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999).

*“I don’t go by the moralistic principle .... My only thing is to get the job done because it’s for the community, that’s the end ...So when I say 10% lie, for the benefit of 90% of the people, I think that’s acceptable.”(Binoy)*

Rationalizations and compromising with the self and disregarding certain moral principles in favour of meeting donor-driven targets, were constructed as professionally required and emotionally intelligent responses given the organizational realities. Emotional intelligence often appeared in the narratives, but in an interesting twist, it was talked about as an absence, as ‘emotional foolishness’. This often meant that National workers had to think of themselves as emotionally detached individuals rather than feel a sense of bonding with any community. This is a neoliberal discursive tool and deserves further unpacking. In this context it is important to recognise that neoliberalism employs discourses of race in ways that continue, as well as fragment away from, the use of racializing discourses in colonialism (Giroux, 2003, 2005; Roberts and Mahtani, 2010). In this sense it is a neoliberal achievement that “one can only imagine public issues as private concerns” (Giroux, 2003:194). Neoliberalism can then be associated with the generative potential of racism that “works hard to remove issues of power and equity from broader social concerns. Ultimately, it imagines human agency as simply a matter of individualised choices” (Giroux, 2003:194).

## ***Emotional intelligence:***

When National workers were not able to restrain their expressiveness, they were considered to be the opposite of being emotionally intelligent. The term that was often used in the narratives was of being an 'emotional fool'. Those National workers who were transparent about their emotions and chose to express them were thought of as emotionally foolish. It is well recognised that "those who argue in an emotional, vibrant, physically expressive way or who make appeals from the heart and personal experience are easily discredited and readily excluded from defining the terms of the debate" (Arnault, 1989:201, cited in Knights and Thanem, 2005, :39). This was part of the practice of INGOs and led to lack of engagement with emotional arguments even when they were extremely pertinent and relevant. This led to the notion that it was foolish to express emotions. Emotional expression was seen as an individual's failure to be professional and various ways of formal and informal feedback were also institutionalised as organizational practices in order to prevent emotional displays. This was discussed by a few of the National workers in a detailed way:

*"I got the feedback that when I get angry even if I don't want to show my anger, my facial expression (will) reveal my emotion." (Suleikha)*

The use of feedback then served as a way of controlling the expression of emotional fools by making their transparency something that they had to get rid of:

*So, I get pretty emotional (and people often say) you are just being a fool, why do you want to get passionate about these things because it's not that you are fighting for your thing, you are fighting for something else. You know, an ideology or a principal or something, how does it help?... you are less professional if you became emotional...when I walked out (of a meeting), the larger group thought of it as one individual's emotional reaction and that the person couldn't deal with it in a professional way." (Anita)*

Being an emotional fool was understood as being unprofessional because the perusal of emotional attachments meant that the workers were considered weak and inappropriate for professional work. In some ways, emotional fools were also branded emotional and therefore this is a continuation of the strand of being

branded and categorised as emotional, an aspect that was mentioned in some of the narratives:

*“The perception about emotional fool is someone who cannot hide feelings, second, (they) cannot understand the boss is right in an organizational situation (both laugh), and the third, they feel attached to the work they are doing.”* (Rishabh)

Emotional fools were very transparent and were unable to hide what they ‘genuinely’ felt and there are organizational pressures to not be emotionally foolish. Concerned colleagues as well as those interested in surveillance and feedback were both involved in encouraging National worker to give up their emotional foolishness. It was seen as irrelevant because it was an indication of value commitments that had to be sacrificed in honour of professional commitments. Emotional fools also risked being moved away from projects, which then meant that fear, was also a discursive reality that made National workers conform to organizational requirements, as one research participants acknowledged:

*“I’ve always been somebody was fought a lot...and... that has actually lead to me being asked to leave Orissa because I did an evaluation and the country director asked for it to become a confidential report and I had to fight with him (against this decision) so he transferred me out of there.”* (Nisha)

The construct of an ‘emotional fool’ stood opposed to typical professional conduct as well as to emotional intelligence. While being emotionally foolish could therefore be seen as a chosen strategy against professionalism, it was often talked about as an ‘authentic’ and transparent way of being, and therefore something that one had to train oneself out of as part of being socialized into organizational roles. In this sense some of the National workers did ‘own’ the discourse about them being emotional as something essential about them. However, they were socialized into normalizing emotional dissonance by the informal and formal INGO practices whereby they were encouraged to not display their feeling, if they were not able to prevent themselves from feeling value commitments. Professionals on the other hand were understood as those who were capable of ‘*dumping emotions*’ or being ‘*emotional robots*’, in the words of the research participants. Professional conduct was organizationally required and therefore consciously adorned and was

something that one had to train oneself in to, and authentic expressions were seen as something to be cast away, something that one had to train oneself out of. The construction of a professional therefore involved an investment in thickening the skin of the worker, and getting rid of transparent emotionality. This can also be linked to the notion of polishing oneself and was mentioned in a few narratives:

*“You have to develop toughness, some thick skin or you will burn out.”  
(Satya)*

Therefore toughness and thick skin were required in order to meet the normative expectations about organizational emotionality. Socialization into these experiences over time led to what was some research participants talked about as ‘being jaded’ but this developing ‘thick skin’ and ‘toughness’ was also linked to ideals about maturity.

### ***Individual maturity:***

‘Normal’ individual and organizational success was seen to be constructed around the ability to engage in behaviours that were not emotional. Emotional behaviour was considered by some National workers as a form of organizational adolescence, something that is natural when new to organizations but something that changes through socialization in organizations:

*“When you are young you try to...and you want to say a lot of things, you are quite passionate...(what I have learnt from people over time is that even if they have a very forceful point, they kind of stay poised” (Indira)*

It is important to recall in this context that Nandy (1983) indicated that there were homologies between childhood and those that were colonized. Therefore the emotionally expressive behaviour of National workers was understood as ‘adolescent and childish’ and was then something that workers would grow up and get rid of. The organizational processes such as a narrowing organizational hierarchy ensured that the adolescent and passionate behaviours of new recruits were sacrificed in favour of ‘mature’ behaviours:

*“When you are younger...it is like a pyramid you know, ... as you start ageing you go to higher positions, it becomes like this (narrowing the pyramid with his hands) and there are not so many opportunities...When I was young I took risks lots of risks, you know, I think in my first two years I changed four jobs (laughs)... but as you age your behaviour changes of course. You become more mature. So one ... becomes a...Professional.... (and stops) openly confronting (problematic) situations.” (Gagan)*

Individual maturity and progress in the organizational hierarchy therefore often went hand in hand, thereby ensuring that there were organizational gains for National workers who had become mature. This served as a positive reinforcement for National workers to control their emotional expressions. Some descriptions of National workers pertained to organizational hierarchy per se and a flavour of these can be ascertained from the extracts below:

*“When I was merely an aid worker in a field... in some cases I could have confronted decisions more directly, in a more straight forward manner.” (Rajesh)*

Field work and the passion can be part of it is constructed as ‘madness’, a fiery obsession that one recovers from as s/he moves up the organizational hierarchy:

*“I used to be mad, used to work with the poor...used to feel like crying and had a fiery obsession but....in life if you want to get more importance, then ....you have to be articulate and polished so that people listen to you...I used to be a field worker but now I am a professional....being a senior member of the team.” (Kashif)*

The requirement for being apolitical was also present in rising up the organizational chart:

*“The team leader has to be tough and a little apolitical.” (Binoy)*

Further, the lived reality of becoming a team leader or moving from the field to management was seen as one that ensured that professionals began to feel less frustrated by organizational practices. This was seen as the result of a gradual adaptation to organizational emotionality and was mentioned in several narratives albeit in different ways:

*“I found it actually a lot harder to express my emotions in the tsunami than the cyclone, which was my first experience. This was because I was working as a team leader in the tsunami .... .. it may be possible, (sighs), that I wasn't as frustrated because I was already a little jaded by the time I got to the tsunami, and I knew what to expect from the international staff.... that's the problem with moving from the field to management.” (Nisha)*

Emotional conduct was therefore subjected to several norms that were monitored formally and informally in INGOs. This produced a disciplined organizational emotionality, one that was well suited to the instrumental emotional arena that was described in Chapter Five. This disciplining had implications for the National workers in terms of their values about work, approach to work and appearance at work. Together this created an ideal worker who was not committed to a compassionate value system and not interested in any social causes so that the only interest that was being worked toward was what was organizationally prescribed - the ideal professional was adaptive, flexible, compromising, diplomatic and polished so that s/he could be instrumental, cool and calculating in order to lead to organizationally desired actions. Discourses about professionalism, maturity and success coincided to promote emotional suppression and the weeding out of emotional foolishness from National workers.

Despite the lowly assessment of maturity and professionalism, National workers performed these attributes in order to keep their jobs. They experienced this as a compromise, felt jagged, and were forced to choose their battles, be less proactive, take fewer risks and be passive. Youthful behaviour involved being angry, immature, reckless and taking risks. Loss of youthful qualities could in fact be an outcome of continuous struggles with an organizational set up that is slow to change. All of this takes place within a neo-liberal context where consumerism is crucial in informing subjectivities. In fact it has been argued that “shared cultures of consumerism” (hooks, 2000, cited in Ana, 2009) promote a desire for lifestyles that are based on consumption, which in turn “limits the political diversity of minorities to express dissent and criticism” (Ana, 2009: 112).

The elision of a link between values and action is made possible when emotions are disregarded. Emotion helps us articulate our “own point of view on the world” (Hochschild, 1983:17; also cited in Ana, 2009) but:

“the commercialization of human feeling in consumerism may render irrelevant critical feelings of political struggle and dissent of minority people. In consumer capitalism where corporations manage and commodify human feeling, emotions of resistance and critical thought that express a collective sense of history and alliance (become scarce)” (Ana, 2009:113).

It could then be said that “consumerism offers prepackaged emotions of comfort and security at the expense of critical thought” (Hochschild, 1983:113). This kind of a dilemma between comfort and critique was discussed in many of the narratives and is expressed quite clearly in the excerpt that states:

*“My conscience tells me that you haven’t achieved your purpose but my intelligence tells me to forget it and move on. This is how we take decisions all the time.” (Rishabh)*

Linking very clearly with the capitalistic interdictions of our lives, critical thought is sacrificed for consumer comforts and one National worker directly discussed the interference of expenses in human relationships:

*“And your EMIs (Estimated Monthly Instalments) drive your life so much, whether it is your house, your car or anything...I think there is hardly anything left of your own self and when relationship become so standardised and become about meeting expenses then it ceases to be human relationships and with the uncertainty in our careers, there is an element of uncertainty in our relationships and people might be suffering about it but --- they suffer very silently.” (Anjuman)*

Participating in the comforts of consumerism either within the organizational spaces, or because of a bigger pay packet enables a disengagement from emotional expressions by informing how subjectivity is constituted. This is well recognised by postcolonial scholars as is stated by Mbembe (2004):

“A defining moment of metropolitan modernity is realized when the two spheres rely upon purely functional relations among people and things and

subjectivity takes the form of calculation and abstraction. One such moment is epitomized by the instrumentality that labor acquires the production, circulation, and reproduction of capital. Another moment is to be found in the way that the circulation of goods and commodities, as well as the constant process of buying and selling, results in the liquidation of tradition and its substitution by a culture of indifference and restlessness that nourishes self stylization. Yet another is to be found in the ways that luxury, pleasure, consumption, and other stimuli are said to affect the sensory foundations of mental life and the central role they play in the process of subject formation in general” (Mbembe, 2004:373-374).

The consuming subject is then less likely to give up indifference. Another critical awareness of this is also evident in the excerpt below:

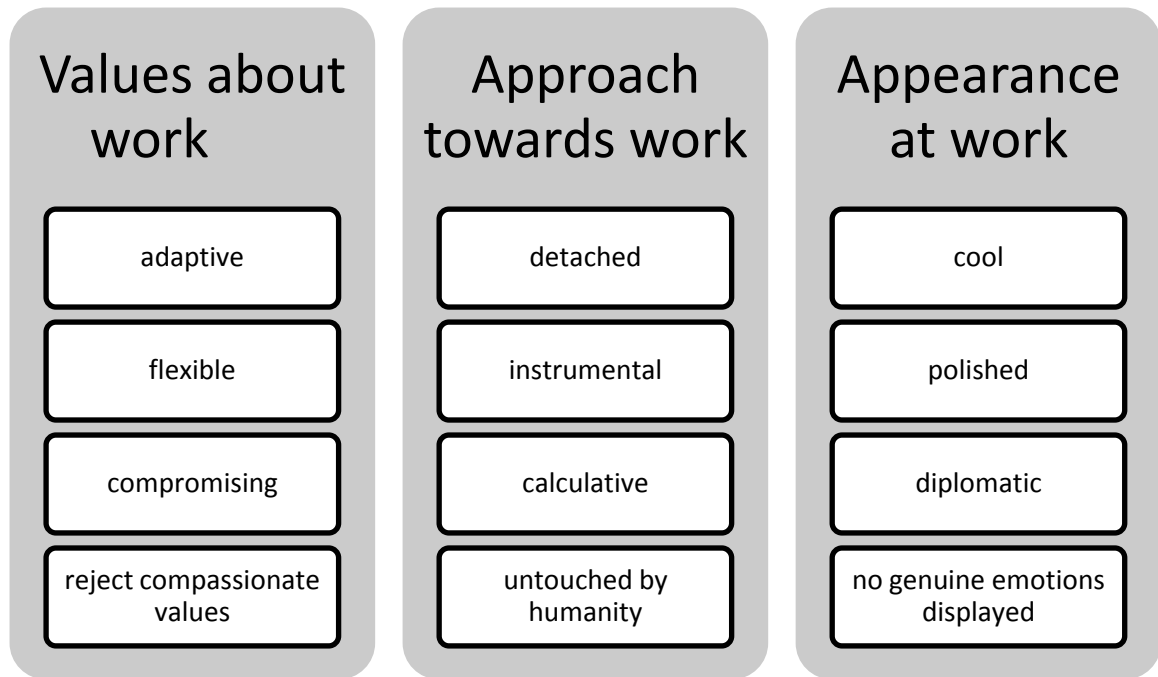
*“These organizations do not force you to move out of mediocrity...We are disabled because of the clean toilets and good gardens, it disables you. That comfort zone, you lose your ability to react.” (Hemant)*

This professional who was not committed to any rigid values of their own and not committed to their ‘work’, worked up the organizational spine quickly as success was achievable if professionals presented this persona. Those that were attached to their work were ‘weeded out’ on the other hand as expressed in a related excerpt from another National worker:

*“these organizations have weeded out people whom they have considered regional satires, emotional fools, highly activist oriented, responding to ... everything in the world, not really efficient in time management, (to make ) us look healthy, slim, efficient and systematic and tell stories very efficiently and raise more funds... So what we have left are highly trained, systematic and disciplined people with fat earnings.” (Rishabh)*

The ideal professional could then be seen as composed of the following sets of characteristic with regard to values about, approach toward and appearance at, work.





**Figure 7.1: Emotional Conduct in INGOs**

Success was therefore “attributed to thriftiness and entrepreneurial genius, while those who do not succeed” in developing an entrepreneurial self were considered “utterly expendable” (Giroux, 2003: 195). It was therefore a difficult environment for those National workers who had attachments to causes, who were activist oriented and who expressed their emotions. The risk was that of being ‘weeded out’. Along with these discourse that shaped National worker subjectivities, the Expatriate was fore-grounded as the embodiment of an emotionally normative employee. Those National workers who did not have financial pressures or who managed to adopt different discourses around consumerism were able to continue to be emotionally engaged but had to struggle because they were subjected to extra surveillance, as specifically discussed in some detail by a few research participants, one of whom is discussed in some detail below:

*“I have not done that in my career. That’s why I have always stayed on the tenterhooks, but many of my colleagues have done it. .. Every now and then I will be questioned. Then any, any proposal, any new idea I will suggest, it will be ignored even if it can be a very powerful and very superior idea and all that, you would have felt very happy if that could have been agreed and all that just because I have opposed and I have not towed the line, so many creative ideas were ignored.” (Swagato)*

For Swagato, the ability to stay on tenterhooks came because of financial security and so here is again a way in which capitalism and employment inform the choices that National workers have in deriving their own selfhood. All of this signals the continuing importance of race, class and gender in neoliberal organizational arrangements because neoliberalism alters the forms of racialization by associating exclusions to consumer behaviours (see Roberts and Mahtani, 2010). Therefore there was an intra-subjective repetition of the expulsion of emotional fools from INGOs whereby the professional expelled emotionally foolish ways of behaving from their subjective persona at work. This was the result of the deployment of the instrumental emotion regime at a micro-political level.

