

Emotion and Appraisal; a Foucauldian Analysis

Mino0 Miri

100009795

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Abstract

Performance appraisal is recognised as both a social and emotional process with significant ramifications. This thesis draws upon Michel Foucault's thought on disciplinary power to conceptualise the appraisal as a tool for exercising power over employees to direct their conduct through differential distribution of rewards and punishments which in turn allocate differential value and worth to employees. It is suggested that this differential distribution of rewards and punishments elicit an array of emotions which in turn contribute to the exercise of disciplinary power by shaping employee conduct mainly in line with organisational goals. This thesis also suggests that the disciplinary mechanisms of appraisal and other organisational processes are strengthened by an enterprise discourse that attempt to govern employees through a combination of disciplinary power and technologies of the self.

It is suggested that Foucault had not developed a role for emotions in his thought on disciplinary power and governmentality. This research aims to contribute to his thought by suggesting that emotions play a role in the exercise of disciplinary power and governmentality.

This empirical research was conducted in a UK organisation that undertake performance centred evaluative appraisal with data being collected mainly from 35 semi-structured interviews with 35 participants over a 10-month period. In addition, data was collected from organisational documents, web pages and a day spent observing organisational orientation of new recruits. Utilising a social constructionist perspective, this study employed a narrative and thematic approach to the analysis of interview transcripts and identification of emotions in participant narratives.

This thesis also addresses gaps in appraisal research by extending our understanding of the role of emotion in the appraisal as well as extending research on emotions of control in organisations by consideration of the role of emotions in appraisal in attaining conformity and control of employee conduct.

Chapter 1 Introduction

The performance appraisal has a long history within organisations (Grint, 1993) this widely used process occupies a central pillar in the performance management of employees in many organisations (Pulakos, 2004). The appraisal may be used for a variety of reasons; such as administrative and/or developmental purposes, providing information that can be used in decisions about pay and promotions, or for terminations and sanctions, as well as identification and implementation of training and development needs (Elicker, Levy and Hall, 2006). Organisations frequently use the performance appraisal with the objective of aligning employee performance to organisational goals (Martin and Bartol, 1998; Brown and Benson, 2003), and to enhance employee commitment and job satisfaction (Levy and Williams, 1998; Tziner and Latham, 1989; Pettijohn, Pettijohn, Taylor and Keillor, 2001). This is a reflection of organisational desire to affect the behaviours and attitudes of their employees, and ultimately enhance organisational performance (Aguinis, 2009).

The appraisal has also long been a source of extensive interest amongst researchers trying to improve its effectiveness. When used as a platform for supporting the employee such as helping them through the process and clearing obstacles to performance or advice on career progression, then positive outcomes can be achieved through appraisal. The appraisal can achieve improvement in the individual's performance (Nathan, Mohrman and Milliman, 1991). However, the appraisal is far from a panacea to organisational or individual performance (Fletcher, 2001).

1.1 Dissatisfaction with Appraisal in Practice

In practice, both managers and employees complain of the ineffectiveness of performance appraisal. Performance management systems, which typically consist of performance appraisals and development of employees, are the “achilles’ heel” of human resource management in organisations. It is usually not poorly designed tools and processes that cause the discontent with performance management systems. The difficulties and discontent arise from the fact that performance management, which includes at its core the appraisal, is a highly personal and sometimes threatening process for managers and employees alike (Pulakos, 2004; Fletcher, 2001; Pym, 1973).

For example, a CIPD (2009) survey of HR practitioners found that only 20% of practitioners believed that performance management helps managers improve management of employees and 16% disagreed that performance management helps managers improve employee management. The same survey also found that only 18% of these practitioners believed that performance management improved individual and organisational performance with about

the same number disagreeing that performance improvements were achieved. Furthermore, Bowles and Coates (1993) surveyed HR practitioners of 48 UK organisations and found that 78% were experiencing problems with measuring actual performance, 71% were experiencing difficulties with the extra work load on managers and 80% of organisations reported difficulties with management skills in facing employees with low performance.

Employees also commonly express dissatisfaction with appraisal (Kluger and Denisi, 1996; Thomas and Bretz, 1994). The appraisal is recognised as a social and emotional process with the relationship between the manager and employee being crucial and potentially leading to satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the process (Nathan et al., 1991). Beer (1981, p.32) states that "there is no substitute for a good supervisor-subordinate relationship.... without such a relationship, no performance appraisal system can be effective". The attitude of the manager conducting appraisal has been identified as a source of variation in the appraisal experience of employees, with many managers reluctant and sceptical towards the process due to the considerable time and effort it requires and the potential conflict and stress the process can cultivate (Pettijohn et al. 2001; Heathfield, 2007).

1.2 Appraisal as Evaluation of Employee Value and Worth

Long ago scholars expressed their apprehension with the appraisal process as it pertains to the judgement of employees (McGregor, 1957) and the potential relational conflicts that could arise between manager and employee (Pym, 1973). McGregor (1957) underlines his unease that the manager is essentially asked to pass judgement of the worth of the employee. This judgement is at heart the acceptance or rejection and the objectification of the employee no matter the supposed improvement plans and training put in place by the organisation. When the appraisal is used to evaluate employee performance and in particular if evaluation is negative this can often lead to employees feeling criticised, defensive, aggressive, and even demoralised. In addition, employees may then feel negatively about their appraiser, often their first line manager, especially if they feel the process to be unfair (Meyer, Kay, and French, 1965; Drenth, 1984).

The capacity of the appraisal process to achieve positive employee outcomes such as commitment or improved performance depends on the "quality" of the appraisal experience. When employees feel dissatisfied with their appraisal experiences, this dissatisfaction spills over to their attitude towards their work and then they can become less committed to their organisation and in turn they may be more likely to contemplate leaving (Brown et al., 2010).

Appraisals are complex processes with scope for variation, for example due to subjective or politically driven evaluations of the supervisor which can be caused by emotion or self-serving agendas (Longenecker, Sims and Gioia, 1987). Not only is organisational efficiency impacted by the quality of the appraisal experience but employees are also sensitive to this key process as it determines their prospects of attaining or losing rewards such as pay, promotion and career development (Brown et al., 2010; Elicker et al., 2006). The outcome of variations in appraisals such as allocation of pay or failure to achieve promotion may provoke strong employee reactions and emotions (Ferris, Munyon, Basik and Buckley, 2008).

Furthermore, appraisal rating scores can reflect the worth of the employee and impact their self-esteem (Brown and Benson, 2003; Brown et al., 2010). Brown et al., (2010) suggest that the appraisal experience or quality is important to employees because it reflects the status and worth of the employee to the organisation, emphasising the employees' needs for belonging and self-esteem. Overall, the appraisal can be viewed as an emotional experience because employees' future prospects such as pay, promotion and status in the organisation depend on its results (Longenecker et al., 1987; Ferris et al., 2008).

1.3 Appraisal Eliciting Emotions

Appraisal can induce questions about the value, worth, status and belonging of the individual potentially leading to dissatisfaction. Accordingly, it is expected that studying employee emotions incurred through the appraisal would be of importance to both employees and organisations. The current research on emotions and appraisals tends to focus on the role of interpersonal affect between the manager and subordinate and how affect such as liking may influence performance ratings. This research has shown in the main that positive interpersonal affect of the appraiser for the appraisee tends to result in better interpersonal relationships, higher ratings and less accuracy. This stream of research has tended to focus on improving the accuracy of performance evaluations (Lefkowitz, 2000).

The literature on appraisal and emotion has not been concerned with the elicitation of emotions or how they may shape employee behaviour towards or even away from achieving organisational goals and optimising productivity. Despite the recognition of the potential emotional impact of the process, researchers have not examined the role of emotions induced through this pivotal organisational process. There is a gap within the appraisal and emotion literature on the role of emotions in shaping employee behaviour and aligning employees with organisational goals of enhanced productivity.

The current literature that has examined emotion and appraisal has been within the boundaries of conventional appraisal research. The critical appraisal literature has focused on how appraisal is used to exercise power and enhance employee productivity and has not examined the role of emotions in this productivity optimisation.

1.4 Traditional and Critical Approaches to Appraisal

Much of the orthodox organisational behaviour and HRM literature portray performance appraisal as an objective and rational process that is implemented to deliver performance improvement (Levy and Williams, 2004). In contrast, critical scholars have mainly adapted themes from Foucault's oeuvre to present the appraisal as part of an increasingly disciplined system of control, and question its apparent neutrality and rationality (Townley, 1993a; Barratt, 2003a). From a critical perspective, the appraisal functions as an apparatus of continuous surveillance that naturalises hierarchy and establishes non-egalitarian power relations. The appraisal is conceptualised as an apparatus for executing disciplinary power that enables surveillance, shaping employee subjectivity and identities and the distribution of rewards and punishments that shape and control employee agency and behaviour (Bergstrom, Hasselbladh and Karreman, 2009; Townley, 1993a).

Wilson and Nutley (2003) argue that appraisals involve subtle judgements on what is acceptable, valued and "normal" to the organisation, directing employees to behave according to what is valued and rewarded. Furthermore, Barlow (1989) suggests that appraisals provide a façade of rationality and efficiency which masks and legitimises managerial actions and allows dominant groups to pursue self-serving agendas without challenge. The "real" decisions on matters such as career progression and promotions are based on political and social evaluations that are unrelated to appraisal (Barlow, 1989; Longenecker et al., 1987).

This literature has mainly used Foucault's disciplinary power and his concept of governmentality as its lens on appraisal and has not examined the role of emotions in exercising power by shaping of employee behaviour. This underlines a research gap that examines the possible role that emotions may play in directing employee conduct through appraisal pointing to a possible contribution to the "how" of power, a question Foucault was interested in (Foucault, 1982).

1.5 Emotion in Organisations

Emotion is part of the fabric of organisations and plays an important role in much of the daily practices of its members (Fineman, 1993). Research on emotion in organisations has become a fertile industry with the help of scholars as Arlie Hochschild's work on emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983) that has fuelled a proliferation of research activity. The literature on emotions, power and control in organisations has so far mainly been concerned with the regulation and control of emotions. A few strands of research have also examined how employee behaviours can be controlled through emotions (Flam, 1993; Fineman and Sturdy, 1999). This leads to the underscoring of a third and adjoining gap in this literature which is how employee behaviour can be directed and controlled through the elicitation of the emotions in organisations through the appraisal that has not so far been examined.

1.6 The Objective of this Thesis

The objective of this research is to examine the role of emotions in the exercise of disciplinary power and the governing of employees that aim to shape and direct employee conduct towards enhancing employee performance. This thesis takes a critical position and suggests that organisations exercise disciplinary power through the appraisal by differentially allocating rewards and punishments and thus differentially valuing employees which may elicit emotions which in turn direct employee behaviour towards maximising performance. It is suggested that through appraisal organisations exercise disciplinary mechanisms such as normalising judgements, hierarchical ordering and individualisation of employees that define employee ability, qualities, status, value and worth differentially.

This research aims to examine the appraisal experience of employees to investigate how this process may elicit emotions and in turn investigate how they may shape employee conduct thus contributing to the exercise of disciplinary power and the government of employees. This thesis draws heavily on Foucault's thought on disciplinary power as its theoretical framework. It is also suggested that the disciplinary effects of appraisal are supported through further definitions of what types of behaviours and employees are valued through other evaluation processes and organisational discourse.

The research questions are hence:

What is the role of emotions in the exercise of disciplinary power in performance appraisal?

- How does the performance appraisal elicit emotions?
- How do emotions contribute to the exercise of disciplinary power?

1.7 Contribution of this Thesis

The first contribution of this thesis is to Foucault's thought on disciplinary power by suggesting that emotions play an important role in the exercise of power by contributing to the shaping of conduct of individuals. Hence, this thesis aims to contribute to a question that Foucault was interested in, the "how" of power. Foucault's detailed accounts of disciplinary mechanisms outline how disciplinary power is exercised yet he struggled to explain why individuals would "willingly" participate in these systems of power (Starkey and Mckinlay, 1998). The role of emotions could explain why individuals "willingly" participate in systems of power that could have negative effects.

The second contribution of this thesis is to the governmentality literature by expanding insight into how contemporary organisations govern enterprising employees through a matrix of disciplinary practices, a discourse that elevates enterprise and career and a selection processes that filter enterprising individuals utilising psychological profiling. The third contribution is to demonstrate that disciplinary and governmental outcomes of appraisal, an interweaving network of other disciplinary practices and enterprise discourse can cut across an apply to all levels of the hierarchy in an organisation.

The fourth contribution is to the appraisal and emotion literature by highlighting a possible role for emotions that may be induced in the appraisal that can enhance employee performance. These emotions at the same time potentially contribute to dissatisfaction with the process and may lead to an increase in turnover. Then the fifth contribution of this study is to the literature that has examined emotions, power and control in organisations by underlining how emotions that may be elicited through appraisal can be used by organisations to shape and control employee conduct towards the goals of profit. This research attempts to unveil another way emotions can be used as emotions of control in organisations.

1.8 Outline of this Thesis

This thesis is composed of eight chapters. The first three chapters contain the literature review which is crucial to setting up how this research fits into the current literature. Chapter two starts with the literature on appraisal. This chapter concentrates on a brief description on how the appraisal literature has moved from an initial concern with measuring and improving accuracy of the process to becoming more focused on examining the appraisal as a social process. Of Critical importance is that the literature on appraisal has examined emotion mainly in the context of affect between the manager and employee and there is an important gap in literature examining the elicitation of emotions in appraisal.

The next chapter focuses on the thought of Foucault on disciplinary power and governmentality which this thesis draws on for its theoretical framework. Chapter three describes Foucault's disciplinary mechanisms through which power is exercised and underlines his lack of attention on how these mechanisms elicit emotions which this thesis suggests play a role in the exercise of power. Chapter 3 also outlines Foucault's analysis on government of emotion/passions in antiquity, a part of his oeuvre he did not develop. This chapter also describes the literature that has used Foucault's thought on power as their theoretical approach demonstrating how power is exercised by shaping employee subjectivity and identity. Finally, the literature that has recognised the relationship between Foucault, power and emotions is set out.

Chapter four examines the literature on emotions beginning with an account of the history of emotions that connects emotions, passions and affections that also elevates the significance of Foucault's thought on the government of the passions. Then some of the key theoretical approaches used in the study of emotion are briefly outlined to illustrate that these approaches do not offer an underlying mechanism that can be used to study the elicitation of emotions at appraisal. The chapter then moves on to outline some key literature on the sociology of emotions of control and conformity. This literature suggests a relationship between emotions and human behaviour. Then finally, the literature on emotion in organisations is described with a concern for the relationship between emotions, power and control in an organisational setting.

Chapter five lays out the methodology and methods used in this thesis to conduct the research. This chapter explains why a qualitative approach has been taken followed by a description of the methods, sampling strategy, ethical and quality concerns and data analysis. This chapter also provides a brief description of the organisation's performance management and selection processes to place the study in context.

Chapter six sets out the findings of this study beginning by outlining the organisation's discourse and then moving on to a brief description of a "tale in the field" that provides a flavour of the organisation's culture. The main section of this chapter is concerned with the narrative interpretations of employee appraisals where employee accounts have been analysed and presented in a thematic order that describe how the organisation manages their employees through appraisal and disciplinary practices. This section outlines how the organisation shapes the behaviour of their employees through disciplinary practices and an enterprise/career discourse that distribute rewards and punishments to employees differentially. These narratives of appraisal demonstrate how emotions are elicited and how employees are directed to behave.

The seventh chapter discusses some of the main aspects of the findings such as the critical emotions elicited, the “therapeutic” relationships cultivated through appraisal and resistance demonstrated by employees. The Conclusions chapter summarises the key points of the findings and illustrates the theoretical contribution of this study before discussing the practical implications, future research and limitation of this study.

1.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter has introduced a summary of this thesis and provided a guide to the forthcoming chapters. The next chapter provides a literature review of appraisal outlining the shift in interest in research from accuracy and instrumentation to the social context of appraisal. Chapter two also highlights the first gap in research this thesis attempts to address which is research on the role of emotion elicited at appraisal.

Chapter 2 Performance Appraisal

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a literature review is presented on performance appraisal. The first section begins by presenting an overview of appraisal literature that demonstrates the importance of the social context of the process. A stream of literature has emphasised that the appraisal is a social process where factors such as relational dynamics play an important role in the outcomes of the process. This literature also presents the appraisal as a process that is used to distribute rewards such as promotion to employees. This distribution is however asymmetric as the appraisal is used to differentiate between employees. This asymmetric distribution has not been examined for its potential to elicit emotions. The review then presents the current and limited literature that has explored the relationship between appraisal and emotion. This literature demonstrates clearly that the evocation of emotions has not been explored in the context of appraisal. This in turn emphasises that there is a gap in research on appraisal eliciting emotions with respect to the exercise of power or the shaping of human conduct through appraisal.

It is also argued that the theoretical frameworks used in the literature on emotion and appraisals do not provide a valuable framework to examine the induction of emotions at appraisal. This highlights a need to use a different theoretical approach to explore the potential elicitation of emotions at appraisal which is the concern of this research. This chapter is mostly concerned with reviewing the traditional literature on appraisal, whilst critical studies using a Foucauldian approach are reviewed in Chapter 3.

2.2 Overview of Performance Appraisal Literature

Appraisals are commonly used in organisations and are one of the most frequently studied topics in organisational literature (Pichler, Varma, Michel, Levy, Budhwar and Sharma, 2015). The literature highlights various aspects of the role of appraisal in organisations. The traditional literature presents appraisal as a process that is a core part of performance management that is used in to enhance employee job satisfaction, motivation and organisational commitment and to impact and align employee attitudes and behaviours with organisational goals (Aguinis, 2009; Brown et al., 2010). The appraisal plays a critical role in organisations as it is used to make decisions on compensation, selection and promotion, termination and other employment practices that have significant ramifications on the employee (Ferris et al., 2008).

The appraisal is also a process that provides a means of distinguishing between poor and good performance that can in turn determine rewards distribution. This judgement and evaluation of the employee then influences the allocation of rewards to that employee. The appraisal then becomes a tool through which the organisation differentially allocates organisational rewards such as opportunities for self-development and career progression. Appraisal can also act to withhold these rewards where the employee may be judged to be a poor performer or where there is competition for these resources (Aguinis, 2009; Ilgen and Feldman, 1983; Pettijohn et al., 2001).

There is a long history of research on appraisal which has witnessed some meandering and branching out of the focus of empirical studies and scholarly attention. Overall, the research on appraisal has tended to be concerned with improving the effectiveness and success of the process and this was initially pursued through examining how to improve rating instrumentation and the accuracy of performance ratings. This focus changed due to lack of impact on effectiveness of the process and began to examine the social and organisational factors that could enhance or impede employee satisfaction and performance (Levy and Williams, 2004). The following sections will outline how research on appraisal has moved focus from instrumentation and rating scales to the social context of appraisal.

2.3 Early Focus on Instrumentation and Ratings

The early appraisal research was mainly concerned with rating scales, instrumentation and performance rating accuracy up till about the 1980s (Levy and Williams, 2004). Then the landscape of appraisal research began to manoeuvre into other directions partly because of an influential review by Landy and Farr (1980). These authors conducted a review of the research in the prior thirty years and concluded that the research that had thus far taken place had only a small impact on improving the effectiveness of appraisal. For instance, these authors suggested that studies that had focused on specific rater/ratee characteristics such as sex, age and race had demonstrated that these characteristics had either no influence or only a small impact on the accuracy of performance ratings and therefore did not improve the appraisal effectiveness.

Landy and Farr (1980) concluded that the research that had been concerned with improving instrumentations and measurements thus far had not succeeded to improve the effectiveness of appraisal and suggested that previous lines of research had probably gone as far as they could and there needed to be new directions for research. These authors provided some suggestions for potential new avenues such as attention towards the cognitive processes involved in making ratings judgements (the role of encoding, storing and retrieving

performance information on the validity of ratings), the influence of feelings towards ratees, and the potential influence of implicit personalities of raters on ratings.

Landy and Farr's (1980) review stimulated attention towards new directions in research and one of these avenues was the cognitive processes involved in measuring performance. Hence, the appraisal research landscape changed in the 1980s from a purely measurement focus to one that became more concerned with cognitive processes (Levy and Williams, 2004). This new domain enabled a better understanding of the appraisal process, however, it was also criticised for not having a major impact on the effectiveness of appraisal.

Scholars argued that research on cognitive processes did not enable practitioners to improve the appraisal or to resolve its practical issues. Thus, it did not contribute positively to the outcomes of the appraisal. Scholars at this point started turning their attention to the impact of the social and organisational context of appraisal as they began to recognise the appraisal as a social practice where the practical issues and outcomes were determined more by social factors such as the relational dynamics involved (Ilgen, Barnes-Farrell and McKellin, 1993; Levy and Williams, 2004).

2.4 Social Context of Appraisal

The 1990s witnessed a major shift in appraisal research as scholars started to recognise appraisal as a social process (Levy and Williams, 2004; Pichler, 2012). A review of appraisal research that examined over 300 articles by Levy and Williams (2004) covering the period between 1995 and 2003 concluded that appraisal research had begun to study the effects of the social context within which appraisals took place. The authors argue that appraisal research had recognised the impact and significance of the social context and the role it played in its implementation and effectiveness. Scholars had also begun to understand how employees experience the appraisal impacted their reactions to the process which in turn impacted the effectiveness.

Levy and Williams (2004) note that "appraisals are not just about accuracy, but are much more including development, ownership, input, perceptions of being valued, and being a part of an organizational team" (p. 889). The authors had grasped from their review that appraisals had important implications on employees such as their sense of value and worth within the organisation. The appraisal was not just about ensuring an objectively distilled or accurate rating but that it was an organisational tool that spoke to employees about their standing and membership to the organisation. The impact of the appraisal on the value and

worth of the employee was a more complicated process than just trying to ensure accurate ratings (Levy and Williams, 2004; Brown et al., 2010; Wilson and Nutley, 2003).

The move towards the social context in appraisal research navigated attention towards examining the experience and reactions to the process such that scholars could uncover what enhanced individual satisfaction and motivation to improve performance of employees. The quality of experience and reactions to the appraisal could have significant effects on employee commitment, motivation, and job performance and even on their intentions to stay or leave the organisation which summed up important practical issues.

There is general agreement between researchers and appraisal practitioners that assessment of appraisal reactions is important and can have important implications for organisational performance (Brown et al., 2010; Kuvaas, 2006; Keeping and Levy, 2000). Important practical implications being employees' attitudes, motivations, behaviours, sense of value and belonging which may rest more with the quality of the experience. These factors are likely to influence employee and organisational performance (McGregor, 1957; Pulakos, 1983; Brown et al., 2010).

The appraisal literature has identified many important factors within the social context; including rater-ratee relationships, organisational politics, impression management, fairness and justice, and rater affect (liking) towards ratees and emotions induced in the process (Ferris et al., 2008; Longenecker et al., 1987; Pichler et al., 2015). These social factors will now be outlined.

2.41 Impression Management

Researchers have found that impression management behaviours such as ingratiation and self-promotion result in higher performance ratings than more defensive techniques such as justifications and excuse-making (Gendersen and Tinsley, 1996). This suggests that employees understand that they can have a positive impact on their evaluations and the appraisal process by strengthening their relationships with their supervisors which can influence the allocation of organisational resources such as support from their managers and career progression within the organisation.

2.42 Manager-Subordinate Relationships

The literature has found the relationship between managers and subordinates is one of the most significant factors (Pichler, 2012; Pichler et al., 2015; Levy and Williams, 2004). For example, Pulakos (1983) found that when there was perceived similarity between a manager and subordinate, performance ratings were higher and when there was dissimilarity the authors suggest that managers significantly reduce supportive behaviours that would help

individuals achieve work goals and enhance their self-worth. Thus, a positive relational dynamic significantly impacts the appraisal outcomes and employee achievements. The quality of the relationship between a manager and his subordinate can have a significant impact on performance ratings (Pichler, 2012).

Another approach to studying this dyadic relationship commonly used by researchers is leader-member-exchange theory (LMX). LMX theory posits that leaders interact differentially with, respond to and treat their subordinates such that an employee can be categorized as a member of their in-group or out-group. High-quality-member-exchange relationships are defined by relatively more mutual trust, support, obligation and exchange of valuable resources. Performance of employees in high quality LMX relationships are likely to be rated more favourably (Wayne, Shore, Bommer and Tetrick, 2002; Kacmar et al., 2003) regardless of objective performance (Duarte, Goodson and Klich, 1993) and are characterised by more frequent communications (Kacmar et al., 2003).

A meta-analysis of studies that examined social context of appraisal by Pichler (2012) concludes that constructs in the literature that measure various aspects of the social context such as relationship quality, relationship satisfaction, manager support and manager trust are significantly related to appraisal reactions that are in turn related to job attitudes and job performance (Pettijohn et al., 2001; Jawahar, 2006). The results of this meta-analysis demonstrate that appraisal reactions are positively related to both the relational dynamics as well as ratee participation in the process and rating favourability.

Furthermore, as the appraisal facilitates resource allocation and thus enables an economic exchange, this instrumental relationship is also positively related to appraisal reactions. However, the meta-analysis concludes that the more significant driver for employee reactions to appraisal is the relational dynamics. This meta-analysis found that the relationship quality between the manager and ratee is more important than the distribution of financial and economic rewards facilitated by the appraisal (Pettijohn et al., 2001; Elicker et al., 2006).

Research examining the relationship between manager and subordinate and appraisal outcomes therefore highlights that employees are differentiated from one another due to the quality of this dyadic relationship and are then accorded differential value and worth by receiving more rewards compared to their peers who may not be accepted as part of the inner circle of the manager. Those employees in higher quality relationships may thus be judged through the appraisal as having higher qualities and abilities as well as securing more opportunities for promotion and receiving higher financial compensation. This questions the apparent objectivity and neutrality of the appraisal process and underscores the potential for

eliciting emotions that reflect an individual's evaluation of abilities, value and worth (Ferris et al., 2008; Brown et al., 2010; Townley, 1993a).

2.43 Organisational Politics

Another example of how the social context of the appraisal can have an immense influence on appraisal outcomes is organisational politics. An examination of the political dimension of organisations asserts that in practice managers may not be motivated by ratings accuracy in appraisals (Levy and Williams, 2004) and that the “appraisal does not so much discover ‘the truth’ about the appraised but construct it” (Grint, 1993). In a qualitative study where sixty executives were interviewed on appraisal, Longenecker et al., (1987) found that political motivations played a significant role in decisions on the distribution of organisational rewards such as ratings, salary, promotions and development and on employee punishments such as the withholding of rewards. Managers' decisions were significantly dependent and fuelled by their own career aspirations and goals as well as those of their employees so much that the appraisal became a political tool. Appraisal rating decisions were intentionally and politically inflated or deflated leading to differential opportunities and career progression for employees.

In another qualitative study of a petrochemical company Barlow (1989) suggests that the appraisal can be a superficial process, where employee performance or its accurate measurement is not the driving force for decisions on organisational rewards such as career progression. Instead these decisions are politically motivated and form tactics of power which lie in the hands of senior managers who make these decisions based on their own self-interests. Thus, the distribution of rewards and status were made by an influential network of managers, and not by the objectivity of evaluations in appraisal.

2.44 Fairness and Justice

Cardy and Dobbins (1994) argue “with dissatisfaction and feelings of unfairness in process and inequity in evaluations, any appraisal system will be doomed to failure” (p. 54). Within the framework of examining the social context of appraisal another area that is now researched commonly are the perceptions of fairness and its resultant satisfaction with the process through constructs such as distributive, procedural and interactional justice (Levy and Williams, 2004; Pichler, 2012; Keeping and Levy, 2000). Procedural justice and the perceptions of fair treatment predict employee reactions, satisfaction and commitment to the organisation (Pichler et al., 2015; Farndale and Kelliher, 2013).

Perceptions of justice involve social comparison with one's peers and communicating information to individuals about their standing and status within the organisation. An

individual's treatment by the manager and the extent to which they are treated favourably describes their standing within the group and in comparison, to their peers. Groups are a source of intangible resources such as status and self-esteem and an individual can derive a sense of worth through their standing within the group (Lind and Tyler, 1988; Tyler and Lind, 1992; Lind, Kiefer and Earley, 1990; Greenberg, Ashton-James and Ashkanasy, 2007).

The research that has been concerned with fairness and justice also elevates the ability of appraisal to differentially distribute status, value and worth to employees which means that some employees will perceive themselves as having more value, status and worth compared to their peers. The perception of lack of value and worth or high worth is likely to elicit an emotional response. The potential significance of emotions in the appraisal process have been recognised and yet the research that has focused on the emotions elicited through the appraisal process is scant and has not examined the emotions that may be elicited through differential allocations of value, status and worth.

The following section outlines the current literature that has investigated the relationship between emotion and appraisal. This literature is also examined with regards to the suitability of the theoretical frameworks used as the lens for this research.

2.5 Performance Appraisal and Emotion

The appraisal has been recognised as an emotional process due to the significance of its outcomes such as the asymmetric allocation of organisational rewards. The appraisal literature has not yet examined the potential for appraisal to elicit emotions according to how organisations and managers choose to allocate these rewards through the appraisal (Longenecker et al., 1987; Ferris et al., 2008). The role of emotions has not been examined with respect to shaping employee behaviour, motivation, satisfaction with the process or performance in the context of appraisal. The existing literature on appraisal and emotion has mainly focused on examining the influence of interpersonal affect on performance rating decisions (Lefkowitz, 2000; Landy and Farr, 1980).