### **Ideal Emotionally Managed Employee- the Expatriate:**

While National workers had several motivating factors that impacted on their emotional performances by controlling their subjectivity and creating in them a desire to be good professionals, there were also other motivating factors. One crucial motivation was around the desire to emulate the Expatriate worker because the Expatriates were promoted as ideal INGO professionals. They did not have the same emotional dilemmas, were more attuned with organizational requirements and more likely to succeed in INGOs. Therefore the Expatriate employees embody the ideal emotionally controlled professional. The figure of the white and masculine Expatriate worker emerges as a discursive presence (see Kothari, 2005) that others need to aspire to become. It must be acknowledged that “in western philosophical traditions, especially those of the modern European colonial period, whiteness, as well as masculinity, is in part defined as the capacity to hide or control one’s emotions” (Philipose, 2007:66). The capacity to hide or control emotions has been constructed as a white, masculine trait and emotion management therefore shares the discursive manoeuvres of other dichotomous and binary racialized/gendered societal practices.

Therefore, while the National workers embodied what was cast out (Czarniawska and Hopfl, 2002) and Othered (Fournier, 2002), the Expatriate workers were constructed as embodying the emotion norms that the INGOs required for in their instrumental emotional arenas. They were talked of as being professional and

detached, not invested in creating any change but interested in success and the growth of the organization in several narratives.

*“If you are very concerned about (your work) ... it creates (problems) because (Expatriates) who are doing (the work)... are not concerned about it, they are just fulfilling the job, they are not concerned (about causes) like poverty alleviation...(they) want to run the programme...” (Binoy)*

The Expatriates workers who ran the programmes in a detached way became the benchmark for National workers. The presence of Expatriates in disaster interventions could then be seen as leading to the creation of the desire in National workers to become expatriates. Despite disliking and critiquing the model of expatriation in operation in INGO, National workers recognised them to embody what was desired by the INGOs and what would constitute success. This invited the complicity of National workers in a set of operations that would otherwise have been critiqued by national workers. This desire for expatriate jobs could be seen to be at the base of a self-perpetuating cycle of inequality in INGOs. The presence of this desire is an indication of how construction of subjectivity involves domination (Rose, 1998; Hook, 2008).

This desire to be an expatriate worker could be understood as an achievement of discursive formations that draw on (post)colonial strategies of stereotype, mimicry and ambivalence. As discussed in Chapter Six, there are, for example, several stereotypes about ‘national’ workers. They are constructed as being poor in their English usage, in need of ‘training’, lacking in ‘trust’, ‘efficiency’ and other such constructions where their ‘lack’ is emphasised. As Barbara Heron (2007) proposes, this kind of conceptualisation is important “(f)or the “superiority” of the white middle-class subjects, which has to continually be affirmed (and) is intrinsically connected to what they/we know and Others do not” (Heron, 2007:34, brackets mine). As part of this affirmation, a corresponding stereotype exists about expatriates. Expatriates are promoted as different from National workers in their skills and their attitudes and this difference is ‘materialised’ in their embodiment of whiteness and their differential salary structure. Maturity is ascribed to the bodies of Expatriate workers, as is success, expertise and emotional control. There is also

the production of the 'entitlement and obligation to intervene' (Heron, 2007:36) which informs the subjectivity of expatriate workers. Further, Expatriates have a good fit with organizational mission statements. Mission statements are part of secular organizational but in colonial India the prominent missionaries were the ones that sought to spread the religion of Christianity. Missions then have a postcolonial significance (Ashforth and Griffiths, 2007) because they were part and parcel of the colonial apparatus. Given that engagement in altruistic activities in the developmental south is seen as part and parcel of the of bourgeois subject formation, and also the kind of innocent history of empire that expatriates are socialised into (Heron, 2007), organizational mission statements are not seen as problematic by Expatriate workers. The expatriates are seen as unproblematically aligned with the mission of the organization and this was also expressed in several narratives.

*"See, expats are a different kind of ... I must say there is no value attached to this ... but the expats, the way you socialise, most of the expats they carry out the organizational mission. .. you know the orgazisation, what they believe is most important."* (Ajeet)

Contrasted with this understanding of the expatriate's commitment to organizational missions, national workers offered several instances whereby their personal motivations depart from the organization's missions. This is made evident in the following account:

Suleikha shares a difficult incident where she has to refuse help to an old lady in a disaster site. She says,

*"I felt like the organization's boundary and your... I mean your personal commitment or personal conscience get conflicted with what the organization allows you to do."* (Suleikha)

Therefore National workers feel compelled to rid themselves of their dilemmas in order to achieve 'successes in INGOs. Success is intricately tied to Expatriate jobs, creating a desire in National workers to be Expatriate workers. This option does exist for National workers in INGOs. Border crossings within the INGO sector might

involve Indian workers becoming Expatriates and being sent either to the Western head offices or to other regions in times of disasters. Despite the prevalence of discomfort with the culturally unaware managers that Expatriate workers are deemed to be amongst the National workers (as discussed in some detail in the previous chapter), the excerpt below indicates that Expatriate jobs are very well sought after amongst National workers in INGOs and this was prevalent in the narratives of almost all the research participants:

*“I must tell you, an expatriate’s job is one of the best salaried jobs in international non-governmental jobs, it is a dream job for people to go to other countries as expats and they get the kind of facilities that such organizations can provide, the kind of you know, it’s like a very good job, so everybody aims for that kind of positions. So it matters you know what you write, what you do is perhaps important but what you write is most important. So these are also you know, very emotional issues, when you see that you know there is some kind of hollowness at some level and you do not believe in that value then you are left out, or you feel left out, and these are the many major issues.”*  
(Ajeet)

The desire for expatriate assignments is of crucial importance in keeping National workers complicit in their subordination. The desire to mimic Expatriates is associated with success and brings ‘real’ rewards that enable participation in the growing consumer economy. However, becoming an Expatriate worker continues the post/colonial idea of being ‘almost the same, *but not quite*’ (Bhabha, 1984:319) because most of their international postings are considered ‘regional’ rather than ‘international’. Thus Indian expatriate workers continue to be ‘located’ within regions rather than gain the mobility of those Expatriate professionals from the west who are truly mobile. Further, when Indian workers begin to occupy western spaces, the real dilemma of a ‘comprador’ class (Chakrabarty, 2008:1) becomes clear because there are benefits to be accrued in being located in the West. This dilemma was articulated in some of the narratives and is presented in the excerpt below:

*“And I don’t even know where I belong, am I representing you or them, you know. So it’s a tough one and once you cross the line, then you do not know whether you are going to be loyal to that group or this one...so it’s a tough one. So you continue, you hope that you don’t lose yourself completely in the*

*process of becoming them. And I am just hoping that I have not lost all of it, but there are places where you, you have an advantage because you are on this side and you can raise issues much more effectively. So I am better placed to raise issues on behalf of Indian NGOs.” (Anita)*

Raising issues on behalf of National workers is itself a project that encompasses dissent. Dissent and resistance are therefore also discursively constructed as part of National worker subjectivities and need to be acknowledged as part and parcel of the discourses that construct National workers are the Other. Thus far we have surveyed the narratives to examine how self-subordination and conformity are realized amongst National workers. Although we have examined how practices of disconnection could be used by National workers in a counter-discursive way in the previous chapter, there is more that we can learn about intra-personal struggles for resistance. We will now focus on these aspects of the stories.

### **The resistant potential of being ‘almost the same but not quite’:**

The issues whereby the National workers never really can replace the Expatriate workers and the cultural dilemmas they continue to experience enable National workers to sometimes opt for other forms of resistance. Ironically, the inducement to *not* manage emotions exists for National workers due to the presence of exclusions and emotional misunderstandings (Hargreaves, 2000), the inscribed habits of inattention (Boler, 1999) and other previously discussed inequalities within the INGOs. While Expatriate workers, owing to their race and/or gender may feel ‘ontological complicity’ (Puwar, 2004:131) with the organizational feeling rules and display rules, National workers might ‘feel the weight of the water’ (Bourdieu, cited in Puwar, 2004:131). Freund (1990) draws on Hochschild (1983) to suggest that the invalidation of feelings by terming them irrational is more likely to be inflicted on lower status dramaturgical workers (Freund, 1998) by those that are in power and therefore “the threats to ontological security are greater for those in dependent, subordinate positions” (Freund, 1990: 466). This concept was discussed in the literature review and involves gleaning the expression of dominant actors in situations in order to respond appropriately. Freund (1998) suggests those that are stigmatized have higher levels of dramaturgical stress potentially because the drama unfolds using the habitus (Bourdieu, 1985) defined by the

dominant identities. This idea of dramaturgical stress (Freund, 1988) also lends credit to Puwar's (2004) proposal that organizational directives may be a heavier burden for employees of stigmatised identities. However in an interesting twist employees could resist one set of feeling rules when they conform to another set of feeling rules (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Therefore following Fineman (2003) sometimes failure to conform might lead to positive feelings.

When it comes to INGOs, National workers look upon western norms as imposed norms and when opting for postcolonial tactics of dissent, might challenge these norms by conforming to other norms, and this failure to conform to western impositions might even generate positive feelings. The prevalence of counter-discourses can make it exciting to challenge organizational emotion norms. The postcolonial counter-discourses about emotionality can be further understood by examining the ways in which anti-colonial theorists and activists have denounced western dictates about the right way to be emotional/rational. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon (1968: 12) states, 'I rejected all immunization of the emotions. I wanted to be a man (sic), nothing but a man (sic)' (1968: 113). Fanon as a radical Psychiatrist problematizes the European concept of humanity, claiming instead that those who embrace emotion are those who are authentically human. Fanon's emotionalism and experience of pain is his assurance of his compassion and humane-ness and the basis of his assertion that he will not yield to being rationalized. Fanon retains his 'emotional' link to his humanity and, as such, is able to reach the humanity of others, even of those who connive to obliterate him from the category of human altogether. In this way, Fanon considers emotion and pain as pivotal elements for anti-colonial politics that formed part of his radical psychiatry. Anti-colonial politics in India was a very emotionally alive politics. Gandhi's compassion and the pain and struggle of other heroes of the national struggle are well regarded not only within India but also in other countries that have struggled against colonization and apartheid (for example it is well publicised that Nelson Mandela draws inspiration from Gandhi). The stories of freedom-fighters and their philosophical offerings are used as inspirations in living lives in postcolonial contexts. One important example of this is a series of popular cinema that celebrates 'Gandhigiri' (Gandhian ideology, including forgiveness, non-

violence and passive-resistance) as an approach to living life. Fanon (2004) also goes on to say that when “the whites feel that they have become too mechanized, they turn to the men (sic!) of color (sic!) and ask them for a little human sustenance’ (Fanon 1968: 129). This opinion is also shared by Philipose who states that the “neoliberal, colonial self of the western world is impaired in its ability to focus on one of the best indicators of whether or not we live a collectively good life – our emotional responses” (Philipose, 2007: 74-75). This mechanization which the National workers are expected to subscribe to is therefore a part of a longer colonial legacy. Importantly Fanon claims that the ‘whites’ are already mechanised and Philipose claims that the west has been impaired in its ability to focus on its emotions. Therefore postcolonial theorists and practitioners have at times claimed an oppositional place for emotions in their subjectivity, which helps National workers resist the desire for Expatriate jobs; they have strategically essentialized their subjectivities as emotional.

### **Resisting by not desiring expatriate jobs:**

The National workers talked about Expatriate jobs either to explain why they wanted it, or why they resisted it. Those that specifically resisted it were few in number. Simon, in the excerpt below, talks about border crossings while describing why he has had power over his decisions at work:

*“I never really applied for jobs....So, I don’t really have to bend my head below, you know, to say yes...but of course as you move into age, then of course, and you know, when one is married, then you see other needs coming up. So, that’s where probably I began to feel more strongly, this pressure inside but from the beginning I never wanted to go abroad and work like many Indians would like...because I was one of those who resisted this brain drain from India. I could have made a lot of money but the little you contribute in India will have a lot more effect though you may not make so much money in the bank....except once or twice, I did give myself into so-called temptation and did regional work for two years. So, the salary was better than what I was earning in the national position and it also got me a lot of exposure...but there is envy, and internal religious fundamentalism and that turns me off....” (Simon)*

Swagato also talks about his conscious decision to not become an expatriate:



*“like there was a time when people were (asking me) why I was limiting myself to a national scenario, I must move to international scenario... “You should go to international section”. I said, no, no, no. ... I gave up my overseas assignments ... I want to stay with my children and I don’t want to again take an international assignment and go and get deprived of this and—there are enough interesting venues in India...people know that I am averse to taking international assignment and all that (and yet they put my name forward for an expatriate position). I remember I was in a toilet, that person came and he said, Sir, I am going to tell you something; first you need to assure me that your answer will not be a “no”. I said, how can I decide without knowing what you are going to say? Then he said, I am going to say something to you which is good for you, which is good for the country, which is good for the organization and good for people and therefore you should not say no. Then I said, if all these things are there, I will see, but okay, let me see if I – unless it is very threatening, I will not say no. So then, so this commitment came to from me and when we came out and all of them came together and they said that we are all thinking that you must go to Washington and take this position and do this. I said “No”, right? At least that’s our personal choice...So, sorry, although I said I will not reject your idea, but I am sorry. So, that, what is that? I felt so happy that people value my way of looking at things, value my – otherwise they could not have thought an Indian going and taking an international position like that and, no problem about that, that makes me feel happy.” (Swagato)*

Here Swagato is an Indian, who is seen as a deserving candidate for an international position - this makes him happy, as it is the standard against which employability is judged. Gagan and Simon also speak about their decision to be in India.

*“I deal with people in a very sensitive manner, I have preserved values and I have been Indian, you know as you go along in the journey there are puncture too all the way, but overall I really enjoyed this journey.” (Gagan)*

*“So, that’s why I never really, aggressively fought any case, but overall I have stayed put to look at India as my country to live and contribute.” (Simon)*

Being committed to being in India then becomes resistance and not really of a ‘decaf’ (Contu, 2008) kind. INGOs inculcate and encourage the kind of mimicry that is ‘almost the same, but not quite’ but some national employees do not submit to this idea. In doing so, they also pose a challenge to any singular discourse of capitalism.

*“So I could call a spade a spade and then another reason why I, I have been greatly inspired by persons with whom I have worked in my life fortunately. They have also actioned in that manner and so that inspiration has come and I have seen that by taking a position like that, and it has resulted in good things. So, I always feel that these are good ways. So, these are the two reasons why I have behaved differently about expatriate postings.”(Swagato)*

It appears therefore the professionalism and emotion management become associated with the abilities of the expatriates and the national workers are then driven to mimic these in a Bhabhain sense but this mimicry is very closely associated with hypocrisy and therefore there is great ambivalence in it. Again, while acting as space invaders, national workers in international spaces find that their work practices do not have an ‘international’ currency. There is a constant chase, a constant becoming of almost the same, but not quite. Further, challenge and change become limited due to the very conditions of the job and the ways in which it is evaluated. This is because most National workers only get promoted to ‘regional workers’ rather than international workers. The terms of contract are less generous than the Expatriate package and the mobility is limited to certain geographical regions. These aspects are revisited in some detail later in this chapter.

### **Resisting by refuting organizational constructions of maturity:**

As discussed in an earlier section in this chapter, the growing up within organizations is narrated by National workers as a journey from immaturity to maturity, from anger and passion to a compromising and emotionally suppressed professional. Individual maturity involved not taking too many risks and compromising with self and while it was something that people found themselves doing, they continued to construct it is not entirely positive in its impact on their overall actualisation. Maturity is associated with greater accommodation of neo-liberal norms and values and lack of maturity inscribed onto the bodies of National workers. The journey into maturity is seen as a singular possibility but ironically it is conceptualised by some National workers as a journey into the adoption of negative traits:

*“You know when I was new in the field I was a bit aggressive and quite proactive when I passed out from my masters, I was not taking things lying low, I used to confront situation... and so you are labelled as an immature, young, angry professional.....but...as your responsibilities increase ... you also try behaving like a mature man or a woman. You feel ... it’s good to compromise, you don’t take as many risks, you suppress your emotions,... and when you acquire many of these negative traits, (you show the) world that you are a mature person....(laughs).”(Swagato)*

There were therefore several losses in gaining the negative traits of maturity. Some research participants expressed that this often translated into not taking a stand against decisions, not voicing critical opinions and not being able to exercise decision making based on one’s value commitments.

*“there are times one has to compromise... you do become a little less proactive, you start taking less risks, you do not speak as much in the meetings, you don’t criticize persons in the meeting and obviously, if you have to say something against your Boss, always tell them ten good things ...and then just say...sir or madam...this can also be done like this, this is a great sign of maturity....(laughs)...” (Rajesh)*

Therefore maturity is seen as a form of passive engagement with the world owing to a realization that passivity serves to enable success, and constitutes less risk in organizational interactions. This was also discussed by a few of the National workers, mostly those that had worked in the field for over 10 years:

*“How to change the lives, that is one of the very important issue for me and you are deeply emotional on the issue on the personal front of course but at an organizational level you’re considered to be doing a great job because you’re spending money as per the project, you are giving and keeping good accounts of your expenses, and doing something, of course, no problem with that. So when you see this, your state of existence at these both levels, it is sometimes very difficult to articulate, it is schizophrenic, at the same moment you feel so much about people’s lives and at the same time you are so detached you know, you cannot afford to be attached like that.” (Ajeet)*

Owning of an argumentative or compassionate self as something to take pride in, rather than something to diminish was one way in which ideals of maturity were subjected to counter-discourses.

“Because modern civic order is based on muted affect - that is, on the containment of emotionality, and especially negative emotions, to private life and its institutions of family, church, clinic and television, then emotional display can become a mode of dissent” (Hariman and Lucaites, 2001:6).

Dissent is important to the sustainability of democratic public spheres. Argumentation has been recognised as part of the democratic fabric of India (Sen, 2005) and India is now recognised as the largest successful democracy. Even though this is a controversial construction, given India has several ‘problems’, this discourse is available for National workers to then own their argumentative self with pride and many National workers and almost all the women interviewed shared narratives where they chose to be argumentative:

*“See I am quite an argumentative person right, so I kind of enter the arguments whenever I find there is any kind of issue that is not a not a in congruence with what I am thinking I..I am very open about it.” (Indira)*

Therefore many National workers were able to resist the ideals of civility whereby it was not permitted to express disagreement with those that were dominant in the organizational spaces. Being able to ‘fight’ for one’s value commitments was also seen as something akin to a skill because all organizations needed to be able to fight sometimes. Below is an excerpt that celebrates this ability to be a fighter and indicates that the competitive INGO ecology ensures that there is some discursive space available for those with value commitments:

*“I had a reputation of being a hatchet woman if they wanted me, like if they wanted me to do something like that then they would send me.” (Nisha)*

Further, being radical and argumentative or being able to exercise dissent were all seen as linked to self actualisation, which were understood to be different from western norms about self-actualization and helped a few National workers choose their action strategies:

*“If you understand self-actualisation, not the ideas of the Western scholars, but the Indian philosophers, let us look at Vivekananda for example, it is about being self aware....Being radical is about showing your compassion to*

*others. It is as simple as that. The more you are compassionate and emotional the more you are a better human being.” (Dinesh)*

Therefore conformity to counter discourses was one way of resisting normative and dominant organizational discourses. The requirement of diplomatic appearance that was associated with maturity and whereby workers were encouraged not to express their value commitments or to present a controlled persona was considered hypocritical and problematic. However, as discussed above, being diplomatic was also constructed as the normal way of being for expatriate workers. Here again diplomacy can be construed as a colonial strategy as it is often talked about as a stereotypically British trait. Part of the colonial enterprise and empire was based on the pretences and double play that the colonial officials were able to engage in as part of the divide and rule strategy (Ekeh, 1975). Diplomacy is part of the discourse and practice of colonialism (Eaton, 2004). To further substantiate the links between diplomacy and colonialism, we could consider that ‘Diplomacy’ was the name given to a board-game where different colonial powers could claim the rest of the world. This board-game is now in a new avatar that tries to distance itself from its colonial origins.

Resisting these discursive constructions then meant that National workers could engage in micro resistances against organizational emotion norms. When the forms of resistance are interpreted using postcolonial theory, the resistance to emotion management norms becomes a matter more complex than the simple choice between conformity and dissent. The next section will elaborate on this nuanced notion of postcolonial subjectivity as resistance.

### **Resisting organizational emotion norms by drawing on postcolonial subjectivity:**

"Rules are empty in themselves, violent and unfinalized; they are impersonal and can be bent to any purpose. The successes of history belong to those who are capable of seizing those rules, to replace those who had used them, to disguise themselves so as to pervert them, invert their meaning, and redirect them against those who had initially imposed them so as to overcome the rulers through their own rules" (Foucault, 1977b:151).

Based on the interpretive reading of the narratives it can be argued that the colonial continuities (Heron, 2007) that INGOs engage in set the stage for the creation of certain spaces for the exercise of resistance against organizational demands and expectations where the rehearsal and re-enactment of anti-colonial strategies of resistance. Hochschild (2001) recognised early on that surface acting held resistance potential. Hochschild proposes that

“(o)ne can defy an ideological stance not simply by maintaining an alternative frame on a situation but by maintaining an alternative set of feeling rights and obligations. One can defy an ideological stance by inappropriate affect and by refusing to perform the emotion management necessary to feel what, according to the official frame, it would seem fitting to feel. Deep acting or emotion work, then, can be a form of obeisance to a given ideological stance, lax (surface) emotion management a clue to an ideology collapsed or rejected” (Hochschild, 2001:149).

However the terms used by Hochschild do not lend themselves easily to be used readily in organizational resistance research because while Hochschild sought to critically analyse the sources of alienation of emotion labourers, her research has predominantly been used in furthering ways of preventing alienation by encouraging deep acting, rather than changing organizational contexts (example, see Grandey, 2000). It is therefore well recognised that surface acting has a damaging impact on the employees, causing burn out and stress (Grandey, 2000). For example, surface acting has been seen to have a detrimental impact on burn out and job satisfaction whereas deep acting is seen to have a relatively positive effect on job satisfaction (Zhang & Zhu, 2008). Deep acting on the other hand, is linked to authenticity and has a positive influence on service interactions as it reduces dissonance and leads to positive customer reactions. Deep acting has also been linked to personal accomplishment (Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002) and even calmness and serenity (Zammuner, Lotto and Galli, 2003). Further, deep acting is a skill that can be learnt and imbibed through training on emotion regulation (Grandey, 2000). Surface acting on the other hand leads to lower levels of perceived authenticity. It could also lead to “breaking character due to depleted resources” (Grandey, 2000:94) and leads to higher dissonance and burn-out.

The uncritical way of reading the implications of emotion labour research, whereby the exercise of organizational power over employee subjectivities is not problematised, constructs surface acting as essentially detrimental to employees. These researchers therefore seem to propose that employees should opt for deep acting in order to feel congruence and job satisfaction and prevent individual burn-out. However, when surface acting is reconceptualised as a form of emotional resistance, it becomes amenable to a politicised reading whereby resistance to emotion norms is seen as something that causes stress because organizations resist these resistances and not because those forms of emotion management are essentially poorer forms of emotion management. Therefore those employees who engage in surface acting need to recognise their surface-acting as resistance. This will help them find ways of sustaining and caring for their self to prevent burn-out, rather than merely opting for deep acting in a bid to prevent burn out.

Deep acting, when critically revisited in this way, becomes a neoliberal way of working on the self to feel 'authentic' while enacting corporate emotions whereas surface acting becomes a counter-discursive contest. Authenticity then becomes a contested terrain with different essentializing discourses wishing to appropriate it (Fineman, 2000). When thought of in this way, even though poststructural tenets claim that there is no 'real self', feeling a lack of authenticity when following organizationally required emotions is a useful form of resistance and an exercise in human agency. "Real feelings' may not 'really' be all our own, but we are complicit in developing the illusion. We help create and reproduce the discourses of self and feeling that we then take as real" (Fineman, 2000). It might be useful to think that when dominant discourses are in operation then "the letting go of an illusory sense or ideal of integrity and autonomy creates space for enacting and exploring what has previously been suppressed, contained or 'othered'" (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002:623). However, when marginalised discourses and counter-discourses of the marginalised are in operation, then continuing to feel inauthentic is a precious emotion of resistance, and so while poststructuralism could be seen as necessarily destabilising 'authenticity' (Tracy, 2000; also see Hughes, 2005), discourses about subjectivity encourage a commitment to authenticity and this then exerts power in the way people construct and practice their selves. At the same time we cannot

negate that the use of “counter-discourses’ to resist managerial regulations and socio-emotional support through groups and networks is important” (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002:623). However, but the potential of “this alternative organizing should not be exaggerated nor should the problems arising from contradictory pressures and identifications in corporate settings be minimized” (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002:623).

Surface acting has therefore always held the potential for what Mestrovic (1997) has termed ‘exceeding the limits of order and containment’ (Mestrovic, 1997). The surface acting noted amongst National workers could be usefully aligned with what has been written about postcolonial resistance (Bhabha, 1994; Nandy, 1983). This will now be the focus of the chapter. The acknowledgement that surface acting can be resistance to emotion norms needs to be situated within the acknowledgement of embodiment in emotion management to allow us to concede that ‘black surfaces are deep’ (see Gauch, 2002 and Ahmed, 2000). This conceptualisation strikes at the heart of the surface/depth duality as surface acting is also deep acting and vice-versa. Consequently it will be argued that these two forms of acting that comprise emotion management can be re-interpreted as a unified concept of **‘embodied emotional performances’**. These performances are used in encounters in the public as well as the private spheres and draw on discourses about emotion management. In this concept, the term ‘embodied’ highlights the dramaturgical aspect of the emotion manager, and suggests that that how selves are bounded in skin will have an impact on the kind of emotional performances they might have to deliver. At the same time, acknowledging embodiment in emotional performances allows us to foreground that the body is “a sort of surface on which different regimes of power/knowledge write their meanings and effects” (Hall, 2001:78). Women and minorities have skins that are laden with attributions of lower value and ability (see Cromby, 2005) and this then has an impact on emotional performances they engage in. It also links with the notion of emotional hegemony. Describing emotional hegemony, Harding and Pribram (2002) say that ‘the ideological function of discourses on emotion works to keep members of dominant political, social and cultural groups in dominance - where they are almost invariably aligned with reason while subordinate groups are associated with



emotions. From such an association, people of colour and women, for example, are viewed as more subjective, biased, and irrational while at the same time, in an ideology-confirming practice, they may be culturally required to express emotions more openly, as in the case of women and notions of ‘femininity’ (Harding and Pribram, 2002: 416). The notion of ‘performance’ in this concept draws from Butler (1997) to suggest that norms are materialised in performativity which can be understood as the realization of norms through repetitive participation in culturally required performances, rather than an indication of any internal/natural reality. Butler states that the

“performative is not a singular act used by an already established subject, but one of the power and insidious ways in which subjects are called into social being from diffuse social quarters, inaugurated into sociality by a variety of diffuse and powerful interpellations. In this sense the social performative is a crucial part not only of subject *formation*, but of the ongoing “political contestation and reformulation of the subject as well” (Butler, 1997:160, italics in original).

This idea about the possibility of reformulation also links well with Bhabha’s claim that “the space between enunciation and address...opens up a space of interpretation and misappropriation that inscribes an ambivalence at the very origins of colonial authority” (Bhabha, 1994:95) and therefore prepares the ground for the unanticipated and the unauthorized in terms of emotional performances. Further, these performances (by subjects) aid the creation of performativity (as discursive resources) for other Others who will come later into contexts that change slowly.

Embodied emotional performances can then be understood as conformist as well as potentially resistant modes of emotion management for National workers. When the resistance potential of embodied emotional performances is acknowledged, the emotion in organizational literature could be extended in important ways. Firstly, the notion of dramaturgical stress (Freund, 1998) through embodiment would be important in understanding emotion management, and secondly, resistance to emotion management in organizations would be possible even for those that seem to conform to organizational emotion norms. Therefore through embodied

emotional performances, the 'Other' is not merely rehearsed but also reformulated because the "Other is an active agent of articulation" (Bhabha, 1994:31).

The interaction between colleagues is not subjected to scripting in the same way as a service encounter and so surface acting and deep acting become less relevant for this research. The cautionary approach to these binary conceptualisations of emotion management reflects an engagement with the poststructural notion that "the dichotomous portrayal of emotion as real or expressed, private or public, genuine or fabricated, lends itself to oversimplification" (Tracy, 2000, citing Waldron, 1994). In some sense colleagues could form the 'back stage' for the performance of emotional labour but a front stage for embodied emotional performances for those that are Othered. In this sense, for those that are Othered, even the back stage is not a space to "step out of character" (Goffman, 1959, cited in Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993:105) and relax.

When the concept of embodied emotional performance is used in reading the narratives, three different forms of performances that could aid resistance can be formulated. There are conceptually coherent with the three tactics of postcolonial resistance: mimicry, hybridity and sly-civility developed by Bhabha (1994). While the terminology is drawn from Bhabha, the conceptualisation of these concepts draws from Nandy (1983) as well as Fanon (1968; 1986). At the outset it is important to state that these three tactics are not mutually exclusive but rather are amalgamated in different ways by different National workers. The interpretation of narratives was therefore not one of completely controlled National workers, but one that supported the idea that "micro emancipations" (Zanoni, and Janssens, 2007) are possible in all organizational contexts. We shall now examine these three tactics in some detail.

### **Mimicry:**

*"(C)olonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed recognisable Other, as the subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite.. Mimicry is, thus*

the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which 'appropriates' the Other" (Bhabha, 2004:123).

Colonial discourse works by presupposing a superiority of the Occident, which legitimates (howsoever immorally) the domination of one group of people by another. Due to the complex and tenuous operation of colonial discourse, the justification of colonial rule would be unable to function if the Other was identical to the self. Mimicry was therefore institutionalised out of administrative, disciplinary and governance related motives of the civilising mission.

"We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class, we may leave it to redefine the vernacular dialects of country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees six vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of population" (Lord Macaulay, 1972, cited in Mir and Banerjee, 2008).

Once set in motion however, mimicry was appropriated by the colonised to fulfil other motives not originally desired by the colonial institutions. The mimics that Lord Macaulay wanted to create as class of benign interpreters ironically also contained the threat of being menacing. By being able to become 'almost the same but not white', the mimics/Orientalists threatened the presupposed superiority of the Occident. Therefore "mimicry is not a slavish imitation" (Huddart, 2006:57). In fact, Bhabha understands mimicry as a repetition with difference that can also be used to mock colonial powers. The comic quality of mimicry is important as it challenges the civilising pretensions of colonial discourse. It could therefore be a resistant response to the stereotypes that are in circulation. If the colonised can conduct himself/herself exactly in the image of the coloniser then the notion that there are authentic differences between these two groups of people collapses.

To reiterate, while on the one hand colonial powers needed to reform Indians to serve as an administrative class, the fact that they could be 're-formed' caused an anxiety because the possibility of this reformation was 'menacing', it was a threat as it did not uphold the narrative of 'difference' and 'superiority' on the basis of

which colonial domination was justified. What happens through this exercise of mimicry is that the colonized is actually able to be the Other and as well as be the mimic because “Mimicry conceals no presence or identity behind its mask” (Bhabha, 2004:126) “but the colonizer gets further fixed in their identity choices - an instability that is an unintended positive outcome for the colonized” (Bhabha, 2004:126). Mimicry therefore becomes a performance. This is also perhaps relevant from the point of view of performing genders (Butler,1999b). While women and minority groups are ‘Other’ed, they are also able to mimic men/dominant group, whereas men/dominant groups are more fixed to ideals of masculinity and are circumscribed by that fixity. This is an unintended positive outcome for women/the colonized as they get to explore and perform a wider range of selfhood, including perhaps even being more ‘masculine’ than men and more ‘civilized’ than the colonizer respectively. Mimicry can be so effective as to turn the notion ‘almost the same, but not quite’ to ‘almost the same, but not white’, making skin colour the only difference between white and the Other. This is threatening and anxiety provoking. This is because if the Other can be so fluid then the solidity of the self is threatened by the self’s potential fluidity. Further if the difference between the self and the other is only skin-deep then authoritarian control becomes unjustified.

In order to be able to be employed in INGOs, some mimicry was required as part of the selection criteria itself. In the narratives, this was described by the notion of being ‘polished’, ability to communicate in English and an ability to give accounts of one-self (confessional requirement of mimicry) so as to satisfy the donor community. Aspects of mimicry were discussed in several narratives. Here again an excerpt that has been previously discussed is relevant:

*“Headco is a kind of organization where several levels of "polishing" takes place. Before you join Headco, you are polished. Otherwise you are not getting into that organization. After going there you are further polished. Polished in terms of your diplomatic skills, the way you handle, the way you conduct yourself and all these things.” (Rishabh)*

In this context, becoming a ‘professional’ as an emotion management strategy could be seen as a form of ‘embodied emotional performance’ that ensures respectful treatment for oneself by opting to mimic the dominant norms about

emotion management. Often professionals might choose to 'normalise' managerialism and pragmatism by choosing 'what is practical rather than what is right' and this is similar to Bhabha's (1994) concept of *mimicry*.

*I have seen my mentor, he will slap but with a smiling face...that's what I have seen and also I have learnt..I mean I have got opportunity to work with many Expats so I have seen them, they also have a very logical questioning style." (Suleikha)*

Mimicry could then be understood as a willing engagement with norms. Importantly mimicry can also be interpreted as similar to what Bourdieu (cited in Czarniawska, 2001) has termed 'officialization', which was mentioned in the chapter Four (methodology) but is also important for our present purpose.

"Officialization is the process whereby the group (or those who dominate it) teaches itself and masks from itself its own truth, binds itself by public profession which sanctions and imposes what it utters, tacitly defining the limits of the thinkable and unthinkable and so contributing to the maintenance of the social order from which it derives its power" (Bourdieu, 1990, cited in Czarniawska, 2001:256).