For example, Cardy and Dobbins (1986) investigated the influence of affect (liking) in a laboratory based experiment where 66 students evaluated the performances of hypothetical professors and found that affect had a significant impact on rating accuracy. In another laboratory based experiment Robbins and DeNisi (1994) found that when 83 students evaluated their professors, affect influenced the process and outcome of performance evaluations. Wayne and Liden (1995) investigated the impact of impression management in a field study of 111 non-academic supervisor/subordinate pairs, and found that subordinate

impression management induced perceptions of liking which in turn enhanced performance ratings.

Whilst in the main, research has suggested that interpersonal affect can cause inaccuracy in performance ratings (Lefkowitz, 2000), Varma, DeNisi and Peters (1996) carried out a field based study with 85 supervisors and 404 subordinates concluding that affect may actually be a result of better performance by the subordinate. In a change of focus Varma, Pichler and Srinivas (2005) investigated the influence of culture on ratings in a survey based field study and found that interpersonal affect was a biasing factor in India but not the US.

These studies have predominantly used cognitive information processing as their theoretical framework. Cognitive information processing posits that different information processing strategies are available to individuals to interpret ambiguous situations and these strategies are open to the influence of affect (Forgas and George, 2001). Cognitive information processing is unlikely to provide a mechanism for examining how emotions can be elicited through the appraisal.

In a move away from cognitive processing Duarte et al., (1993) apply leader-member exchange (LMX) model of leadership to examine interpersonal affect. In a field study of 261 supervisor/subordinate pairs these authors found that poorly performing employees in high-quality relationships but not low-quality relationships were given high performance ratings. LMX posits that high LMX employees characterised by high trust and respect receive more support and better rewards that are not available to low LMX employees (Duarte et al., 1993). However, this theoretical approach does not elaborate on a mechanism for the induction of emotions in the appraisal process.

Lam, Yik and Schaubroeck (2002) use Affective Events theory (AET, Weiss and Cropanzano, 1996) as their theoretical lens to examine the effects of “actual” performance appraisal feedback on work and organisational attitudes of 359 bank tellers in Hong Kong. The authors concluded that negative affectivity moderated the relationship between favourable appraisal feedback and employee job attitudes. The study found that improved attitudes of tellers low on negative affectivity persisted over 6 months whereas those with high negative affectivity only demonstrated improved attitudes after 1 month but not at 6 months. AET posits that workplace events are the proximal causes of emotional reactions and the subsequent behaviours and attitudes of individuals. AET, however does not provide a precise description of events or their underlying mechanisms that lead to emotional reactions (Game, 2008) thus would be unlikely to facilitate the detailed exploration of the role of emotions in the appraisal context.

Finally, Brown and Benson (2003) have studied the relationship between appraisal and emotional exhaustion in Australian employees. They suggest that as appraisals have become more commonly used in Australia, workplace surveys provide evidence that there has also been a higher incidence of employees feeling overworked (Morehead et al., 1997 cited in Brown and Benson, 2003). This is also demonstrated from scholarly research that finds appraisals are associated with improved commitment and productivity of employees (Kessler and Purcell, 1992).

Brown and Benson's study surveyed 2,898 public sector employees in Australia post an actual performance appraisal and found that emotional exhaustion was negatively related to distributive and procedural justice and that higher emotional exhaustion resulted from improved rating achievement. That is to say when employees perceive the appraisal process to be unfair and the outcomes of the process are seen as unfair this leads to higher likelihood of emotional exhaustion in employees. In addition, employees are inclined to pursue higher ratings and this also leads to emotional exhaustion. This study highlights both a positive and negative impact of appraisal in that employee productivity may increase but at a cost of increasing the likelihood of resulting in more employees suffering from emotional exhaustion. Emotional exhaustion is characterised by lack of energy and depletion of emotional resources (Maslach and Jackson, 1981 cited in Brown and Benson, 2003). An exploration of emotional resources is unlikely to explain why emotions are evoked in the appraisal process.

The literature on emotion and appraisal demonstrates that initially the research was mainly concerned with the influence of affect on rating accuracy and more recently this stream of research has begun to examine the role of other constructs such as negative affectivity and emotional exhaustion in employee attitudes and the appraisal outcomes. It can be argued that research on emotion and appraisal has begun to explore the impact of differential allocation of organisational resources on employees in particular in the Brown and Benson's study of emotional exhaustion. However, this research has only examined the outcome of emotional exhaustion and not addressed how this differential allocation of organisational rewards can elicit discrete emotions and what the role of these emotions may be in employee performance and productivity.

The literature on appraisal and emotion has used a variety of theoretical frameworks that have been chosen to fit the aims of the study. None of the approaches outlined above provides a valuable framework for exploring how appraisal elicits emotions. Hence, an alternative theoretical approach is needed that provides this underlying mechanism.

Foucault's concept of disciplinary power is such an approach and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

2.6 Chapter Summary

The literature on appraisal demonstrates that research on instrumentation and cognitive aspects of appraisal have not succeeded in improving the efficacy and practical issues of this process. There is also a recognition that focusing on achieving accurate ratings does not necessarily lead to an improvement in the process. As a result researchers have increasingly turned towards investigating the social context of appraisal which includes research on the relationship between appraisal and emotion. However, this latter area is still limited in its scope and has mainly focused on improving accuracy of ratings by examining the influence of manager affect towards the ratee. The literature on emotion and appraisal has not examined the role of emotion on the shaping of performance and behaviours of employees, this is a gap this thesis attempts to address.

Research on the social context argues that features such as the relationship between the manager and the subordinate, impression management, political factors and networks and perceptions of fairness can have profound implications on how the employee experiences the appraisal and how this process is used to allocate organisational resources. This research indicates that the appraisal may not be an objective process or that objective evaluations may not be the main interest to the manager and the organisation. This demonstrates that features such as quality of relationship and politics inevitably may lead to an underlining of the differential allocation of organisational rewards, status and value to employees which makes this asymmetric distribution a significant feature of the appraisal process.

These factors play an important part in the evaluation, judgement and differentiation between employees in organisations which can have significant ramifications for the employee as important organisational resources and rewards are distributed through the appraisal. Appraisals can be used to differentially allocate rewards such as manager support and career progression and may also be used to withhold these rewards that then act as punishment for the employee.

These differential evaluations and allocation of limited organisational resources are also likely to induce social comparison and emotions in employees. These evaluations and judgements result in differential allocation of rewards that determine unequal standing and status for employees within the organisation as well as feelings of acceptance and belonging. Therefore, it is likely that the investigation of emotions elicited through appraisal may

contribute to improving the efficacy and success of this process and aid in improving the quality of experience of appraisal.

The next Chapter will outline critical appraisal literature that has used Foucauldian thought on disciplinary power and technologies of the self as their lens on this organisational process to portray appraisal as a tool for exercising power over employees to direct their conduct to be aligned with organisational goals. This chapter demonstrates that this literature has been concerned with how the appraisal shapes employee subjectivity and identity to direct their behaviour and has not examined the role of emotions in the execution of disciplinary power. This chapter lays out limited conceptual literature that links self-conscious emotions with appraisal and Foucault's thought on power, however this literature is non-empirical.

Chapter 3 also examines other Foucauldian studies that have used his thought on power to examine human behaviour in organisations to illustrate that this literature has largely focused on subjectivity and identity with only a small number of studies that have examined a limited role for emotions. This chapter, then, highlights the gap in research that has examined the role of emotions in the exercise of disciplinary power in appraisal as well as to outline Foucault's thought on the mechanisms of disciplinary power, technologies of the self and governmentality that are adopted as the theoretical framework of this thesis.

Chapter 3 Foucault, Appraisal and Foucauldian Studies

The previous chapter discussed the more traditional literature on appraisal which has involved research of the relationship between emotion and appraisal. In this chapter, the critical literature that has used Foucault's thought on disciplinary power and technologies of the self as its lens to examine appraisal will be reviewed. This literature has not examined a role for emotions in the exercise of disciplinary power at appraisal which is a research gap this thesis addresses. The literature that has conceptualised appraisal as a tool for exercising disciplinary power to direct and control employee behaviour and to cultivate social order has had a strong concern for how employee identity and subjectivity act as vehicles for power and directing conduct. Two conceptual papers that have linked self-conscious emotions to appraisal and Foucault's thought are also described. These articles are theoretical and do not distinctly adopt disciplinary power or technologies of the self as their theoretical framework.

This thesis aims to develop a role for emotions in the exercise of disciplinary power by an empirical examination of appraisal and how organisations exercise disciplinary power through differential allocation of rewards and punishments. This differential allocation of rewards in turn allocates differential value and worth to employees that may elicit emotions which can direct employee behaviour towards organisational goals of enhancing productivity.

This chapter also reviews other Foucauldian studies that have used his thought on power to examine human behaviour in organisations through shaping subjectivity and identity thus further highlighting the gap in research that has neglected a possible role for emotions in the exercise of disciplinary power to direct employee behaviour. In addition, this chapter reviews the limited Foucauldian literature that has examined emotion to underline that scholars have not yet investigated the contribution of emotions can make to the exercise of disciplinary power. This review also includes literature on governmentality and emotions.

First this chapter begins with outlining the key aspects of Foucault's thought around disciplinary power, technologies of the self and governmentality with a more detailed examination of his work on disciplinary mechanisms that informs the central part of the theoretical framework. Foucault's thought on governmentality also included an analysis of emotions in the care of the self. These were practices or social injunctions in antiquity that encouraged individuals to govern their emotions. Foucault did not develop this aspect of his thought around emotions and governmentality any further to include a specific role for emotions in the exercise of disciplinary power or government of individual conduct.

Then the theoretical framework of this research is outlined. The chapter then reviews the critical appraisal literature that has used a Foucauldian lens then moving to discuss other studies that have used Foucault's thought to study human behaviour in organisations and finally the chapter reviews the limited literature on emotion, Foucault, power and governmentality.

The following section introduces Foucault and his thought on power.

3.1 Foucault

“My field is the history of thought. Man is a thinking being. The way he thinks is related to society, politics, economics and history and is related to very general and universal categories and formal structures.....The way people act or react is linked to a way of thinking, and of course thinking is related to tradition.” (Foucault, 1988c, p.10)

Foucault was Professor of Systems of Thought at College de France in Paris from 1970 to his death in 1984. He had an interest in analysing human behaviour from a historical lens and his thought and methods have been greatly influential to contemporary analysis of human behaviour (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983). Foucault was clearly concerned with the human being as a thinking person. He was particularly interested in the systems of thought behind certain practices and discourses at particular times in the history of man, for example, the practices of governing individuals or populations. He was interested in the systems of thought that made it possible to govern or shape an individual's behaviour through particular forms, to make its activities thinkable and practicable for their practitioners and their targets (Power, 2011; Gordon, 1991).

Foucault's work expressed his ongoing reflections around core themes such as subjectivity, power, knowledge and the self. Foucault does not provide a theory of action (Power, 2011) within his conceptualisation of power. Foucault's work on power and discourse (1970, 1977) have been criticised for not including the roles or effects of agency, individual intentions and motivations (McNay, 1991; Newton, 1994, 1998). However, he has explicitly explained that his interests did not lie in the individual's intentions, rather he was interested in the systems of thought behind certain practices and discourses; the historical conditions of the possibility of how these individuals were made into subjects of systems of power-knowledge (Power, 2011).

Foucault was interested in critically evaluating aspects of contemporary practices that are taken as a given and to understand its contingent relationship with “games of truth”, and to highlight that we as subjects constitute ourselves, our systems of knowledge and thought

according to these “regimes of truth”. Foucault thought that the subject had been historically problematized in different ways so as to shape the subject’s conduct with particular ends in mind, such as making the subject productive for economic gain in capitalism (Foucault, 1977; Kendall, 2011). He was questioning “the relationships between our thought and our practices” (Foucault, 1988b, p.145-146).

His oeuvre is often divided into three roughly chronological periods, the first of which saw him mostly concerned with the study the history of systems of knowledge and discourse, his archaeological phase (Foucault, 1965, 1970, 1972, 1973). In the second period, he became concerned with power- genealogical phase (1977, 1980, 1982). In the third period, his attention moved towards the technologies of the self and practices of self-formation (1986, 1988, 1990). However, his thought and analysis of these themes cannot be divided as an orderly progression. His thought on themes such as power, governmentality, subjectivity and self-constitution were at times fragmented and constantly evolving throughout the 1970s and 1980s. He wrote books and lectured on separate parts of his work as his thought evolved in different directions (Elden, 2016).

This thesis is mainly interested in his analysis of the mechanisms behind the exercise of disciplinary power and his work on technologies of the self, governmentality. Foucault did not develop his disciplinary mechanisms as potentially eliciting emotions which in turn may direct the individual’s conduct. This thesis suggests Foucault’s conceptualisation of disciplinary power and its mechanisms can be used to explore how emotions may be induced through appraisal.

The next sections outline Foucault’s thought on power, starting with disciplinary power and mechanisms, war as lens for analyzing power, and finally his thought on governmentality which includes his analysis of emotions in the government of self in antiquity.

3.2 Disciplinary Power

By the time he wrote his most accessible work *Discipline and Punish* (1977), Foucault had turned his attention to power and in this book, he describes how a new way of thinking occurs in the 17th and 18th century in the way society conceives of and carries out punishment. At this time, forms of punishment changed drastically from the spectacle of public torture and execution to institutionalised discipline and punishment such as imprisonment, confinement and correction. This was carried out in the guise of “reform” and humanisation of punishment that Foucault argues was just a change in the way power was exercised. This described a move away from sovereign rule to disciplinary power, although he argues that

no form of power is completely displaced, and different forms of power intertwine and can either support or even undermine one another. Foucault uses this transformation to argue that public infliction of pain is displaced by discipline of the individual where the body is a specific target (Foucault, 1977).

Foucault argues that these changes in punitive methods were not a simple consequence in penal law and legislation or social structures but were an expression of a new technology of power. He recounts the development of this modality of power which he names disciplinary power that is exercised through a multiplicity of interconnected mechanisms. This new modality of power and its disciplinary practices spread into a wide-ranging set of other institutions such as factories and hospitals and hence articulated a new means of punishment through surveillance, observation and making individuals visible (Foucault, 1977). In essence, Foucault is concerned with disciplinary technology and power more than the prison. He is interested in how individuals are punished and the “punitive reason”, that is, the strategies and logic behind punitive practices (Foucault, 1991).

Moreover, Foucault views the history of penal law to be intertwined with the emergence of the human sciences as essential components and consequence of this modality of power where the individual becomes the object of “expert” knowledge through scientific measures and discourse. He thus constructs a key relationship between power and knowledge to emphasise the embeddedness of knowledge in practices of control as well as their related resistance. Foucault is interested in the “how” of power (Foucault, 1982, 1977).

Disciplinary power is a strategy, it is not possessed or acquired like a commodity by an individual or institution or by a dominant class, and its effects are enabled through its strategic positions and the engendering of a network of relations. It is not a matter of a totalising domination that cripples resistance, these networks or power relations are in constant tension, in reciprocal activity, their subjects struggle against power to try to resist its unwanted effects and where there are “innumerable points of confrontation, focuses of instability, each of which has its own risks of conflict, of struggles, and of an at least temporary inversion of the power relations” (1977, p. 27).

Foucault emphasises the productive aspects of power urging not to think of power where its main effects are to repress, prevent and to exclude. The mechanisms of power “are linked to a whole series of positive and useful effects which it is their task to support” (p. 24). Foucault finds a key role for the body of the individual in the exercise of power

“it is always the body that is at issue - the body and its forces, their utility and their docility, their distribution and their submission.....the body is also

directly involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs. This political investment of the body is bound up, in accordance with complex reciprocal relations, with its economic use; it is largely as a force of production that the body is invested with relations of power and domination; but, on the other hand, its constitution as labour power is possible only if it is caught up in a system of subjection” (1977, p.25-26)

As well as the body Foucault also speaks of the non-corporal soul that is given rise to by the exercise of this modality of power and its accompanying knowledges

“[the soul] it is produced permanently around, on, within the body by the functioning of a power that is exercised...it is the element in which are articulated the effects of a certain type of power and the reference of a certain type of knowledge” (p.29)

Foucault compares this soul with the concept of psyche, subjectivity, personality or consciousness. The disciplined body and the induced soul are instruments and forces put to use towards economic productivity.

Foucault does not provide a theory of power, he instead unravels how power is exercised in the mundane practices that we take as given. The individual becomes in increasing detail knowable to train, modify and correct his conduct through power relations that are incited through disciplinary mechanisms. The relationship between power and knowledge is a key scaffolding structure that is intimately connected; they imply and reinforce each other. Foucault’s line of argument for the exercise of power in this period of his thought rests firmly in the hands of specific procedures or disciplines that are outlined in the next section.

3.21 Disciplining the Body through Training

Foucault argues that disciplinary power imposes docility of the individual achieved through meticulous and detailed training and dressage. The aim of these mechanisms is to make each individual amenable to the exercise of power, intervention, and correction with a purpose of increasing the productive capacity and ultimately value of that individual within the system. This runs through the fabric of each of these mechanisms.

Through training the skills and aptitude of the individual is enhanced, they are transformed and improved and they also become subjected through these methods. “Discipline makes” the individual. Foucault is suggesting that each disciplinary mechanism acts as different thread through the body, each intertwined with the others, investing in the body, imitating, repeating and overlapping as though they were weaving the individual into being. The individual is dominated in this mode of power; the mechanisms take a hold of the individual

shaping its behaviour, in a coercive environment, but where resistance also exists at each point where power is exercised.

3.22 Discipline as Art of Distribution

Through the art of distribution individuals are made amenable to intervention and correction; they are partitioned off from each other, distributed into separate marked spaces that allocate a specific position to each person. Distribution enables assessment, measurement and judgement of their ability, skills and aptitude. This distribution is not fixed; the individual can be moved and circulated depending on their behaviour. This mobility can act as intervention or correction as each position can be assigned a different value thus each individual given a specific value according to productivity.

The aim is to produce an efficient and productive subject, a docile subject that can be shaped and directed. The articulation of individuals into different locations allocates differential and hierarchical rank. The individual becomes individualised according to their rank, quality, merit, performance, value and so on. This knowledge is built layer by layer and the individual becomes “known” and judged through it. Discipline is an art of rank and distribution.

Thus, distribution creates a social order, a hierarchical order, a flexible and contingent order captured by grids and tables that articulate it clearly. This type of power also creates through its capillary reach and division of individuals a network of individuals, it evokes relations of power as each individual is compared, measured, valued and placed on a visible grid. The individual is objectified and differentiated from his neighbours, his peers. Each technique of power composing and shaping the conduct of its subjects, directing how they think and understand themselves, constituting a particular subjectivity that is contingent on their positions on the grid, their performance and the judgements made on them. They are divided, isolated and categorised according to these knowledges.

3.23 Hierarchical Observation and Normalising Judgements

The exercise of power includes an apparatus that enables hierarchical observation, a disciplinary gaze that makes individuals visible and contributes to further knowledge and subjection. This surveillance adds to the hold on individuals helping to correct and transform their conduct. It works discreetly and anonymously; its gaze reaches everywhere even to the supervisors who themselves become supervised. Everyone is visible, their conduct, zeal and productivity visible to the gaze. It perpetuates relational power as each person in their own place can be seen, unsure if the gaze is on them but knowing and potentially internalising

their visibility. The gaze further cultivates the individuating and individualising effects of disciplinary power.

Foucault uses the metaphor of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon where an individual can be watched from a tall central tower that accords individuals permanently visible. The individual is induced towards self-discipline and to behave according to the rules and expectations. There is a non-egalitarian network of relations of power between the visible and individualised and those in positions that operate the machinery. Foucault recognises that different individuals occupy distinct positions in the power relations framework (Foucault, 1980a); but that everyone is under the gaze even the supervisor and everyone can be moved from their positions.

Behaviour that deviates from the rule is corrected that creates a normalising effect where individuals are differentiated, compared, and measured against a minimum standard, an average and an optimum level. The individual is judged and assessed on to an axis where opposing ends define good and bad behaviour and character.

“by the play of this quantification, this circulation of awards and debits, thanks to the continuous calculation of plus and minus points, the disciplinary apparatuses hierarchized the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’ subjects in relation to one another. Through this micro-economy of a perpetual penalty operates a differentiation that is not one of acts, but of individuals themselves, of their nature, their potentialities, their level or their value. By assessing acts with precision, discipline judges individuals ‘in truth’; the penalty that it implements is integrated into the cycle of knowledge of individuals... The distribution according to ranks or grade has a double role: it marks the gaps, hierarchizes qualities, skills and aptitudes; but it also punishes and rewards. It is the penal functioning of setting in order and the ordinal character of judging. Discipline rewards simply by the play of awards, thus making it possible to attain higher ranks and places; it punishes by reversing this process. Rank in itself serves as a reward or punishment.” (p. 181)

Discipline hierarchizes according to ability, nature, status and worth. It acts as a mechanism that differentially distributes value and worth to each individual according to the judgements on their nature and behaviour. It can also exclude and isolate, branding individuals and their behaviour as “shameful” (p. 182-183). Disciplinary mechanisms define the normal and abnormal through normalising judgements.

3.24 Examination

The examination utilises the techniques of hierarchical observation, normalising judgements and the disciplinary gaze that makes the individual and his conduct visible to assess each, rank and value each person. Moreover, each individual that is observed is described in

writing and documentation created that can be held on file, making him knowable accordingly. The individual is knowable, objectified and held on file. Individualisation through surveillance, visibility and judgements produces knowledge of the individual that constitutes him as a particular person, through a particular truth about him, and a regime of truth he is suspended in. All these disparate practices enable the exercise of power, the shaping of conduct with the aim of making individuals more productive.

Next is his analysis of power relations through the lens of war.

3.3 Power Relations as War

Foucault's thought on power was continuously evolving after he published *Discipline and Punish* in 1975. His lecture course *Society Must Be Defended* (SMBD), in early 1976, he focused on analysing power relations through the lens of war and strategy. This lecture course can be viewed as a transition between *Discipline and Punish*, his first book on sexuality and his thought on governmentality. Foucault contrasts different models of power relations. He compares the more Marxist model where power is based on as a possessive right and productive relations to a repressive understanding of power to models of power based on war. Foucault reverses Carl von Clausewitz's aphorism that proffers "war is the continuation of politics by other means" (Foucault, 2003, p. 47-48) to "politics is the continuation of war by other means" (Foucault, 2003, p. 16; Elden, 2016).

Foucault wonders if war can be used as a lens to understand all social relations and argues that strategy is essential to understanding the relation between power and knowledge. He asks if social domination, differentiation and hierarchisation can be understood as mechanisms of war. He asks, "Do processes of antagonism, confrontation and struggles among individuals, groups, or classes derive in the last instance from general processes of war?" (Foucault, 2003, p.266).

Foucault is becoming more interested in looking at and analysing society and moving away from his analysis of individuals. He notes that disciplinary mechanisms and the law are increasingly interrelated. In his move towards war as his lens on analysing power he also focuses on race and how the writing of history can be used as a political tool. Foucault argues that history can be written with particular interests foregrounded such as the interests of a particular state, class or race. Foucault discusses war and race with a particular interest in both democratic regimes and totalitarian regimes such as discussions on state racism in the Nazi and Stalinist regimes. He discusses "society of normalization" where for example in

Nazi Germany state racism is directed against itself, an internal racism and purification which he describes as a “fundamental dimension of social normalisation” (Foucault, 2003, p. 62).

Foucault uses war as a grid of intelligibility of historical processes, where war can be understood as a war of races. In disciplinary power Foucault was interested in the individual body, the regulation of the social body and in SMD he moves from the individual body to a bio-politics of the population. Foucault contends that bio-politics is derived from the building of knowledge on the population through monitoring and surveillance, building of profiles, statistical measures, birth and death rates, fertility, illness are all measured to control through discipline. Foucault contends that biology and politics infiltrate one another (Elden, 2016). His analysis of power relations through the lens of war mainly ends in these lectures having worked through his idea on war and power and turns his focus away. He later becomes more interested in themes that he calls governmentality which he develops more in his lecture series, Territory, Security and Population (Foucault, 2007)

The next sections lay out Foucault’s thought on governmentality and technologies of self.

3.4 Governmentality and Technologies of the Self

Foucault’s thought in Discipline and Punish was criticised in several ways, his critics suggesting that his close attention to power relations and specific organisational practices failed to understand or illuminate the role of more macro political issues, for example the relations between the state and society. Moreover, his portrayal of power relations suggested an omnipresent and strongly subjugating form of power that did not acknowledge and excluded individual freedom. There was also criticism that his account suggested despair and nihilism. His move towards governmentality was in part to address these critics. His thought on governmentality was to argue that the principles and analysis of the practices that shaped individual conduct in local organisational contexts could be used to address the practices of governing a population at the level of political sovereignty (Gordon, 1991).

Foucault’s thought on governmentality revolves around a change in the eighteenth century, in the relationship between the individual and power. At this point, there was a shift from government being the link between the state and territory, to government being a rational activity of governing a population. Government begins to be concerned with specific aspects of this population, such as with economics, demographics, productivity, health and the well-being. However, it is a relationship that is both macro and micro in nature, the concern is importantly with each and every individual of this population, their productivity, health and well-being. The population then becomes an object of different forms of knowledge, such

as mortality, birth-rates, and employment rates, becoming factors to be governed.

Individuals were no longer viewed as subjects under the law but as individuals who were working and living- Foucault referred to this as bio-power. The term bio-power was his articulation of a form of power that is exercised on individuals, classed as living beings, as they have specific capacity for sexual conduct, fertility and reproduction that could have implications for and be translated as concerns of politics and governing of society and population (Gordon, 1991; Foucault, 1991a).

Government also became concerned with governing people's lives with the aim to maximise their happiness and productivity, as individuals and population- a form of power which he referred to as pastoral power. Here institutions such as the family, the medical profession and the police were all involved and tied up with the operation of pastoral power. This governance by others was supplemented by the government of oneself by the self. Here, self-government is aligned with the government of the self by others (Gordon, 1991; Burchell, 1996).

Foucault emphasizes that “one never governs a state, never governs a territory, never governs a political structure. Those whom one governs are people, individuals, or groups.” (Foucault, 2007, p. 167). Foucault suggests that in looking for the foundations of this idea of governing people and not a territory one should not look at Greek or Roman thought. These traditions were concerned with governing or steering the city-state and not individuals. The tradition of governing or steering individuals can be located in the thought of the Christian pastorate which is based on themes of the flock, the confession and the government of souls, the government of each individual and the pursuit of salvation.

“Pastoral power is a power of care. It looks after the flock, it looks after the individuals of the flock, it sees to it that the sheep do not suffer” (p. 172). The Christian Pastorate is “the birth of an absolutely new form of power....the history of the pastorate involves...the entire history of human individualization in the West. Let’s say also that it involves the history of the subject” (p. 239). This can be linked to his emerging interest in the emergence of the modern subject and his work on the history of sexuality which all are interrelated with these themes.

As well as shifting focus onto governmentality, Foucault was also becoming interested in how individuals constitute themselves as moral and ethical agents and how power was linked to “changes in the way individuals were led to assign meaning and value to their conduct, their duties, their pleasures, their feelings and their sensations” in a moral way (Foucault,

1990, p. 4). In his series of books on the History of Sexuality, more specifically the latter two books, Foucault analysed this self-constitution. He was concerned with the question of how individuals come to recognise themselves as subjects of sexuality and how this experience is constituted. Foucault had now become interested in the relation of the self with itself in the formation of oneself as a subject and the truth games that surround it. Foucault was becoming increasingly interested in how an individual's behaviour was prescribed by a moral code, or a standard of conduct.

Foucault, (1988a) was becoming concerned with forms of practice he referred to as technologies of the self, towards the end of his work. He explains the goal of his work has been to understand and “to sketch out a history of the different ways in our culture that humans develop knowledge about themselves”. His work had been concerned with two technologies: the technologies of the self and that of domination or power. He states that these technologies rarely function separately

“...technologies of power, which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject; [and] technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality” (Foucault, 1988a, p. 18)

Foucault understood his concept of governmentality as the contact point between these two technologies; the practices of domination and self-formation. This is a move away from the subjected and docile body in his account of disciplinary power to a self-constitution that involves freedom and choice. To analyse individuals in an organisation it is suggested to consider both these technologies (Burchell, 1996; Dean, 2010; Rose, 1999) which this thesis attempts.

Foucault (1982) also defines the term “government” as “the conduct of conduct”. The exercise of power is about how certain actions can modify others' actions; power exists only when put in action. “Power is exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free.” (p. 790). For Foucault, the move to governmentality from disciplinary power affirms his view that power presupposes the agential capacities of subjects and does not preclude it. Power is action on others' actions (Gordon, 1991). Although power relations are omnipresent, power does not define a closed system, instead it is open an infinite strategic game. However, Foucault retains a role for key disciplinary effects such as individualisation and categorisation in his concept of government because this concept includes a role for disciplinary mechanisms especially at organisational level.

“This form of power....categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects. There are two meanings of the word "subject": subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self- knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to.” (Foucault, 1982, p.781)

His concept of power as governmentality, does not eradicate discipline, it merely expands its horizons to include a wider perspective and constructs a view of power that is less concerned with subjection and making individuals docile (Burchell, 1996). Thus, Foucault is elaborating an individual who is free and can also act upon himself to constitute his sense of self.

3.41 Foucault and the Government of Emotions

At about the time he was writing his books on sexuality, Foucault was also studying the culture of the self in antiquity as he felt this was crucial for comprehending the history of subjectivity. Foucault studied the history of the precept of “care of the self” that runs through Greek, Hellenistic and Roman philosophy and early Christian spirituality. He discusses the many transformations this precept went through and the different modes of subjectivation that were being practiced in this period. This analysis is partly laid out in a set of lectures he named “Hermeneutics of the Subject”. The culture of the self or practices of the self were a domain of practices that were designed to govern an individual’s behaviour. This was the government of the self by the self, and government of others, with the help of a guide who advised on how to practice “care of the self” (Foucault, 2005).