Therefore systems and standards, protocols and procedures become the defining features of encounters in narratives that have been produced through officialization. This was evident in some narratives, for example:

*"We have international Black Arrow code of conduct is there then accountability standard is there, Global standard is there in India so all these standards are adhered to. Then our own internal policy on finance, HR, and all that is there, so we have a standard book called humanitarian response standard so we follow the standard we have a system. Since we have all of them written down and we follow strictly." (Jacob)*

In this excerpt the regulation of conduct at work is seen to be done entirely on the basis of procedures, protocols and standards to the extent that no emotional interactions are seen to be taking place because of interactions being limited within these frameworks. This form of proceduralization normalizes emotion in organizations by reducing and controlling its impact (Ashforth and Kreiner, 2002). In the case of faith based organizations, 'officialization' was also integrated with

faith in God. Together this created for a mechanized, contained and controlled emotional environment that was based on professionalization, proceduralization and processes that impinge on the management of every interpersonal aspect, to produce narratives such as the one shared by a senior member of a faith based organization:

*“In this place yes we are all highly trained we are all MBAs, MSW all that is available plus the inner strength he derives because of his relationship with his God. so we take it for granted that in time of crisis they will automatically personally move to us God...we have occupational stress counselling session, we have a mechanism like that if they are really stressed out there is a rest and recuperation system...we have the mentoring things ...we have a lot of leadership development programmes that we've been trained on that...we have a training called humanitarian competency project ... to understand the culture of the people how to deal with the conflict resolution, how to deal with emotional people, how to deal with stress... so they have a systematic training... since they have the systematic training the emotion the feeling the frustration are minimised and yes every day we have a review meeting what went wrong what went right what's the problem how do we solve it that is done every day nine o'clock 10 o'clock 11 o'clock without which we cannot because stress level will go high if the stress level goes high then there is a conflict in emotions and all that no we always do that if somebody feels no he is really not coping we pull him back we will not send him into the field that is done every day.” (Jacob)*

Therefore through incorporation of the norms of being a managed organization, the officialization discourse was powerful in the way that it enabled and disabled what could be thought about emotion in organizations. ‘Officialization’ was also an indication of having become mature. Professionalism and maturity are then the harbingers of mimicry. Maturity is associated with greater accommodation of neoliberal norms and values, and the lack of maturity is inscribed onto the bodies of national workers. This lack is then ‘expelled’ through the practices of mimicry. Mimicry then becomes the practice that deploys ideal neoliberal selfhood. The ideal neoliberal self is individualistic and detached. The neoliberal self denies any alignment with an ‘authentic self’ because authenticity often involves community based value commitments. When mimicry is the prevalent tactic, the employees embrace neoliberal ideals and rely on scientific and rational models to assess the potential of ideas. They thereby reject emotional decisions in an act of self-policing. This was discussed in a few narratives:

*“I believe unless or until you have the evidence on your side, you cannot build a case.” (Samaya)*

When mimicry was the operational tactic, the organizational assessment of success was a self-serving feature for National workers. Following Bhabha (1994), being able to present a detached and controlled persona could itself be conceptualised as a resistance against stereotypical and binary discursive expectations from National workers. This is because passing and mimicry are seen as being able to manipulate stereotypes about the Other (Lahiri, 2003). However, the prevalence of ‘officialization’ (Bourdieu, cited in Czarniawska, 2001) suggests that this tactic could be instrumental in sustaining the dominant discourses around emotion and its management rather than challenging, changing or transforming these discourses through alternative practices. When combined with a friction-free adoption of the neoliberal values of the organization, mimicry even enabled the involvement of National workers in corrupt practices in order to get the job done and to be considered successful within the organization. Therefore those National workers that opted for mimicry seemed to have achieved success in dealing with neoliberal impositions on selfhood. Engaging in mimicry is costly to the self in as much as it requires strategized self-subordination (Burawoy, 1982) to the ideals and norms of the employing organization. In achieving the status of a mimic the employee could therefore relinquish his/her exercise of agency having made the ‘agent’ic decision to mimic. Mimicry also furthers the dominance of the organization’s emotional agenda and promotes the hegemony of the pecuniary emotion rules.

When there is a clean break between emotions and action then the mimic becomes a tool that responds to pecuniary pressures and a side effect of this is that the corrupt practices that they undertake for organizational gains could then also be engaged in for personal gain. This is because ethics ceases to be an important aspect of their engagement in their work role and moral decisions become irrelevant. Successful mimics are known to have impressive illegal engagement (Lahiri, 2003). Giving up one’s socialized selfhood for instrumental goals could lead to ethically questionable practices. INGOs encourage these goals

for their own gain but also create National workers to give up any ethical priorities aligned with a compassion agenda. As discussed before, this could be seen as damaging to humanity because it works on depleting human emotions or compassion and political connectedness or relatedness.

### **Sly Civility:**

Synonymous with the notion of a devious, crafty and underhanded deployment of politeness courtesy and respect, the sly civility of the colonised can be a non-radical but effective form of resistance. Michael Dutton (1999) links Bhabha's (1994) notion of sly civility to Michel de Certeau's 'art of the weak' whereby the weak act on the basis that if they are "(s)ly as a fox and twice as quick, there are countless ways of making do" (de Certeau, cited in Dutton, 1999: 62). When an open assertion and confrontation is doomed to fail then the weak resort to tactics which are restrained forms engaging in a struggle. Nandy's (1983) conceptualisation of resistance has similarities with the notion of sly civility as he proposes that "like some other cultures caught in an oppressive system, the Indian too does not (engage in) the dominant concept of masculine protest, particularly if the cost is too high" (Nandy, 1983:104). He suggests instead that the Indian "retains his latent rebelliousness and turns even the standard stereotypes others have of him into effective screens and means of survival" (Nandy, 1983:104). Bhabha explains how the idea of "(t)he litigious, lying native became a central object of nineteenth-century colonial, legal regulation" (Bhabha, 1985:79). Sly civility is a diffident, unpretentious and self-effacing form of rebellion that copes with this oppressive surveillance that the colonized had to deal with.

Following this understanding of resistance, when sly civility was the tactic of resistance in the narratives, the National workers felt oppressed by organizational requirements and protected a 'resistant self' which was unable to demonstrate itself but did not conform to the dominant constructions in a straight-forward way. In some ways sly civility can be understood in similar ways as Svejksism(s) (Fleming and Sewell, 2002) which are covert, cunning protests, not open or heroic protest which are based on acceding that the organization is more powerful than the



individual (and small collectives) and is intent on subjugation. The principle weapons of sveykism are irony and cynicism, which are used in thinking about work, rather than expressed at work. The value commitments and emotional attachments that many Nationals hold dear to them as 'politically radical' concerns can be deemed 'socially unacceptable' by their employers. Therefore any continued political commitments of National workers can be undermined as cynicism, diatribe and incivility in the organization. However, cynicism, diatribe and incivility can themselves be understood as forms of resistance (Kennedy, 1999). Feminists have reconstructed cynicism "as a defence mechanism, a way of blocking the colonization of a pre-given self" (Fleming and Spicer, 2003:157). Being cynical in the narratives then becomes a form of micro-emancipation for national workers operating with sly-civility. Using cynicism, the "speakers and writers who remain at the margins can launch critique, (and call) attention to the inequity in both speech and discursive situations by shouting in order to be heard. They can therefore communicate a blatant disregard for the social norms of expression" (Kennedy, 1999:26). However, sly civility demands that these expressions are not detected as dissent. This involves outsmarting the more powerful using collusion and consent such as using rational presentation styles to mask emotions:

*"(I have seen and learnt from people who do) not let their faces give out their expressions, they give lot of facts when they say certain things, (make it) completely evidence based, factual and objective. ...if you are very expressive on your face and....positive or negative, that kind puts off the other persons, and I used to do that a lot. So now I have, very consciously tried to be very calm whenever I make a ... point because I think that really works that impacts the other person, I have seen other people doing it." (Indira)*

Resistance is not simply formalized and organized. 'Foot dragging', 'false compliance', 'feigned ignorance', the 'ability to comply without conforming' are all ways of resisting (Fleming and Sewell, 2002). Engaging in sly-civility is a costly exercise for the self - this fits well with research findings that suggest that surface acting is detrimental to employee well being (Zhang & Zhu, 2008).

National workers using sly civility were able to weld their emotional and compassionate understanding to an evidence based and rational framework of presentation that met organizational requirements:

*“Professionals have to lie to their own self....the emotional voice has to be hidden... in disguise I feel like I am telling the truth. So I speak about my gut feeling but lie and say that I am speaking from my past experience.” (Kashif)*

Here we see a National worker who strategically chooses to lie in order to be perceived as conforming to organizational emotion norms. In emotion in organization research, it is acknowledged that “emotion and embodiment are seen to give direction to decision making....what one decides has to do with gut-feeling, what feels right” (Knights and Thanem, 2005:31). However, this acknowledgement of ‘gut-feeling’ is not encouraged by the discursive possibilities of an instrumental emotional arena and therefore had to be hidden from view. Those National workers who operate predominantly using sly civility were more cynical in their interview and therefore used the interview scenario to resist organizational demands on their emotionality by being cynical and critical of organizational practices and the practices of those National workers they thought of as ‘converted’ mimics. This was true for a large number of the research participants:

*“and if you see most of the, many suave, well-behaved people working in the sector, they have accepted certain things who which are a big no-no from community ethical point of view like drinking, smoking, and going to pubs and wasting money, wasting water, high lifestyle, which is big no-no from the community ethical point of view for whom they are working, your polishing and your professionalism tells you that that is a different thing and this is a different thing which is to me, a big hypocrisy. Hypocrisy. They don't go together. And I go back to the larger issue it is the framework that tells you that all these things are acceptable because you get money from those people you have to give accounts, you have to be professional.” (Rishabh)*

Avoiding hypocrisy is important to many other respondents who reported being slyly civil and this brings up the ambivalence between mimicry and hypocrisy. Even if we employ a poststructural notion of selfhood, the struggle to view mimicry as **not** hypocrisy has to be achieved anew each time for National workers. This is because each time National workers present themselves as per the norm, if they

are slyly civil, they have to deal with the charge of being hypocritical. Bhabha (1994) however, does not focus on this ambivalence, despite critiquing Said (1985, 1994) for ignoring the ambivalence inherent in colonial discourse. Therefore Bhabha's 'sly civility' is an incomplete construction - it does not elaborate on how its achievement can also be an ambivalent process and leaves the performer with the task of engaging in self-care in order to continue to be slyly-civil.

Here it would be pertinent to look at Sara Ahmed's (1999) conceptualisation of passing, which is always accompanied by a fear of being detected. Ahmed suggests that "passing dislocates the relation between self and other through the movement of desires which are crucially instituted by differences that both command and resist the scopical regime" (Ahmed, 1999:88). Passing is therefore not the same thing as 'becoming' (ibid.:96) and it "involves the re-opening and re-staging of a fractured history of identifications that constitutes the limits to a given subject's mobility" (ibid.:93). There are limits to passing in as much as the "(a)cts of 'transgression' implicit in passing do not...transcend the systematization of differences into regularities" (ibid.:93). Not only does this mean that even in the transgressions of passing we are circumscribed by the stereotypes that already exist but also that when successful transgressions do take place, they are likely to ensue in an increased surveillance of social identities.

Fineman acknowledges that "(e)motional hypocrisy helps to fix a social order as well as to strain it" (Fineman, 2000:12) and the strain of hypocrisy needs to be dealt with when slyly civil employees are not under surveillance. Therefore National workers often engaged in what has been termed 'resigned behavioural compliance' (Ogbonna and Wilkinson (1990), cited in Turnbull, 2002:35) to INGO norms, rather than engaging in changing their values. Sham and deception are recognised as part and parcel of our will to power (Weinberg, 1987:87) and feeling hypocritical and acknowledging it is another way in which self-subordination is engaged in by National workers but it can have micro-emancipation potential if deployed in cunning ways.

Sly civility was seen to require sustenance in the form of self-discipline, peer-support and other ways of caring for the self that enable the self to continually be resilient in resisting and to deal with the frustrations and limitations of micro-emancipations. This was mentioned in some of the narratives:

*“I deal with people in a very sensitive manner, I have preserved values and I have been Indian, you know as you go along in the journey there are punctures too all the way, but overall I really enjoyed this journey.”* (Gagan)

As is evident from the excerpt above, engagement in sly civility through ‘preserving’ certain essentialized values, is demanding on the self and subjected to ‘punctures’ which are self-deflating. National workers need to invest in regenerating their energy and persona in order to continue to be slyly civil.

### **Hybridity:**

When hybridity was the tactic of resistance, the National workers were able to choose between positive and negative conceptualisation of emotion. While hybrid resistance could be seen as collusion and co-optation, Bhabha (1994) suggests that hybrid identities, their creation and ownership, are all acts of resistance against colonial binary discourse. While hybridity does not minimise the unequal sharing of power between the colonised and the colonisers, it seeks to establish the colonised as able subjects in resisting the effects of power. Further because hybridity challenges the purity of identities and normalizes contamination, it operates from the ‘third space’ (Bhabha, 1994) whereby creative possibilities for emotions might emerge. Most importantly, National workers need not confine themselves only to hybrid performances; they could also move to sly-civility, mimicry and then back again. Therefore within resistance options hybridity was less costly and more sustainable as a tactic even though it was less radical in its resistance potential.

National workers who opted for hybrid performances were often able to subtly challenge the norms about emotional expression. One important deconstructive idea that hybrid emotion managers had access to was the notion of an activist. National workers that shared narratives which could be interpreted as hybrid forms

of emotion management used ideals of activism to inform their professionalism. Activism defies many emotion display rules and norms (Gould, 2001) and challenges the hegemony of rationality and objectivity. Feminist movements have created an 'emotional repertoire' (Jasper, cited in Whittier, 2001) for the expression of "oppositional feelings" of hurt, grief, anger or resistance (Whittier, 2001). This expression of oppositional feelings could be performed by hybrid performers and was mentioned in several narratives:

*"Actually I'm a little bit outraged by these double standards, doublespeak-double standards, so I always speak out. Also I use different forums to speak out and then I'm told that I should not speak like I do because those people who are more exposed to international assignments, they feel very uncomfortable. There will always be this conflict..." (Ajeet)*

Here we also see that international assignments are seen as key in reducing employee ability to challenge organizational decisions. This can again be seen as a crucial way in which the culture of international organizations is seen to interfere with the culture of the National employees- behaviour that is considered acceptable becomes unacceptable due to international experience. In some sense therefore resistance takes places in National workers continuing to express a conflict, rather than moving over to the apolitical side and making diplomatic decisions. Challenging diplomacy also continues to be a form of resistance and was discussed in a few narratives:

*"I have had that advice that I'm not very diplomatic...diplomacy is when you can say something without saying something and just let it pass. You can say a couple of yeses in agreement, which don't hurt you or what your working towards....you may follow up on some of those yeses and some you may not follow....am I the best practitioner of that? Nope! I'm more like the bull in a China shop...(laughs)." (Divya)*

Expanding on the metaphor whereby one research participant claimed that she was a 'bull in a china shop', expressing anger was seen as another way of resisting organizational expectations of emotional suppression by several research participants. When opting for hybrid emotional performances, National workers could embody anger:

*“I’ve been angry on many occasions I mean I’ve been angry in meetings I have disagreed like they have been times like when we had a severe short supply of bamboos in Orissa and had to make temporary shelters before the rain and instead of doing things like you know arranging for the bamboo ... they would be getting ready to distribute blankets that have come from China, for examples. So like those kind of things used to get me really angry and I used to fight about it.”(Nisha)*

Activist norms therefore ‘normalize’ the expression of anger in organizational resistance and justify a political engagement in a collective struggle (Poletta and Amenta, 2001). “For marginalized groups, anger has often been essential in trying to constructively address lack of respect for them as human beings, as well as a response to social inequalities affecting them” (Holmes, 2004:221). Anger can then also be seen as resistance rather than ‘out-of- control’ behaviour. Negative affect can destroy organizational culture but, “negative emotions (especially anger) may also draw our attention to situations of unfairness and injustice (George, 2000, cited in Barsade and Gibson, 2007:52). Turner (2007) proposes that anger can be seen as a motivator that helps deals with threats, and as a stimulator for analytical thinking (Turner 2007). This challenges the ‘irrational’ construction of anger. The notion of ‘the argumentative Indian’ (Sen, 2005) who is not afraid to challenge authority also furthers a cynical predisposition to challenge in a disruptive way if no productive options seem plausible. When civility is upheld, it is often “upheld at the expense of real argumentation and justice” (Kennedy, 1999:40) and those “others” who are excluded from justice might resort to diatribe or cynicism as their only way of intervening in the organizational space. However, because this is constructed as ‘out of control’ behaviour by individuals, when National workers engage in cynicism, incivility or diatribe, they get ‘branded’ as emotional and their causes get sidelined. While one research participant specifically used the phrase ‘branded emotional’, others also alluded to this form of labelling:

*“I don’t think you can always be yourself, someone has advised me you pick your battles...(so that I) don’t get branded... (Because once branded as emotional) you almost lose the audience at that point....” (Anita)*

In organizational research the kind of activism that has often been talked about is one that is called tempered radicalism. Tempered radicals are therefore controlled activists. Temper can mean both “an outburst of rage” and “equanimity, composure” seemingly incompatible traits that are vital for tempered radicals (Meyerson and Scully, 1995; Meyerson, 2001).

“Tempered radicals are individuals who identify with and are committed to their organizations, and are also committed to a cause, community, or ideology that is fundamentally different from, and possibly at odds with the dominant culture of their organization” (Meyerson and Scully, 1995:586).

In an interesting paradoxical claim therefore, hybridised existence in the third space that does not claim ownership of essentialized authentic identities becomes the most ‘authentic’ and ‘real’ form of poststructural selfhood. As discussed in the literature review, the third space is the space where “the inherent originality or purity of cultures are (made) untenable” (Bhabha, 1994/2004:55). It could then be a space that is not burdened by the transferences, introjections, projections and splitting that is collectively undertaken within the auspices of colonial discourse (Gunaratnam and Lewis, 2001). Hybridity could be understood as a “qualified rejection of the West” (Nandy, 1983:75) which is based on the understanding that there is a west *within* India - what was the ‘Other’ was always included in the self. In this sense hybridity is not merely about challenging boundaries but also about recognising that the self was always hybrid. The agentic possibilities of hybridity (Pieterse, 2001) are ‘realized’ in examining emotions in postcolonial organizational settings.

There are limits to the achievements of hybridity and there are limits to micro-emancipation of the hybrid kind. While the informal operation of the ideals of activism poses an effective challenge to the disengaged professionalism that is promoted by INGOs, it must be noted that there is a masculinisation of emotions of resistance as well: In this there is also a gendered distinction between activists who ‘feel’ and those who do not feel anything except ‘toughness’ (King, 2006). This is certainly noticeable in the narratives whereby men construct themselves as rigid and women construct themselves as emotional when they take similar actions in

organizations. Therefore the 'third space' is yet in the making, as yet an unrealized space.

'Embodied emotional performances' allow National workers to move fluidly between different postcolonial tactics. It is therefore a concept that is ripe with the potential for being dangerous. The subversive and transgressive potential of embodied emotional performances becomes evident in this excerpt from Rishabh's interview:

*"I have become very polished ... in a metaphorical way I would say that I'm perceived by some people as a human being and some people as an acceptable robot but those who know a little more about me within this, a 'dangerous' robot (both laugh), who can sometimes be temperamental and talk things, I do actually, whenever I get a platform, I go out of the box and talk. And therefore you see some of my books, I use some platforms where I cannot be questioned by people, very strategically. So myself, I would say that I could not really grapple with this because of my background, my culture... the way I have been brought up, it was difficult for me to mould myself into the kind of expectations this job requires of me, the diplomatic standards and competencies this job requires, it was difficult for me to manage that. After several bad experiences, I developed that skill, but I use that skill very judiciously. So I'm capable of, today I would say, that I'm capable of being a robot and also being a normal human being. So none of this will take over me and overwhelm me like that." (Rishabh)*

Not only is this excerpt an indication of the danger that mimicry can pose to the status quo, it is certainly also an indication of the deployment of the idea that selfhood is a fluid construction. When 'habitual modes' of being are reworked in order to meet external demands such as work-force requirements, despite the possibility of multiple selves being acknowledged, some selves might feel more authentic and some more hypocritical. When a postcolonial frame and identity politics of nations is thrown into this mixture, 'authentic' national selfhood has a certain material presence as well. Below is a table that represents different aspects of the three tactics of mimicry, hybridity and sly-civility.



**Table 7.1: Mimicry, Sly Civility and Hybridity as Tactics of Resistance**

Tactic used	Mimicry	Mimicry/Sly-civility	Hybridity
Assessment of emotion norms	Adapt to the negative construction of emotion for performances-embodied acting of required emotional display	Positive construction of emotion and honouring the link between emotion and morality- (engage in embodied appearance only for required emotional display but continue to feel 'fake')	Recognise both positive and negative aspects of emotion in organizations (create a different form of embodied acting which creatively negotiates required norms)
Engagement with emotion norms	Follow the 'officialization'(Bourdieu) discourse which includes succumbing to neoliberal practices	Feel oppressed and hold essentialized notions of cultural background as important; feel oppressed by neoliberal practices but follow organizational norms	Wear self lightly so as not to be restrained by notions of selfhood. Be able to challenge essentialized identities and deploy 'impure/contaminated' selves as required.
Orientation toward self's value system	Follow organizationally prescribed values	Experience value-based dilemmas - rigidly hold ethical values	Flexible with regard to values within certain predefined parameters
Orientation toward success	Commitment to success and higher status Adopt industry standards for assessment of success	Committed to non-negotiable ethical values Participate in alternative measures of success through communities of coping	Balancing success and values  Use industry standards as well as alternative standards for measuring success
Dealing with emotional dilemmas	Share organizational commitments in order to not feel dilemmas	Protect 'resistant self' but perform organizationally required emotion norms and open to expressing genuine emotions when required	Sometimes opt for disguise, lies and compromises to deal with dilemmas and at times express genuine emotions
Presentational norms	Follow rational framework for decision making and official presentations	Present compassionate decisions within an evidence based, rationalized framework;	Follow professional norms but also be also to draw on activist norms to challenge what was organizationally prescribed
Emotional Expression	Follow organizational norms and restrain self from expressing emotion	Use of irony and cynicism when away from organizational surveillance Engage in emotional expression in safe groups but not in formal venues	At times, walking out of meetings, crying in meetings and/or disengaging from the job role
Relationship with self	Engage in fashioning self based on dominant selfhood	Engage in self-care to deal with cynicism, anger and frustration	Engage in fashioning a self that draws of dominant and counter discourses
Resistance	Challenge the discursive construction of National workers as emotional	Challenge Western impositions	Challenge purity of identities and deploy emotional control or emotional expression

Emotion management discourses are drawn from historical albeit arbitrary rules (Tracy, 2000) that continue the dominance of privileged groups if they are not resisted or renegotiated. However, resistance to emotion management norms is part of the available discursive resource in postcolonial organizations. These can be usefully interpreted as the tactics of mimicry, sly-civility and hybridity in emotion management. While these three tactics are not mutually exclusive, there are coherent ways in which they can be distinguished from each other, and they have different effects on the subjectivities and contexts that use them. Mimicry can be associated with the dominance of privileged emotionalities, sly-civility can be associated with the construction of parallel economies of emotion, with resistant emotions forming a 'black-market' of emotions that exists but does not openly challenge white emotionalities, and hybridity seeks to engage in emotion management to normalize impure and transgression-oriented emotional performances. All three tactics are seen as fluidly interlinked rather than separately deployed. These tactics do lead to micro-emancipations but also include aspects of strategized self-subordination (Burawoy, 1982) and therefore have implications regarding costs to self.

### ***Costs to self?***

"Micro-emancipation ... involves emotional labour" (Fay, 1987; Willmott, 1998, cited in Alvesson and Willmott, 2002) and "even the authentic expression of emotion is work" (Mastracci, Newman and Guy, 2006:125). All three tactics of resistance were able to provide instances of micro-emancipation to National workers but had potential costs associated with the adoption of these tactics. In order to continue to perform the emotional management required to sustain the quest for micro-emancipation, self care (Foucault, 1988) is an important area to nurture and foreground. Analysing the western historical forms of self care, Foucault (1988) surmised that activities such rural retreats help put us in contact with our self and diary writing helps establish an administrative view of self. Many of these aspects continue to be important in taking care of the self today and are mentioned in the narratives. Care of self is "a serious and salutary pursuit"

(Foucault, 1988:135). This was evidently being engaged in by some National workers through their use of communities of practice (Korczynski, 2003), and the use of reflection, writing, retreats, and physical exercise. However, these need to be further expanded as a practice in order to work toward collective and political changes.

Self-care is therefore involved in choosing to not engage in outright dissent. Therefore even within resisting, there is a maturity that is exercised in choosing the battles that one will get involved in. This is shaped over a period of time of being in organizations. Sometimes when the postcolonial tactics of resistances are insufficient, then resigning from a particular position or disengaging from a particular role could be seen as a sign of resistance and this was discussed by a few research participants:

*“you feel frustrated and after some time you get back to your work, start finding meaning in the work, rejuvenate yourself and continue working like that. But in my case you know after a year ... I decided to leave the programme....which otherwise I would have continued working but then I said okay now it is enough... it's time for me to move on.” (Chetan)*

This was an outcome of various experiences that meant that organizational emotion norms could not be completely disregarded. The presence of peer support in the form of formal or informal groups in organizations where workers who struggled with similar issues came together to deal with the impossibility of disregarding emotion norms was also commonly acknowledged in several narratives.

*“The good thing is that if you have very good like-minded groups together, you know it's your colleagues are good, then you reflect and you try to shed your burden you know and you speak your emotions, so that releases you know .” (Ajeet)*

The presence of a strong peer group 'normalised' the struggles that National workers often felt lonely in, and therefore provided an important source of sustenance:

*“I had good relationships with my peer group, although we were*

*geographically working in separate disasters and different terrain, we used to express solidarity and defend each other in meetings especially with regard to system related issues...People that you work with together in the field, they know exactly (what you are dealing with) and many of them felt the same way too.” (Vijay)*

Engaging in practices such as personal reflection, exercise, and commitment to values that were important in the National worker’s family history and the National history of India were also other forms of self-care that were discussed in a few narratives:

*I’m a person who believes in introspection a lot, so every day that time I used to sit alone in the room for half an hour... and sometimes kinds of repent also.....I used to go out for swimming ..., listen to music you know, just to comfort myself.” (Kashif)*

Expecting the self to be of high moral calibre and maintaining an awareness that the National worker served as a role model for others was another motivational factor to continue to resist against instrumental emotions.

*“I am a benchmark. For my partners, I am a benchmark. My family, I am a benchmark. Being this benchmark makes you behave in a way that you protect yourself ... don’t compromise with yourself. After several bad experiences, I have developed the ... skill...to be diplomatic, but I use that skill very judiciously.” (Rishabh)*

While disillusionment and fatigue were acknowledged, National workers who were able to be resilient in resistance were able to transform their experience into reasons for continuously evolving and reaching self actualisation:

*“you have to constantly evolve, to see that things are done rightly. You are...fatigued...disillusioned... tired of course, but you have to challenge, discuss, write, read, and be ready for the next.” (Ajeet)*

Lastly if there were role models in the family and in the national history that enabled an engagement in radical thought and compassion, it was a strong and resilient motivation for continued use of resistance against emotion norms:

*“My entire family is involved in social causes. ... My father is a teacher, he's a union member, he is the president, all that he did on the basis of rights and entitlements ... My mother has taught all her daughters to be independent, to be educated, to be on their own, they have to decide about their marriage... most of the work which Gandhi did is also based on that. He is the most emotionally charged person. He is the most radical person whom I have understood.” (Dinesh)*

The detached, professional demeanour that National workers are supposed to present in the context of various inequalities that National workers experience in INGOs therefore creates an interesting space to examine postcolonial strategies of emotion management. In this space, paradoxically, National workers who experience high levels of dramaturgical stress (Freund, 1998) in postcolonial settings are more likely and better placed, discursively, to recognise that the emotional rules enforced by the INGOs are worthy of contestation because of their ability to access counter-discourses about emotions. In other words, “(b)odies that stand out, become the ‘site of social stress’ (Ahmed, 2007: 161) but continue to have the potential to challenge social mores, in part because they stand out. Therefore while National workers might seem particularly powerless, they continued to remain potential agents who express their emotions in INGOs and continued to be unruly (Mestrovic, 1997). Mestrovic (1997) associates this unruliness with the potential for a more humane existence and this has led Carrette (2004) to conclude that it “is not greater rationality that will allow for a society of autonomous individuals but emotional resistances” (Carrette, 2004: 278). This presence of emotional resistances is a healthy possibility for National workers given that one other option for them would be to experience what has been termed miasma (Stokes and Gabriel, 2010). Miasma is a condition that explains the lack of resistance in certain organizations. It leads to a “silencing of stories and the generalized feeling of depression and gloom” (Stokes and Gabriel, 2010:16). Miasma is said to be most likely when the “‘old’ organization is ... presented as corrupt, indulgent and inefficient, contrasted to the ‘new’ organization that is entrepreneurial, dynamic and flexible” (Stokes and Gabriel, 2010:16). This certainly has been the case in the disaster industry where INGOs have refashioned themselves into neoliberal corporations that construct their apparently altruistic beginnings as inefficient and indulgent and where many previous employees have

been 'weeded out' to create 'slim and efficient' organizations that can give accounts. Miasma can then be understood as a depression of organizational members but this is not something that could be ascribed to the research participants. Instead there was the presence of anger, cynicism and frustration. These emotions can then be understood as helpful emotions of resistance and confirm Nandy's (2010) formulation:

"It is not easy to exile the inner life of a society. No amount of ideological fervour can turn human beings into predictable robots nor is it possible to understand the inner life of a society in technocratic terms. Everyday life of ordinary citizens quickly learns to bypass such stylized interpretations of society and, sometimes, even while paying lip service to fashionable ideologies, maintains its own secret ledgers that survive as an underground, contraband social awareness" (Nandy, 2010).

Having now examined in detail the individual research questions, the next chapter will summarize the interpretation and will conclude with reflections on limitations and contributions of the study as well as with thoughts on the scope for further research.

## Chapter Eight- Contributions of the study:

It has been over four years since this research idea began as a little germ and now it has taken the shape of a document which is quite literally and metaphorically a fixing of fluid ideas into the black and white of reified discourse. This text will have its own life and get merged with its own inter-textual vacillations. For now however, as the 'author', I have the opportunity to create an executive summary of the contributions of the study. In some sense it is pertinent to point to the 'potential' contributions as this research is yet to circulate a public document. In this chapter I will first present a summary of interpretations and then present the contributions of the research when considered as theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions.

### *Summary of interpretation:*

The study first of all examined the INGOs as an **instrumental 'emotional arena'** (Fineman, 1993, 2000). In this emotional arena, pecuniary emotions that derived from the commercial interests of the organization reigned supreme and furthered competition between INGOs as well as between different professionals, who also had to appear to be controlled, diplomatic and detached. This instrumental arena prioritized donor-driven accountability and as a result compassionate decisions and value based commitments were not prominent players in this emotional arena. This corporatized and instrumental emotional arena was examined as informed by neoliberal ideals. Neoliberal ideas were further discussed as masculine and imperial in their operation and in tune with the New Public Management (Dar and Cook, 2007) discourse that was prevalent in INGOs. As a result the instrumental emotional arena demonstrated certain colonial continuities in the form of binary constructions and hierarchies between developed countries and developing countries.

Within this instrumental emotional arena, the interpersonal relationships between National workers and Expatriate workers were interpreted as **emotional**

**'encounters'** (Ahmed, 2000) that rehearsed the colonial relationships between the colonizers and the colonized. As a result these encounters were embodied and racialized. This racialized context ensured that Expatriate employees and managers were not positively 'oriented' toward the concerns of the National workers as they often failed to hear these concerns even when they were voiced articulately. Moreover, lack of consultative practices was institutionalized in INGOs in order to not significantly change these forms of exclusions. This was interpreted as an outcome of the way in which the practice of not touching embodied others has now turned into a practice of not 'hearing the concerns' of embodied others (see Sara Ahmed, 2002: 564). These encounters drew on colonial discourses whereby the National workers were constructed as 'lacking' in professionalism, moral values, material wealth and other skills. This construction of lack was an incomplete achievement however because it was responded to with counter-constructions of lack and Othering as well as with the valorisation of the forms of lack that were attributed to National workers. These emotional encounters then entailed complex and ambivalent forms of Othering and 'practices of disconnection' (Fournier, 2002) whereby National workers, who were excluded and treated inferior in INGOs, nonetheless managed to exercise some counter-discursive agency that did not reduce them to the simplistic status of being victims of INGOs. Instead the interpersonal encounters were full of contestations and this suggested that emotions were being used in these encounters as a critical resource for resistance, rather than being experienced as irrational forces.

The contestations that took place in these emotional encounters were outcomes of certain forms of emotion management tactics that the National workers were using. These tactics were in turn linked to the forms of subjectivities that National workers discursively and intersubjectively had access to. The interpretation proposed that subjectivities are produced and constrained by discourses and are an important way in which dispersed power is realized (Foucault, 1982; Rose, 1998). The National workers subjectivities were shaped in INGOs through the discourses around professionalism, maturity and emotional intelligence, all of which seemed to share a coherent thread with the neoliberal, instrumental and competitive ecology of INGOs. The interpretation foregrounded the ways in which National workers



subjectivities engaged in strategized self-subordination and so their selves were involved in manufacturing their complicity/consent (Burawoy, 1982). This consent was most palpable through their desiring of Expatriate job roles. Expatriate jobs were considered to be the ideal successful job-roles and could only be achieved in National workers fashioned themselves to fit the normative constructions of Expatriate workers.