It is important to realise that for Foucault the study of care of the self is complementary to his interest and study of the concept of governing, that he had started analyzing in other contexts such as governing the population or governing individuals that lived and worked within the boundary of a population or society that he had discussed previously. Therefore, care of the self was about governing oneself and government of others in antiquity whereas his previous studies had focused on later periods such as the 18th or 19th century. Foucault was now concerned about the concept of government in earlier periods in history and the relationship with subjectivation and the relationship between truth, power and the subject (Elden, 2016).

Foucault is then also situating his earlier thought on power within his newer work and frame of governmentality. It is crucial to understand governmentality “as a strategic field of power relations in the broadest and not merely the political sense of the term...a strategic field of

power relations in their mobility, transformability, and reversibility” (Foucault, 2005, p. 252). Foucault runs a thread through his work on power relations and governmentality, government of self and others, which can also be expressed as the relationship of the self to self and others.

This context is important as Foucault in his analysis of the precept “care of the self” in antiquity discusses in detail “a whole domain of complex and regular activities” (p. 493) or practices that informed this precept. The philosophy of care of the self was “a fundamental obligation and a set of carefully fashioned ways of behaving” (p. 494).

The starting point for his study of care of the self was the dialogue Alcibiades, then moving to different transformations of the practices of the self through antiquity including the writings of later thinkers such as Epicurus and Stoic figures like Seneca and Marcus Aurelius. The care of the self was a practice that involved the self and an “other” who was the guide, who helped the self, to care for the self. For Alcibiades, this care of the self also reflected an important ingredient of care for others, a political ingredient of training for political life in the city. The “profile” of the individual who performed this role transformed through antiquity. At the time of the dialogue of Alcibiades the guide was a philosopher, Socrates. But later in the Christian period the priest would perform this role, where the relationship between the guide and his “student” would have changed dramatically. The priest is viewed as someone to whom one confesses one’s sins, to see oneself as sinful and to be compelled to reveal one’s inner self and thoughts. The constitution of the self through this guide transforms greatly with a big concern on self-renunciation. Foucault also notes that the contemporary equivalent of this guide is for example a counselor/psychologist or a psychiatrist.

One feature of the practices of the self with in the precept of “care of the self” was aimed at curing or treating the notion of pathos or passions. In Antiquity, pathos and the passions were regarded as an illness that affected the body and soul, an illness that needed to be cured. The word emotion did not exist during antiquity and was only created much later in the nineteenth century. During this period, the terminology in use was very different and included words such as passions, affections and appetites which were later replaced by the terminology of emotions. For the Epicureans, Cynics and the Stoics part of the role of philosophy and its guidance on human conduct through this feature of the care of the self was to cure the diseases of the soul. In the precept “care of the self”, the self was understood to be the soul. Foucault notes a well-established relationship between medicine and philosophy in the care of the self.

The Epicureans and Stoics deemed pathos and passion to be an illness and describe the development of a passion to be akin the development of an illness that goes through distinct stages from a predisposition to illness, then to the pathos which is an irrational impulse of the soul, then moving to the chronic stage and the final stage where the individual is lost and gripped within a passion. Foucault discusses that Epictetus, an Epicurean, runs a school for the care of the self that functions like a clinic or hospital of the soul targeting the cure of the passions of its clients. Passions are understood to be evil and that the individual suffers from them. Foucault compares the school to a hospital of the soul.

The stoics who deemed the passions and the regulation of the passions most severely; believed that the passions needed treatment or cure like a physical illness that a Doctor would treat but by a philosopher who treats it by the care of the self. The treatment was a practice undertaken by the self and another for example the philosopher guide. One of the aims of care of the self especially for the stoics was to realize rational conduct.

As well as the “government of passions” as a part of the modes of subjectivation and the governing of the self and the conduct of the self, there were many other practices that Foucault describes in his analysis of the Care of the self precept. This “ensemble” of practices transformed through antiquity. Other practices detailed in more detail that the government of passions in the care of the self, include practices such as examination of conscience which the Epicureans engaged in as part of the care of the self and the emphasis of testing oneself and one’s resilience through an array of practices for the stoics (Foucault, 2005).

This lecture series is relevant for this thesis because even though Foucault does not directly commit a role for emotions in his thought on power. He does in these lectures and to a lesser degree in his next lectures, “The Courage of the Truth” (Foucault, 2011), discuss how emotions and their “government” were part of his analysis of subjectivation and governing of self and others that also directed the individual’s conduct. The government of passions was a means of striving towards rational conduct and a particular self-constitution that was shaped by certain practices in antiquity.

Foucault discusses the Epicurean government of anger in most detail, which is placed partly in the context of exercising various tests on the self in the care of the self. One example laid out is when Epictetus sets himself targets of not getting angry for one day, then for two days and so on until thirty days. This is a test of the self to train oneself to govern anger. Anger for the Epicureans is understood as a vice and a defect to be governed by the self or with the help of another person, the guide.

Foucault notes that

“Anger is, of course, the uncontrolled, violent rage of someone towards someone else over whom the former, the angry person, is entitled to exercise his power, is in a position to do so, and who is therefore in a position to abuse his power” (Foucault, 2005, p.374)

Foucault explains that getting carried away with anger is about the impossibility or struggle of controlling oneself or “the impossibility of exercising one's power and sovereignty over oneself in so far as and when one exercises one's sovereignty or power over others”. So, anger is about the control of oneself and command over another/others. This is also equally the government of the self and government of others.

The next section outlines the theoretical framework which mainly draws from his thought on disciplinary power.

3.5 Thesis Theoretical Framework

This thesis adopts a theoretical framework that is largely based on Foucault’s concept of disciplinary power and its underlying mechanisms through which power is exercised. These disciplinary mechanisms are reinforced by the technologies of the self that encourage particular self-understandings through enterprise discourse that promotes enterprising behaviours and career encompassing the government of employees to direct behaviour and to engender conformity. This theoretical lens is used to explore how emotions may be elicited at appraisal.

The appraisal as a significant part of the disciplinary apparatus may facilitate the evaluation, measurement and judgment of an individual’s qualities, competence and performance and the assigning of differential value and worth to the individual. The employee is then accorded a specific position that reflects a certain value, worth and status within the team and organisation that echoes this judgement. Disciplinary mechanisms exercised at appraisal engender a network of relations of power that enable the exercise of power through the differential distribution of organisational rewards such as progression and self-development.

Disciplinary power produces knowledge about individuals in increasing detail that constitute the individual through regimes of truth that make these individuals known through expert knowledge. These knowledges create a social and hierarchical order that is both perceived by the employee and kept in writing through appraisal and other documentation. The individual is under the gaze of disciplinary power which makes him visible and known through these regimes of truth. Disciplinary power makes individuals visible, compares, differentiates, individuates, individualises and creates a hierarchical order through

hierarchical and normalising judgements. The appraisal facilitates the evaluation, intervention and correction of individuals.

The appraisal and other disciplinary practices are reinforced by organisational discourse to encourage employees to take on particular subjectivities, behaviours and ways of understanding themselves that are valued and punish behaviours that are deemed deviant. The enterprise discourse invites individuals to make sense of themselves, their contribution to the organisation in prescribed ways that ascertain their value to the organisation. The discourse functions a technology of the self encouraging individuals to seek happiness through contributing to the organisation.

The appraisal is implemented to differentiate between good and poor performers (Aguinis, 2009) and to differentiate between valued and non-valued employees that creates a hierarchy of value and worth. Employees are judged and allocated different amounts of quality, ability, value and worth that are visible to both themselves and to others in the organisation through differential rewards awarded at appraisal. This also facilitates employees to compare their position, rewards and status as well as make judgements on how the organisation values them and how they value themselves. These judgements of value, ability and worth through the differential distribution of organisational rewards may elicit an array of emotions.

For example, an individual can feel unhappy and ashamed when they perceive themselves to be of low ability, competence, inferior or rejected through the appraisal. In contrast if the individual is evaluated positively and rewarded they are likely to feel happy about their performance and achievements. The appraisal and other organisational processes can inform what types of social relations are cultivated and what emotions are elicited which could potentially shape employee conduct (Burkitt, 2014; Wetherell, 2012)

The next section reviews Foucauldian studies of appraisal as well as other studies that have used his thought to examine human behaviour in organisations.

3.6 Foucauldian Studies

Scholars have put forward many different interpretations and readings of Foucault's oeuvre and his work has fuelled an ever-expanding intellectual industry across many academic fields (Power, 2011; Carter, McKinlay and Rowlinson, 2002). His work has been so widely used that it has been sceptically labelled as following fashion (Carter, 2008). Thus, a complete review of research utilising Foucault's thought is outside the scope of this thesis. This produces a need to draw boundaries and to focus on literature that has made use of Foucault's thought to analyse appraisal which is of interest to this thesis but also review literature on

HRM as well as the main strands of research that have used his key themes to study human behaviour in organisations.

It is pertinent to address how this literature has contributed to an issue Foucault struggled with himself, that of the “apparent ‘willing’ involvement of subjects in systems of power” that could have both positive and negative implications for the individual (Starkey and McKinlay, 1998, p.230). It is to this dilemma that this thesis aims to contribute, in that by proposing that it is the emotions that are induced through disciplinary mechanisms that compel individuals to become involved and participate “willingly” in systems of power. This, contributes to the question that Foucault was interested in- the “how” of power (Foucault, 1982; Townley, 1993a).

A common thread that runs through Foucauldian studies is the aim to highlight and problematize the role and operation of power in managerial and HRM practices, whether they are termed in the vocabulary of HRM practices such as appraisal (Townley, 1993b), competency framework (Rees and Garnsey, 2003), careers (Fournier, 1998), team working (Knights and McCabe, 2003), communication and technology (Leclercq-Vandelannoitte, 2011) or 360-degree feedback (Slater and Coyle, 2014). At first sight, these studies analyse the operation of power through key concepts such as discourse (Dick and Collings, 2014; Garrety et al., 2003), disciplinary power mechanisms (Townley, 1993a; Bergstrom et al., 2009) and genealogies/technologies of the self (Kelly, Allender and Colquhoun, 2007).

However, this simplistic division would miss a significant point in reviewing this literature, because many of these studies enrol many different aspects of Foucault’s thought as their analytic lens. These studies make use of a blend of Foucault’s concepts each with its own unique makeup and different permutations as scholars try to differentiate their work and contribution from those gone before. For example, Covaleski et al., (1998) use both disciplinary power and technologies of the self to analyse MBO and mentoring, Casey (1999) uses a blend of disciplinary and pastoral power as well as discourse to study an organisational cultural change programme that introduces practices that revolve around the concept of “family” and “teams” which impose a new wave of discipline and control.

However, critics of Foucault have highlighted the positive aspects of HRM processes asserting the benefits they extend to employees (Rosenthal, Hill and Peccei, 1997). Some scholars have highlighted Foucault’s lack of coherency in his oeuvre and his apparent failure to adequately explain human agency and resistance to an over deterministic form of power. Others have criticised his apparent dismantling of other forms of power in preference for an exclusive operation of disciplinary power in organisations (Findlay and Newton, 1998; Newton, 1998; Thompson and Ackroyd, 1995; Gabriel, 1999). Moreover, Armstrong (2015)

highlights the lack of the individual's voice in these studies, as well as scepticism that Foucauldian studies convincingly demonstrate evidence for employee conformity.

Foucault refused to be seen as an intellectual who should put forward strategies or programmes of what should be done as resistance or state what should be resisted. He felt this would be ineffectual, as any set of actions or programme that he might suggest could be used to enforce a different form of repression (Foucault, 1991, 1977a). Moreover, the individual and agency were not his interest, he was interested in systems of thought (Power, 2011) and he did occasionally make it explicit that disciplinary power did not replace other forms of power and that they all could work together or undermine one another (Foucault, 1977; Gordon, 1980).

The following sections review Foucauldian studies that have examined the appraisal to highlight a research gap in Foucauldian studies that has examined the role of emotions and the contribution emotions make to the exercise of disciplinary power in directing employee behaviour.

3.61 Foucauldian Studies of Appraisal and HRM Practices

Many scholars have studied the appraisal and HRM practices from a Foucauldian perspective. The following are a review of some of the main studies starting with the work of Barbara Townley.

3.611 Barbara Townley's Foucauldian Studies of Appraisal

Foucauldian analysis demonstrates a fundamental essence of questioning the taken for granted and "given" status of management and HRM practices that are defined in apolitical, decontextualized, neutral, rational and technical terms by traditional studies. Orthodox HRM research is mainly framed in modernist and positivist beliefs and has concerned itself with expanding knowledge of its practices as well the individual's "human nature" to produce greater efficiency and accuracy. Foucauldian research has taken up the alternate position and analyses how this continually expanding "neutral" knowledge is interconnected with power, truth and subjectivity that conducts and regulates the behaviour and self-understanding of individuals. This critical perspective thus problematizes these taken for granted practices and highlights their implications in the workplace and the subject at work (Townley, 1993a; Barratt, 2003a).

Barbara Townley and other scholars have used Foucauldian thought to investigate and put forward HRM practices as appraisal through a Foucauldian prism. However, Townley and her colleagues have paid little attention to the elicitation of emotions through the mechanics of Foucauldian power and the contribution that these emotions can make to the exercise of

power in directing employee conduct or to securing social order or conformity to organisational goals.

Townley (1993a, 1998) who in the main has written non-empirical pieces, has extended the constituting elements of Foucault's disciplinary power such as hierarchical ordering, surveillance and visibility, power relations, and normalising judgements to the study of managerialism and HRM practices that result in organisations imposing order and predictability on employees, reducing the indeterminacy of the employment relationship. HRM practices such as appraisal, employee selection, and succession planning are thus presented as relational activities steeped in asymmetrical power relationships that shape employee subjectivity, identity and behaviour.

Townley (1993a, 1993b) formulates her analysis both in terms of disciplinary power and governmentality. She takes the example of the confession through appraisal to illustrate the role of technologies of the self in the constitution of subjectivity. Organisations are also increasingly making use of the socio-psychological paradigm shift that occurred with the advent of human relations (Hollway, 1991) that have turned to the "dubious" sciences such as psychology and psychiatry (Foucault, 1988) to define individuals in increasingly finer detail using psychological profiles and personalities.

According to Townley these elements, in turn, make individuals knowable enabling implementation of interventions and correction of behaviour. The individual is measured, recorded, filed and objectified (Townley, 1993a). As Rose (1999, p. 85) puts it "the internal world of the factory was becoming mapped in psychological terms and the inner feelings of workers were being transmitted into measurements about which calculations could be made". Other factors such as the need to achieve (McClelland, 1967); self-actualisation, the self-directions as well as emotions of individuals are being taken into account in order to direct their behaviour. Turning to Foucault, scholars highlight how "expert" knowledge provided through psychological profiling is equated to and has the status of the "truth" of the nature of the individual thus enabling correction in the pursuit of greater efficiency and profit (Townley, 1993a; Rose, 1999).

Townley (1993b) takes her analysis a step closer to being empirical by using archival data of an appraisal system at a university to explain the appraisal as an ascending expression of power that relies on the inter-relation of power and knowledge and disciplinary techniques. However, emotion plays a fragmented and overshadowed role in the thought of scholars such as Townley and their argument in assessing the mechanics of disciplinary power exercised through appraisal and HRM practices.

Foucauldian thought is again used to examine the measurements of character and skills that are a key component of the advent of the competence framework, a technique that secures in depth knowledge of the individual and then uses this information to shape or regulate behaviour (Townley, 1998; Rees and Garnsey, 2003). As cited in Townley (1998) Boyatzis (1982) whose work helped promote the rise of competencies, states that competencies examine “the person in the job, not only the job” (1982, 43). Boyatzis was attempting to define the competent manager which revolved around setting out and developing a body of knowledge that was composed of the motives, traits, social role, and the qualities and skills of the individual which could be measured and acted on through appraisal, assessment centres and training courses. In turn, this creates an opportunity for the imposition of self-direction, self-development and self-improvement in pursuit of organisational and individual goals (Rose, 1999).

Competencies can be viewed as a disciplinary technique with its own “power effects” that can work in tandem with appraisal (Townley, 1998) to sharpen the utility of the individual in the power apparatus and its economy of power (Foucault, 1977). The reconceptualization of the competent manager attempts to define “managerial work” as entrepreneurial (du Gay, Salaman and Rees, 1996) which centres on the concept of “self as enterprise” (McNay, 2009).

The individual must portray the self with specific qualities and a strong expression of entrepreneurial orientation within an organisational context that is sketched in economic lines (du Gay, et al., 1996; Rose, 1999; Burchell, 1996). Townley’s work includes an implicit role for emotions; however, her main contribution is to extend Foucault’s mechanisms and concepts such as the relationship between power and knowledge into the terrain of HRM and managerial practices and highlight a role for employee subjectivity and identity but neglects a thorough examination of the elicitation of emotions that engender power relations and facilitate disciplinary mechanics.

The empirical research that has followed Townley’s work has in the main also laid emphasis on identity, subjectivity or employee agency in the functioning of disciplinary mechanisms. The following two sections are a review of other research that has examined the appraisal from a Foucauldian perspective. Firstly, the work of Covalleski et al., (1998) and Bergstrom et al., (2009) are reviewed then research that has studied appraisal and gender.

3.612 Other Foucauldian Studies of Appraisal

The role of identity and its regulation is key in the ethnographic and empirical examination of accounting firms by Covalleski et al., (1998) who use disciplinary power and technologies

of the self to analyse MBO and mentoring focusing on themes such as ranking, surveillance, power-knowledge, and normalisation. The study found that employees in these firms internalised organisational goals to become “corporate clones” to differing degrees and where control was exercised through the constitution of subjectivity and identity thus intimating that the “willingness” of individuals to participate in disciplinary mechanisms was fuelled by subjectivity and identity regulation (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). The authors found that employee resistance was fuelled through the discourse of autonomy.

A different approach to understanding employee’s engagement with disciplinary mechanisms and shaping behaviour has been through the enrolment of agency by Bergstrom et al., (2009). These authors take the appraisal in a management consultancy, Amcon, as their disciplinary context. The authors found that the disciplinary effect of appraisal was not so much to shape employee self-understanding or subjectivity but was more on the lines of maintaining continuity in self-understandings that had already been established in primary and secondary socialisations. The firm recruited those individuals who were already subjected to the values of the organisation such as career and success. Individuals were recruited who presented a specific identity, such as commitment and willingness towards change and development.

The study found that appraisal was used to identify and uncover the motives and performance of individuals which was in turn used to monitor their ongoing performance and direct their development and behaviour. The surveillance of employees was translated into a subtle system of rewards and punishments. Rewards included interesting projects; positive and negative feedback, positive self-identities, and career progression and punishments were implemented through delayed advancement or a breach of positive identity. The disciplinary effect of appraisal was to channel the employees’ aspirations and resistance, their subjectivity, in a predictable and controlled manner.

This enabled the organisation to short circuit any opposition to its ways of working, prohibiting other alternatives such as “resistant selves” (Collinson, 2003). These authors argue that the disciplinary technologies “pre-empts and short-circuits resistance” (Bergstrom et al., 2009 p. 179), through the distribution of rewards and punishments at appraisal. However, resistance through exit from the organisation provides a way out of conforming to the organisation’s practices. The authors also argue that the distribution of rewards and punishments did not guarantee career advancement and that employees did not remain in the organisation through a simple alignment of their goals with the organisation. The authors conclude that critical employee voice is thus suppressed with two distinct choices on offer, loyalty that maintains the hierarchy and culture or exit.

Bergstrom et al., (2009) consider emotions only implicitly so this literature also neglects a vivid role for emotions in disciplinary power.

3.613 Appraisal, Foucault, Shame, Pride and Envy

In a conceptual paper, Stiles (2008) links the induction of low levels of shame with workplace motivation and social control exercised through organisational goal setting processes such as appraisal. Stiles argues that organisations encourage the induction of low levels of shame through goal setting and other motivational processes that aim to use shame to enhance employee motivation and performance. Stiles proposes that since employees want to avoid failure and achieve success, status and a positive sense of self in their roles they are motivated and directed towards goal achievement.

Stiles proposes that the induction of shame and pride could play a role in employee motivational processes such as through appraisal. The author draws on Foucault (1977) in suggesting that goal setting and evaluation processes are aimed at enhancing performance and directing employee behaviour towards goal attainment. These processes work through normalisation and social conformity as well as rendering individuals visible, calculable and comparable to their peers.

In another theoretical paper Vidaillet (2016) argues that appraisal may work through eliciting envy. Vidaillet suggests that in contemporary organisations individuals often want to be evaluated to ascertain and gain a positive position and status in comparison to their peers. The appraisal provides an evaluation process which theoretically is meant to reward and promote individuals who put more effort in to their work and whose performance is thus measured to be better and more satisfactory than those who work less. The appraisal evaluates and compares each individual leading to ranking, rewards, sanctions and the assignment of status and position differentially amongst employees.

According to this author individuals want to be assessed through the appraisal so that they gain recognition for their qualities and work and to be rewarded through higher ranking, positions, status and careers in organisations. Employees are thus motivated to work harder through the pursuit of being rewarded recognition. Envy of successful peers also motivates individuals to perform better to achieve recognition and other organisational rewards.

Vidaillet also draws from Foucault to suggest that appraisal acts as a tool for standardisation, normalisation and to impose control on employee behaviour. Overall, she highlights a critical understanding of the use of appraisal in organisations that are conventionally viewed as fair and objective but in practice can be politically motivated (Longenecker et al., 1987; Vidaillet, 2016).

Vidailliet (2016) suggests that envy may be one reason why individuals are attracted to being evaluated through performance appraisal systems despite the negative effects they impose on them.

3.614 Foucauldian Studies of Appraisal and Gender

The disciplinary effects of competency approaches have been studied empirically in six different organisations by Rees and Garnsey (2003) who found the approach not to be gender neutral, where masculine behaviours such as being directive were more easily compatible with its technical concerns and ways of measurement, compared to the nurturing qualities of women. This difference casts women as the “other” and opens gaps in competency assessments between the two genders, with implications in important organisational processes such as selection, promotion, progression and compensation.

Competency frameworks that are intimately related to the appraisal in organisations are therefore influential in affirming masculine identities, that are continuously being constituted in social interactions and practices and which can otherwise be threatened (Cockburn, 1983 cited in Rees and Garnsey, 2003). Thus, female employees are being directed towards specific patterns of behaviours and to demonstrate specific skills such as “strategic thinking” and “tenacity”, as these skills are valued and rewarded rather than more “feminine” qualities such as listening and empathy (Rees and Garnsey, 2003). This demonstrates that masculine behaviours and identities are rewarded and understood as carrying a higher value and ranking.

Thomas (1996) analyses the experience of disciplinary power on women in an English university, enacted through appraisal whose disciplinary effects are enhanced by an organisational discourse that distinguishes between what is valued, normal and acceptable against the abnormal. This study distinguished two different types of behaviours and consequences of the disciplining effects of appraisal. The study found that female participants who already had a high research profile or were ambitious and able to invest the required time saw appraisal as a vehicle for highlighting their work accomplishments and achieve positive visibility and voice. These women “bought into” the appraisal system. However, another group who were less ambitious and had domestic commitments were marginalised. The introduction of appraisal formed a move towards a more managerialist culture that valued ambition, high visibility and research profile as well as quantifiable achievements.

In another study, Nutley and Wilson (2003) have studied the appraisal in five Scottish Universities to assess their impact on the progress or hindrance of female staff and found

puzzling and contradictory results. The appraisal which was initially introduced into UK universities to enhance control and accountability of academics faced resistance in its use, in the form of both appraisers and appraisees being passive and not engaging with the process as they recognised its disciplinary motives. The appraisal in these Scottish universities is currently used for developmental purpose where its use was in decline.

The study used a Foucauldian framework including power-knowledge, normalisation and surveillance and focused on female experience. The authors found that both the marginalised group of women, who did not buy in to appraisal, and those women who bought into career advancement and academic success “norms” were enthusiastic about undergoing appraisal and sought feedback from their managers in an attempt for their contribution to be recognised and as a vehicle for advancement. The authors found that even though the appraisal cast women as the “other” through the normalisation of behaviours such as career advancement, which disadvantaged them, they still wanted to be appraised to be recognised and seek advancement. The authors found contradictions in their findings and could not turn to Foucault to explain why the disadvantaged women still wanted appraisal.

The difficulty of these authors is similar to Foucault’s difficulty in explaining why individuals participate in systems of power that may have negative effects. These authors did not consider a role emotion evoked through appraisal and whether this contributed to the disadvantaged group wanting to participate in appraisal.

Coates’ (2004) study of women’s experiences of appraisal found an interesting twist. The author found the appraisal had disempowering effects in the NHS trust studied, which took a punitive stance towards women who did not present their femininity such as appearance at work. The appraisal was not oriented towards performance improvement for women but to establish ways of dressing and behaving that perpetrated to direct and regulate women’s subjectivity and self-understanding towards “behaving” in a feminine manner. Thus, women were marginalised in a different manner. Interestingly, Coates presents a model of disempowerment that involves an affront to the individual’s dignity that results in emotions such as humiliation, indignation and anger that influence behaviour, commitment and motivation. The appraisal was thus an apparatus of control with a coercive pattern for the management of women, their identity and sexuality.

Summary

The appraisal literature reviewed above translate the mechanics of disciplinary power onto appraisal and illuminate how organisations shape behaviour, impose order and enrol agency, subjectivity and identity into a fuel that feeds the machinery of power. This review has also

highlighted two conceptual articles that link shame and envy to appraisal, however, this work is non-empirical and is not concerned with disciplinary mechanisms or technologies of the self to explain a mechanism for eliciting these emotions or a role for them in Foucault's thought. However, the notion of the importance of emotions is articulated. Nevertheless, the above review also highlights a gap in the Foucauldian literature as it has not examined the possible contribution emotions may make to the exercise of disciplinary power.

The appraisal and gender studies demonstrate that organisations use as appraisal and organisational discourses to set out what types of behaviours are rewarded and valued to direct employee behaviour. Here the concern is with the relationship between disciplinary power, identity and the shaping of behaviour. This research does not explicitly explain why these employees choose to seek the rewards on offer through appraisal such as being recognised or achieving career progression. The gender literature also highlights the difficulty in addressing why individuals participate in systems of power highlighting a research gap examining the role for emotions in disciplinary power and understanding why individuals participate in systems of power such that may marginalise them.

The following sections outline Foucault use in the Labour Process Theory and then literature that has focused on desired identities.

3.62 Foucault, Subjectivity and the Labour Process Theory

Foucault's oeuvre has been valued by some scholars for putting forward a connection between power and subjectivity that labour process theory has failed to do. This literature underlines the relationship Foucault embedded between subjectivity and power relations such that their interest is captured in this relationship where "power and subjectivity are understood as a condition and consequence of one another" (Knights and Willmott, 1989, p. 536-7). Hence, when individuals become involved in disciplinary practices such as appraisal they also become involved in relations of power that enrol and shape their subjectivity and self-consciousness through which their identity is generated (Knights and Willmott, 1989).

This literature emphasises interdependence between power, identity and subjectivity. This interdependence can be understood either through the connection between power relations and structure (Giddens, 1979) or through power relations and social/organisational processes (Foucault, 1977; Townley, 1993a). The exercise of power and asymmetrical power relations can make identity insecure and lead to individuals being preoccupied with securing and constituting stable forms of identity that are valued by themselves and the social system they are engaged in (Knights and Willmott, 1985). These social practices as well as primary and secondary socialisation also prescribe what is valued by individuals (Rose, 1999).

As Knights (1990) notes the precarious nature of identity that results in identity securing strategies are brought out by the individualising effects of power. Individuals are separated from one another and made responsible, yet not in control (Scott, 1996) of their own actions and sense of who they are and what they have. At times when individuals are invited to compete for limited material and non-material rewards this simmers up insecurities around identity, self-worth and one's own significance (Roberts, 2005).

However, Knights observes an interesting glitch in Foucault's oeuvre; he feels that Foucault's implicit and concealed use of existential and phenomenological subjectivist philosophies that would foreground the subject and its' lived experiences, which he explicitly rejected, have constrained Foucault in being able to explain why individuals are tied to their identity and self-consciousness. The quest for securing identity and self-worth are also borne out of the evaluations of others practiced in individualising and disciplinary processes. And since these judgements of one's character, goodness, performance and conformity are neither predictable nor controllable this makes identity and other properties of the sense of self ultimately insecure and the work done to achieve security thus self-defeating.

This connotes that people in organisations are "involved" in disciplinary practices because they aim to stabilise their identities according to what is valued and rewarded by the organisation and its practices. There is also an acceptance that there is a role for employee self-consciousness and the inability of employees to achieve stable and secure identities which implies that there may be other reasons that invite employees to attain positive and desired identities that bestow positive self-worth for the employee (Knights, 1990). Knight's observation of an anomaly in Foucault's thought highlights a missing note in his thought on why individuals become tied into systems of power which ultimately make their sense of self and identity insecure. Knights notes a concern and role of self-worth and self-consciousness.

The next sections attend to Foucauldian studies that have been concerned with the constructs of desired identities and have neglected a role for emotion.

3.63 Foucault and Desired Identity

Studies that have examined how employees' behaviour is directed through striving to attain their desired identities at work will be discussed next.

3.631 Desired Identity and Identity Work

Some empirical studies have analysed how behaviour is shaped through preferred identities that individuals seek in organisations. These desired identities are argued to be power effects created through discursive and disciplinary practices. For example, Thornborrow and Brown (2009) have studied how paratroopers in the British Parachute Regiment were disciplined by

the Regiment's disciplinary and discursive practices. These authors argue the Regiment defined what a paratrooper was and how he should behave and individuals joining the Regiment were induced to behave in specific ways and led to understand what types of behaviours constituted this identity. These individuals pursued their desired identity of becoming an accepted paratrooper by following the discursive and disciplinary mechanisms of the Regiment.