In this way, National worker subjectivities were made complicit in the operation of the instrumental and neoliberal emotional arena. This then institutionalized the notion of being 'almost the same, *but not quite*' (Bhabha, 1984:319) because National workers were often promoted to 'Regional' workers rather than 'Expatriate' workers and were seen as being limited in their ability to be mobile as a result of not quite being white. As a result of these slippages, constructions of lack were easily associated as racialized and prejudiced constructions that needed to be challenged. Besides, National workers had access to other discourses which implied that success, self actualization as well as maturity could all be constructed in ways that were different from the ones being proposed by INGOs. This led to certain intra-subjective struggles, which are also inter-textual and inter-discursive struggles, whereby National workers sometimes chose to be 'emotional fools' rather than being emotionally intelligent. The intra-subjective struggles took place in a social space where other National workers also engaged in similar struggles and provided communities of practice (Korczynski, 2003) and helped each other cope with the demands on their subjectivity. This led to the deployment of certain tactics of emotion management that were an outcome of a complex interplay between discourses and counter-discourses as well as conformity and resistance that challenged essentialized constructions of National workers.

These tactics were interpreted as being congruent with postcolonial strategies of resistance such as **mimicry, sly-civility and hybridity**. All these tactics had the potential to resist and disrupt the discourses whereby National workers were constructed as 'lacking' but these tactics also involved certain costs to the self because they involved engagement with the feelings of inadequacy generated with the label of lack that is associated with the embodiment of National workers.

### **Theoretical contributions:**

Critical research is often characterized as non-productive because it often dismantles concepts without proposing any in their place. There is a certain safety for the critical researcher in this practice as no new concepts are offered which can then be criticized by other researchers/scholars. This 'critical' research has made itself vulnerable by proposing certain concepts whilst problematizing others. It has proposed three types of resistance to emotion management norms: mimicry, sly-civility and hybridity, all drawn from postcolonial theory. This helps reconfigure how emotion management is understood.

### **Resistance to emotion management:**

One set of conceptual formulation from this research is around the re-conceptualisation of resistance to emotion management - this can be informed by postcolonial subject positions and can therefore be based on **mimicry, sly civility or hybridity**. These various forms of responding to emotion management norms involve a complex relationship between conformity and resistance, which is required for stigmatised bodies to continue to survive in organizational spaces as 'space invaders' (Puwar, 2004). These forms of resistance imply that even when the organizational norms of emotion management seem to be in operation, it might be an outcome of stigmatised identities resisting the discourses that constitute them as emotional. At the same time however, stigmatised identities could sometimes strategically take on the discourses that define them in order to challenge what is constituted as normative emotion management in organizations. This could primarily be in the form of engagement in emotional expressions, which is otherwise construed as unprofessional and irrational. Through mimicry, sly civility or hybridity, the terrain of emotion management changes - it ceases to be simply a matter of surface or deep, real or fake, but becomes instead, a complex contestation of these binaries.

### **Embodied emotional performances:**

Another set of theoretical contributions of this study cohere around the conceptualisation of 'Embodied Emotional Performances'. This concept could be

simplistically understood as suggesting that gender and racial embodiment impacts on what it means to be emotionally managed and therefore gender and racial embodiment is inextricably related to emotion management. Embodied emotional performances are discursive accomplishments where the body is also “an additional text” (Chavez, 2009:23). Embodied emotional performances are ‘practices of the skin’ (Lewis, 2007) because they respond to the epidermalization (Fanon, cited in Puwar, 2001) and racist hierarchization (Mirchandani, 2003) of the abilities of different bodies. This conceptualisation critiques and extends Hochschild’s (1983) and Bolton’s (2005) formulation of emotion management. Both these admirable theorists do not engage with racial/intersectional concerns in emotion management and therefore do not develop an embodied approach to emotion management. Further both theorists do not sufficiently problematize the conformity in emotion ‘management’, which this concept redresses through the notion of ‘performance’. Through embodied emotional performances, employees can conform or resist organizational feeling rules.

Calls to embody emotion management, specifically emotional labour, are now well recognised (Knights and Thanem, 2005:31; also see Williams and Bendelow, 1996). Embodiment has been recognised as important in determining which bodies can be trusted to exercise discretion and which bodies are excluded from being trustworthy (Wolkowitz, 2006). This has led to constructs that challenge the mind/body dualism by proposing a “mindful” body, for example (Williams and Bendelow, 1998:154). Reflecting on the importance of challenging Cartesian dualities in ‘emotion in organizations’ research, it has been argued that the separation of the studies into emotion labour, and aesthetic labour, recreates

“the kind of Cartesian dualism that associates aesthetics with the body and emotion with something much more intrinsic, cognitive even and much more embedded... this shift also loses sight of certain connections in that we are not really thinking about the way in which the emotional and the aesthetic are mutually implicated...these connections are important if we are concerned to understand the ways in which emotion, aesthetics and gender (and race) are managed” (Tyler, 2009:66, brackets mine).

Consequently, in this research I have prioritized that “(b)odies create a realm upon which racialized gender as well as class is inscribed, constructed, made and remade” (Boris, 2003: 9). Further I have reiterated that race and gender are not seen to correspond to biological referents (Glenn, 1999), but are understood as social and discursive constructions. I have recognised that the body is used to signify “social health or social pathology, physical and intellectual strength or weakness, and the outward manifestation of those social criteria that determined exclusion or belonging” (Glenn, 2007:49). I have therefore proposed that values are discursively read onto the skins of employees in organizations and therefore values are embodied in racialized ways. Racialization then shapes what bodies can do in INGOs because “the corporeal schema is ...racialized” (Ahmed, 2007:153). The somatic and the corporeal are then not ephemeral and false surfaces (see Witz, Warhurst and Nickson, 2003:37) but signify the ‘depth of embodiment’ (ibid., 2003:39). This deep surface has connotations of lack of rationality, quality and morality for National workers. National workers enter a “*social imaginary*: a discursive space or a representation in which they are already constructed, imagined, and positioned and thus are treated by the hegemonic discourses and dominant groups (as National workers)” (Ibrahim, 1999:353, brackets mine). Consequently, when National workers manage their emotion in organizations to present a rational and controlled persona, they challenge the social imaginary and deal with the aesthetic and emotional burden of their embodiment alongside dealing with the suppression of emotion that is expected from all employees in INGOs. This clears the ways for an embodied approach to emotion management.

Along with proposing the prefix ‘embodied’, I also propose that the term emotion management should be substituted with the term emotional performances. The terms ‘performance’ and/or ‘performative’ (Butler, 1999a) imply reproduction and repetition but also imply invention and departure (Norgaard, 2004). Emotional expressions therefore digress from emotional performances because there are no ‘true or false, real or distorted acts’ (Butler, 1999a:180) in emotional performances; no ‘essence’ is being expressed or managed. Emotional performances are therefore involved in reproducing as well as altering the social whereas emotion

management primarily involves reproducing the social. In this sense, embodied emotional performances can have varied outcomes. Drawing on Freund (1988), I also propose that embodied emotional performances involve stress for groups such as women and minority groups that are embodied in stigmatised ways. Emotion management of stigmatised groups therefore always involves aesthetic labour and embodied labour (Witz, Warhurst and Nickson, 2003); these cannot be separated. Separating them is a potentially apolitical move that prevents us from acknowledging that race and gender are “interacting, interlocking and incorporated by various social institutions” (Glenn, 2002:3) and place additional burdens on the emotional performances of those that are cast as Other because of their embodiment. The black/feminised bodies of National workers then deal with the repercussions of social division and antagonism. Linking National worker bodies to INGO spaces leads us to acknowledge that the legacies of colonialism makes the INGO space ‘white’ (Ahmed, 2007:153-154) and emotion management implicitly involves ‘dramaturgical stress’ (Freund, 1998) for National workers.

In the narratives, National workers spoke of their emotional performance as tactics that they developed over time and these tactics were created to respond to diverse organizational, inter-personal and intra-personal tensions that National workers faced in engaging with white INGO spaces. I discussed three tactics of emotional performances of National workers that were theoretically coherent with postcolonial tactics of resistance. These were discussed as mimicry, sly civility and hybridity. Various other scholars have looked at the strategies of resistance and have coined concepts such as ‘façade of conformity’ (Hewlin, 2003), ‘masks’ (Goffman, cited in Manning, 1992) and ‘white masks’ (Fanon, 1986). While these concepts certainly hold explanatory potential and involve surface processes, they suggest that something ‘original’ is hidden away from view in these acts of resistance. In order to underscore that there is nothing original to return to, and that these subversive performances are also partly in aid of complicity, I propose instead the concepts of embodied emotional performances.

It is at the conflux of emotion in organizations theory and postcolonial theory that I conceptualise the embodied emotional performances of the National workers.

In recognising and thereby potentially enabling these forms of micro-emancipation where authentic/hybrid emotional performances can be recognised as discursive options, this research can offer “no new tricks” (Ahmed, 2007:165) that can cease the ‘bad habit’ (Ahmed, 2007:165) of white institutions and the lack of reflexivity of white bodies (this too cannot be essentialized and there are excellent examples of reflexive white researchers. See for example, Heron, 2007; Grimes, 2001; Parker and Grimes, 2009). However, it is important to acknowledge that “there can be no access to macropolitics except through micropolitical mediations” (Radhakrishnan, 1993: 760). Therefore reiterating old micro-political tricks that are still being resisted would be a ‘performative’ contribution of this research whereby it imitates and repeats other critical scholars but is also inventive in the space from which it invokes egalitarian agendas. This imitation entails that we acknowledge that the binary construction of ‘racial imaginaries’ is rife but untenable in a world where stigmatised identities are becoming more adept at occupying white spaces by embodying the habitus of dominant groups, while continuing to hold the potential for resistance. This recognition of a micro-political struggle could pave the way for certain organizational and practice related changes in disaster management.

Specifically, with regard to Hochschild’s theory, this study has proposed that it is more pertinent to discuss the embodied emotional performances instead of discussing emotion management as resulting from surface/deep acting or due to the cumulative effort of emotion work and emotional labour. This is because surface/deep acting as well as emotion work/emotional labour are binary formulations that create divisions between public and private and between real and fake. Emotional performances on the other hand, are discursive fabrications that complicate the notion of authenticity while allowing for performances based on ‘strategic essentialisms’. Therefore rather than manage emotions to be controlled or suppressed, stigmatised workers embody emotional performances in order to sometimes conform and sometimes challenge organizational/social directives. This is because while organizational emotion norms and dominant social directives continue to exclude stigmatised identities in different ways, the presence of counter-discourses enables a resistance to these norms. This resistance is often expressed as cynicism or outright disregard of emotion norms. However

organizations also have ways of dealing with cynicism to neutralize it and therefore subtler and hybrid resistances are more likely to be successful in enabling micro-emancipation and eventual organizational change.

With regard to Bolton's (2005) formulation, embodied emotional performances help in reconceptualising Bolton's (2005) typology of emotion management. Firstly, they underscore the presence of multiple 'social'/ 'professional' norms and challenge the notion of universal typology of feeling rules for emotion management as proposed by Bolton (2005). Bolton proposes a typology of workplace emotion based on four sets of feeling rules. This was discussed in Chapter Two but it would be useful to revisit this diagram for this discussion:

**Table 8.1: Juggling between normative feeling rules is possible in Bolton's typology**

<b>A typology of workplace emotion based on different feeling rules (adapted from Bolton, 2005:93)</b>	
<b><u>PECUNIARY</u></b> <b>FEELING RULE: COMMERCIAL</b>	<b><u>PRESCRIPTIVE</u></b> <b>FEELING RULE: PROFESSIONAL</b>
<b><u>PRESENTATIONAL</u></b> <b>FEELING RULE: SOCIAL</b>	<b><u>PHILANTHROPIC</u></b> <b>FEELING RULE: SOCIAL</b>

While Bolton (2005) allows for diversity in recognising four different feeling rules - pecuniary, prescriptive, philanthropic and presentation, Bolton (2005) seems to assume that within each feeling rule, there is a universal agreement about what it constitutes. Bolton also assumes that pecuniary feeling rules are oppressive and they can be countered through social or philanthropic feeling rules which are presumably untainted because they do not further a commercial agenda. This study is able to problematize the indeterminate nature of each feeling rule thereby further complicating the juggling of emotion rules and also enabling the creation of

different norms on an ongoing basis. As a result, the feeling rules themselves are full of contestation within, and contest one another. As a concrete example we could argue that due to the prevalence and continued significance of colonial discourses, the 'social' feeling rules of National workers is different from the 'social' feeling rules of Expatriate workers in INGOs and therefore they experience emotion management differently. This also suggests that social feeling rules are themselves also impositions and therefore are not more or less oppressive than pecuniary feeling rules; often they might work in synchronicity to further particular ways of being emotional and to exercise control on subjectivity of employees (Yanay and Shahar, 1998).

Secondly, embodied emotional performances turn 'juggling between feeling rules' into the space where individuals can reciprocally inform, extend or challenge different emotion norms. Employees could engage in this challenge if they feel 'affective deviance' (Thoits, 1990) because of their strategically chosen essentialism, for example when National workers choose to be emotional and risk being branded emotional in organizations. Therefore rather than choosing between professional or pecuniary feeling rules, employees could devise hybrid feeling rules. This gives employees the prerogative to shape the emotion norms of organizations, rather than merely juggle with them.

Controlled and suppressed emotional performances are desired in instrumental emotional arenas. This requires the creation of diplomatic and polished selves who are not strongly aligned to values and therefore can be flexible in their actions and not feel the need to express any emotion. In order to be controlled and emotionally suppressed therefore, certain genders/races need to work against the discourses that are the dominant constructions of them. This is because embodiment in the form of race/gender impacts on the discourses about emotion management and creates some subjects as being incapable of emotional control and suppression. Embodied emotional performances are therefore an aspect of identity work and is involved in producing the appropriate individual (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). These enable stigmatised identities to participate in organizational spaces, presenting themselves as controlled, providing them with potential ways of



resisting the discourses that constitute them. Together, the embodied emotional performances demonstrate that “our bodies do not automatically prescribe any necessary or automatic belongings and nor can our conceptions of self be read off from our bodies in any simple way” (Lewis, 2007: 875). It is crucial to foreground that in this struggle against particular social imaginaries, race and gender are inseparable (Ibrahim, 1999). As abject phenomena, women, minority races and emotions are all denied the ability to create discursive resources. This is primarily done through what can be termed ‘hypocognition’ (Levy, cited in Harkin, 2003:262), which describes how certain emotional experiences are not made available as the subject of discourse and thereby continue to remain unnamed, unarticulated and chaotic. This then also makes them disturbing and dangerous. This is one way of understanding how certain emotions of exclusions are not ‘understood’ cognitively by dominant groups. Therefore discursive resources need to be created for these emotions to be circulated in dominant discourses and this requires repetition.

Therefore the theoretical contributions extend emotion management theorising by adding embodiment to emotion management, and adding the notion of performance to emotion management- thereby turning something ‘normative’ into something creative and plural as well as potentially challenging or disruptive. Discourses compete with each other (Oswick, 2001, cited in Grant et al, 2004) and manipulate “the conditions that shapes what may be said, who can speak within socially organized settings, the ways in which reality claims are made and the social practices that are invoked” (Hardy, cited in Grant et al, 2004:16) in organizations. This study has engaged with counter discourses that often get marginalized and manipulated by dominant discourses to map out the silences and exclusions that discursive struggles create. It uses an “intertextual approach” (Grant et al, 2004:16) that is responsive to the historical and social context to investigate how and why particular discursively constituted concerns come to dominate the management of emotion in organizations. While the written document has not employed a polyphonic presentation style (Czarniawska, 2004), the research is open to plurivocality (Grant, Keenoy and Oswick, 1998) and therefore acknowledges the limitations as well as the strengths of a postcolonial interpretive framework and the interpretive resources that were deployed in this research. This

ensures that as a reflexive practitioner the researcher is aware of discursive struggles for dominance over discourses. This is because discourses serve as resources of power themselves. Other interpretations of the narratives and my inquiry are definitely possible but articulating this particular interpretation has been an exercise in generating counter-discursive resources. This research is an act of repetition and rehearsal by reclaiming the legacies of other researchers that have performed these discursive manoeuvres before me, and have given me some discursive resources that enabled me to think about embodied emotional performances.

### ***Methodological contributions:***

The methodological contributions of this research include innovations that are context specific and help in examining the discourses and constructions of marginalized employees in organizations.

### **Context specific methodological innovation:**

The methodological contributions of this research involve a context-specific innovation based on a non-prescriptive narrative approach (Czarniawska, 2004). This approach has been very useful in exploring the discursive production of the power-resistance dialectic in organizations (Mumby, 2004). In using three different levels of interpretation suggested by Czarniawska (2004) - explication, explanation and exploration, this research has employed a method that is open to borrowing from different methodological prescriptions but also challenges prescriptive interpretive research. The method of interpretation used did not follow any strongly prescriptive form of discourse analysis because most of these prescriptions enable engagement with dominant discourses rather than counter discourses. Instead Czarniawska's suggestion for reading using Hernadi's triad (Czarniawska, 2004) was used in a context specific way and inter-textually with postcolonial theory, discourse, tropological and deconstructive ideas cobbled together in the kind of tactic that is suggested by the metaphor of a 'bricoleur' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003:9).

### **Challenging methodological binaries and boundaries:**

This method of reading enabled a reflexive orientation and could be seen as enabling first-person and second-person forms of engagement (Reason and Torbett, 2001) with the narratives that were interpreted. The methodology thus enables a mutually constitute link between reflexivity and the interpretive resources used in qualitative research and is a way of bridging the binaries of objective and subjective research as well as first person and second person methodologies. Following this method of reading enables a critical perusal of the researcher's context as well. This serves to connect the spatially dispersed deployment of dominant discourses and enables the recognition of these fragmented locales (for example, INGOs and Universities) as connected by discursive operations. Therefore examining the struggle between dominant and counter discourses in one context can hold insights for other contexts.

### **Researching counter-discourses and constructions of those that are Othered:**

The research engages with counter-discourses and the narratives of Others and this implies a view of research participants as knowledgeable participants with epistemic advantage rather than those that have been duped and dominated by dominant discourses. At the same time using postcolonial theories to interpret the participant stories leads to relevant insights about the important ways in which research participants' subjectivity (including researcher's subjectivity) is constrained/produced by discourses and intersubjective practices. This research has therefore employed a multi-level approach to discourse (Broadfoot, Deetz and Anderson, 2004) and offers useful ways of critically/collaboratively engaging with minority/counter discourses. This method can be used to explore other discourses and constructions of those that have been Othered. This method could then be used to study other contexts where the interest is in exploring the narratives of excluded rather than the narratives of dominant identifies. Engaging with counter-discourses can enable the creation of knowledge and research that can then form part of counter-discourse and over time and through repetition, refashion what constitutes the centre and the margin. In this vein the research is a feminist and

anti-racist activism as much as it is an attempt to examine the dynamic interplay between power and resistance in emotional performances in INGOs.

Mumby (2004) has helpfully suggested that critical discourse studies are both realist and social constructionist in their orientation. The realist emphasis enables critical research to aim toward policy and practice changes in the field and this study has highlighted the unhelpful circulation of binaries that must be challenged in INGOs as white organizational spaces.

### ***Empirical contributions:***

The empirical contributions firstly include examining disaster interventions in INGOs as postcolonial organizations. This is a relatively underexplored emotional arena (as compared to the airline industry or nursing, for example) and offers the scope for some novel insights. The empirical contributions span four significant areas:

### **INGOs as Neoliberal emotional spaces- neoliberal professional subjectivity:**

Using an emotions lens enables us to deconstruct the altruism of INGOs to foreground in its place, a corporatized, neoliberal organization that is competitive rather than collaborative and invested in profit rather than uplifting those who have been affected by disasters. This interpretation highlights the persistence of inequalities and exclusions based on colonial continuities that are evident in neoliberal and global organizational space.

Most importantly, it is through emotional misunderstanding and inattention made possible by submitting to monetary concerns as the bottom-line, that organizations continue to operate in an imperial mode. As a result of these inattentions, INGOs are oriented away from concerns of National workers and continue to engage in binary constructions that disadvantage National workers. The INGOs were then recognised as white organizational spaces. This recognition is a significant and critical one. While institutional racism is easily recognised, the corollary of

recognising organizations as white spaces is a much more muted notion. Even as this particular research was being written, the discursive resources to label organizations as white were not easy to access. Therefore this recognition that INGOs operate as white organizational spaces, could lead to an empowering usage by National workers collectively struggling for egalitarian organizational change.

The study has also helped explore the impact of neoliberal practices on the subjectivities of professionals, extending the work of scholars such as Nick Rose(1998) and Derek Hooks (2008). The National workers had inducements to subscribe the particular notions of success and maturity as well as emotional intelligence. All of these together made for professionals who were not committed to any value system strongly enough for it to interfere or cause friction with organizational decision making. Those professionals who felt value-dissonance were left to deal with the dissonance at an individual level as voicing of value-based concerns was seen as emotional and therefore professionally invalid. National workers therefore explicitly discussed the phenomenon of being 'branded' emotional but some continued to raise value-based concerns despite this negative repercussion. Professionals were better able to resist neoliberal dictates on their subjectivity when they had access to alternative models of self actualization, including role models that were engaged in the freedom struggle against colonial rule for example. Therefore neoliberal practices are quite powerful but were also practices that could be resisted with the use of counter discursive tactics. Some significant ways of resisting include being emotional fools, dangerous robots and adopting the brand of being emotional or argumentative with pride.

### **The emotions of marginalised employees are a 'critical' resource:**

This research has also empirically demonstrated the important of emotions as a critical resource (Jaggar, 1989) for organizational analysis. What National workers shared as emotional insights are corroborated by 'academic research' (Walkup, 1997; Duffield, 1994, 1996; Heron, 2007) and therefore serve as a marginalized internal critique in INGOs. The study has proposed that an understanding of emotion management cannot be separated from the contextual, value-based and

political aspects of organizational spaces. In making this proposal, this research supports other research that suggest that the “emotional undertow of people’s experiences in organizational life (can serve) as a source of intelligence into the challenges and dilemmas they are facing” (Armstrong and Huffington, 2004:6, brackets mine).

Acknowledging the link between emotions and values helps raise questions about notions of justice (Harlos and Pinder, 2003) for the employees of INGOs by showing how National workers are discursively constructed as less than the Expatriate workers. The insights from the research help argue for the need for INGOs that are positively ‘oriented’ toward all their workers. One potential policy impact would be to challenge the labels of National and Expatriate workers by recognising them to be counterproductive aspects of the colonial legacy of INGOs. In order to achieve this it would be important to engage with powerful organizations that represent INGOs, a task that will have its own treacherous journey.

### **Social/Discursive Construction of organizational emotions:**

This study has engaged in an interpretation that engages with intersubjective and discursive construction of emotion norms in INGOs. This research has empirically demonstrated the social construction of particular emotions such as anger, cynicism and frustration amongst National workers in postcolonial organizations. This social/discursive construction can be discerned at different ecological levels such as organizational/macro, intrapersonal and interpersonal levels. This research has empirically demonstrated snapshots of how emotions are social and discursive constructions and emotion management norms are biased toward dominant groups at all of these ecological levels. It has thus been able to demonstrate how the organizational, inter-personal and intra-personal processes engage in a ripple effect to ‘realize’ particular dominant discourses. This is an important demonstration of the play of power whereby power, is not merely top-down but is deployed through various points in the ecology.

For example, the instrumental emotional arena of INGOs, led to instrumental inter-personal relationships between National workers and Expatriate workers and to

turning the self into a tool for the organization. If any of these levels were disrupted, the instrumental discursive achievement would be interrupted. This recognition also provides us insights into how the challenge and change of dominant discourses could be initiated as a technology of the self, as a re-writing of interpersonal equations or as organizational policy changes as any of these changes would then create corresponding ripples in the other levels of the organizational ecology. While change seems uncertain, so does the perpetual continuation of dominance and both require discursive work.

### **Empirical demonstration of embodied emotional performances:**

This research has also empirically demonstrated the relevance of the concept of embodied emotional performances. Organizations require controlled emotional performances that make different demands on people based on how they are embodied. This is because of the presence of a 'social imaginary' whereby women and stigmatised races embody certain forms of 'lack' which make them ill-suited for organizationally required emotional control and suppression. "‘Embodying’ is about how bodies are at once targets of governance and disciplining strategies, objects and means of various representational economies, and sites of affect and performance" (Fortier, 2006:321). Therefore National workers are already fixed as lacking in the qualities that are needed in instrumental organizational spaces. The postcolonial context of disaster interventions INGOs ensures that critical and counter-discursive resources are available for National workers and therefore several National workers do not merely conform to the ideal of suppression and emotional control but instead use mimicry, sly-civility and hybridity to invent different ways of engaging with emotion norms - these different ways are characterized by a dialectic relationship between conformity and resistance. In this context, National workers employ embodied emotional performances to conform as well as resist emotional prescriptions in organizations. These performances include how National workers embody English verbal skills as well as how they conduct their bodies, facial expression, hand-movement and clothing to disrupt dominant discourses about them. This aids their tactical survival in organizations that they understand as corporate rather than altruistic and as culturally dissimilar. These performances are discursive constructions that are an outcome of

deliberations between discourses and counter-discourses and therefore even when National workers conform to organizational emotional requirements, they resist dominant discourses about their lack of ability to be emotionally controlled.

Emotional performances of stigmatised workers therefore involve dramaturgical stress. This has meant that emotions and embodiment or matters of aesthetics cannot be separated from one another (Tyler, 2009). In this sense this research demonstrated ways in which the sanctioned ignorance and the lack of reflection of privileged groups continue the exclusions based on stereotypical colonial discourses. This has also added to what we know about 'space invaders' (Puwar, 2004) and their survival in organizations, and what we understand about the phenomenology of whiteness (Ahmed, 2007) or the ways in which whiteworld (Gillborne, 2006) is sustained. Therefore National workers engage in different embodied emotional performances in order to survive as space invaders in whiteworlds.

### **Contribution to empirical research on Expatriates:**

The study has contributed to the organizational literature on Expatriates where recently there has been some interest in exploring a postcolonial critique of expatriation (Farrer, 2010; Leonard, 2010 and Coles and Walsh, 2010). These recent studies have highlighted that local voices continue to be absent from the research literature (Fechter and Walsh, 2010) and therefore this study addresses a significant under-development in the research and literature on Expatriates. The implications of this study are around the importance of critical reflection for Expatriates (see Raelin, 2007) whereby they can begin to become aware of the discourses that shape them as experts and begin to recognise that these discourses are challenged and undermined by host nationals in critically significant ways.

Another implication is for organizations that seek to use Expatriates whereby they would be providing a better condition for co-working if they did not allocate roles based on nationality but conducted more holistic assessment processes for distribution of different roles in organizations for different employees, as well as



enabled National workers to not experience any glass ceilings. The socio-cultural distances that are institutionalised by these labels prevent critical reflection and learning in interaction (Nicolini, Gheradi and Yanow, 2003) and therefore these distances need to be bridged or made irrelevant through inclusive organizational practices. Along with acknowledging these contributions there are also some limitations of this research, which have been discussed throughout the writing and are summarized below.

### ***Limitations of the research:***

This study had certain ontological, epistemological and methodological commitments which informed the particular assumptions that this study utilized in designing, conducting and interpreting the research. These areas were discussed in Chapter Four and the knowledge creation endeavour of this research was produced but also constrained by these assumptions. While the study aimed for coherence in these three aspects, it could be critiqued on various other aspects - conceptual, methodological, ethical and analytical and practical.

### **Conceptual limitations:**

This study prioritized a postcolonial perspective which promotes the salience of the colonial encounter as opposed to other important social experiences and categories such as class, gender, disability. While efforts were made to be inclusive and to produce an enmeshed analysis, this frame was given overall importance, and this led to potential conceptual lapses. These lapses were discussed in an ongoing way and efforts were made to incorporate insights from poststructural feminist theorising in particular to address these lacunae. While class and caste received cursory attention in the interpretation, the research narrative could give the impression that the diversity and difference within social groups does not produce areas of contention and contest. However, same-race encounters are not necessarily outcomes of reflection and awareness either (Patni, 2006) and this has not been sufficiently explored in this dissertation. Further, disabilities as well as sexual orientation were not engaged with in the analysis thereby leading to an investigation that is steeped in 'ableism' (Wehbi and Lakkis,

2010) and heteronormativity (Aymer and Patni, 2011). In addition, this interpretation did not explore and emphasize on the potential for solidarity across difference (Patni, 2007) and thereby risks reifying racial difference as primary, while trying to contest the assuredness of this very claim.

This study could have engaged much more explicitly with identity theories as emotion management and identity management are interlinked processes (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Aymer and Patni, 2011). Spivak's (Spivak and Baer, 2008:637) notion of feudality without feudalism especially holds significance as a critique of international voluntary and charity movements. This was left underexplored in this research and holds the potential for interesting insights when applied to these narratives.

### **Methodological limitations:**

Ethnographic studies (Lutz and White, 1986) and biographic studies could have both been alternative ways of examining this area of research. Examining the performative aspect of emotions through narratives is bound to have limitations as compared to examining the performative dimensions as an ethnographic study. By opting for re-membering of incidents through narratives, this research has opened itself up to the critique of the inaccuracies of human memory and the validity of these accounts. The methodological primacy accorded to the epistemic advantage of the oppressed could lead to the marginalisation of the recommendations of this study by the powerful INGOs. However, the strategic decision to focus on this particular side of the story was the outcome of the acknowledgement that a systematic and persistent silencing of this story has been in operation for some time. This one-sided focus therefore redresses the significant under-engagement with the narratives of National workers that has been in operation. They serve as critical voices in shaping the future of disaster management practices. This challenges the 'itinerary of silencing' (Spivak, 1990:31) that is set by the INGOs.

### **Ethical limitations:**

This study was based on the narratives of National workers and was guided by ethical concerns that are (now) banal practices in western academic institutions. This meant that the narratives were made anonymous even though several National workers wanted to be named and wanted to acknowledge their stories as their own. However, because of the use of snowballing sample, the organizations they were based in had not consented to their participation, and so naming the National workers would have jeopardised the confidentiality of their employing organizations. The ethical standards that are commonly practiced in educational institutions therefore could un/wittingly further dominance by enabling the curtailment of public critique through academic research.

### **Analytical limitations:**

Reflexive abilities are paramount in the exploitation of the quadri-hermeneutics (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009) that this research attempted. This involves paying attention to the unconscious, power, dominance, ideology as well as exercising sophisticated reflexive abilities. The analysis was therefore limited by the limits of the researcher's skills in this navigating this reflexive/critical vortex.

There are likely to have been several areas of over-attention and under-attention that have impacted on the particular selection of narratives to be prioritized and the explanatory or exploratory readings that were undertaken. Despite being thorough and painstaking, these were necessarily limited in their grasp. Both experience and further immersion of researcher could lead to potential improvements in the analysis. Further, first-person and co-operative enquiries (Reason and Torbert, 2001) could have made the analysis and interpretation more nuanced. Further this research set out with the intention of engaging with tropes in the narratives but has focussed more on metaphors rather than on irony, metonymy or synecdoche. While it has tried to build up chains of metaphors as suggested by Oswick, Putnam and Keenoy (2004), the tropological aspect of the interpretation could have been further developed.

### **Practical limitations:**

This study was devised as a form of activism (Fine and Vandeslice, 1992) and a 'noisy' intervention that would foreground the importance of emotions in value based decision making as well as the marginalized concerns of National workers who were the research participants. In its present format as a thesis, these aspects remain unrealized and therefore are limitations of this research study as it currently stands. This unrealized potential will only come to fruition with some persistent attention to the dissemination of research findings and the circulation of the concerns of National workers amongst decision makers. This requires a continued trust with 'brushing teeth' (Spivak, 1990:41) for social change.

Having recapitulated briefly the limitations of this research study, it would be useful to summarize some achievements of this research before moving on to implications for future research. To summarize, the culture of colonial continuities that INGOs promote is critically/emotionally engaged with by national workers. However their critique is marginalized because INGOs are not oriented in ways that can 'hear' these critical voices. This orientation needs to shift as lack of consultation and engagement with the critique of national workers continues the 'itinerary of silencing' (Spivak, 1990:31) that serves dominant interests of the 'international' non-governmental organizations. One possible area for the 'shift' might be the revoking of the 'essentialized' categories of National workers and Expatriate workers as discussed above. Another area of shift would be to recognise these tensions in the knowledge basis of humanitarian work. If humanitarian professionals do not problematize their ways of knowing they risk continuing neoliberal processes that constitute the feudality without feudalism (Spivak, 2005) which irks global civil society. Spivak uses this phrase to describe how the "international civil society, (and) self-selected moral entrepreneurs, themselves supposedly morally outraged (are) all working in the interest of capitalism, whether they know it or not, teaching their feudal dependents self-interest" (Spivak and Baer, 2008:637). Further it is through unlearning privilege (Spivak, 1990) that socio-cultural distance as well as feudality without feudalism can be redressed and as privileges are institutionalized in INGOs, the organizations also need to unlearn their ways of privileging.

### ***Implications for future research:***

Taking these aspects into account a research agenda for the future would need to focus on the following:

#### **Compulsory critical reflection:**

Future research could seek to create organizational spaces from where critical reflection could be made non-negotiable for privileged groups seeking to work in disaster interventions: The civilized self that intervenes in developing countries needs to develop a reflective skin, a capacity that is strategically diminished in western democracies (Burkitt, 2002). As a result of this strategic diminishing of reflective capacity, reflection becomes limited to a personal exercise (see Heron, 2007).