The paratroopers' narratives described how the Regiment manufactured them. These behaviours were regulated through peer surveillance and hierarchical evaluation and judgements and correction by more established soldiers whose own behaviours and "training" of new recruits were also under surveillance. The authors argue that these individuals were "tamed" and made obedient through introspection, peer surveillance and the narratives they told about themselves. The constant self-inspection, peer comparison and the need to meet successful performances of this desired identity made them vulnerable to seeking constant reaffirmation, acknowledgement and recognition of the self and their identity by others. The aspirational identities are evoked partly by "societal injunctions" (p. 371) that encourages individuals to be successful and to achieve, and partly by the need for the individual to feel a sense of self-esteem through their own and others' evaluations. Interestingly, the authors do not expand on the need of individuals to feel self-esteem and the implied role of emotions that can be induced by the evaluation of self and others in these disciplinary processes.

Instead they provide the explanation that the seduction of these desired identities and the enrolment of individuals in these disciplinary practices could be due to the insecurities and anxieties people experience about themselves and who they are. This is based on a view that at work, subjectivity is contingent on power relationships and the interrelationship between power and knowledge. Thus, power that disciplines the self shapes behaviour through comparing, differentiating, hierarchizing and normalisation that construct identity. Identity that is continuously insecure and needs to constantly be worked on (Collinson, 2003; Thornborrow and Brown, 2009).

Here, the act of pursuing their desired identities is continual and elusive with no final closure as the act of self-constitution is dependent on the evaluation of the self and others, an interrelationship that cannot be controlled as the opinions of others can be unpredictable and the process of judgement never ending (Knights, 1990). The authors however, suggest that the process of working on their identity narratives allows these individuals some degree of agency although their choices are made within a framework of disciplinary power that inevitably can both enable and restrict their scope for manoeuvre.

A similar “story” is told by Clarke and Knights (2015) who study academics in UK Business Schools in the context of audit, accountability and control. Here, managerialistic practices render academics subject to the gaze that judges, compares, differentiates, ranks and normalises their performances. Thus, they are made subject to technologies of power and the self. The authors use a governmentality framework for their analysis where technologies of power meet technologies of the self. The latter invoke individuals to transform themselves into “subjects that secure their sense of meaning, identity and reality” through taking part in the very practices that power imposes on them (Knights, 2002, p.582).

Academics are continuously seeking to secure an elusive and illusive sense of self and desired identity through “careering”, described as a neo-liberal practice that promotes competition between academics especially through publishing. The career is viewed as a project of self-management, self-discipline and self-improvement (Grey, 1994), where neo-liberal discourses hold individuals responsible for meeting ever increasing demands and work intensification (Davies and Petersen, 2005).

Most of the academics interviewed pursued the rewards of achieving a career such as promotion, a sense of competence, superiority and economic rewards. However, a few refused the subjectivity that was being imposed on them through reflections on the moral and ethical issues demonstrating that the power effects were not totalising. Clearly though most were inspired by the promise of success and its rewards as well as securing a stable and coherent sense of self that counteracted an ever-increasing sense of insecurity that the new managerialist processes evoked (Knights and Clarke, 2014). This study also neglects the emotions that can be elicited through achievement of success and a sense of high ability that these academics seem to be pursuing and only concentrates on the construct of identity.

The above studies do not address emotions elicited through differential evaluations of work performances or achievement of desired identities and other underlying mechanisms of disciplinary power or technologies of the self.

3.632 Threatened Identity and Identity Work

Toyoki and Brown (2013) who analysed how prisoners in Helsinki Prison managed their stigmatised identities through their talk and narratives found their stigmatised identities to be an effect of power. The authors find that stigmatisation and its management to be implicated in and through power-knowledge and power relations. They argue that stigmatised identities are at least to some degree produced by disciplinary processes of surveillance, categorisation, correction and normalisation. These processes fabricate the individual with a stigmatised identity, one who is defective and tainted (Goffman, 1963). These practices thus regulate

conduct and create social order. At the same time, technologies of the self aid the construction and management of such identities through self-examination, confession and narratives that the prisoners tell to “re-invent” themselves and resist at least in part their stigmatised and spoilt identities.

According to the authors the prisoners’ talk and narratives intend to construct a more desirable self and identity, one who is good or socially valued in the quest for happiness (Foucault, 1988). These individuals narrated different versions of themselves to build and recoup their self-esteem and counteract shame. The authors also found that the prisoners “held” a repertoire of identities and narratives that they drew on selectively according to the context and nature of the interaction. Although, it is implicit, these authors are describing how these prisoners by narrating more positive stories and identities of themselves, are in effect trying to reduce the shame of being a prisoner and to evoke an identity and qualities that they hope will evoke a sense of pride. However, the authors only speak implicitly of the role of shame in this work.

Summary

These studies emphasise the securing of desired identities, as organisations and disciplinary processes render identities insecure or spoilt. There is an implicit role for emotions, this role is only implicit and not central to why people seek these desired identities and the organisational rewards that help to achieve them.

The following sections examine literature that has used the “theme” of enterprise that has its roots in the thought of Foucault to examine the shaping of employee behaviour.

3.64 Enterprise and the Shaping of Subjectivity

There is a body of literature that examines how organisations shape employee behaviour and subjectivity through the theme of “enterprise”. The idea of enterprise is used to understand the underlying principles that have fuelled a recent reinvention of organisations and the redefinition of employee subjectivity that aims to promote a particular type of self-understanding and associated behaviours. The next section outlines the roots of enterprise.

3.641 Foucault, Neo-liberalism and Enterprise

Michel Foucault’s conception of “governmentality” and his approach to analysing liberal forms of government have been developed to explicate the underlying principles of the enterprise form. Foucault uses the phrase “government” in a general sense to convey “the conduct of conduct”; it is a way of acting on the actions of individuals to shape, guide and correct the ways in which individuals behave or conduct themselves (Foucault, 1982). The

scale and methods of this term can vary; it can mean the government of oneself, the government of the family or organisational employees or the government of a population (Burchell, 1996; Foucault, 1991). Foucault approaches his analysis of liberalism as a form of government that is a rational activity and not an institution.

For liberalism to govern, it needed to promote and peg its activities and governing to the free conduct of individuals who are motivated by self-interest thus inducing a tailored self-understanding and subjectivity. The move to neo-liberalism in the 1980s brought with it the need to promote a shift in subjectivity such as the conceptualisation of individuals as free agents that behave in entrepreneurial, competitive, and responsible ways and that are aligned to achieve economic goals. This allowed the activity of government to be clawed back to reduce the need to govern or intervene, as these entrepreneurial individuals could now bear the responsibility of achieving the economic goals of government. These “entrepreneurial” modes of conduct are not necessarily the natural constitution of humans, but one that is designed and clothed on to them as “ready-made identities” (Burchell, 1996).

Through neo-liberal forms of government individual freedom and choice is available in particular forms as a condition and practice of government that connects up notions of optimum economic performance, responsibility, ethics and the promotion of individual and collective well-being. This style of governing steers towards an “enterprise form” of conduct both for individuals and organisations. The enterprising form encourages and promotes conduct centred around striving for achievement and self-improvement by individuals who exercise their right to freedom and choice in their lives and work (Burchell, 1996).

According to Miller and Rose (1990) enterprise needed to become a template for the thought and action of individuals and organisations. In organisations, a matrix of regulatory practices and a vocabulary and discourse of enterprise work together to induce entrepreneurial conduct. Governmentality can also be viewed as having a discursive character, a language with specific vocabulary. Discourse can be viewed as a technology of thought with a specific vocabulary, writing or listings such as tables and statistical calculations. The object of discourse can be made knowable, calculable and administrable for the means of intervention and correction. The knowledge expressed in this discourse is portrayed as truthful as it is accumulated through “expertise”.

It is partly through discourse that notions of what is possible or desirable can be achieved (Miller and Rose, 1990). This argument can be expanded to the vocabularies of enterprise discourse thus organisations can promote specific behaviours and subjectivity as desirable and valued such as achievement and responsibility. The discourse of enterprise can be

viewed as a technology of the self within the framework of governmentality to induce particular forms of subjectivity and behaviours as desirable and valued.

For Foucault, government of individuals in practice is not exercised solely through techniques of domination such as through the disciplines. Government is more clearly expressed as the “contact point” of techniques of domination and the techniques of the self. Therefore, an important component of government is the techniques used to induce the individuals to “take on” particular understandings of themselves and their relations to others. The technologies of the self guide individuals to act upon themselves to achieve self-fulfilment and promote particular subjectivities (Foucault, 1988).

The relationship between the technologies of domination and the self in governmentality are not necessarily harmonious or mutually reinforcing (Burchell, 1996). Reality and working life are messy and disorderly and regularly fails to follow theories, discourses and techniques organisations implement to create particular behaviours. Discourses, practices, individuals and groups compete, reshape and utilise for their own interest technologies that produce unpredictable problems and outcomes (Miller and Rose, 1990).

Foucault’s conception of governmentality also carried a political dimension, it was a concept of exercising political power through “political rationalities” (Miller and Rose, 1990). The workplace becomes an important territory for this political “reach” and the psychological management of the workforce becomes leverage to influence each person to apply their time and work effort towards political objectives of government and maximise their output. This is the instrumentalisation of employee aspirations and actions at work. Miller and Rose (1990) draw attention to the assemblage of networks of practices that are aimed at bringing individuals, organisations and political objectives into line. One example is an historical account of how the developing psychological understanding of people’s “inner life” became a wheel in the movement and development of the concept of enterprise in the management of workforce.

3.642 Enterprising Self and the “Psy” Sciences

Rose’s (1999) analysis of the modern self delves into recent genealogies of the self that have taken shape through the knowledges and expertise developed through the “psy” sciences. Using archival data, he traces the role of psychology starting from the first decades of the 20th century that grew throughout the forthcoming decades and shaped how we understand ourselves and how we are understood in different contexts. He puts forward a critical analysis of how the increasing understanding of the psychological life and needs of the

individual could be used to shape a new image and subjectivity of the individual at work that are coherent with an “enterprising self”.

Rose’s narrative of the history of 20th century evolution of psychology highlights the role of World War II when innovative ways of thinking about the human factor and “human engineering” in organisations and society emerged. These innovative ways constituted new methods of selection and differentiation of the competent from the incompetent. Individual differences were now being calibrated and measured through capacities, made visible through newly devised psychological tests. This was a new psychologisation of selection and recruitment and the governing of subjectivity that emerged in the pursuit of winning the war.

This new thinking diffused through to management of employees in organisational contexts and viewed the employee as someone who had a personal life that extended into work and could influence their productivity. It had a concern for the relationship of self to self and to others. One key component of this psychological new knowledge was to ensure the formation of a bond linking the worker with their co-workers, manager, the enterprise and society. This meant that the employment relationship was not just about a wage but was compounded by a personal bond to work, to the manager, to others and their worth to the manager and the enterprise.

This meant that psychological expertise, the well-being and contentment of workers and macro-political and economic goals could all be aligned through a prism of rationality and truth. After the war, an emphasis also emerged on positive mental health to optimise the worker’s mental health and hence their relations to their work and their places of work, yet keeping the need to identify the “defective” and unproductive worker. Health promotion took on a new site and emphasis in the workplace.

There was also a new emphasis on the management of human relations in groups. This process found a way of tying the worker to the production process and their own productivity and contributions at work and to a social order of worker citizens with responsibilities. However, worker happiness became the focus in the quest of productivity. Social relations then became an instrument for economic gains. Not only were the subjective capacities of each worker the concern of industrial psychologists and enterprises but also their relations and intersubjectivities. Additionally, a new interest was also born in attitude and opinion surveys. Governmental departments could calculate information collected on the psychology and wellbeing of the population and citizens through surveys. The citizen then became an active component rather than just the target of social injunctions.

The employee's "nature" was to be utilised through the Psy knowledge that was being amassed through the work of psychologists as Abraham Maslow, Carl Rogers and Eric Fromm. The subjectivity of the worker was conceptualised through their motivation, responsibility and self-direction. Maslow laid emphasis on the self-actualising nature, Rogers emphasised importance of strivings, Lewin highlighted the human need and capacity to develop aspirations involving incremental challenges, Allport underlined the importance of "becoming", Bruner highlighted the importance of striving to grow. Fromm and others used psychiatry and ethics to assert that responsibility would be positive for mental health and wellbeing. Psychological understanding revealed that worker happiness and satisfaction were vague and ineffective measures and goals in managing workers. Instead employees should be managed according to the merits of competence, responsibility and commitment.

American psychologists such as Vroom emphasised the need for managers to set clear, achievable, and desirable goals, to direct their goals to motivate based on the understanding that people strive to attain something that satisfied them and that they valued. Herzberg was interested in what made people feel good when at work. The "hygiene" factors that made people feel good and motivated them were not physical but psychological. Feeling of achievement, interesting work, personal growth, recognition and responsibility engaged individuals and made them happy and fulfilled. This mapping of psychological strivings was powerful. This created a new image and subjectivity of the worker as a citizen of work with an image and a project of the self to strive towards.

The picture of the neoliberal worker was forming as an autonomous, responsible, high achiever, striving to become a successful entrepreneur. Managers could be trained by psychological consultants and guided by management gurus to understand the psychological strivings of the employee. Management became more concerned about techniques of managing motivation and directing employee's subjectivities to be moulded into career oriented entrepreneurs. Management became the new terrain of psycho-therapeutics that directed employees in their strivings towards self-fulfilment.

Organisations started utilising the expertise of techniques of the self in producing subjectivity that had been developed in the 1960s "therapeutic culture" (p. 117). These therapeutic techniques were not devised to cure ills but to steer the self towards happiness and self-fulfilment. They used techniques of self-inspection, adjustments of the self and remodelling behaviour and speech. These techniques of self and therapeutics were backed by authority of science and psychological theories and carried out by "qualified technicians of the self" (p.117). They struck a chord with the social and cultural images of the autonomous self-directed and motivated individuality that pursued to bring about a better self. These

techniques of self and subjectivity promised tantalising rewards of profitability and surging personal and organisational excellence and performance.

The importance of psychological motivations such as the need for personal growth, achievement, responsibility, rewards and recognition were found to make workers happy. Individual strivings towards personal goals, self-fulfilment and job satisfaction were cemented into organisational processes that made use of this relationship in the pursuit of organisational performance, competitiveness and profit. Thus, organisations could formulate their processes to act as intermediaries between worker satisfaction and organisational performance to align employees and organisational goals. The role of emotions was also being sketched out in the psychological mapping of organisations supported by management gurus and consultancies.

The managerial paradigm of excellence is related to the enterprising employee who acts in a responsible and competitive manner and who could be celebrated as a winner and a high-achiever. These employees are thus directed towards self-improvement, self-development and invited to participate in seductive yet limited opportunities for career progression. Rose's analysis of this development in the technology of management lays emphasis on the subjectivities of individuals, their self-understandings and relations to themselves and others both in the context of organisations and the wider society (Rose, 1999).

Individuals are invited to find pleasure in work (Donzelot, 1991) and to gratify their desires of self-fulfilment, self-worth and meaning through work. Rose's aim is to explain our current means of self-understandings with a specific subjectivity that has arisen from the supposed truthful and objective expertise of the "psy" sciences that usher human beings to act, think and judge themselves and others in ways that are not necessarily natural or absent of the exercise of power. For Rose, the psychological mapping of the inner lives of workers includes calculations of and a role for the emotions evoked through work such as in achievement, success and failure. However, he steps firmly towards subjectivity to gain an illuminatory handle on the shaping of conduct in organisations.

3.643 Enterprising Self and Life Coaching

The government of psychological life in an enterprise form has been theorised and examined empirically through telephone interviews of nine life coaches in America by Sam Binkley (2011a). This article highlights the significance of enterprising form to everyday practices of individuals and the appropriation of psychological life by neoliberal contemporary culture. At the heart of this examination is Foucault's concept of governmentality and practices of contemporary subjectification that seek to constitute individuals' self-understanding through a filter of neoliberalism that elevates enterprising behaviours such as freedom, choice and

grasping opportunities to self-improve. The work of life coaches in America are argued to sculpt subjectivities through neoliberal and enterprising templates.

The life coaches advocate moulding the self as an agentic and enterprising self with a field of opportunities they should exploit and seek happiness and renounce a self that ruminates on negative aspects of life or negative emotions. The interviews with these coaches reveals a “coaching mantra” that incites the individual to view the possibilities of life, to utilise resolve and inventiveness in search of their desires and the inability to see or grasp these opportunities as failure. This mode of subjectification through life coaching problematises lack of optimism, introspection, self-reflection and dwelling on past difficulties and seeks to elevate a spirit of energy and dynamism. Life coaching takes the opposite stance to therapeutic counselling that encourages self-reflection, attempts to resolve past problems, viewing this approach as problematic in itself.

Binkley argues that neoliberalism has sought to marketize social relations based on calculated self-interest not just in organisations but also in everyday practices by activating enterprising spirit and displace and fragment the social cohesion, solidarity, interdependency, trust and mutuality in society. He also notes that the life coaching industry is a very profitable billion-dollar cottage industry worldwide.

3.644 Enterprising Self and Recruitment

In a case study of a UK bank, Redbank, Barratt (2003b) maps various initiatives and practices the bank has implemented to encourage and secure the engagement and identification of its employees with its corporate goals as well as more direct forms of control through such practices as setting of performance targets. This is set in the context of the infiltration of the bank with the enterprise discourse. Barratt uses the theme of enterprise to understand the bank’s recruitment practices and utilises a textual approach to the analysis of the bank’s recruitment literature to examine what types of graduates the bank is targeting.

The bank’s recruitment documentation presents the profiles of seven successful managers, portraying and privileging particular narratives of the working environment of the bank. These accounts present Redbank as an enterprising and dynamic organisation far changed from the bureaucratic and inefficient form. The managers portray themselves as enterprising individuals who work harmoniously together in supportive teams where they can become their true selves constantly improving themselves through personal development. These managers show case their accomplishments as well as the entrepreneurial and dynamic processes and spirit of the bank. There is a sense that coming to work at Redbank enables individuals to achieve their aspirations, career goals and that of the business.

There is a suggestion that the bank was filtering the right type of person by accentuating specific sought-after behaviours such as achievement, enthusiasm, energy and taking initiative (Grey, 1994). Barratt argues that the recruitment literature therefore presents a particular and privileged narrative of the bank and its employees and the types of graduates it wants to invite to work for it. This portrayal is presented within a regime of truth and a power-knowledge framework that assigns objectivity, truth and reality to these profiles and the picture of the bank that it paints. This recruitment literature avoids portraying the messiness and unpredictability of real and corporate life (Kozloff, 1995 cited in Barratt 2003b; Miller and Rose, 1990).

3.645 Enterprising Self and Careers

Grey (1994) argues that careers are a key component of employee self-discipline and self-management that reflects an enterprising form of the self that has become a defining feature of subjectivity in organisations. The career is defined as both discursive and non-discursive practices, and its pursuit produces a self-disciplined form of subjectivity which Grey argues is already established for employees before entering the accountancy firm through primary or secondary socialisation. Work offers the individual the chance to become what it truly wants to be, a place to fulfil an entrepreneurial project of the self, a chance to achieve this self through the vehicle of career. Grey analyses how disciplinary techniques such as surveillance and normalising judgements enacted through recruitment, measurement of sales performance and appraisals are made effective through the “harnessing of the self-discipline of career” (p. 495).

Thus, Grey’s analysis of this accountancy firm announces the importance the development of career plays in employee subjectivity, self-discipline and behaviours. For Grey this self-discipline induced through career shifts the focus away from the disciplinary power and hierarchical surveillance employed through techniques such as appraisal that were the emphasis for Townley (1993a). Grey’s analysis emphasises the career as a self-fulfilling project of the self where employee aspirations are achieved through the career ladder that entails both promotions and potential sackings.

However, Grey does not present the career as a disciplinary technique, that shapes behaviour through rewards and punishments, which is closer to Fournier’s (1998) stance in her analysis of the “new career model” in a service sector organisation. Fournier’s study analyses how an organisation aims to manage graduate subjectivities through a career discourse and its HRM practices such as competency and personal development centred appraisals. Fournier argues that the organisation uses its career discourse to shape the subjectivities of graduates.

The organisational discourse incorporated both enterprise and the career where the “language of enterprise permeates the new career discourse” (p. 61).

The graduates were invited to shape their subjectivities along the lines of enterprising selves who take responsibility for their own developments, career progression and self-management and who achieve personal self-fulfilment through the pursuit of a career that addresses their aspirations and helps them become who they really want to be. The career was used to seduce a particular subjectivity and to align graduate personal goals to the organisation.

Fournier identified two groups of graduates; one who chose the subject positions of entrepreneurial individuals and conformed to the organisation’s formula and another more “militant” group who interpreted the career discourse and the organisation’s management of employees as exploitative. Fournier demonstrates how the discourses of enterprise and career were used to discipline and shape behaviour and subjectivity in combination with HRM practices such as appraisal. The career had disciplinary effects in that employees who took on the appropriate subjectivities that pursued excellence, wanted to become winners and took responsibility for self-development were promised rewards such as progression and those who did not were excluded from these rewards. Fournier also argues that these employees were separated from each other on a social and hierarchical ordering where enterprising employees were elevated and the militant employees marginalised for not taking up these subjectivities.

Fournier has firmly stated her case for the significance of subjectivity in shaping behaviour and has not examined whether these employees’ rewards and punishments for taking on the right behaviours and subjectivities elicited emotions.

3.646 Enterprise Discourse

As demonstrated by Fournier’s study employees do not uniformly imbibe the enterprise discourse or comply with its intended effects on subjectivity, identity or behaviours. Other empirical studies have examined and highlighted the “theoretical weakness of the enterprise discourse” (Russell and McCabe, 2015, p.1) where employees and managers are both faced with alternative, incoherent, competing and contradictory discourses (Foucault, 1978; Mangan, 2009; McCabe 2009; Doolin, 2002) and enforced bureaucratic practices (Miller and Rose, 1990; Fournier, 1998) that demand “non-entrepreneurial” behaviours from employees, such as repetitive and mechanistic processes that contradict employee initiative or team working and fail to enforce control over employee behaviour (McCabe, 2008).

In practice, a combination of discourses and sets of entrepreneurial and bureaucratic practices are utilised in organisations (Barratt, 2003b). Enterprise discourse is not the

dominant, pervasive and totalising discourse that parts of the literature claim it is (Fournier and Grey, 1999). That is not to claim that enterprise discourse or the promotion of “entrepreneurial” subjectivities do not produce their intended effects in at least some employees (Fournier, 1998; Mangan, 2009) and some managers who also attempt to subjugate through it (McCabe, 2000).

In McCabe’s (2008, 2009) study of a Westland Bank, he found that the enterprise discourse was employed incoherently with other contradictory discourses and working practices. He identified a Fordist discourse and set of practices that were employed in the back office that imposed repetitive and mechanistic practices that limited and repressed the enterprise discourse and its associated behaviours such as autonomy, teamwork and initiative taking. There was also an “earlier” career discourse that was associated with job security and the career in banks (McKinlay, 2002) which imposed hierarchical authority, deference and adherence to the culture of the organisation. This discourse also had a limiting effect on entrepreneurial behaviours.

In Westland Bank disciplinary and bureaucratic mechanisms like the appraisal, peer surveillance, competencies and interviews were implemented through an enterprise concept to separate and individualise employees from one another and individuate them as this type of person or another. The discourses contributed to individualisation and fragmentation of the workforce, in the context of fear and insecurity over job losses and produced workers who complied with the norms of profit, and managerial expectations. The employees’ aspirations were tied to enterprise and the behaviours it was meant to induce. Thus, employees preferred to work in entrepreneurial ways such that they could exercise discretion, initiative, responsibility and self-development.

However, the organisation promoted routine work, sales targets and competition that contradicted certain elements of enterprise such as teamwork. These requirements also diminished opportunities for self-realisation and self-development (Rose, 1999) as well as inducing employees to feel like objects (Foucault, 1977; McKinlay, 2002). The bank’s incoherent practices engendered anxiety and mistrust amongst staff (McCabe, 2009). The discourses also succeeded in limiting collective resistance and alternate subjectivities. The tension and incoherence in working practices and discourses produced various forms of resistance in employees such as irony and cynicism (Fleming and Spicer, 2003), distancing (Collinson, 1994) and indifference (Edwards, Collinson and Rocca, 1995 cited in McCabe, 2008). McCabe (2009) argues that some employees turned enterprise against management and criticised management for failing to enable them to work in enterprising ways and used the enterprise discourse as a form of resistance.

Mangan's (2009) longitudinal study of an Irish credit union whose traditional ethos is of helping communities, found that many of the volunteers working for this credit union prioritised a community service identity over an enterprising identity induced by the emerging enterprise discourse. The study illustrated that volunteers' existing identities were relatively unchanged and stable indicating that organisations may not always succeed in changing identities of employees if they value these identities highly and the practices and culture of the organisation do not enforce change (McCabe, 2009). This reinforces why some organisations select individuals based on their existing identities that complement the demand of the culture of the organisation (Bergstrom et al., 2009; Grey, 1994; Barratt, 2003b). Discourses are continuously being reproduced and renegotiated, subjects adopting, preferring and thus reinforcing or rejecting various elements of their practice (Garrety et al., 2003; McCabe, 2008).

Summary

Literature that has used the concept of enterprise has illuminated how organisations use this set of behaviours to elevate behaviours and a subjectivity that embellishes a striving for self-interest and optimum economic productivity from employees. Enterprise is a template that has been incorporated into many HRM practices and employees are evaluated and valued according to this subjectivity and ensemble of behaviours. The research that focuses on how employees' conduct is shaped through entrepreneurial discourses and behaviours such as achievement, productivity and career progression lays emphasis on employee subjectivity and identity and organisational rewards and punishments.

However, this literature has not explored how employees' adherence to these behaviours and measurement of their performance may elicit emotions that may contribute to the shaping of their conduct.

The next section reviews literature that has considered a role for emotions in the shaping of employee conduct and the thought of Foucault.

3.65 Foucault, Power and Emotion

Foucault did not develop a role for emotion in his conceptualisation of power and scholars have suggested that his "anti-humanist" and anti-existentialist stance limited his inclusion of emotions as he disagreed with any universal notion of human essence that might extend to emotions (Tamboukou, 2003; Knights, 1990). However, scholars have occasionally used his conceptualisation of power to develop a role for emotions in relation to topics such as identity, subjectivity, and organisational control. In addition, a few scholars have utilised Foucault's thought on governmentality and developed a role for emotion.

The next sections will outline this literature starting with emotion in governance of accountability, then literature on emotion and Foucauldian power and discourse and ending with the literature on emotion and governmentality.

3.651 Governance of Accountability

For example, Roberts (1991) examines the disciplinary techniques of surveillance and visibility used in the governance of accountability and analyses their influence on an individual's sense of self. Roberts sees the significance of self-consciousness to emerge in childhood and draws on the work of Merleau-Ponty to articulate this.

To recognise his image in the mirror is for him to learn that there can be a viewpoint taken on him. Hitherto he has never seen himself, or he has only caught a glimpse of himself in looking at the parts of his body he can see. By means of the image in the mirror he becomes capable of being a spectator of himself. Through the acquisition of the specular image the child notices that he is visible for himself and for others (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 136).

The child recognises his self-image in the mirror and at the same moment is seen and confirmed by the other, the image in the mirror. Roberts strengthens this point by using Mead's (1934) work on the constitution of self where the visibility of the self in the eyes of the general other and the group one belongs to is a core part of Mead's account of the self. The attitude and opinion of others towards the self is a key anchor in the sense of self that one builds through this import from others. The self is in continual constitution in social interactions and rituals. The self is a social self. It is erected through social processes where loss of face and embarrassment is a key component in interaction. The self tries to avoid loss of face to maintain and constitute a positive self-image and self-identity (Goffman, 1959). For Mead (1934) an individual is capable of self-reflection and self-consciousness.

Therefore, a sense of self develops that incorporates relations with others, their beliefs, values, and injunctions that structure social life. Therefore, Roberts (1991) offers a mechanism of self-constitution that moves away from Foucault and draws on Mead, Merleau-Ponty and Lacan. The constitution of self through social interaction and routines is an ongoing process throughout life (Goffman, 1959; Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934). Roberts (1991, 2001) then connects this sense of self constitution that is reliant on the other with practices of accountability, where the self can also take on the attitudes of others, even without their presence, so that it can be an internal process of surveillance. The practice of accountability enrolls a sense of self and one's relations to others as a social practice.

Roberts uses Foucault's framework of field of visibility and the individualising effects of disciplinary power (1991, 2001) for his analysis of accountability and accounting information. Within organisations accounting information has been institutionalised as the

most important and authoritative means of measuring and making visible the activity and the implied performance of individuals. As its methods are rendered scientific, objective and representing the “truth”, this implies a form of invisibility of its power and the asymmetrical power relations involved that benefit those who produce and use it.

Accounting information offers employees unavoidable reflections of themselves, performance and qualities. It disseminates the disciplinary effects of comparison, differentiation, hierarchisation and exclusion. The possibilities and anxieties of exclusion induce the individual to become more self-focused. The individual is turned back on himself, to be absorbed by his own survival in a competitive environment where individuals are continuously being judged against set standards of behaviour and performance through routine accountability.