#### **Creating a positive difference in disaster management practices over time:**

Future research could seek to explore the professionalization agenda in disaster management and contribute to a constructive critique of this agenda. This could involve seeking ways of enabling the participation of low status workers of INGOs in changing the colonial continuities of disaster interventions in contemporary contexts. Therefore the ongoing resistances of National workers could lead to organizational changes and these needs to be creatively explored to learn lessons for the future.

Future research could also seek to explore the emotional arenas in other work contexts to investigate the pervasiveness of the discourse of emotional control and suppression as well to examine any other dimensions of resistance.

## ***Conclusion:***

In this research I read several narratives to produce an intertextual account of emotions in INGOs working in disaster interventions. Rather than the formal structural aspects of narratives, the plot, setting, characterization or temporal ordering, I used the narratives to investigate the 'social and political' organizational space (Plummer, 1995:19). In doing this I have had to acknowledge that narratives are not innocent productions. Gabriel (2004) cautions us against the increasing hegemony of personal experience in the field of knowledge because "the unmanaged organization", is composed of "emotional truths, half-truths and wishful fantasies" (Gabriel, 2004:71). It is from this 'unmanaged organization' that narrative research draws its meaning making resources and so what is shared as personal stories should not be seen as simply authentic and therefore left uncontested. This could also then mean that what I say in my research narrative should not be left uncontested as there could be "emotional truths, half-truths and wishful fantasies" in my telling of this story. However when personal experience is politically salient for a whole category of workers, it is worthy of recognition as more than 'personal' even though it also continues to be 'personal'. The binary between personal experience and social experience is therefore worth dismantling and 'deprivatization' (Czarniawska, 2000) can be an aim of narrative research.

The interviewer in narrative research seeks to "activate narrative production" (Holstein and Gubrium 1995:123) and as interviewees usually seeking to share more expert oriented views, sharing narratives creates a different story-telling/research space. In this story-telling/research space, as an active listener, I was also a 'coaxer' who plays "a crucial role in shifting the nature of the stories that are told" (Plummer, 1995:19). Therefore it must be recognised that these stories have been actively created through my acts of listening, hearing and producing as 'text'. In this sense the narratives have not examined issues of disability for example, and my interpretations have not highlighted the issues that are related to the governance within the Indian National boundary when disaster work is concerned. I have chosen to focus on certain relationships and certain exclusions in order to give them primacy and to prioritize them for critique. The

reading of narratives and their writing in a research document itself involves a process of translation (Spivak, 2000; Chavez, 2009) and I am aware of some of the ways in which the act of writing the narratives has shaped them differently. If I speak about these narratives, I might tell a different story. These are then all potential 'limitations' of research from a scientific view point but on the other hand this is the 'stuff' of narrative research. My frailties then might be my strengths and as readers, you will have your own interpretive frames that will help you remember this research narrative in different ways. This is because I am not the only one who shapes the stories that this research prioritizes. Stories are consumed and read differently in different contexts based on the '*social worlds*' and '*interpretive communities*' (Plummer, 1995: 22) that have particular ways of hearing the stories. Thus stories often evoke contrasting responses (Plummer, 1995: 22). The same story could evoke "support love and care" from one community of readers, and "exclusion, stigma and fear" (Plummer, 1995: 22) could be the interpretive frame of another community of readers. This is because communities are collective emotional worlds along with being symbolic and cognitive worlds. Therefore "stories ... are grounded in historically evolving communities of memory, structured through age, class, race, gender and sexual preference. There is often an organized pattern behind many of the tales that are heard" (Plummer, 1995:22). Narratives are therefore complicated, as well as being rewarding to interpret (Czariniawska, 2000:15). How a story is read therefore also tells a story about the reader.

As a reader I have had my lapses, my interpretive frames have constrained how I heard and understood these stories. As an author, what I would like you to remember most after you have read this document is that the exclusions, injustice and unfair organizational practices can be studied using an 'emotion in organizations' perspective. For this it is important to employ a poststructural notion of reflexive selfhood so that the research participants can be accorded the privilege of being critical subjects, rather than assuming that they are mute performers, unaware of the discourses that constrain/enable them. In this research, the epistemological project was to use social constructionist conceptualisation to go *past* poststructuralism, whereby it would be possible to infuse poststructural tenets

with the strategically chosen essentialisms offered by feminism and postcolonial theory to study emotion management in organizations. This stance enabled recognition of the exclusions based on colonial continuities in INGOs, which are perpetuated using the categories of Expatriate and National workers. National workers are called so because they work in their country of citizenship and their country of citizenship is a developing country rather than a developed country. They do not have any other defining features based on qualification or job role or function. National workers were seen to employ postcolonial tactics of selfhood such as mimicry, hybridity and sly civility to respond to an unjust organizational terrain.

The emotions of excluded employees construct the organization in critically reflective ways and serve as a heuristic guide to whether they feel value congruence in organizations. When there is value incongruence, resistance in micro interactions takes place through 'embodied emotional performances'. Stigmatised identities when engaging in embodied emotional performances, are able to survive in organizations where without these, they would be cast out. This underscores the potential of postcolonial tactics and agency in responding to the salient issues of race and colonial discourse in present day organizational contexts.

“None but ourselves can free our minds.” (Bob Marley)

“While we cannot live without our past, we need not live within it either.”  
(Amartya Sen)



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## ***Appendix A: email correspondence example***

Email to potential research participants:

Dear \_\_\_\_\_

“I am writing to you to request your involvement in my PhD research. Let me first say a bit about myself and then explain the project details of a research study that I wish to seek your participation for.

I studied Social Welfare Administration in Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Mumbai, and then studied Social Psychology from the London School of Economics. I work as a lecturer in the social work division at Brunel University, UK and am also doing my PhD alongside. I am enrolled on a part-time PhD because of my lecturing commitments. I would greatly appreciate the opportunity to be able to have you as a research participant in this study.

Trying to marry my disparate interests, I am studying emotions in organizations, focusing specifically on disaster interventions by International Non-Governmental Organizations. I am interviewing 'national' workers from India who work in International Non Governmental Organizations in disaster interventions to explore their experiences at work. I have found that the views of national workers are severely under-represented and wish to work toward remedying this to some extent.

I am hoping to hear from participants their stories from their working lives, and so in a way, there is no preparation a participant would need, other than recollecting and narrating events from work and reflecting on these along with me.

Kindly let me know whether you would be interested in being involved and also please let me know if you have any further questions that I might be able to answer/clarify. I do look forward to hearing from you and to collaborating with you and learning from your experiences.”

Thank you and regards

Rachana Patni

## ***Appendix B: Interview Prompts***

### **Interview Prompts for narrative interviews**

Introduce myself - locating myself in India as well as in the UK.

Brief introduction: " I am doing my research on emotions in organizations - trying to get an inside picture about how national workers of INGOs, such as yourself, who are involved in disaster interventions, make sense of and deal with the emotions they experience in their interaction with colleagues and seniors at work. I am interested in hearing your stories about the place of emotions in disaster interventions and am interested to learn more about how you engage with different world views or ideas of different colleagues."

- Perhaps in order to ground ourselves, we could begin with you giving an account of the various roles you have played in disaster interventions in your working life...
- When you think about your experiences in International Non Governmental Organizations, what incidents at work can you recall, that have been emotionally most difficult for you?
- What could you do about this? Did it lead to any individual/organizational response?
- What incidents can you recall about people helping you in these emotionally difficult situations?
- When you reflect on your early days in INGOs and the changes in you as a professional, what aspects come to mind?
- Any other thoughts?

In asking these questions, I will attempt to reword them so that they draw from the words that the participants use.

## Appendix C: Research Information Sheet



### Research Information sheet and consent form

Emotions in Organizations: investigating disaster interventions

**Researcher:**

**Contact Information** E-mail: rachana.patni@brunel.ac.uk

Many thanks for agreeing to participate in my research project. The project has to be completed in part fulfillment of my degree programme and so your assistance is much appreciated.

You have the experience of working with an International Non-Governmental organization during a disaster intervention, and I would love to have the opportunity to speak with you and to learn about your experiences from you in an interview with you. Please have a look at the information listed below and do not hesitate to contact me for any further information or clarification.

Thanking you,  
Sincerely  
Rachana Patni

**Purpose of the research:** The purpose of the research is to explore the emotional dimensions of working in disaster interventions.

**What is involved in participating:** *Research participants will be requested to engage in a conversation about their experiences of working in disasters. The interviews will be conducted at a place and time convenient to the research participants. Following completion of the interview, there will be a short debrief session and there might be follow up conversations in case Participants think of something they would like to share with the researcher.* I will ask you to complete the following: (i) a background information form, (ii) an interview. Your signature below serves to signify that you agree to participate in this study.

Your participation is voluntary and you can choose to decline to answer any question or even to withdraw at any point from the project. Anything you say will only be attributed to you with your permission: if not, the information will be reported in such a way as to make direct association with yourself impossible.

Confidentiality also means that the background information form and questionnaire will be coded and stored in such a way as to make it impossible to identify them directly with any individual (e.g. they will be organized by number rather than by name).

**Consent:**

I wish to be identified in the report YES  NO

I have read the above information and I agree to participate in this study (please tick)

Researcher's signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

# Appendix D(i)- Snapshot of Explication for 'Instrumental Emotional Arenas':

## Explication reading for first research question:

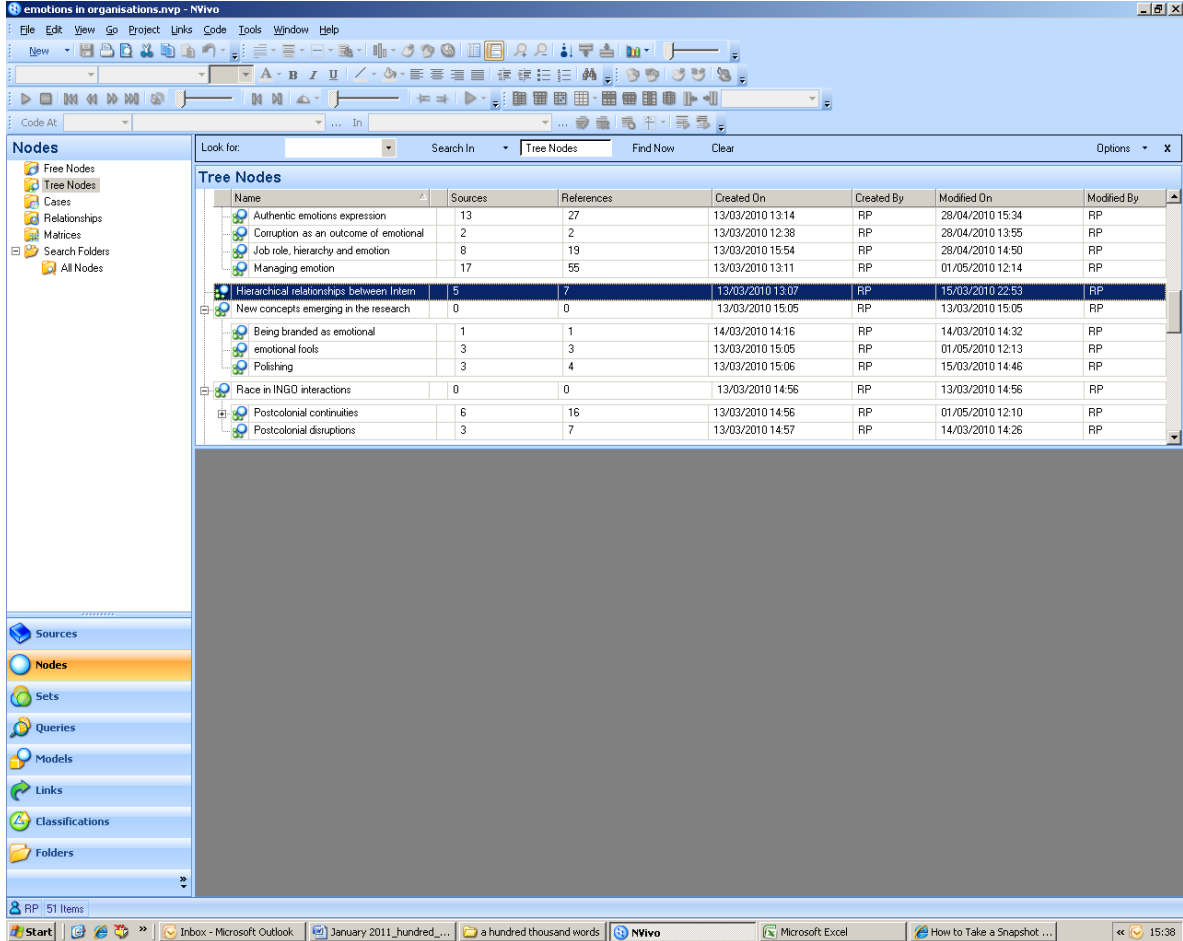
The screenshot displays the NVivo interface for a project titled 'emotions in organisations.nvp'. The main window shows a list of nodes under the 'Tree Nodes' tab. The nodes are organized into a hierarchical structure, with some nodes expanded to show sub-nodes. The table below represents the data shown in the 'Tree Nodes' table.

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
corporatisation of INGOs	2	2	13/03/2010 11:58	RP	01/05/2010 12:22	RP
Accounting and Reporting prioritised	7	8	13/03/2010 12:22	RP	15/03/2010 22:47	RP
benefits of emotional robots	1	2	13/03/2010 12:26	RP	13/03/2010 12:26	RP
Corporatisation leads to competition	3	3	13/03/2010 12:17	RP	05/05/2010 18:24	RP
Professionalisation of NGOs	5	8	13/03/2010 17:00	RP	15/03/2010 22:59	RP
why corporatisation is a misfit	3	5	13/03/2010 12:13	RP	28/04/2010 15:51	RP
Emergency measures	10	24	13/03/2010 13:28	RP	05/05/2010 17:35	RP
competition between INGOs in emerge	6	8	13/03/2010 13:39	RP	15/03/2010 13:24	RP
corruption in disasters	6	14	13/03/2010 13:51	RP	05/05/2010 17:26	RP
Desperation to spend money	7	11	13/03/2010 13:38	RP	28/04/2010 15:39	RP
gender and emergency	1	5	08/04/2010 14:06	RP	28/04/2010 13:43	RP
hire and fire culture	3	3	13/03/2010 13:28	RP	05/05/2010 18:25	RP
mechanical and ritualistic efforts	1	2	13/03/2010 16:53	RP	13/03/2010 16:56	RP
postcolonial framework of operation	12	44	13/03/2010 13:40	RP	24/03/2010 20:54	RP
Role of government	4	7	14/03/2010 11:38	RP	01/05/2010 12:24	RP
role of the international staff	15	35	13/03/2010 13:34	RP	05/05/2010 17:27	RP
struggle between thematic and operati	4	5	14/03/2010 15:28	RP	08/04/2010 14:21	RP



**Appendix D(ii)- Snapshot of Explication for 'Emotional Encounters':**

**Explication reading for second research question**



## Appendix D(iii)- Snapshot of Explication for 'Emotion Management':

### Explication Reading for third research question:

The screenshot displays the NVivo interface for a project named 'emotions in organisations.nvp'. The 'Tree Nodes' pane is active, showing a hierarchical list of nodes. The following table represents the data shown in the 'Tree Nodes' table:

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
Self in organization	3	4	13/03/2010 12:14	RP	28/04/2010 15:15	RP
appearance	2	2	15/03/2010 14:18	RP	28/04/2010 14:56	RP
Care of self	10	19	13/03/2010 14:33	RP	05/05/2010 17:36	RP
care of self part 2	4	8	13/03/2010 14:36	RP	26/05/2010 15:33	RP
buffering relations with	1	1	13/03/2010 14:36	RP	13/03/2010 14:36	RP
Recruiting emotional fo	1	1	13/03/2010 14:36	RP	13/03/2010 14:36	RP
conflict between organization mission	6	13	13/03/2010 15:42	RP	01/05/2010 12:12	RP
gender	6	15	13/03/2010 16:16	RP	28/04/2010 15:06	RP
gender and emergency	5	9	08/04/2010 14:10	RP	08/04/2010 14:21	RP
Spaces for sharing emotions	6	12	13/03/2010 15:52	RP	15/03/2010 17:22	RP
subjectivation to masculine or manage	12	26	13/03/2010 17:27	RP	01/05/2010 12:15	RP
Subjugation	2	2	13/03/2010 14:33	RP	28/04/2010 16:00	RP

The interface also shows a left-hand navigation pane with categories like 'Free Nodes', 'Tree Nodes', 'Cases', 'Relationships', 'Metrics', 'Search Folders', and 'All Nodes'. The 'Sources' pane is currently empty. The taskbar at the bottom shows several open applications including Outlook, NVivo, and Excel.