Success superficially announces recognition and acceptance and failure symbolises the opposite. The pursuit of success carries the individual further towards conforming to idealised inscriptions of performance and behaviour and towards conforming to powerful others’ expectations and injunctions. Acceptance, recognition and failure all place individuals in different locations in the hierarchy that reflect one’s relative value and worth. Acceptance and recognition are conditional, unstable and dependent on one’s activities and performance against set standards. Thus, Roberts describes the effects of disciplinary mechanisms of accountability and its individualising effects, the possibility of absorption with the self and how one is seen through visibility. The individual is thus seduced into seeking praise, self-enhancement, and recognition and career progression and is drawn increasingly into conformity and being objectified as an instrument of utility and economy (Rose, 1999).

In his analysis of the individualising and socialising effects of the processes of accountability in Anglo-American corporate governance, Roberts (2001) uses Foucault’s disciplinary power and panopticon (visibility) and draws on Giddens (1984) and Berger and Luckman’s (1967 cited in Roberts 2001) conceptualisation of the self which have elements in common with Foucault’s own work. Roberts puts forward an intimate relationship between social interaction, motivation and social constitution of the self. He then goes on to describe a role for the self-conscious emotions of pride, shame and guilt in this relationship “as different forces at work in processes of accountability”.

So, he envisages and connotes a role for these emotions within the context of accountability and visibility that is also intimately related to Foucault’s disciplinary power. Roberts (2001, p. 1551) makes a clear link between shame and pride, the self and identity drawing on the work of Giddens on the narrative form of identity; “Shame ‘bears directly on self-identity

because it is essentially anxiety about the adequacy of the narrative by means of which the individual sustains a coherent identity” (Giddens, 1991, p. 65). Pride also endears a positive and coherent sense of identity.

Roberts, argues that processes of accountability constitute subjectivity where shame, pride and conscience work as motivational forces. Therefore, he implies that shame and pride direct the motivation and behaviour of individuals in the framework of accountability and visibility that disciplinary power imposes on employees (Garrety et al., 2003). Roberts (1991, 2001), in his analysis of disciplinary power, accountability and the power of the imaginary in the quest for recognition, identity and identification finds an important yet implicit role for the emotions of shame and pride.

He draws on various theorists of the self such as Mead, Merleau-Ponty, and Giddens to build a framework to incorporate the emotions of shame and pride and link them to disciplinary power with a particular focus on its individualising effects. His analysis focuses on visibility, being seen and the panopticon of disciplinary power. However, he does not recognise an explicit role for emotions in the exercise of disciplinary power. He does not make use of Foucault’s other elements of disciplinary power such as the unequal distribution of rewards and punishments through disciplinary practices such as appraisal.

3.652 Power, Emotion and Subjectivity

Another example of research that has connected Foucault with emotions is Zembylas (2005) who draws on Foucault’s ideas on the relationship between power, power relations and discourse and uses a poststructuralist lens on emotions to examine the constitution of teacher identities. Poststructuralists view emotions as discursive practices embedded in and shaped by culture and power relations. Zembylas (2005) uses data collected from a 3-year ethnographic case study to examine how one teacher constituted her identity arguing that organisational rules on emotional displays and expressions inform identity constitution. Zembylas suggests that identity is constituted through how individuals experience, perform and talk about their emotions. In addition, the emotions expressed at work are subject to discipline and rules which sanction what emotion an individual can feel and express and these emotional rules are imposed through power relations (Hochschild, 1983).

Zembylas’ (2003) study has a particular concern for the performance of emotions through discourse and as he explains:

“the focus of analysis of the self and one’s experiences is on the discourse of experience rather than on the experience itself. For Foucault, discourses do not simply reflect or describe reality, knowledge, experience, self, social

relations, social institutions, and practices; rather, they play an integral role in constituting (and being constituted by) them” (p.113-114).

Zembylas is partly highlighting the power of discourse, because it is through discourse an individual performs their emotions and their identities and partly that sanctions embedded and practiced through power relations inform an individual on the emotions they can feel and express and what kinds of people they are allowed to portray and consequently become. The author suggests that emotions and sanctions placed on emotions through power relations inform and constitute identity.

Zembylas also emphasises the role of agency and resistance in the relationship between power, emotions and identity. Zembylas suggests that individuals are capable of exercising both resistance and agency by choosing subject positions within the discourse that they participate in and through which their identity is constructed (Zembylas, 2003; 2005). Moreover, the author also recognises the role shame may play in the constitution of identity as well as reflect a teacher’s sense of worthiness and adequacy in their role and the potential for shame to have a say in teachers’ practices and career (Zembylas, 2003).

Another key article that has used Foucault’s conceptualisation of power and technologies of the self to explain a significant role for emotions in shaping employee subjectivity and identity in the pursuit of organisational control is a study of organisational change through the introduction of MBTI in a New Zealand manufacturing firm by Garrety et al., (2003). The data and analysis is based both on interview data and participant and non-participant observations of the change program which was introduced to cultivate a new organisational culture that was more “emotionally intelligent”. The MBTI personality profiling tool was introduced to alter the self-understandings and behaviours of employees according to the authors who were working as organisational change consultants.

The authors follow a Foucauldian framework that views discourses as organisational tools for defining what type of employees were valued, normal, desirable and deviant and unacceptable. Thus, the change program utilises MBTI to enhance the status of being emotionally aware and expressive and in turn help to define how employees should feel, behave and understand themselves and therefore constitute a particular organisationally disciplined and sanctioned subjectivity. The implementation of MBTI and its more emotionally intelligent means of working guide employees to be more reflexive and evaluate themselves through a discourse that promotes very different identities and behaviours.

The authors focus on the emotions produced through social interactions as employees evaluate themselves, their place, value and status in the organisation facilitated through this

new organisational discourse. The authors find that it is the emotions of shame and pride that play a significant role in shaping employee subjectivity and behaviour. Garrety et al., (2003) draw on Scheff's (1988) "emotion-deference system" to explain how these emotions contribute to social conformity and the exercise organisational power and control over employee behaviour as these individuals are compelled towards seeking deference and respect and pride and avoid behaviours and subjectivities that may induce rejection and shame.

Much like Zembylas (2005) these authors do not view individuals as passive and totally colonised by organisational control through discourse as they find that employees can take up different subject positions in the discourse and exert some agency and resistance and that organisational control is far from complete and power is not "uni-directional" (p.216; McNay, 1991). Although, their study also emphasises that this agency is restricted and shaped through employees being compelled towards pride and valued subjectivities and directed away from shame and devalued subjectivities. Thus, pride and valued subjectivities act as organisational rewards whereas shame and unwanted identities (Fergusson, Eyre and Ashbaker, 2000) act as organisational sanctions.

3.653 Love as Technology

Anne Marie D'Aoust's research examines the problematisation of marriage migration by different countries, reflecting theoretically on the various ways love, as an emotion, is used as a technology of control and risk management of migrants. She examines the employment of recent legal and technocratic changes that problematise marriage migration, as a site of regulation and governmentality of immigration in countries such as Denmark, France and Great Britain (D'Aoust, 2013, 2014).

"Emotions such as love are integral to the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculation, and tactics that Foucault identified as part of governmental processes; the latter should not necessarily be equated with (and limited to) rationalized technocratic processes detached from emotional components." (D'Aoust, 2013, p. 258). D'Aoust draws on Foucault's thought on governmentality as the conduct of conduct and to frame part of her analysis of the government of marriage migration by various states. The author argues that even though Foucault did not evaluate a role for emotions (p.no) in his concept of governmentality, the technocratic processes involved in marriage migration should not be understood as eminently rational to the exclusion of emotion.

D'Aoust, follows Pettman (2006, p.18) who contends that love is technical in that it is “an acknowledgement and recognition of alterity and affiliation” that emerges “only within the moment and movement of exteriorization”. D'Aoust argues that

“Technologies of love are central to the governmentality of marriage migration; as modes of subjectification and governing practice, they connect intimacy with citizenship. More than the manifestation of rationalization of a specific emotion, technologies of love allow for an exploration of what an engagement with emotions such as love does to governmentality” (D'Aoust, 2013, p.258).

D'Aoust's examination of cases of the government of marriage migration illustrate that technologies of love shape and discipline migration flows, that is, the type of marriage migrants the state welcomes or tries to inhibit. D'Aoust examines the practices and policies designed to “uncover” the authenticity of the “love relationships” between citizens and would be migrants. Technologies of love, for D'Aoust are not about control or government of emotions rather more about the connection between intimacy, citizenship and belonging. Technologies of love are fundamental to the identification and assessment of a couple's right to belong in a country such as Denmark whose regulations the author studies.

States design bureaucratic processes and practices that define what authentic love is, in very specific and “material” ways, such as defining what kind of marriage ceremonies, marriage photographs, marriage artefacts indicate authentic love relationships and intimacy between citizens and migrants.

“The materialisation of love thus needs to be learned and recognised as much by the couple involved in the migration process, as by the various actors and administrative technologies involved in the evaluation process. Yet, how love is recognized, displayed, and experienced can vary significantly for the persons experiencing it and for those observing and/or evaluating it.” (D'Aoust, 2013, p. 263).

Thus, these technocratic regulations that set out and reify, technologies of love, aim to control how states examine and verify intimacy and love between couples applying to become citizens. One reason for these security regulations is the question of economic migration where migrants may want to migrate for economic purposes rather than “authentic love”.

D'Aoust, thus, argues that the emotion of love, through technologies of love is embedded in legal and surveillance practices that are used to control marriage migration across many states. Countries such as Denmark, UK and France all have different practices to adjudicate

and evaluate intimacy and love between couples who wish to become citizens. D'Aoust also raises questions on how citizenship and belonging are evaluated for both the migrant and non-migrant partners (D'Aoust, 2013, 2014). D'Aoust reflects on Foucault's understanding of technologies of power and technologies of the self.

D'Aoust also recognises that just like other technologies or processes, technologies of love do not always achieve what they were designed for as well as being misused. So, they do not bring about the movements or establish the relationships they are meant to do. In short, they do not achieve the ends that political rationalities would prefer.

D'Aoust, also conceptualises these technologies of love and governmentality of marriage migration couples in terms of trying to ensure and organised, and orderly circulation people; a movement. D'Aoust thinks of love then as "movement taking place inside and cutting across different bodies and different spaces.....[that] comprises economic relations that facilitate, foster or prevent economic flows, emotional transports and movement of people" (2014, p.326). Technologies of love are bound and entangled with movements within people (the emotion of love that can move), physical movement of these migrant couples that also impact and are enmeshed with economic migration. This allows D'Aoust to also reflect that examining marriage migration through the lens of technologies of love enables her to also connect the role of love in relation to mobility and neoliberalism that can characterise governmentality.

3.654 Technologies of Happiness and Positive Psychology

In another article Sam Binkley (2011b) argues that the new discourse of positive psychology and its concern for attaining happiness has had a central platform in neoliberal forms of government and the production of neoliberal subjectivity. Binkley highlights the role positive psychological research has had on the contemporary therapeutic culture. An interesting point of Binkley's argument is the elevation of rationality over emotions in the governmental approach towards shaping neoliberal subjectivity that pivots on happiness. Binkley explains that happiness has been transformed into a calculable, measurable and actionable domain by neoliberal practices rather than an intangible feeling. Binkley suggests that "technologies of happiness" are employed in diverse areas as HRM, business and leadership, education, relationship counselling and career and life coaching (Binkley, 2011a).

Positive Psychology claims to scientifically map out and measure psychological states of happiness, joy and wellbeing. Exploring positive psychology and the discourses of happiness through a governmentality standpoint reveals an economic drive that shows concern for

economic factors such as costs and benefit. Happiness psychology aims to shape the thoughts, emotions and habits of individuals through a rational, cognitive, agentic and calculative practice

3.655 Governing Social Action and Emotions

Burkitt (2014) examines emotions and power relationships in the context of governmental attempts to use emotion to govern social action in a case study of how the British Government attempted to govern the conduct of its people through manipulation of emotions, focusing on anger and fear. It is a case study that examines governmental strategy of “war on terror” after the 9/11 attack on the USA. Burkitt examines the emotions and behaviour of people who attended a protest February 2003 against the proposed war in Iraq being backed by the British Government. Burkitt argues that fear was induced by the US and British government’s rhetoric on potential imminent terrorist attacks; and hope offered by “war on terror” that would minimise this threat.

Burkitt draws on Foucault’s thought on power “a total structure of actions brought to bear upon possible actions: it incites, it induces, it seduces....[it is] a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects” (Foucault, 1982, p.220). He argues that to incite and seduce involves emotion. For example, incitement is likely to involve a provocation or stirring where anger may be one potential emotional response. Seduction, also involves a form of desire or longing for a person or goal/object. Burkitt contends that even though status is a factor in power relations, which then highlights emotions such as shame and embarrassment, these emotions are not the key emotions in power relations and governing conduct.

Burkitt emphasises that techniques of government that work through inducing emotions fail at times to reach their intended goals (Miller and Rose, 1990) and the emotions that are presumed to be evoked are not always the ones that are induced. Burkitt feels it is the ambivalent and contradictory nature of emotions and the potential alternation between different emotions that are the reason for this. It is difficult to predict for each individual enmeshed in a group of people enmeshed in a network of power relations how they will be affected and the emotions that will arise.

Summary

This literature is significant as a few scholars have in different ways included a role for emotions in their examinations of governmentality or Foucault’s thought on power and discourse. The role for emotions can be implicit or not examined within the context of directing behaviour or contributing to disciplinary power. However, it is important that

emotions have been directly explored in relation to Foucault's thought on power and governmentality.

This review underscores the gap in research that examines a role for emotions in the exercise of disciplinary power and governmentality of employees and its elicitation through appraisal.

3.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has outlined Foucault's thought on power and then reviewed literature that has utilised this thought to analyse human behaviour in organisations and highlighted that in the main scholars have tilted their analysis through the constructs of subjectivity and identity. This highlights that Foucault did not develop a role for emotion in his thought on power, a gap this research aims to address.

The appraisal literature that has used of Foucault's thought on power has mainly been concerned with putting forward appraisal as a tool for executing disciplinary power that directs employee behaviours through shaping employee identity and subjectivity. This heightens a gap in appraisal research that examines a role for emotions in shaping employee behaviours to align with organisational goals that was initiated in the previous chapter that reviewed traditional literature on appraisal.

Yet, this literature review has also demonstrated that examining human behaviour through the constructs of subjectivity and identity still leaves a question mark over why individuals are willing and compelled to participate in systems of power that may have negative effects on them. This is another question that this thesis aims to explore by examining the role of emotions.

Foucauldian studies have investigated many topics such as prisoner identities, the emergence and proliferation of psychological sciences and expertise and contributed much to our understanding of organisational processes. These studies have used the constructs of subjectivity and identity to make their contributions but in this quest, they have not developed an explicit role for emotions in the exercise of power or shaping behaviour.

This thesis suggests that the underlying mechanisms that engender disciplinary power and power relations such as individualisation, power-knowledge, hierarchical observation and judgement and rewards and punishment all contribute to the allocation of differential value and may emotions which in turn can shape employee behaviour.

The next chapter thus introduces the topic of emotions and discusses how emotions can be understood as movement in social relations and shape human behaviour and reviews the literature on emotions in organisations.

Chapter 4 Emotions

This chapter introduces emotion research in its historical context to chart the emergence of the contemporary term emotion which replaced the preceding terminology of passions, affections and sentiments. This is important as it underscores a connection with Foucault's analysis of the government of the passions such as anger in antiquity laid out in the last chapter. Then some of the main theoretical perspectives in emotion research is briefly sketched out to explain the difficulty in using these perspectives to explicate the elicitation of emotions in the performance appraisal. The ensuing section elaborates on the concept of emotion and outlines the social relational understanding of emotions which this thesis adopts.

The chapter then moves on to describe the work of some influential sociologists who have written about the role of emotions in social interactions, social order and social control. This is relevant as it pertains to how emotions can play a role in directing human behaviour. Lastly, emotion research in organisations is presented with a focus on emotions, power, conformity and control. This chapter underscores the role of emotions as movement in social relations and its ability to behaviour in organisations. This highlights a gap in the literature that has examined a role for emotions in the exercise of power in the context of organisational practices such as appraisal.

The chapter starts with outlining the historical birth of the term emotion and its relation to the terminology of passion and affections.

4.1 A History of Emotion

Thomas Dixon (2003), a historian of emotions, has written a thought-provoking account of the emergence of the "psychological category of emotions" in the 19th century. It is interesting to note that the category of emotions did not exist until about two hundred years ago. Dixon explains that between c. 1800 to c. 1850 the category of emotions was conceived and replaced almost wholesale the more differentiated typologies of the passions, affections and sentiments that were used to refer to "mental life". Dixon highlights that the "obviousness" of the category of emotions is mainly due to a lack of understanding of the historical and theological background and foundations of the history of psychology and emotions. The definition of psychology that Dixon uses is the "systematic study of (primarily human) mental life". (p.10).

This is relevant for this thesis as Foucault has examined the government of the passions in antiquity in his analysis of care of the self. For example, the epicureans and stoics thought that passions such as envy and anger were diseases of the soul that needed to be governed or cured (Foucault, 2005). This means that although Foucault's thought on the government of

passions was limited he had briefly included the government of what we would now refer to as emotions in his thought on technologies of the self.

Dixon makes the argument that emotions as a “single over-arching category” displaced more “differentiated typologies” of the appetites, passions, affections and sentiments that were in use in psychological theorising and discussions until the 19th century. This “over-inclusivity” of the category of emotion leads to incoherency as this category encompasses older typologies with very different meanings. The “over-inclusivity” is important because it helps to explain the difficulties faced by contemporary research on emotions. Emotions tend to be used to refer to a variety of different states and feelings; good or bad, rational or irrational, virtuous or vicious states.

A focal point for Dixon is to highlight Robert Solomon’s book *The Passions: Emotion and the Meaning of Life*. Dixon is sceptical of Solomon’s thesis. Solomon’s influential book, along with many other writers on emotion, argues that Western thinkers have until the 20th century taken a negative view of emotions as fundamentally bodily, involuntary and irrational phenomenon that need to be subjected to reason and rationality. Solomon’s thesis also contends that from antiquity till recently psychologists and philosophers have misguidedly thought emotions and reason to be antagonistic. Solomon places the blame for this misguided view on emotions, on traditional meanings of passions that were viewed to be irrational, involuntary and wild by Christians and theologian thinkers. Dixon disagrees with Solomon’s claim. Solomon makes the mistake of equating and directly replacing the word passions with emotions and does not consider the other typologies of the affections, sentiments and appetites

The wholesale change in vocabulary led to the conception and creation of emotions in opposition to intellect, reason and the will and that at least the affections and moral sentiments could be understood as rational and voluntary acts of the will.

4.11 Passions and Affections of St Augustine and Aquinas

Dixon begins his historical account of the “emotions” by focusing on the classical theologians, St Augustine of Hippo and St Thomas Aquinas and their theologies of the soul which was divided into a higher rational soul and a lower animal soul. The passions and appetites were understood to be movements of the lower soul whereas the affections were of the higher and rational soul. The passions were usually understood to be unruly disturbances of the body that could include love, hate, fear and anger.

Affections were acts of the higher rational soul and were signs of or movements towards God. So, love, joy and sympathy could be affections when acted towards goodness and God.

In addition, the affections were understood to refer to the direction of the will. Affections that were directed towards love of self and worldly objects were part of the carnal will whereas affections of the holy will were directed towards truth, goodness and God. In classical Christian models, the appetites, passions and affections were movements of the will. A crucial point to grasp is that the affections were potentially informed by reason. At least the affections were not necessarily antagonistic to reason, nor did they overpower the will.

4.12 Emotion and Secularisation

Dixon underlines that theologians, and Christian philosophers were some of the most influential and widely read contributors to thought around psychology, and mental life; prior to the 20th century. Dixon argues that “it was the secularisation of psychology that gave rise to the creation and adoption of the new category of emotions and influences the way it was originally and subsequently conceived” (ref). Academic authority on psychology has shifted from theological and philosophical writings and institutions to secular ones from the 19th century. This new scientific discipline of psychology was at least partially an adaptation and hybrid of various philosophical and theological principles, traditions and assumptions. Traditions that were based on the study of the soul and mind through introspection.

Theologians and philosophers studied psychology on models and metaphysical assumptions as the dualism between the soul (mind) and the body that is very different to the current assumptions of psychology. The establishment of psychology as a science owed its success, partly at least, to its denial of the importance of the soul, and its adoption of an objectifying and ‘natural scientific’ account with quantifiable observations of behaviour, the brain, nerves and viscera.

4.13 Adoption of Category of Emotions

The term emotion was born in its modern form in David Hume’s “Treatise of Human Nature” (1739-1740), Hume was a Scottish philosopher and “mental scientist”. However, it was mainly developed by Thomas Brown in his “Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind” (1820). Brown wanted to break free of traditional faculty of psychology and to create a scientific and secular faculty. Brown developed a classification of mental states where he used the term emotions as non-cognitive and passive states. The term emotions that Brown initiated included a wide range of states that had previously been thought of as active powers of the soul.

There was a mixed picture of resistance and adoption of Brown’s thesis on emotions amongst Christian psychologists as the 19th century progressed. However, emotion research was also now being taken on by physiologists and evolutionary psychologists such as Darwin around the 1850s. The mind and soul were moved into a diminished role and replaced by the

concepts of the brain and nerves. The new influential figures of the psychology of emotions around the 1850s to 1880s as Spencer, Darwin and ultimately James developed their theories and ontologies around the evolutionary past and the body, nerves and viscera, leaving behind introspection of the soul, the passions and affections.

4.14 Sentimentalism Movement

William Reddy (2001) who has also written on the history of emotions has narrated a detailed account of the “movement” of sentimentalism in France. This account is interesting as it introduces a period in history with a specific ‘emotional regime’, that entailed, valued and elevated the ‘moral sentimental’ emotions of sympathy and empathy. This provides this thesis an illustration of how emotions and social relations can change according to local, cultural and historical practices.

In late 17th century France a new style of emotional expression and management emerged to counter the excessive luxury, debauchery and highly deferential styles of obedience that was occurring at that time of absolutist monarchy in France. Sentimentalism was a set of emotional practices that was articulated through diverse forms as friendship, social gatherings in egalitarian salons, art and literature. The new practices offered relief from the hierarchical royal courts and public ceremonies. An understanding emerged of an innate human moral sense which was expressed through “virtuous impulses of sentiment” (Reddy, 2001, p. 325) which was taken up in social practices and influential thinkers.

Sentimentalist notions and practices gained an eminence and popularity of widespread scope, and expressed in new styles of novels by Rousseau and others, the opera and literature. Sentimentalism articulated a “liberatory political and emotional ideology” (p. 325) that transformed social relations. Sentimentalism was centred around sincerity and empathy to promote egalitarianism and mutuality which were mostly absent in the monarchical courts and wider relations. The downfall of sentimentalism was that it viewed emotional sensitivity, empathy and sympathy as an innate moral sense. However, these emotions often had to be expressed insincerely and this led to a growing backlash against this style of emotional management from those who were suspicious and found it distasteful.

Napoleonic era brought a new emotional regime that proscribed and erased sentimentalism and replaced it by an elevation of self-interest, secular human reason and a masculine prestige, and emotional distance. There was also an acknowledgement of the fragility of human emotionality that could be frail, disordered, with impulses, moods and fears. Reddy argues that the history of sentimentalism is often left out in historical accounts of the history of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution.

The next section introduces contemporary emotion research and then outlines a few key theoretical perspectives used in research on emotions with a brief explanation why these theoretical approaches are unlikely to provide a valuable mechanism to study the elicitation of emotions in performance appraisal.

4.2 Contemporary Emotion Research

As highlighted by the emotion historian Thomas Dixon, there is a lack of consensus amongst emotion scholars on how to define, theorise and study emotions (Gooty, Gavin and Ashkanasy, 2009). More than any other organisational phenomenon, emotion is recognised as being both “unknowable” and multidimensional with no one discipline being able to define it or colonise it and no single frame has yet to capture this complex phenomenon (Sturdy, 2003).

Emotion has mainly been studied under psychology where one perspective is to highlight a functional role for emotion. Here, emotion is viewed as a call for action, with a tendency to control behaviour and thought, and is related to motivation. As well as a tendency to action emotion can also lead to inaction or apathy (Frijda and Mesquita, 1998). The social effects of an emotion may vary according to the social and cultural context and become socially dysfunctional and cause potential alienation (Fischer, Manstead and Zaalberg, 2003; Retzinger, 1991; Kemper, 1978). This demonstrates that emotions do not necessarily result in a desired outcome as this depends on the interpretation of the emotion and its behaviours in the social and cultural context (Parkinson, Fischer and Manstead, 2005; Fischer and Manstead, 2008).

The sociologist Arlie Hochschild’s (1983) seminal work, *The Managed Heart*, on emotional labour is widely regarded across the disciplines as the starting point for the explosion of interest amongst researchers in emotions with a specific tie to organisations (Fischer and Ashkanasy, 2000; Fineman, 2000). In addition, Salovey and Mayer (1990) and Daniel Goleman’s work on emotional intelligence has ignited major interest both in the research agenda of emotions and the profile of emotions amongst practitioners who can conceive how emotions can help them achieve better employee and organisational performances (Briner, 1999).

It is useful to define some common terms such as affect, emotion and mood that are used in scholarly research.

Affect, Mood and Emotion

Emotions according to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) can be defined as a “strong feeling deriving from one’s circumstances, mood, or relationship with others”. The word emotion, itself, originates from the Latin word “emovere” which means to ‘move’. Psychology tends to view emotion as a static state where emotion moves an individual to act. In contrast, this thesis follows Burkitt thought on emotion, Burkitt sees emotion as “movement itself within relations and interaction” with other people or things (Burkitt, 2014).

Following Burkitt, mood can be defined as an emotion “that lingers in our dispositions to action and habit, and in our outlook in the world, long after the situation that created it is over.” (Denzin, 1984, p.9).

Lastly, the OED defines ‘affect’ as moving someone emotionally as in, being changed by an emotion or moved. “In these interactions we are constantly being affected by others, being moved by them to other actions, in the process constantly feeling and thinking – being moved from one feeling and emotion to another” (Burkitt, 2014, p.9). The second meaning of ‘affect’ again from OED is a pretence or enactment of an emotion to have an intended effect on others. This can be through behaviour, speech or writing, a display of emotion either real or enacted. This is then a performance of an emotion to evoke a certain reaction or emotion in them, sometimes as to impress them.

Burkitt (2014) is also a proponent of Wetherell’s (2012) concept of ‘affective practice’ that is embodied meaning making that has a pattern and is ordered but also fluid and indeterminate. Affective practice is part of social life.

4.21 Theoretical Perspectives on Emotion

Scholars utilise many different theoretical approaches to study emotions. Each of the theoretical approaches has implications on how emotions are studied and whether an approach would provide a suitable theoretical framework for this research.

The Cognitive Perspective: The appraisal process is central in the cognitive perspective such that they are judged as either good or bad for the individual and this appraisal is also associated with action tendencies. The appraisal of the environment informs the individual on how to deal with relevant events in the environment in the form of readiness for action (Frijda, 1986). Cognitive theories have been criticised for viewing individuals as machines that function through logic and rationality, and presenting humans to be akin to computers. Cognitive theories lack a concern for the examination of the complexity of external and social and relational constitution of events. (Lupton, 1998; Fineman, 1993). For this reason, this

approach is unlikely to provide a suitable mechanism for the exploration of emotions in performance appraisal.

The Social Constructionist Perspective: A social constructionist view of emotions underlines the centrality of the social actor's agency in interpretations and perceptions of social interactions. It is individuals that give meaning to social and organisational life and structures. Social construction of emotions proposes that social life is created through and by social actors in the process of interaction with others and is guided by social norms. There is no easy to predict and natural evocation of specific emotions by specific stimuli in social interactions. Social constructionism offers insights into the way emotions are both shaped by and shape social practices (Kemper, 1990; Fineman, 1993).

However, social constructionism does not question what is “‘beneath’ the actor's actions”; what is it in and about the social context or relationships that engender an actor's particular behaviour (Fineman, 1993, p.13). This lack of a detailed mechanism for the examination of the social context is why a pure social constructionist approach is unlikely to explain how emotions may be evoked in the performance appraisal.

The Psychodynamic Perspective: Psychodynamic approaches draw from Freud and contend that human behaviour is underpinned at least in part by an invisible and internal dynamics of personal anxieties, fears and desires. Here, there is a focus on the unconscious concerns that shape our behaviour and are the source of motivations and feelings. Individuals are unaware of hidden thoughts, emotions, motivations and desires that are repressed and hidden from consciousness due to the anxieties and feelings of shame and guilt. This perspective helps understand “irrational” and contradictory behaviours that shape social relationships (Fineman, 1993; Denzin, 1984; Carr, 2001).

The Poststructuralist Perspective: The poststructuralist perspective is influenced by Foucault's (1971) approach to discourse and language and is attentive to how language operates as an organising factor, reflecting social and cultural factors as well as power structures that are produced and reproduced through language. Emotions are viewed as “discursive practices” in this approach with poststructuralists being interested in examining emotions both in discourse and as discourse, with language seen as both offering access to emotions and as a way of constructing our emotional realities. Poststructuralists are also concerned with power relations and how “emotion discourses establish, assert, challenge, or reinforce power or status differences” (Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 1990, p 14).

A focus on language and discursive practices is again unlikely to offer the mechanism to explore the induction of emotions in appraisal as well as Foucault's thought on disciplinary power.

Summary

The theoretical perspectives commonly used to study emotions highlighted above do not offer a detailed underlying mechanism that can be used to study the elicitation of emotions in appraisal and further underscoring the value in adopting the framework based on Foucault's disciplinary power outlined in the last chapter as this can facilitate the examination of elicitation of emotions at appraisal.

The next section elaborates on the concept of emotions highlighting the work of Burkitt (2014) and a social relational approach.

4.22 Social and Relational Approach to Emotion

This thesis adopts a broadly social relational approach to emotion which underscores the significance of emotions in maintaining and arising from social relationships. This approach is close to Burkitt's (2014) account of emotions which itself takes influence from a wide range of other authors as Dewey, Bateson, James, Vygotsky, Williams and Foucault. These social relations can be people or things in the world. Emotions are thus an outcome of social interactions as opposed to being innate or the expressions of something inside the individual. Burkitt suggests that emotions and feelings are "patterns of relationships between self and others, and between self and the world" (p.2). The pattern of relationships within which emotion emerges tells us very important contextual information without which we cannot understand the emotion. This contextual background partly gives our feelings their meaning (Burkitt, 2014).

Burkitt (2014) argues against understanding emotions as "'things' in themselves, entities that exist and can be known if only we can accurately trace their roots back to a causal origin." (p.1). He is sceptical of viewing emotions and feelings as 'things' that can be isolated, and analysed to advance our knowledge of them whilst turning away from the contextual factors within which these same emotions have been induced. Burkitt disagrees with the perception that because we "feel" emotions through our bodies that emotions can then be thought to originate from within our bodies and minds. Burkitt criticises the psychological approach to emotions, which is to focus on the individual and understand emotion as what is happening between the body and brain "rather than understanding the embodied person – and their emotional experiences – within patterns of relationships." (p. 2).

Through social interaction humans are affected and moved by others, they can be changed through the emotions of their relations with others. In addition, the emotional-evaluative stance of another can affect us to some degree. Emotions may not be experienced always consciously, and are continuously subject to reflection. Language is the main means of articulating emotions but it can be accompanied, supported and even contradicted “by the repertoire of the bodily sounding-board which includes vocal intonation, gestures, looks and body posture” (p. 171).

The human self is loosely constructed self, it has an ambivalent, ambiguous and dialogic subjectivity and emotional tones are at the core its perceptions of itself and its world that colour and flavour its experiences. Our emotions are at the heart of everything we know and are. The more objective or rational ways of thinking and acting are not without emotion. Emotions are intimately tied to being “a living bodily self as movement, thought and sensation” (Burkitt, 2014, p. 172). Non-affective thought does not take place (Duncan and Barrett, 2007).

Emotion and Biographies

Individual biography also helps orient people in a social situation firstly in terms of how each person is related to one another. Then, secondly through specific patterns of relationships in that person’s past which is “embodied in their habits of orientation to others”. Habits of orientation are the tendencies towards a way of behaving as individuals become sensitive to certain contextual stimuli. These tendencies are not fixed and can at least to some degree be re-shaped through further patterns of relationships and interactions that continuously constitute and configure biographical histories. Without understanding the meaning of relations, situations, and relational histories our emotions and feelings would become meaningless and random to us.

Patterns of relationships inform us of how the individual perceives the world producing “patterns of activity that can become dispositions- ways of acting in particular situations that are not wholly within our conscious control and are, thus, partly involuntary.” (Burkitt, 2014, p. 6). This highlights the blurred boundary between the voluntary/involuntary and conscious/unconscious. The way an individual perceives others and situations as well as their individual dispositions and habits of behaviour feeds into the elicitation of emotions. The combination of our bodies and minds then enable us to feel and register these feelings as emotion.

Personal biographies are interwoven into social relationships which are moving and dynamic patterns. Humans evaluate a situation or their relationships with others through prior values and identifications that are dependent on their biographies. As these situations are in flux

and changing so then are our emotions. Emotions are dynamic, they both are produced by and affect our relations. "...emotions can both unify and threaten social relations, configuring and reconfiguring them in the same process." (p. 168).

Individuals may react in a variety of ways to the same situation which may be interpreted with different meanings depending on their past experiences. Identities are also not fixed but take form from and act upon social relations that are complex, fluid and dialogical. Equally these variable perceptions and meanings can also be dependent on different social backgrounds. Social interactions can be "intersected by wider social relations that stretch across societies, such as social relations and conflicts between social classes and genders" (p.22). Social relations can also be influenced by material and economic factors that may facilitate different practices.

Emotion and the Body

As humans, we can identify and feel emotions through our bodies and minds, we become conscious of our feelings in this way. In an aesthetics approach to emotions bodily sensations or feelings form a central part of experience, and help us make sense of situations. The body, itself, is interwoven with social meaning as we participate in the world through our social encounters. Emotions help humans orient themselves towards other people and situations, akin to other senses such as hearing or sight. Humans can adapt their emotional responses and their "emotional habits" (Burkitt, 2014, p.8) as they engage and evaluate new situations and adjust themselves to it accordingly. This evaluation involves both thought and emotion. These emotional habits can be moulded and need to be fluid yet may vary person to person and depend on personal histories.

Emotions are an important component of this qualitative experience and are prior to the individual taking a "rational" or reflective position on the event or articulating this stance. Burkitt also draws on James' thought on the body and his aesthetic approach to emotions that argued feeling and thought go together in a "stream of consciousness" (p.54). Emotions enable us to perceive and be conscious of our world and orient our actions within these environments. Emotions play a role in our perceptions, meaning making not just of present circumstances, but also bring into play our past experiences, our self-interests and how we envisage situations will unfold towards the future.

Emotions help with the creation of value and judgements of situations and relations. Past experiences are important and carry weight in that habits formed in the past and the values people bring with them to situations will influence the emotions that are induced. Feelings also express our personal interests, and what we like and dislike, they express what we value and what we discriminate against. They go further than the personal in that they also express

the social as far as the social groups we belong to, identify with and what they value and discriminate. The cultural background also contributes to our orientation to our context and our meaning making and actions. Humans think, feel and value in the social encounters and actions and the body plays a role in this. Feelings and emotions guide our actions. Burkitt (2014) views emotions akin to movement rather than as entities that evoke action tendencies which is a more traditional psychological stance.

Emotions as Complex Phenomena

Emotions are complex phenomenon, and are constituted by different and interrelated components and aspects of experience. Emotions are composed of a combination of at least the bodily, physiological, psychological, the discursive and linguistic, and the biographical elements and cannot be reduced to any one of these elements. A Combination of all these elements configure to make the emotional experience.

“...emotions are best seen as complexes of different feelings and bodily sensations that are organised within local cultures at specific historical times and places and thereby given a meaning. The implication is that emotions cannot be reduced to the physical, the social, or the discursive realm as emotions are complexes of all these things” (Burkitt, 2014, p.51)

Emotions are our embodied and mindful sense of our relationships to others and the world. Just considering the psychological, physiological or neurological and even social approach to understanding emotions will fall short.

Emotions and Power Relations

Social relations are fused with some degree of power, making them power relationships which in turn, are interwoven with emotion that shape them and are shaped by them.

“emotions are ... multi-dimensional in their composition: they only arise within relationships, but they have a corporeal, embodied aspect as well as a socio-cultural one. Furthermore, these techniques of the body are part of the power relations that play an important part in the production and regulation of emotion” (Burkitt, 1997, p.37).

Kemper (1990) has also put forward a relational approach to emotions that is concerned with the role of power and status and how these dimensions of social relations produce specific emotions such as anger and shame. According to Kemper an individual's power or status in a dyadic interaction can increase, decrease or remain the same. A feeling of security is produced with increase in power in the relationship, whereas decrease in power produces fear. When status increases happiness and joy are produced whereas as a decrease in status

causes shame and anger. Kemper's model is concerned with social structure in depicting the status and power dimensions and outcomes of social relations rather than cultural dimensions of norms.

Emotions in Historical and Cultural Relations

Furthermore, relationships are social and cultural and specific to a particular time and place (Waldron, 2000; Sandelands and Boudens, 2000).

There is evidence from historians, sociologists and anthropologists, although controversial, that emotions vary across cultures and indeed across history. This fits well with understanding emotion as patterns of relationships. However, many psychologists and anthropologies dispute this. They claim that there are in fact basic emotions that are innate to humans that are consistent across history and culture. These primary emotions have developed through evolution, hard wired in our brains and shared by some animals. This is founded on Darwin's (1965) thesis that proposed emotions to be habitual actions passing through hereditary inheritance. Darwin observed common behaviour patterns and facial expressions both in humans and animals and concluded that there were a set of basic emotions. For example, anger, disgust, fear, sadness and enjoyment are one set of basic emotions (Ekman, 1992).

The next section outlines the work of sociologists such as Goffman, Cooley and Scheff whose work has underlined the role of emotions in social interactions, social ordering and control.

4.3 Sociology of Emotions, Social Order and Control

The work of sociologists such as Erving Goffman, Cooley and Thomas Scheff are interesting to this thesis as they have written a role for emotions such as shame, pride and embarrassment in social interactions that highlights a role for these emotions in accomplishing social order, conformity and control over individuals. The work of Goffman, Mead and Cooley suggested a role for emotions indirectly, nevertheless their thought is important in the context of emotions and social ordering.

4.31 The Deference-Emotion System

Scheff (2000, 2003) has argued that everyday experiences of shame in society and social interactions have been written about in sociological literature by scholars such as Goffman (1959) and Cooley (1902), although shame has not always been an explicit or central theme in these works. Scheff (1988) puts forward a leading role for shame in social conformity and control and views shame as the master social emotion that conducts human behaviour. He

suggests that shame, anger and pride are key constituents of an emotion deference system in society where as long as individuals behave according to prevailing norms and exhibit desirable behaviours they are afforded respect and pride as reward but when they deviate from these desired behaviours and protocols they risk being made to feel shame as a means of punishment in order to prohibit these behaviours. For example, if an individual or group breaches social expectations and standards of behaviour they can be criticised or rejected as punishment and this may lead to both anger and shame. Scheff (1988, 2000) builds his emotion-deference-system on the work of sociologists such as Cooley and Goffman whose work is outlined next.

4.32 Cooley, Shame and Pride

Cooley's (1902) examination of the centrality of self-evaluation and self-monitoring in daily and mundane social interactions is viewed as a foundational building block for understanding how an individual is in a continual process of evaluating and monitoring himself through his own eyes and through the view point of others (Mead, 1934; Goffman, 1959; Roberts, 1991; Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Scheff (1988) proposes that there exists a pervasive and subtle system of social sanctions in society that aims at securing conformity and which operates and is dependent on the social effects of the emotions of shame and pride.

Cooley (1902) and Goffman (1959,1961,1963) also in their own way highlight the association between the self-conscious emotions of shame (and its variants) and pride and the regulation of social behaviour. These sociological perspectives are attentive to social interactions and imply a social function for the self-conscious emotions in maintaining social bonds and avoidance of isolation and social exclusion (Scheff, 2000; Kauffman, 1974; Fischer and Manstead, 2008). Social interactions provide informal rewards of acceptance and punishments through affirmation, acceptance, liking and rejection and this can be continuous and subtle (Scheff, 1988; Cooley, 1902). This is a compelling system as the experience of pride is pleasurable and humans seek pride and self-acceptance and aim to avoid the painful feelings of shame (Lewis, 1971).

Scholars in psychology and sociology use Cooley's concept of the "looking glass" to build their own narratives on shame (Scheff, 1988, 2000; Tracy and Robins, 2004, 2007; Gilbert, 1997). Cooley (1902) describes shame and pride induced in daily interactions as important "social self-feelings" and argues that these feelings play an important role in regulating human behaviour.

Cooley (1902) explains his perspective on the significance of the social nature of the self (Mead, 1934, Goffman, 1959). Cooley understood human beings as continuously aware of

others and their perceived judgements of the self and continuously monitoring oneself. For Cooley, social monitoring has an evaluative component which elicits either shame or pride, thus suggesting that shame and pride are always experienced even though their intensity may be low.

“The comparison with a looking glass hardly suggests the second element, the imagined judgement, which is quite essential. The thing that moves us to pride and shame is not the mere mechanical reflection of ourselves, but an imputed sentiment, the imagined effect of this reflection upon another’s mind.”
(Cooley, 1902, p. 184)

Moreover Mead’s (1934) work on the significance of others and social interactions in our sense of self and our identity that incorporates other’s perceived opinions and judgements is also congruent with the work of Cooley. Although, Mead (1934) did not explicitly examine the role of the self-conscious emotions in our sense of self, his work is concerned with the social self and the significance and the role of others and their judgements. Scheff (1988) also argues that self-monitoring and the effects of social conformity and the deference emotion system is functional and active both in the presence of others and in the absence of others as individuals can imagine and anticipate the judgements and evaluations of others.

4.33 Goffman, Shame and Embarrassment

Goffman’s oeuvre also contains a significant content that concerns shame and its role in securing conformity in society. In his books *Interaction Rituals and Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* he portrays how daily social interactions are governed by “face-work” and the potential for self-evaluation and feelings of embarrassment. This potential leads individuals to behave in a manner to present a positive self-image and thus avoid subtle rejection and embarrassment. Hence, Goffman (1959) describes the influence and role of embarrassment on social behaviour and conformity. Moreover, his work on *Stigma* examines how particular social categories such as mental illness and physical disabilities experience shame. *Stigma* in effect is an examination of the induction of shame in society evoked by being different to what society has defined as normal.

Goffman’s work can be divided into interactional and institutionally induced shame, where the previous examples highlight interactional shame; his work in *Asylums* examines institutional shame (Gardner and Gronfein, 2005). Where in *Stigma* (1963) there is a focus on a discredited physical appearance or body the focus in *Asylum* moves on to a discredited person, someone who loses the right to their desired identity and must accept a new and imposed identity of being an inmate in an asylum.

Goffman (1961) describes in detail the daily routines of shaming and mortification where the inmate is stripped of their own possessions including clothes and forced to wear institutional clothing and thus institutionally prescribed “identity kits” (p.29). Each inmate is forced to submit to supervisory figures, constantly under their gaze and the gaze of other inmates, constantly enforced to carry out daily routines, and any deviance including non-conformity of deference towards guards are punished. The inmates are stripped of their own decision making, their identities, of being an individual and different from other inmates and constantly in a state of shame and mortification.

“He [the inmate] begins a series of abasements, degradations, humiliations, and profanations of self. His self is systematically, if unintentionally, mortified” (p.24).

Goffman describes how shame and its variants are used to enforce social order, control and conformity in an institutional setting of a mental hospital. There are some similarities between Goffman’s *Asylum* (1961) and Foucault’s *Madness and Civilisation* (1971) where Foucault describes the treatment of individuals who have been categorised as “mad” where shame, threats of punishments and humiliation are also used to control and regulate the behaviours of a group of individuals.

The following section lays out an overview of the current literature on emotion in organisations and will demonstrate that there is paucity in research examining the relationship between emotions, appraisal, power and control and employee conduct.

4.4 Emotion in Organisations

4.4.1 Introduction

“Emotions are within the texture of organizing. They are intrinsic to social order and disorder, working structures, conflict, influence, conformity, posturing, gender, sexuality and politics” (Fineman, 1993, p.1)

Scholars of emotion in organisations have been researching with the goal of raising the agenda of the significant role emotion can play in our working lives in organisations (Fineman, 2000). Traditionally, organisational psychologists studied the general, non-specific and attitudinal constructs of satisfaction, stress and organisational commitment that are constituted with an affective component and represent feeling good or bad at work (Briner, 1999; Muchinsky, 2000). This research neglected the role of discrete emotions (Briner, 1999; Gooty et al., 2009). The topic of emotions has recently carved out a more concrete place within the study of work and organisations (Fineman, 2000).

Across different disciplines such as psychology, sociology and organisational behaviour scholars are examining how emotions may impact different aspects of human behaviour and organisational life. Research on emotion is enhancing our understanding on how emotions impact various aspects of organisational life and how incorporation of this understanding can explain human behaviour across diverse topics such as organisational change and takeovers (Vince, 2006), negotiations and conflict (Van Kleef, 2008), decision-making (Maitlis and Ozcelik, 2004), leadership (Lockyer and McCabe, 2011; George, 2000) and organisational culture (Van Maanen and Kunda, 1989).

Emotion research has advanced our understanding of a critical relationship between emotion and motivation (George and Brief, 1996; Fiske, 2002), emotion and identification processes (Carr, 2001), co-worker, supervisor and employee relationships (Game, 2008; Fitness, 2000), emotions and psychological health and organisational performance (Kiefer and Barclay, 2012) and the relationship between organisational power, control and emotions (Fineman and Sturdy, 1999; Hochschild, 1983). Moreover, Barsade and Gibson (2007) suggest that research on the role of emotions in many of the researchers, managers and employees themselves better understand attitudes and behaviours that impact organisational lives that can lead to intervention and improvement of employee experiences of work.

In general, though, there has been a shift toward a more positive stance towards emotions.

4.42 Shifting Perspectives on Emotion in Organisations

From the 1930s some management theorists and practitioners began to take a different view to emotion in organisational life realising that the exclusion or ordering of emotion is unlikely in a meaningful way. A shift began to take place where emphasis was placed on work as a sight of opportunities for achievement, security, and self-actualisation (Herzberg 1974, Maslow, 1954). Chester Barnard (1938, p.235 cited in Hancock and Tyler, 2001) also recognised the potential for the positive role of emotions when he argued that crucial attributes of an executive included “feeling” along with “judgement”, “balance” and “appropriateness”.

Participative modes of management recognised the importance of emotion as it aimed to engender employee loyalty and commitment as a tool to enhance satisfaction and productivity. Elton Mayo (1933) understood the importance of emotions and sentiments in controlling employee behaviour and felt that management strategies should consider and incorporate these factors. Mayo, himself, devised the concept of “informal organisation” to increase productivity by considering the informal relations between employees understanding the role of the non-rational and emotional aspects of behaviour at work. The

Human Relations project, however, was still pivoted on a simplistic formula that viewed managers as capable of managing their own and the employees' emotions but not vice versa. Human Relations placed more emphasis on emotion yet still preserved a dominant and gendered position for managers (Kanter, 1977).

Goleman (1996) argues that emotion plays a strong role in decision making and individual and organisational success. Goleman also argues that EI is more important than cognitive or technical abilities for organisational performance (1998). Goleman argues that "great leadership works through the emotions (Goleman et al., 2002, p.3). The literature on EI tends to neglect that occupational status can have a significant impact on the experience of emotions such as anger (Fitness, 2000). Individuals in high status roles are more likely than their lower ranking colleagues to deal with anger directly and therefore experience less work-related stress (Sloan, 2004). Other studies have found that tension caused by practices of caution and blame in organisations hinder emotional processes that enable reflection and individual and organisational learning (Vince and Saleem, 2004).

More recently, management scholars and practitioners have begun to advocate less rationalistic approaches and placed more emphasis on effective emotional management practices to ensure organisational success. For example, Cooper (1998, p.48) advocates that "Emotions properly managed, can drive trust, loyalty and commitment and many of the greatest productivity gains, innovations and accomplishments of individuals, teams and organisations". Cooper also underscores emotions as an important ingredient for successful creativity, human energy, relationship building, and influence. Kandola and Fullerton (1995 as cited in Hancock and Tyler, 2001) also emphasise the positive influence of emotions on management of diversity which includes an improved talent pool, increased organisational flexibility, team creativity, innovation, better morale and job satisfaction and competitive advantage.

Even when the socioemotional needs of employees were considered through the Hawthorne Studies, it was done with an instrumental brush that pursued an alternative route to increasing profitability. Emotions were still considered as irrational and something that needed to be managed so that it did not interfere with the efficient functioning of employees (Domagalski, 1999; Fineman, 1993). In more bureaucratic organisations that elevate rationality over emotions, the emergence of more innovative practices that may be borne out of negotiations between diverse groups tend to be limited. These organisations view originality and creativity as a risk to organisation's stability. Diversity that may lead to more organisational input is not valued.

Organisations that exclude emotions may also be unable to engender passionate commitment to their goals or between employees. Caroline Hatcher (2003) is sceptical of contemporary attempts to reconstruct management as a passionate and compassionate endeavour where managers are more caring and relationship focused. Hatcher doubts that dualisms such as masculinity/femininity and logic/emotion can readily be reversed in modern management practices where employees are required to be passionate about work.

The importance of compassion in organisations is a theme that Peter Frost (2003) has written about. Foster highlights the potential difficulties caused by “toxic emotions”, a term he uses to refer to strong negative emotions. He raises the profile of individuals in organisations who recognise the potential destructiveness of these “toxic emotions” and try to manage them. According to Frost these “toxic handlers” play a key role in absorbing and/or defusing these emotions that can cause much pain. These individuals whether managers or employees reduce the negative impact of toxic emotions on individuals and organisations. However, “toxic handlers” can also become vulnerable to burnout if they cannot develop coping mechanisms and if organisations do not offer them the required support.

Despite the increase in interest and research on emotions in organisations it can be argued that the role of emotions has been relatively neglected (Briner, 1999; Muchinsky, 2000) and occupies an inferior position with respect to a rational perspective. In part, this can be traced back to the influence of Fredrick Taylor and scientific management approaches to job designs and the elevation and link of rationality to productivity and the economic interests of the employee and management. Equally Weber’s sociological analysis advocated rationality and the advantages of bureaucracies that suppressed emotion.

The roots of the “myth” of rationality are discussed next.

4.43 The “Myth” of Rationality

Emotions stir up an unease in organisations. Emotions in much of organisational scholarship has been “written out” (Fineman 1993, p.1) preferring to convey a pejorative view on emotions that embellishes rationality and fuses it to efficiency, strength, logic and of course success. The dominant view of emotions in organisations is that they are “inappropriate”, “disruptive” and “weak” rendering emotion as a deviation from sensible and intelligent behaviour (Lutz, 1988, p.62). Emotions tend to be equated with disorder, irrationality and opposed to rationality, efficiency and profit and successful organisation (Fineman, 1993; Putnam and Mumby, 1993).

Emotions and the expression of emotions particularly such as anger and frustration connote loss of control and contradictory to the pursuit of profit, so they are devalued and expected

to be suppressed (Hochschild, 1983) whilst rationality holds a privileged position as it paints the image of an ideal and efficient organisation. Organisations from the dominant rational perspective need to be de-emotionalised portraying the objectivity of managerial actions and judgements, and the rationality of organisational processes and goals. “We are left with an image of an actor who thinks a lot, plans, plots and struggles to look the right part at the right time” (Fineman 1993, p.14).

This portrayal of the rational employee lacks the spectrum of emotional turmoil of organisational life that many employees experience where anger, shame, embarrassment, and envy are examples of the real-life experiences of employees (Waldron, 2000; Harlos and Pinder, 2000; Terkel, 1975; Vince, 2006; Vecchio, 1995; Czarniawska, 2008; Fitness, 2000). Organisational goals are portrayed as objective with logic and rational fuelling their implementation in the pursuit of success and the expression of managerial competence and professionalism. Yet, beneath this facade “a veritable explosion of emotional tones is revealed” (Fineman 1993, p.1).

This is partly rooted in the system of dualities and binary opposition that is common in Western societies as well as the privileging of rationality and reason by Western philosophical thought of Aristotle, Kant and Weber (Putnam and Mumby, 1993; ten Bos and Willmott, 2001). Bureaucratic forms of organisation are also a reflection of dualism that embrace rationality and marginalise emotionality. Bureaucracy extolls the view that rationality and control of emotions are necessary for effective organisations. There are many forms of binary oppositions such as head or heart, objective or subjective, reason or passion, and thinking or feeling with one side being elevated and seen as positive and the other marginalised and viewed as negative (Putnam and Mumby, 1993; Domaglaski, 1999).

Moreover, emotion is equated with femininity, weakness and caring. Some emotion scholars argue that the notion of rational and professional views of working practices in organisations where suppression and management of emotions are prescribed arise from a gendered perspective that focuses and hierarchizes male working practices and behaviours. The prescribed professional rules of conduct that subordinates emotion and emotionality and prescribes detachment, commitment, expertise, self-discipline and self-control are gendered masculine. In contrast, more feminine behaviours and emotionality such as caring, nurturance, empathy and supportiveness are subordinated and not associated with professionalism. Rationality constructs a particular gender relationship that favours patriarchal forms and reproduces organisational power along gender and non-emotional lines (Lewis, 2005; Lewis, 2008; Adams et al., 2000; Rees and Garnsey, 2003).

One exception to this rule is where particular emotions such as joy, happiness, anxiety, fear and anger are expected to be displayed or suppressed intentionally to achieve organisational goals in the pursuit of profit (Flam, 1993; Rafaeli and Sutton, 1991; Hochschild, 1983; Willmott, 1993). Moreover, there is now an established relationship in emotion research between emotion and organisational control and power where emotion can either be used instrumentally as a commodity or fulfil an instrumental role of achieving particular behaviours in employees or other individuals (Domagalski, 1999; Garrety et al., 2003).

The current literature that narrates this relationship follows and more importantly the gap in this narrative is highlighted to better locate the research gap this thesis attempts to address.

4.44 Emotion, Power and Control in Organisations

Emotion in organisations tends to commonly be offered an instrumental role congruent with organisational success (Hochschild, 1983). This can be illustrated by literature that has examined its paradoxical status that renders it a phenomenon that must be both controlled and managed by employees and yet can also be used to manage and control employees for the motives of profit.

4.441 The Control of Emotions

Arlie Hochschild's seminal work on emotional labour (1979, 1983) occupies a central pillar in organisational emotion theory (Fineman, 2000). Hochschild (1990) defines "emotional labour" as emotion management done for a wage and "emotion work" as emotion management done in private life. Emotion work is the act of trying to change an emotion including what one displays to be appropriate for a particular situation; it can engender an individual to perform specific emotions such as smiling/happiness or suppressing other emotions such as being angry through "surface" or "deep" acting (Bolton and Boyd, 2003).

Hochschild's (1983) empirical analysis of the working lives of flight attendants in the *Managed Heart* unveils a theatre of emotions being acted out or suppressed in face to face interactions with customers where employees are required to perform, regulate, suppress and instrumentalise their emotions in the service of organisational goals. Emotional labour then is both the manipulation of employee emotions but also the commercialisation of emotional management. Emotional labour becomes essential to the texture of employee roles and to the functioning of the organisation, so much so that emotion management as a skill is incorporated into selection, appraisal and training procedures. Emotion work is an essential ingredient to social conformity and regulation (Fineman, 1993, 2000; Scheff, 1988). The idea of emotion management is not the essence of Hochschild's narrative, what she reveals

is that emotion is very much part of the labour process (Bolton and Boyd, 2003), especially for particular roles such as customer service roles.

Hochschild illuminates how organisations are far from being emotionally “anorexic” (Fineman, 1993) or only committed to rational practices where emotion must be “written out” as depicted in rational views of organisations. Organisations clearly recognise the benefits of and the instrumental value of emotions. They impose control over employee emotions and conduct their behaviour towards compliance of organisational “feeling rules” (Hochschild, 1979). Emotion can play a central role in organisations as long as it serves its instrumental goals, or where there is a “profit motive slipped under it” (Hochschild, 1983, p.119). In the case of emotional labour, organisations encourage and even train employees on the application and benefits of emotions and appropriate displays of emotions such as smiling/happiness, and so turn emotion into a saleable commodity. Prescribed emotions are put to use in the pursuit of securing organisational profit (Hochschild, 1983).

Hochschild also draws attention to employees’ sense of selves and how organisations can distort and interfere with how employees build a sense of self at work, their identities, through interfering with their feelings “people turn to feelings to locate themselves” (p. 22). She illustrates how the experience of the self is distorted by organisational control. Hochschild’s introduction to emotional labour illuminates how ubiquitous emotions are in the texture of work and acts as a critical lens on the relationship between emotions, power relationships, control and structure. Hochschild demonstrates that the experience and display of emotions is constituent of organisational control and power relations of members who occupy distinct hierarchical positions within its structure.

Where Hochschild notes the influence of controlling emotions on the sense of self this thesis aims to highlight how shaping the sense of self through evaluations of performance and the qualities of the self at appraisal can elicit emotions that in turn control and impose conformity in employees. Hochschild’s investigates the management of emotions to secure profit. This thesis addresses a research gap where the self-conscious emotions are elicited and manipulated for instrumental goals of optimising performance. Hence, this thesis is investigating the elicitation of self-conscious emotions to secure the performance of employees to achieve profit. Hochschild does not pursue emotions as a driving force in human behaviour.

Hancock and Tyler (2001) note that emotional labour studies have appeared in sociology and management journals. The empirical studies that have appeared in the sociology journals have been mainly concerned with the content, negative affect on job satisfaction and gendered aspects of emotional labour. In contrast, the studies that appear in management

journals tend to focus on HRM practices such as selection and recruitment, training and supervision of employees and their performance that can help manage emotion and lead to enhance service and product quality and this increase productivity and profit.

4.442 Emotions of Control

Scholars have examined other forms of using emotions instrumentally in organisations to achieve organisational goals. For example, Sutton and Rafaeli (1991) have demonstrated that displaying a combination of positive and negative emotions as a strategy to induce conformity can be successful at inducing compliance to particular objectives. In their study of bill collectors and police interrogators they found that individuals performing these roles use specific emotional strategies of displaying alternate and contrasting positive and negative emotions and behaviours to achieve compliance in their “clients”.

This strategy is used instrumentally to induce compliance through the induction of emotions such as anxiety. This association is also the focus of Flam (1993) who argues that organisations use the threat of unemployment, loss of career progression and loss of work identity to induce fear and anxiety in employees to instil and produce subordination, conformity and guide employee behaviours accordingly. Organisations, particularly those with strong cultures, provide a sense of belonging and social identity and promote identification with their goals and values (Willmott, 1993).

In return, these organisations demand the display of appropriate emotions even if it is through play-acting. Indeed, refusal to identify with organisational goals and values and to display the appropriate emotions can be interpreted as insubordination and incompetence and can lead to exclusion and forced exit for the employee (Flam, 1993; Van Maanen and Kunda, 1989). Organisations place an instrumental value on emotions and this is followed through by attempts to engage the hearts and minds and even the “souls” of employees to engender success through employee commitment and enthusiasm (Peters and Waterman, 1982; Willmott, 1993).

This literature is interesting as it examines the elicitation of fear and anxiety to secure conformity with organisational expectations of behaviour (Lockyer and McCabe, 2011). Yet there is a gap in research that has investigated the self-conscious emotions as instruments of control.

In addition, Fineman and Sturdy (1999) have produced interesting work that has further conveyed the emotional form of organisational control. They emphasise that “emotion is essential to control processes” (p.632). The authors draw from interviews and observations of encounters between environmental regulatory inspectors and industrial managers where

the inspectors regulate the performance of industrial managers. Their study is an inter-organisational examination. The authors demonstrate that emotions are not just an outcome of control; they also “shape its context, processes, and consequences” (p. 631). They draw out a relationship between emotions of control, socioeconomic roles and power structures and describe their approach as “critical-structural” (p.632). Their frame thus encompasses power structures and inequality. Their analysis focuses on social and organisational structures such as gender and occupational roles rather than organisational processes that engender hierarchical order amongst employees, the focus of this research.

Their study is interesting because they underline emotions as both a social product as well as a condition of control. They see control as reflective and reproducing broader structures of power such as capitalism. They identify feelings of pride, achievement, embarrassment, humiliation and fear to be linked with control. In addition, they conclude that the dynamics of control/emotions and structure they observe echo and reproduce the wider economic and capitalist structures. Yet their study is concerned with emotions from a general stance rather than focusing on any specific emotion. Neither do they show concern for aligning employee behaviour with organisational goals as their research is inter-organisational or focus on achieving social order through emotions of control. These are gaps that this research intends to address.

The context and focus of their work is very different and does not show interest in organisational discourse or processes of evaluation such as appraisal. This underscores the research gap this thesis addresses.

4.443 Instrumentality of Emotional Intelligence

The concept of emotions has been bolstered by the construct of emotional intelligence and its application in organisations. Emotional intelligence (EI), a term first used by Salovey and Mayer (1990) was popularised by Daniel Goleman’s book *Emotional Intelligence* in 1996. It has been widely researched and accepted in both popular management books and professional literature.

Drawing from Salovey and Mayer (1990), Goleman (1995, p. 43-44) defines an emotional intelligent individual as someone who: knows their emotions, manages their emotions, motivates themselves, recognizes emotions in others, and handles relationships. Fineman (2000b) offers a sceptical view on this construct by questioning its validity (Davies, Stankov and Roberts, 1998; Huy, 1999), and its commodification by Goleman, management consultants and academics. According to Fineman (2000b) Goleman is concerned with

promoting emotional intelligence as a means of leveraging profit, success and producing winners in organisations.

“I’ve performed or commissioned several new scientific analyses of data from hundreds of companies to establish a precise metric for quantifying the value of emotional intelligence...The business case is compelling: Companies that leverage this [emotional intelligence] advantage add measurably to their bottom line. (Goleman, 1998, p. 5, 13)

Goleman (1998) repeatedly makes a clear link between the adoption of EI as a tool for competitive advantage and a tool to increase profits and the goal of excellence (Peters and Waterman, 1982). EI becomes a tool to improve organisational activities, morale, sales performance, leadership and organisational performance (Goleman, 1998).

Moreover, it is usually made compatible with the conventional wisdom of organisations by the promise to enhance managerial and rational control and steered away from connotations of femininity or irrationality. Fineman criticises the apparent “intellectualization” of emotion that has made them worthy of attention (Fineman, 2000b). EI transforms emotions into a concept that can be measured, evaluated, regulated and disciplined to reduce it beneficial for organisational success and profit. Emotions are hence turned into tools for exercising power, social control and discipline (Tamboukou, 2003, 2006; Boler, 1999; Scheff, 1988).

The instrumental use of emotional intelligence adds to the view of emotions in organisations that serve profit. However, it leaves a gap in research that has examined the instrumental use of self-conscious emotions in appraisal to exercise power and control.

Summary

The preceding section illustrates that the dominant view of emotions in organisations is that they need to be controlled so as not to interfere with correct functioning of the work place. However, the above literature also spells out that emotions are commonly used in the control of labour. The existing literature on emotions of control is sparse and has mainly studied elicitation of fear and anxiety or examined emotions generically in an inter-organisational context. This highlights a research gap for examining how emotions elicited through organisational practices can play a role in shaping employee behaviour. This thesis addresses this gap by examining how emotions can be used to shape employee behaviour in the exercise of disciplinary power in appraisal.

4.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter began by introducing the history of the term emotions and the terminological shift between passions and affections to emotions in the 19th century. This has meant that

contemporary emotion research rarely uses the terminology of the passions and the phenomenon of emotions can be construed as cognitive and involuntary static psychological states. This initial section also introduced the concept of emotional regime which connotes how historical and cultural practices can give rise to patterns of emotions. This chapter then outlined some common theoretical perspectives that do not provide a valuable mechanism of the elicitation of emotions in the performance appraisal that created a need to adopt another theoretical mechanism, that of Foucault's disciplinary power.

Next the concept of emotions from a relational perspective was described which underscores emotions as movement and as patterns of relations between self and others. The ensuing section presented the work of sociologists like Goffman, and Scheff who's work expresses how emotions such as embarrassment can impose social order. And finally, the literature on emotion in organisations was discussed with a concern for literature on how emotions are viewed as phenomenon that needs to be regulated and an instrumental tool for imposing conformity and control on employees. This then highlights a gap in this literature that has examined a role for emotions in the exercise of disciplinary power/governmentality of employees in the appraisal.

The next chapter discusses the Methodology of this research.

Chapter 5 Methodology

This chapter sets out the research process beginning by introducing the research approach that outlines why a qualitative study was conducted as well as a brief introduction to reflexivity in research. The ensuing sections then describe the research design and the organisational context, methods including sections on narratives and the relationship between narratives and emotions. These sections outline why eliciting narratives and narrative analysis were essential elements of this research. This is then followed by details of sampling and participants. Then ethical concerns of conducting qualitative research are addressed followed by analysis of data including thematic analysis of narratives. Finally issues of quality in research are discussed.

5.1 A Qualitative Approach

This thesis draws mainly on the social relational and social constructionist perspectives on emotions. These approaches underline the significance of the local social factors such as the social processes and power relationships that individuals are embedded in. This social context shapes their relationships and interactions and need to be examined to understand the processes through which emotions may be elicited. This approach emphasises the role an individual's subjective interpretations, perceptions and meaning making processes play in the elicitation of emotions. This research explores the appraisal and other evaluative processes that may shape employee relationships and interactions.

This study does not view emotions as logical or predictable entities that can be calculated from a cause and effect relationship. This view would lend itself to a quantitative approach. In contrast, emotions that may be elicited through the appraisal in organisations are viewed as multidimensional and difficult to predict and foresee (Ellis, 1991; Fineman, 1993). Hence, an exploration of the individual's subjective experience of their social world and social relationships within which their emotional experience is shaped needs to be undertaken. The perspective taken on emotions as well as the nature of the research question inevitably determines whether qualitative or quantitative methodology is best suited to answer the research question (Bryman, 2016; Flick, 2014).

This study utilises a qualitative, interpretative approach that attempts to situate the researcher within the local social context of the individuals whose emotional experiences the study is concerned with. Qualitative inquiry offers a range of methods much like a tool box the researcher can "personalise" to the specifics and needs of the research and that endeavour to explore the social world of the individuals being studied. "...qualitative researchers study

things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p. 3).

The concern, here, is not around the quantity or frequency of emotions experienced. This research does not claim and is not concerned with establishing a scientific, objective and absolute truth. These are more positivist and quantitative concerns. The interest of this study lies in accessing rich detailed accounts of employee experiences, where setting up an intimate relationship between the researcher and participants is of importance. Quantitative research is likely to rely on more remote and inferential methods and data. Moreover, quantitative approaches are less concerned with the impact of the social processes within which emotions are induced. They are also less concerned about the richness and detail of data as this interferes with “the process of developing generalizations” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p. 10).

This research is interested in trying to explore human experiences in their local contexts and to capture the individual’s views and their interpretations of their world (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). The concern is to open a window onto employee experiences of appraisal. Some emotions as shame and envy can be difficult to openly talk about and admit to as they are connected to negative connotations (Jalan, 2015). To explore experience of emotions including those that may have negative associations, this research has employed a qualitative approach such as interviews where these emotions can be accessed indirectly and where rapport building can help individuals open up about their experiences. Hence, the main data collection method in this research was through semi-structured interviews.

Next Reflexivity is considered as the researcher acknowledges that her previous work experience made it necessary to continuously reflect on her own subjectivity and its impact on the research process.

5.2 Reflexivity in Research

The analysis of qualitative data is widely acknowledged as an interpretative and reflexive process where meanings are made from subjective accounts of people’s lives rather than found (Mauthner, Parry and Backett-Milburn, 1998). In this research, much of the data analysis has involved interpretation of people’s accounts of their work experiences that have been co-constructed between the researcher and the researched (Essers, 2009). It is thus important to take a reflexive approach not just to the interpretation and data analysis process but also to acknowledge the presence of the researcher in the choice of research project, ontological and epistemological positions, methods of data collection and analysis.

It is also important to acknowledge that there are limits to how far and how well a researcher can understand and thus acknowledge what is shaping the epistemological and ontological assumptions that may influence data analysis at the time of conducting the research (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003). The choices made in the research process have not been carried out from a neutral stance or out of pure intellectual concerns. Hence, the knowledge claims of this research are of “partial, provisional and perspectival nature” (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003, p.416; Riessman, 2001). In addition, the accounts collected at interview are not totally transparent accounts that enable direct access to the individual’s subjectivity and lived experiences. Nevertheless, there is a recognised relationship between participant accounts and their experiences. The turn towards reflexivity is to address the potential of the subjectivity of the researcher to get “tangled up” in the interpretation and analysis process (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003).

Accordingly, this chapter and the research acknowledges that the critical position taken towards appraisal, the organisation examined, the ontological and epistemological positions taken have been coloured by the researcher’s history. Nevertheless, through reflection this history has been purposely addressed although not ruled out during the data analysis. Next research design and organisational context are considered.

5.3 Research Design

5.31 Case Study

This study utilises a case study approach as it facilitates the research to concentrate on a detailed and experiential examination of the case and to pay close attention to its social and political context and processes. The case study design involves a detailed and intensive analysis of a single organisation (Stake, 2005; Bryman, 2016). A case is a “bounded system” (Flood as cited in Stake, 2005, p.444). The organisation selected for this study can be referred to as an “instrumental case study” (Stake, 2005, p.445) or a representative or typical case as “the objective is to capture the circumstances and conditions of an everyday or commonplace situation” (Yin, 2009, p.48). The selection of the case was not based on the uniqueness of the organisation or the fact that it was unusual. What was important was to find an organisation that was typical or illustrative (Bryman, 2014) of an organisation that implements performance based appraisals and where at least some employees were evaluated with a strong emphasis on a culture of performance.

5.4 The Case Organisation

The following sections outline the criteria used for finding the case organisation and the organisational context which outlines the performance management practices used to manage its work force.

5.41 Organisational Criteria

The research area and research question often direct what type of case or organisation the researcher chooses to conduct the research (Bryman, 2016). This research had an interest in examining the experience of appraisal in an organisation that had a strong focus on employee performance. Hence, access to a sales organisation was pursued as these companies tend to have a strong focus on measuring employee performance and achievements. This was then likely to provide access to an organisation that laid emphasis on evaluating at least a proportion of their employees on various performance and sales targets. Furthermore, access to a sales organisation was sought as these organisations tend to utilise other evaluative processes along with appraisals such as sales tables. These other evaluative processes help to enhance the focus on performance evaluation and achievement.

It was important to find an organisation where the appraisal was implemented with a strong focus on evaluating the performance rather than a pure developmental appraisal. This interest in a sales organisation had partly arisen from the researcher's own previous work experience in various sales organisations in the healthcare industry. This basically means that the researcher had some familiarity with appraisals in these organisations. However, the researcher also understood the critical significance of approaching and examining any organisation with as much objectivity as possible and not to presume anything but to set out to understand the views and experiences of the participants and not to inject her own views or experiences into the research.

Nevertheless, the researcher is aware this research may have been affected by her work experience. It is for this reason that the researcher placed a strong emphasis on reflection on how she was carrying out the research especially during the phases of collection and data analysis to minimise interference from potential bias.

5.42 Organisational Context

This section introduces key details about the context of the case organisation. This begins by describing the working relationship of the organisation, Remicon (pseudonym,) with a HR/management consultancy and then is followed by a brief discussion on employee selection and recruitment processes that include personality profiling of individuals. The ensuing sections outline the performance management practices which include at its heart

appraisal. The performance management practices that were used to manage employee performance contributed strongly to the context of this study. The performance appraisal was a key process in the performance management of employees at Remicon.

Remicon partner with a management/HR consultancy firm, Global Consulting (pseudonym,) on many of their HR practices such as recruitment and selection, succession planning and employee engagement. Employee engagement was part of the cluster of practices that were used to manage employees including the lower level management teams. The following sections utilise information sourced from an induction orientation document that was collected during a day spent at Remicon head office. This document contained interesting information on the culture of the organisation.

In addition to the information contained in the induction day orientation document, other information regarding the organisation's performance management practices have been sourced from interviews and official organisational documents such as documents about performance management at the organisation and an example of the appraisal form. These documents were collected during the research process. It should also be stated that all names used in this thesis are pseudonyms to protect the identity of the organisation and individuals.

The data was collected from March 2014 to December 2014. During the research process some information was collected about HR practices as well as feedback on how well the organisation was performing through various conversations at interviews or other meetings. Remicon as an organisation were placing a strong emphasis on employee engagement and as a HR team they were initiating new programmes such as setting up engagement champions for each team. One of the reasons why the organisation was placing a high priority on employee engagement was that as a UK management team they believed that enhancing engagement would lead to higher productivity and performance and reduce turnover. Remicon had experienced its highest turnover in 2013, the year before the research.

Engagement was important as the organisation also believed that higher engagement would lead to higher employee retention and commitment. The UK HR team and some management teams were being measured on turnover and this was included in their appraisal. Remicon also held annual engagement surveys implemented by Global Consulting where the employees' engagement score was measured. So overall, there was an organisational emphasis on improving engagement. This is part of the reason behind taking part in this research as the research was oriented towards understanding the relationship between appraisal and employee engagement.

As part of the performance management strategy multiple practices were used to manage employees. These practices were put in place to work together and in parallel to maximise employee contribution to the organisation and tended to pivot around continuously measuring and defining employee performance. This cluster of practices was implemented to both enhance performance, and to “manage” poor performance. In addition to these practices an Enterprise discourse that contained an emphasis on career was utilised at Remicon to define what kind of employees and behaviours were expected and rewarded. This group of HRM practices and Enterprise/career discourse could shape the employee’s experience of work, themselves and consequently how they experience being evaluated in appraisal. These practices are outlined below.

5.421 Individual Talents

Remicon partner with “Global Consulting”, on many of their HR practices including undertaking pre-screening interviews of potential employees where they conduct personality profiling. The pre-screening interviews are designed to filter through individuals with a personality profile where they exhibit traits such as for example a high need for achievement. During the selection process Global Consulting carry out a personality profiling exercise that develops a list of traits or “talents” for each individual. This personality profile includes this list and a small description for each “talent” and is given to the employee in a document. This document includes all their talents in a numerical order where their top five talents are defined as their strengths such as achievement or competitiveness.

Global Consulting isolate and label specific individual personal characteristics that they name “talents” which they define in the orientation document. These so called “talents” are the person’s attributes, Global Consulting define talents as:

“the ways in which you naturally think, feel, and behave such as the inner drive to compete, sensitivity to the needs of others, and the tendency to be outgoing in social gatherings. Although talents must come into evidence naturally and cannot be acquired like skills and knowledge, we each have unique talents within us” (orientation document)

Remicon purposefully employ individuals with specific “talents”. For example, for their sales roles they tend to identify individuals who are “achievers” and are competitive as they deduce these qualities will ensure the individual will be concerned with and will work hard to achieve, be successful and compete with their peers for such accolades. Global consulting identifies over thirty of each individual employee’s talents and then use the top five talents or “strengths” to suggest which roles these employees should be suitable for.

If an employee is deemed not to be performing well in a role then this employee can be moved to other positions. Distinct roles within the organisation require a distinct set of pre-requisites of talents. Someone with a head office role who needs to work closely with their colleagues will be chosen on the criteria of demonstrating a “talent” for team-working whereas team working is not a priority for a sales role. Employees in Remicon are encouraged to focus on their strengths/talents rather than their weaknesses as this will be more beneficial in contributing to the organisation’s performance and their own development.

As well as recruitment and selection Global Consulting has a key role in measuring and defining employee engagement. Global undertake yearly engagement surveys which have knock on implications for both management and employees. Employee engagement is a key driver for Remicon and will be discussed separately as it is one of the HRM practices that contribute to employee management.

It is useful also at this point to define performance management. Firstly, a practitioner’s/CIPD definition of performance management is given and then followed by how performance management is practiced at Remicon. Performance management is used within the organisation in two distinct ways; firstly, as a holistic set of practices designed to enhance employee and organisational performance and secondly a practice of managing poor performance.

5.422 Performance Management, a Holistic Approach

CIPD (2009) define performance management as a holistic process that is designed to manage the performance of the organisation’s employees and to ensure that these performances contribute to the objectives and success of the organisation. It is comprised of many elements of people management practices such as measuring performance, learning and development, reward systems, as well as organisational development. Performance is measured through behaviour and capability and not just output. The goal of performance management is to maximise the contribution of employees to the organisation through measurement and improvement of employee performance.

5.423 Performance Management at Remicon

At Remicon, performance management, had two meanings, the holistic version referred to a set of HRM practices that continuously measured employee performance and behaviours, defined improvement measures and then rewarded employees for achieving set objectives and standards. On the other hand, if performance objectives were not achieved the employee was at risk of being put on “performance management”, the second of the meanings which

enunciated a more singular and targeted approach on an employee. Here, performance management meant that the employee was not meeting the required standards and this failure instigated a process whereby their performance would be monitored very closely and if improvement was not demonstrated the employee would be put under increasing pressure to either improve or leave the organisation.

The next sections outline the key HRM practices that to a considerable extent accomplish the management and aligning of employees to organisational goals that are pertinent to the findings of this study. The following practices were highlighted during participant interviews to play a role in how employees experienced their work. The practices are as follows: appraisal, talent reviews, sales and performance tables, emails announcing promotions, employee engagement.

5.424 The Performance Appraisal

The appraisal was the key vehicle for objective setting, measurement of performance against these objectives as well as measuring the behaviours and the way employees performed their work through a competency framework. Managers at Remicon needed to carry out at least a yearly appraisal for their reports and HR encouraged them to do mi-year reviews but this was discretionary. In practice appraisal frequencies varied greatly from just once a year to two formal meetings and monthly business reviews on top of that. In the simplest terms, the appraisal consisted of about three to six performance objectives, a core competency assessment of employee behaviour, manager comments, and an overall performance grade. Employee behaviour was measured through five competencies and scored accordingly, these five were: *Quality First, Customer Experience, Innovation, People Development and Financial Results*. The overall grading as well as the grading for each individual objective or competency was tiered from its lowest to its highest mark as follows: *Unsatisfactory, Development Required, Consistently Effective, Highly Effective and Outstanding*

If the employee was performing well the grade given out would be Consistently Effective (CE), Highly Effective (HE) or Outstanding (O) depending on the manager and the deemed performance. In cases where the employee was perceived not to be performing to the required level, and at times if they were new to the role, Development Required (DR) would be given. In a scenario where the employee was new, DR tended to lead to some form of development plan to improve performance. In the case where the performance was judged sub-standard, DR sometimes but particularly in a sales role initiated a “performance management” process that looked to improve performance but equally was geared to the employee being put under pressure to leave if improvements were not demonstrated in the next few months.

The organisation's success and profits were highly levied on the sales of their medical products. This effectively meant that the performance of their sales staff was critical to the organisation and perceived sub-standard performance was more closely managed. Non-sales employees were aware of the so called "harshness" of being in a sales role, and the significance put on the sales operations of the organisation.

5.425 Talent Reviews

The performance management process, the holistic process, is largely driven by talent reviews which occur every quarter; bar quarter one, three times a year. This is a meeting between a HR representative, the line manager and their manager to discuss the performance, development and the ranking of each employee. This form and process holds a defining role for the future of the individual as decisions on the capacity of employees to move and be promoted to higher ranks were decided at these meetings. Overall assessments are made that consider the performance and behaviours of the employee, with the appraisal grading feeding into this assessment. The information captured on the form created from this process would be consulted in cases where an employee was to apply for a new role. Its role and weight probably increased where the role was at a different country or location where the employee was not known directly.

The review captures a few key assessments such as the individual "Global Talent Category". This is divided into six categories from its lowest to highest ranking which are; *Derailed (no future role)*, *Limited Potential (unclear future role)*, *Well Placed (utility player)*, *Talent to Watch (emerging player)*, *Talented Expert (player/coach)* and *High Potential (future player)*. This categorisation marks out the envisaged role of the individual, whether it is, a potential future leader or someone who is unlikely to be promoted from their current position. It draws out the potential future for the employee, on the global stage of the organisation and not just a local curvature because employees are assessed on their potential moves that could include "global" positions. Succession planning is also captured on this form, where potential replacements for the current manager's role are input with an approximate time frame and developments needed, for the chosen individuals.

5.426 Employee Engagement

Remicon have conducted engagement surveys for over fifteen years in partnership with Global Consulting. Employee engagement was understood to have a strong relationship with employee retention and organisational success. At the beginning of 2013 the UK management team at Remicon identified employee engagement as their number one risk factor on their corporate risk strategy. They had just had their highest employee turnover in 2012. After annual engagement surveys, each manager would carry out an impact planning

session with their team discussing and coming up with an action plan for the next year to improve engagement in their team. Engagement scores were flat and the HR team were actively seeking innovative ways of increasing employee engagement.

Improving engagement scores was high on the agenda both for HR and the management teams. From 2013 various strategies were put in place to re-engage employees including this research which was to explore the relationship between appraisal and engagement. Other actions included the selection of one person per team to act as engagement champions, these employees presented to the UK management team once a year on team activities to enhance engagement. In addition, engagement was included as an objective on managerial appraisals.

Employee engagement was also covered in some detail during the induction day. The following are some of the key information contained in the day's presentation which was included in the induction orientation document.

Induction Day Employee Engagement: Employee engagement was presented as an integral part of achieving strong organisational growth, profit, and stock increase as well as individual wellbeing. The following excerpt is taken from the induction day orientation manual used by the HR partner who made the induction day presentations to the new recruits:

Identify Strengths → The Right Fit → Great Managers → Engaged Employees
→ Engaged Customers → Sustainable Growth → Real Profit Increase →
Stock Increase

Global Consulting make a firm connection between being a particular type of person, that is, having the right and specific talents, and being engaged in your job that ultimately will contribute to growing earnings. Employees are chosen who have the right assets and personal qualities that should help increase profits.

Global define and categorise engaged employees as follows:

“An engaged employee is not just a “satisfied” employee. Engaged employees are involved in, enthusiastic about, and committed to their work. Global has studied employee engagement and created a survey tool that can help categorize people into a hierarchy:

Engaged: These employees are loyal and psychologically committed to the organization. They are more productive, more likely to stay with their company for at least a year... These employees have most of their performance-related workplace needs met.

Not Engaged: These employees are productive but they are not psychologically connected to their company. They are more likely to miss

workdays and more likely to leave their company. These employees have some of their performance-related workplace needs met.

Actively Disengaged: These employees are physically present but psychologically absent. They are unhappy with their work situation and insist on sharing that unhappiness with their colleagues. These employees have most of their performance-related needs unmet.”

This definition differentiates and ranks employees according to how much they are engaged with, committed to, and contribute to the organisation. Put into first place are “engaged” employees, and in second place in this hierarchy are the “Not Engaged”, these individuals are productive but do not commit themselves psychologically to the organisation. The company’s preferred psychological orientation and selves must be taken up not just superficially but wholeheartedly.

Global paint a darker picture of the “Actively Disengaged” employee compared to the other two categories. The Actively disengaged employee is presented as unhappy and the person to be blamed for their unhappiness at work and the consequent inability to be both psychologically enmeshed with their organisation and therefore not contribute as much to the organisation’s goals. There is no explanation of why these employees have unmet needs at work.

5.427 Sales and Performance Tables

This is especially pertinent to the sales roles and relevant to marketing as their function was to support the product sales. Performance tables also played a role in other functions such as finance where information on the individual’s accounts such as money owed to the organisation from various hospitals would be displayed on a performance tracking table. These employees would also be measured on a “number” target for at least part of their jobs.

Sales tables were undoubtedly the most regular and heavily invested in performance tracking system in the organisation. Sales updates were available daily for each individual sales person and formal tables were administered monthly with each sales person being ranked within each team.

5.428 Promotion Emails

Emails aptly named “movers and shakers” would be sent announcing details of employee promotions. These emails would be companywide and would include details of grades and job title changes. Employees also had access to the salary ranges that correlated with each work grade which meant that promotions also indicated the salary and salary increases for those promoted.

5.429 Sales Career Pathway

Remicon had introduced a sales career pathway in 2007 and updated it in 2014. This information was contained in one of the documents collected from HR. The sales career pathway is illustrated below and is constituted of five distinct levels from entry level to the highest level of sales partner:

Sales Associate→ Sales Representative→ Territory Sales manager/ Product specialist→ Sales Business Partner/Product Specialist→ Sales Partner

Promotions would officially be achieved when the employee had shown they had reached the core competency level or behaviours matching the next level up. This would be tracked and managed by the manager at appraisal. However, potential promotions were discussed during talent review meetings and then each manager could put forward their employees for promotion. The decision on whether a sales employee was promoted to the next level would be made at two management meetings attended by the management team and the HR Director, one in January and the other middle of the year. At these two meetings, the employee under review would be briefly discussed, and those at the meeting would either decide to promote the individual or block their promotion.

At Remicon there is focus on performance evaluation in the appraisal process, however this process is augmented and supported through other processes such as performance tables that also measure and publicise the performance of each employee. This demonstrates that the organisation lays a strong emphasis on the continuous evaluation of performance through employing a multitude of practices. The next section will outline the research methods this study utilised incorporating a discussion on the importance of narratives within interviews and how narratives can be used to study emotions.

5.5 Research Methods

This research used participant observation, field notes, interviews and documents as data collection methods.

5.51 Participant Observation and Field Notes

Definitions of ethnography and participant observation can be difficult to distinguish (Bryman, 2016). Ethnography is generally associated with the researcher spending an extended period in the field and where there is a strong focus on observation and writing about the field (Flick, 2014; Bryman, 2016). In this study, it was initially planned to spend a few days in the field as a form of micro-ethnography (Wolcott, 1990, cited in Bryman), observing management meetings on appraisals to become familiar with the culture and sub-

cultures of the organisation. However, access was only gained after a set of these meetings had already taken place. So ultimately, only one day was spent at the head office of the organisation observing an induction day for new employees to help gain some insight into the culture of the organisation (Bryman, 2016).

Field notes were made during the day spent observing the induction day at head office, as well as after the introductory meeting with the HR Director and her HR partner who was assigned to support this research. Furthermore, field notes were also made during and after each interview. The induction day was utilised to observe the culture of the organisation and not to gain insight into employee appraisal experience. Unplanned interviews around appraisal or organisational culture were not conducted as this was not part of the agreement with the organisation.

The field notes jotted down short summaries of observations of behaviour, conversations listened to or participated in that were of interest to this study. These notes were also expanded on later in the day when more time was available. It was important that by writing field notes individuals were not made to feel suspicious or self-conscious (Bryman, 2016). Notes made after the meetings and interviews allowed more time for reflection. These notes were used to record conversations that might be important to help understand how the organisation implemented the performance management of employees in practice that may not be detailed during official accounts during interviews (Czarniawska, 2004). The notes were an important source of recording the emotional responses of interviewees that might not be captured by the tape recorder such as body language. This information could then be incorporated into data analysis of the emotional experiences of employees that were not verbally expressed.

5.52 Interviews

An interview is an inter-change of views. This study used interviews to explore the emotional experiences of participants' appraisals as this technique enables direct interaction with these individuals to try to access their social worlds. This research employed a semi-structured format to the interviews to allow for purpose in the questioning as well as flexibility in the interview. Interviews enabled face to face interactions with participants to gain access to rich detailed accounts of their perceptions and interpretations of their appraisal experiences focusing on relevant social interactions and relationships involved in appraisal (Kvale, 1996).

Participant perceptions and interpretations of appraisal experience were likely to play a part in eliciting emotions which is critical to explore for this research. The interview allowed

exploration of the relationship between these perceptions, elicitation of emotions and the consequential actions and behaviours of these employees (Kvale, 1996; Frijda, 1986; Lazarus, 1991). A face to face interaction also allowed access to non-verbal expressions of emotions such as intonation and body language (Retzinger, 1995).

Interviews facilitated detailed exploration of specific experiences of appraisal that were critical to the participants and to explore other organisational processes that may have been implemented to evoke self-evaluation of employees through disciplinary mechanisms. While each interaction is unique it is unlikely that the interviewee will invent new stories for the interviewer (Czarniawska, 2004 p.49). Interviews enabled open questions to be asked to explore the subjectivities and emotional experiences of each individual and the details of specific events that may have aroused their perspectives (Kvale, 1996).

It was not enough to ask direct questions that might unravel some of the emotions that were experienced and how strongly they were experienced. The research was concerned with how and what aspects of appraisal experience elicited emotions in the respondents. This could be different for everyone, and an interview allowed the researcher to explore similarities and differences between individuals. Moreover, an interview allowed the exploration of how each individual manager implemented the appraisal as well as exploring the relationships between manager and employee.

Kvale (1996, p.101) suggests that the answer to the question “How many interview subjects do I need?” is “Interview as many subjects as necessary to find out what you need to know”. The number of interviews needed to answer the research questions and to fulfil the purpose of the study is decided by when saturation point is reached. This means that no new themes are emerging in the interviews and further interviews are likely to produce little new knowledge.

To explore emotions that were elicited through appraisal this research focused on evoking narratives at interview as narratives can be used to access these emotions indirectly.

5.521 Narratives and Interviews

The researcher aimed to induce narratives from her participants as a way of understanding the social and relational aspects (Riessman, 1993) of the participant’s experiences of appraisal. Narratives enable people to make sense of their lives through weaving events together through a unifying plot into narratives (Riessman, 1993). Scholars have turned to narratives as an alternative to realist and objectivist approaches to understanding social life and understand narratives as an organising principle for human action (Bruner, 1986; Riessman, 1993).

According to Riessman (1993), an exact definition of narrative is subject to debate, she provides one general way to understand narratives as “talk organized around consequential events” (p.3). A Narrative approach thus helped the researcher understand that inducing the participants to talk around the events around the appraisal that had special meaning (Riessman, 1993, p. 2) for them could open a window to the emotionality of this process rather than its mechanical elements.

“With narrative, people strive to configure space and time, deploy cohesive devices, reveal identity of actors and relatedness of actions across scenes. They create themes, plots, and drama. In so doing, narrators make sense of themselves, social situations, and history” (Bamberg and McCabe, 1998).

Narrative analysis is about “how protagonists interpret things” (Bruner, 1990, p. 51) and this opens a window into the way the participants interpreted their appraisal experiences and thus in turn the reasons behind their emotional experiences. For example, a narrative can display the “consequential events” that might lead to a particular emotion to be elicited. The participants’ interpretations and emotions can thus be systematically interpreted (Riessman, 1993; Kleres, 2010).

This thesis takes a social constructionist approach to narratives where objectivity is not the essence of narratives which at their core are meaning making devices. Verification of “facts” again is not at the core of narrative analysis as it is more concerned with following the meanings people attach to the events in their lives (Riessman, 2001) and in turn their adjoining emotions. These meanings also can be situated within history and culture. This thesis does not approach the participants’ experiences of appraisal within a framework of one single truth which can be discovered, what Foucault might refer to as a “regime of truth” that only scientific expertise can unravel.

Riessman (2001, p. 705) makes this point eloquently by saying that narratives

“are of interest precisely because narrators interpret the past in stories, rather than reproduce the past as it was. The “truths” of narrative accounts lie not in their faithful representation of a past world, but in the shifting connections they forge between past, present, and future.”

Participant narratives inform on the ways the participant is making sense of themselves, their relationship to themselves and their relations to others involved in the appraisal experience. Moreover, organisational discourses can impose particular perspectives on narrators and hence impact how they make sense of themselves (Vaara, 2002). These relationships are not fixed and constant; they may change through time and through events (Mishler, 1999) such as the appraisal. In turn, the interview can offer insight into the participant’s relationship

with themselves through the self-evaluation that organisational disciplinary processes offer individuals. These narratives then can be analysed to gain insight into their emotional content.

5.522 Narratives and Emotions

“one of the primary achievements of stories lies in their ability to express experience rather than emphasize factual details” (Jalan, 2015)

Narrative analysis is a fruitful methodology to the systematic study of emotions in empirical research (Kleres, 2010). Narratives can be broken down into distinct basic segments such as the following provided by Labov (1982): the abstract (summary or the point of story); orientation (time, place, characters and the situation); complicating action (the plot); evaluation (meaning of story and emotion communication); resolution (outcome) and coda (ending). Not every narrative or story will contain all of these components and they may not occur in this same sequence. For this reason, it can be quite difficult to draw precise boundaries for where a narrative starts and ends in interpretative work of texts (Riessman, 2001).

In Labov’s (1982) componential structure of narratives, the emotion is conveyed in the evaluation segment of the story. According to Labov the evaluation component conveys the point of the story and what the narrator is trying to communicate by the telling of the story. The evaluation is essential for the purposes of this research as it also conveys the narrator’s attitude and feelings towards the events and contents described in the narrative (Boudens, 2005). Emotions are thus embedded in narratives. A story is important in conveying emotion as it tells the recipient what parts of the experience, they are narrating, is important to them and how specific elements matter to them. These specific elements have a meaning for the narrator; they are the narrator’s interpretation of events. The narrator is conveying their subjectivity. The significance of the story often conveys the emotional impact on the narrator (Kleres, 2010). The emotion

“is structured in that it constitutes part of a narrative—roughly, an unfolding sequence of actions and events, thoughts and feelings—in which the emotion itself is embedded” (Goldie, 2000, p. 13, cited in Kleres, 2010).

Furthermore, Sarbin (1989) puts forward an interesting twist to viewing emotions. Sarbin argues against trying to objectify emotions and trying to work out and define what emotions are as discrete entities. Sarbin argues that emotions are narrative emplotments. They can be understood through the plots of narratives that carry them, constitute them and in turn define them. Thus, what is important to understand are the specifics of the plot such as the details

of the situation, the actors, the actions and so forth. These very elements of the narrative give form to the emotion as well as the narrative itself. Kleres (2010) builds on this notion by Sarbin and argues that narratives do not just convey emotion but that

“The very nature of emotional experience can be conceptualized as essentially narrative in nature (rather than mediated by narratives) and vice versa: narratives essentially are emotionally structured.” (p.188)

Kleres (2010), then also argues against a view of emotions as discrete and isolated.

Another proponent of using narratives to study emotions is Connie Boudens (2005) who suggests that emotional experiences at work can best be accessed through indirect means such as narratives and figures of speech. Figurative language often provides richer information than literal accounts of an event. The advantage of figurative language is that it supports non-literal representations that are not restricted by language (Boudens, 2005; Sanderlands, 1988).

Narratives open a view on to emotions where emotions are not expressed as decontextualized phenomenon, through single words. Narrative form of expression widens the lens of the expression of emotions to gather various elements that are identified in the narrative such as social context; social relationships and interactions that evolve through the plot and the relationship that they all have to each other through the eyes of the narrator, whose emotion these relationships convey (Boudens, 2005).

Emotions embedded in narratives is an important an indirect way of accessing emotions which is key for the purposes of this research as this study is mainly concerned with accessing taboo emotions such as envy and shame (Jalan, 2015; Scheff, 1988). These emotions are unlikely to be brought up into conversations during interviews or question and answer style interviewing. Hence, eliciting narratives is a strategy this research used to access these emotions indirectly.

In addition to narratives emotion can be communicated in other ways, such as through paralinguistic cues and non-verbally through body language (Retzinger, 1995). A single word can carry a significant amount of emotion. For example, paralinguistic cues for anger include harsh and loud tone of voice. Equally, averting one's gaze can signal shame particularly if expressed with other verbal cues.

5.53 Documents

There are different perspectives on what documents can “reveal” about an organisation. One perspective is that documents can tell us something about the culture of the organisation and

function as a window to “social and organisational realities” (Bryman, 2016, p. 554). Another view is proffered by, Atkinson and Coffey (2011) who argue that the contexts in which documents have been written and their intended readership should be taken into account. Therefore, documents should be viewed in terms of representing a particular level of “reality”; as a form of social action and with the purpose of accomplishing a particular purpose or conveying a particular message and impression. Hence, documents are not necessarily transparent portrayals of organisational reality (Barratt, 2003). Atkinson and Coffey (2011, p. 79) argue that “We cannot... learn through written records alone how an organization actually operates day by day. Equally we cannot treat records- however “official”- of firm evidence of what they report”. They denote to a “documentary reality”.

Organisational documents were requested that were used or were relevant to appraisals. In response, various electronic copies of documents and slides the organisation used for training their management team on their appraisal system were collected. These documents detailed training for managers who conducted appraisal on how to set objectives, slides pertaining to how the appraisal fitted into the performance management and business strategy of the organisation as well as a copy of an appraisal form. These documents were not analysed textually, however, they were studied in order to gain a picture of the official stance on appraisal and how for example they should be carried out.

These documents helped to understand the significance of the appraisal to the organisation under examination. Equally, they helped gain a deeper understanding of conversations during interviews. These documents were not viewed as portraying organisational reality in detailed exactness. They were used in conjunction with accounts given by the participants to inform on the culture of the organisation and the implementation of appraisal. In short, these documents had implications for how the appraisals were conducted including the purpose of implementing appraisals and so were of relevance and worthy of attention (Bryman, 2016).

The researcher attended an induction day for new employees at the beginning of her research tenure with Remicon (pseudonym), the organisation being studied. At this meeting, a hard copy of the induction day instruction manual was collected from the HR manager who was facilitating the day. This document has been analysed as it contained valuable information about the culture of the organisation in particular about the organisation’s perspective on work engagement. Texts pertaining to the organisation’s culture and discourse were also collected from the organisation’s home pages from the internet. Purposeful sampling of the organisation’s web pages was employed so that relevant pages that communicated information on the organisation that was insightful for the research and research question

could be included in the analysis. Therefore, pages that presented the organisation's mission statements, career pathways, culture, values and working practices were collected.

5.6 Sampling and Participants

As qualitative researchers are more concerned with conducting in depth studies, they are usually concerned with relatively small samples compared to quantitative researchers who engage with larger numbers as they are concerned with statistical significance (Miles, Huberman and Soldana, 2014). The sampling strategy was discussed and agreed upon at the first meeting with the HR Director. The strategy was kept flexible and open as response rates were unpredictable and the research would likely be dynamic and could change according to responses and further understanding of the local context. The sampling strategy was also driven by contextual limitations and the research question (Miles et al., 2014).

This flexible approach was also convenient for the HR Director who was also unsure of the number of employees who would agree to participate. The HR Director who was the main sponsor for the research was keen to facilitate the securing of a valuable corpus of data to enrich the study. This would also benefit the organisation as they were hoping to learn from the study to improve the implementation of appraisal and work engagement of their employees.

As Miles et al., (2014), state "you cannot study everyone, everywhere, doing everything". Due to financial and time constraints, the research sampling was limited to employees based in England as travelling to Scotland, for example, to meet participants for interview would have had time and financial implications. Qualitative research sampling tends to be theory driven and purposive rather than random. Initially the research had been planned to focus sampling strategy on sales personnel, with the number of potential participants in mind. This was a derivative of the research concern and research question which shaped the sampling strategy.

As the research was concerned with how the exercise of disciplinary power shaped employee behaviour the research was intended to focus on sales personnel as these employees were likely to experience more pronounced disciplinary techniques such as a stronger focus on performance evaluation, hierarchical ordering and ranking. However, at the initial meeting with HR it was realised that the organisation's employees were mostly office based at their head office. So, the sampling strategy was altered and expanded to match more closely the organisation's "set up". The sampling tried to increase the number of people to be interviewed from the head office staff. Therefore, the sampling strategy still focused on sales

personnel but also included a higher proportion of staff from specific departments such as marketing, finance and HR. Thus, the sampling strategy transformed at this meeting to try and achieve a more representative sample of the organisation.

Once the sampling strategy had been agreed, the HR manager who was tasked with liaising with the researcher gathered a list of employees from the agreed departments and invited a selection of these employees. The selection was random, selecting every fifth person from an employee list from the following departments: sales, finance, marketing, training and development, warehouse/logistics and the quality assurance department. The initial invitation letter was sent by email to 105 employees. The invitation letter outlined the purpose of the research, information on confidentiality and that participation was voluntary. From this initial invitation email forty employees accepted the invitation to be interviewed about their appraisal experience.

From this pool of forty employees a total of 35 participants were interviewed, consisting of 18 men and 17 women, with ages ranging between 23 and 58 years. Five employees did not respond to further emails sent by the researcher. Most interviews lasted between 50 minutes and 70 minutes, however they ranged from 28 minutes to 140 minutes depending on how much time the participant had and how much detail they wanted to go into. Overall, 23 participants were in non-managerial roles and twelve in managerial roles. Out of these latter twelve participants in managerial roles, six may be classed as senior managers either due to the nature of their position or since they were managing people and teams who were themselves in managerial roles. Table 1. illustrates the work roles or departments of participants and the relevant numbers that were interviewed.

Table 1. Participant Profiles

Work Role	Number of participants
Sales Representatives	16
Sales Managers	5
Marketing	3
Finance	3
Operations/Logistics	4
Training	1
Quality Assurance	1
HR	2

5.7 Research Procedure

The following sections outline how the research process was conducted starting with a set of pilot interviews followed by an account of how access was negotiated

5.71 Pilot Interviews

Before and during negotiation of access to an organisation four pilot interviews were conducted to prepare and to improve the interview schedule (Johnson and Weller, 2001). The participants in these interviews were three men and one woman with an age range of between 34 to 62 years. Two of the pilot interview participants were ex-colleagues of the researcher and working as sales representatives in the health care industry. Another participant, also known to the researcher, was a research and business consultant. The fourth participant was less known to the researcher and worked in the retail industry. These interviews were carried out to gain a better understanding on how participants in the actual study may respond to questions around their performance appraisal experiences.

These pilot interviews highlighted a need to improve the initial interview schedule as the questions asked were not effectively eliciting narratives from the participants so that their emotional experiences could be accessed. Instead the participants of the pilot interviews tended to talk more around the technical and administrative aspects of their appraisal. The

pilot interviews were invaluable in the sense that they facilitated reflection on the interview schedule and exposed weaknesses in interview schedule and technique.

This prompted a literature search and reading around eliciting narratives in interviews to accordingly change the interview schedule and improve interview technique. For example, suggestions helped to construct simple questions around appraisals such as:

➤ Can you give me an example of something that happened?

A simple question worded around asking for an example of appraisal experience helped improve eliciting narratives from the participants.

The following sections outline what type of organisation was targeted and how access was negotiated.

5.72 Negotiating Access

“gaining access to most organizations is not a matter to be taken lightly but one that involves some combination of strategic planning, hard work and dumb luck” (Van Maanen and Kolb, 1985, p.11 cited in Bryman, 2016)

The process of gaining access to an organisation can be more challenging in qualitative research than quantitative research as the former generally tends to constitute closer interactions with participants and may require a bigger investment of time from participants due to the methods used such as interviewing (Flick, 2014).

Over a six-month period over fifty organisations were contacted through the phone, email and letters. Access was sought to these organisations through the aims of exploring the relationship between performance appraisal and work engagement. In return for gaining access the research offered a report of the findings to the organisation (Bryman, 2016). An access letter was devised that sought to explain the benefits of enhancing the organisation’s understanding between appraisal and employee engagement which was a “hot topic” at the time. For instance, the letter highlighted how employee engagement was associated with work performance, reduced intention to quit and raised levels of well-being.

However, various issues were encountered around gaining access which at the time caused some frustration. On many occasions access letters or emails were sent to the HR Director of the organisation without being able to find out the name of the person or who might be the best person to speak/write to due to data protection concerns. Access strategy was focused on speaking to HR department of organisations about the potential benefits of an improved understanding of the relationship between appraisals and employee engagement. However, many of the organisations that were contacted were apprehensive and concerned

about allowing access to their employees. There were concerns around confidentiality and allowing an outsider access to their employees.

The research was viewed as potentially disruptive with no guarantee of any pay-off or benefits to the organisation. It was difficult for the research to give concrete assurances on the benefits of taking part (Flick, 2014; Wolff, 2004). As an example, one HR manager who was contacted on a few occasions calculated the potential monetary cost to the organisation of interviewing a set number of their employees and decided that this cost was too high and the “perceived and calculated” financial returns from the study would probably not compensate this cost.

Ultimately, there were also other issues around gaining access. A few organisations were experiencing change and re-structuring or even relocation so they deemed it not to be the right time. One organisation expressed interest in the research and asked to be contacted the following year but could not participate for the next few months due to local constraints. The HR Director of a previous employer was also contacted however; again, due to re-structuring the timing was not right.

Finally, the organisation that agreed to participate had a strategic focus on improving employee engagement and could thus foresee the potential benefits of facilitating this research. This organisation was actively seeking innovative ways of enhancing employee engagement and viewed engagement as an indicator of employee and organisational performance. The HR Director was spoken to on the phone with an explanation of the research aims. The HR Director displayed an empathetic attitude to the difficulties employees may face through appraisal and how appraisal may impact employee engagement both positively and negatively. A relationship was established with the HR Director (Flick, 2014, p.1) over the phone which soon after facilitated access to the organisation. The HR Director was also able to attain the agreement of the Director of the company within days of speaking to her and this agreement sealed access.

It was important to persevere with the challenge of gaining access as this perseverance finally paid off (Bryman, 2016). During this six-month period, the approach towards organisations was tailored and adjusted. But ultimately, it was the ability to find a key individual within an organisation with whom a good relationship could be built and who could trust the researcher that eventually opened the door to this research project (Flick, 2014). The HR Director and one of her HR managers were met at head office to discuss the details of the research including ethical and confidentiality concerns and sampling. Some flexibility built into areas such as further sampling and participant observation.

5.73 Interview Format and Schedule

At the beginning of each interview the aims of research were introduced to the participants and then followed by an explanation of essential elements such as anonymity, confidentiality, and voluntary withdrawal. Then the participant would be asked if they were happy, had any questions and asked to sign their consent forms. The ensuing step would be to outline the types of questions that would be asked and the reasons behind the questions. The participants were also told at the beginning of each interview that verification questions would be asked so that the research would be concerned with the version and understandings of the participant rather than the researcher. This step was taken to enhance the voice of the respondent (Kvale, 1996).

After the initial discussion on the ethical concerns a few back ground questions would be asked to allow the respondent to become relaxed. Although very few participants showed signs of discomfort during the interviews. The main discomfort was being tape recorded (Schwalbe and Wolkomir, 2001) which was alleviated when difficulties with both listening and writing notes at the same time were explained.

Only one participant showed signs of discomfort and anxiety about being interviewed during the first half hour of their interview. This may have been due to lack of trust. The participant's anxiety was also felt by the researcher (Hatfield, Cacioppo and Rapson, 1993) who also started feeling anxious. However, as the interview progressed the participant was made to feel more comfortable and calm by smiling and giving reassurance of the confidentiality of the process. She then relaxed and the interview was successful.

When interviewing the gender of the participant was considered. Schwalbe and Wolkomir (2001) and Reinhrz and Chase (2001) suggest that the categories of "men" and "women" are internally diverse and generalisations cannot be made on how men and women are going to respond in an interview. However, they provide some suggestions that might enhance the interview quality and reduce potential issues in interviews such as threatening a male interviewee's "masculinity". Some of these suggestions were implemented at interview. For example, during one of the interviews a male participant was asked for his expertise on appraisals. "This idea is to allow men to feel in control and powerful in a particular way: by providing useful information" (Schwalbe and Wolkomir, 2001, p.208).

In another interview with a male participant, it was difficult to evoke detailed narratives as this participant felt threatened by revealing information that might threaten his masculinity, his sense of success and status. On reflection, this participant was asked about how he felt about his experiences and this question may have heightened this threat (Schwalbe and

Wolkomir, 2001). Hence, not all interviews were easy to conduct. However, this participant offered short narratives and other non-verbal cues that portrayed his emotional state at the interview and of his appraisal experiences.

The researcher dressed in smart casual attire to look professional, yet not too formal to fit in with the participants. Although, the researcher also dressed in business “dress” on occasions to mirror the participants (ibid).

The main part of the interview was concerned with asking questions around the participants’ appraisal experience. An example of an interview schedule is included in Appendix 2. The following are a few examples of the questions asked at interview.

➤ *How would you describe your appraisal experience?*

Can you tell me more?

Can you give me an example of something that happened?

5.731 Interviews and Narratives

The pilot interviews produced copious amounts of technical descriptions of the participant’s appraisal process which did not offer insight to their emotional experience. This emphasised the need to have a focused strategy to produce narratives from the participants to have insight to the emotions that were elicited through the appraisal (Boudens, 2005; Kleres, 2010).

In fact, this was not difficult in most of the interviews as narration is a natural impulse and a ubiquitous way of translating what an individual knows into telling (White, 1987 cited in Riessman, 1993). Narratives are a way of transferring experience from one individual to another. By asking for examples of experiences of their appraisal the participant narrated the events that came to mind. The telling of stories is a relational activity aiming to secure empathy (Riessman, 2001). By narrating their stories, the participants who had had difficult appraisal experiences could find an empathetic listener and gain a sense of relief from the burdens these experiences had imposed on them. Telling their appraisal stories could also help the participants enhance their self-image (Atkinson, 2001).

Illustrative excerpts of participant narratives of their appraisal experiences can be found in Chapter 6. There were also participants who narrated positive experiences of their appraisal experience, so the interviews provided many different appraisal experiences that will be discussed more fully also in Chapter 6.

The researcher was an active component of the narratives as once the participant began to talk around experiences that had made an impact on them, the researcher then asked more

probing questions about that particular experience so that they may elaborate more fully on their stories. The narratives were not the sole constructions of the interviewee and in turn the researcher did not take a completely neutral and objective stance (Essers, 2009). This research was interested in persuading the participant to elaborate as fully as possible about particular experiences that employees felt were important in their appraisal experience. Equally, the researcher was conscious that the participant only elaborated on their experiences as much as they were comfortable to do and did not convey any pressure on them to disclose what they did not want to.

The researcher was not an impersonal and “objective” interviewer who did not feel any emotions or who did not react at all to any of the stories narrated during the interviews. It is very difficult to disconnect personality and emotions from the research role (Haraway, 1991 as cited in Essers, 2009). The researcher on occasions reacted with varying degrees of surprise at the information that the participants were conveying during the interviews. This may have had an impact on what the participant revealed in the interview. It is the researcher’s view that these emotional reactions helped to build rapport with the participant. It is important for the researcher to reflect on her own role within the interview context and her role within the construction of narratives. Reflexivity is an important part of the research process. In addition, the researcher also expressed empathy with the participant by letting them know that she had had experienced similar situations in her own work history, to make them feel understood, accepted and comfortable (Essers, 2009).

In the interviews narrating their appraisal stories also enabled respondents to make sense of events and actions around their appraisal experience. Narration is an interactional and collaborative process of constructing and interpreting an experience such as those pertinent to appraisal. It is the respondent who mainly decides what gets included and what gets excluded and how events are plotted and what they mean (Riessman, 2001; Atkinson, 2001). Often narratives centre on events where a breach has occurred between the ideal and the real (Riessman, 1993) and accordingly, some of the participants narrated the experiences where they felt there had been a breach in their appraisal experience. For example, if their manager had not treated them fairly through the appraisal. These accounts contained the most intense emotional experiences.

It is important to underline that in some cases where employees were expressing a difficult appraisal experience it reflected a generally difficult relationship with their manager. Therefore, the appraisal experience was only part of the difficulties they were facing. However, this was not always the case as one participant (Lucia) had a good relationship

with her manager, yet she narrated a negative picture of her appraisals and distinctly blamed the manager for this.

The interview and the narratives can also give the participants an opportunity to present and perform their preferred identities (Langellier, 2002; Czarniawska, 2004; Thornborrow and Brown, 2009), to argue or persuade or to make a moral point (Bamberg and McCabe, 1998; Riessman, 1993). The interview and the narratives can also become an exercise in the presentation of the self and preservation of “face” in difficult situations that may require managing “spoilt identities” (Goffman, 1963; Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008).

The interview can also be an opportunity to present the “official” version of an organisational process such as the appraisal or work engagement, what Barbara Czarniawski (2004, p.53) calls “logic of representation”. It is a way of “presenting oneself in a good light” and used by many individuals who are in positions that require the presentation of official accounts of organisational practice. This can be illustrated by the following excerpt where the researcher asks for a definition of work engagement from Sara, a Remicon employee

R:....tell me what your definition of engagement is

S:....so for me it's something about a connection so a connection that somebody feels both hearts and minds that makes people really look forward to go to work and want to go above and beyond not because they've been asked to but because they want to

5.8 Ethical Concerns

Ethical issues are of importance in planning and conducting research (Flick, 2014). All aspects and all stages of the research process have ethical implications, from deciding on what to study, to sampling, collecting and analysing data to disseminating the findings or reports on the research (Miles et al., 2014). Ethical approval was gained for this research project from the University’s ethics committee before being able to commence the research. This entailed giving detailed information on how the researcher would ensure important aspects of research ethics including confidentiality and anonymity, informed consent, protection of participants, voluntary participation and withdrawal from the study. The paramount purpose of ethical concerns is to ensure that participants come to no harm due to their participation in the study and that their needs and interests are respected. Various aspects of the ethical concerns of the project were reflected on throughout the study to ensure that if the researcher were in the place of the participants she would feel comfortable with the way the ethical concerns had been addressed (Flick, 2014).

To protect the identity of the organisation and any individual that took part in this study the pseudo names have been used. Also, care has been taken to remove any information in the excerpts included in this thesis to make it very difficult for both the individuals and the organisation to be identified. In addition, information has not been included that might readily lead to identification of any individual if a colleague/one of the other employees of the organisation were to read this document.

However, it may be impossible to achieve complete anonymity in all possible circumstances (Miles et al., 2014). This reflects on a potential situation where an excerpt that contains information about an appraisal experience of a participant is read by another individual who is familiar with these details and thus may potentially recognise the identity of the participant. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to include meaningful excerpts from participant interviews without this limited risk and this is potentially why Miles et al., (2014) recognise that complete anonymity is impossible to achieve especially in qualitative studies. However, much care has been taken to minimise the risk of harm to all participants.

All employees who were invited to take part in this research were sent information on the purpose and the potential benefits of the study and were assured of confidentiality and anonymity via an email from HR and at interview. The participation in this study was totally voluntary and no pressure was placed on employees to take part from the researcher or the organisation. The employees were initially selected randomly by the HR department and about one hundred were contacted through email from the HR partner that was selected to liaise with this research. Out of this initial pool of employees about forty responded positively to wanting to take part and the researcher was only given their work emails after they agreed to participate in the research. In addition, it was emphasised at interview that participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw at any time during their interview. The participants were also provided with a participant information sheet that explained all the key points such as confidentiality and asked to sign a consent form.

In the initial invitation email that was sent from HR employees were also informed of the potential benefits of this study for them and the organisation which was an essential part of the research. A report was written and sent to the HR Director on the findings of the research soon after field work was completed in the hope that this report might facilitate the organisation to improve the implementation of their appraisal process. One of the criteria for conducting research is that it could benefit the participants and in some way “repay” them for the time they have invested in the research (Miles et al., 2014).

As this research aimed to understand the emotional experiences of organisational evaluation processes. A cautious approach was taken to questioning in the interviews as

talking about emotions can sometimes be distressing if distressing events had been experienced during employee appraisals or just through other work experiences. During a couple of the interviews the participants became visibly upset and they were reminded that they did not have to carry on with the interview. At these times, the researcher reflected on the minimal benefits of further questioning versus the potential distress this might cause the participant. The researcher put herself in the place of the participant and felt overwhelming empathy for the participants in these situations as it reminded her of her own work experiences which helped her further understand her participants' views and experiences.

5.9 Data Analysis

The following sections describe how data collected was analysed. The interviews were the main source of data for analysing the emotional experiences of participants. However, the organisation's discourse can be used as a means of adding another layer of depth to the analysis as this discourse may impact how participants made sense of their experiences and themselves (Vaara, 2002; Foucault, 1988).

5.9.1 Interpreting Text

The process of interpreting text is an ongoing process that starts from the interviews themselves and carries on through the transcription process, which basically transforms the conversation of the interview into text (Riessman, 2002). The interviews were listened to in the evening after the completion of each interview. This was repeated for the first six interviews. This allowed reflection on the interviews, the questions and the answers. This basically means the interpretation of data started as soon as collecting the data. This strategy strengthens the quality of interviews and allowed for some adjustments to be made in the questions posed at interview. It also helped to alleviate any "trouble spots" (Schwalbe and Wolkomir, 2001).

The interviews were transcribed manually which was very time consuming, however, this process constituted the interpretation process of the interview text and enabled more time to listen to the recordings that were listened to repeatedly whilst transcribing, reflect on the transcripts and the recordings, and make notes on ideas and themes that were coming through. The data management software NVIVO was used for transcribing as it provided a few useful features such as flexibility in the speed of listening to the recording whilst transcribing.

The interviews were transcribed using a notation system adapted from the Jefferson transcription system (Jefferson, 2004) used in conversation analysis. This enabled the

researcher to include a lot of detail in the transcripts such as the number of seconds (approximately) in pauses in speech. However, as the transcriptions proceeded it was decided that not all the details enabled through this technique such as these pauses, elevated the analysis enough to be beneficial to the interpretations. It was recognised that the narrative texts, the paralinguistic cues and body language details noted in field notes were providing rich data for the interpretation and identification of emotions in the text/narratives.

Therefore, amendments were made to the transcription technique to reduce the details included in the transcripts. Research can be a case of trial and error at times and a texture of learning through doing is thus infused through the process (Bryman, 2016). The transcription coding adapted from conversation analysis is detailed in Appendix 1.

5.92 Narrative Analysis

To analyse the text from interviews the first step was to identify the narratives and once they had been identified the narratives were analysed to identify the emotions embedded in them. As the research question is concerned with the role of emotions in the exercise of disciplinary power. The behaviours induced in employees through the elicitation of emotions have also been analysed. This will allow the researcher to address the research question and explore the role of emotions in the exercise of power. Appendix 3 presents verbal and paralinguistic indicators of the emotions of shame and anger following the work of Lewis (1971) and Retzinger (1995) and was used in the analysis and identification of emotions in participant narratives.

This analysis is presented through interview excerpts and discussion around these excerpts in the Findings Chapter. This thematic analysis was framed through a Foucauldian theoretical framework as described in the previous chapter. Thus, the thematic analysis has focused on themes that have emerged from the narratives that highlight the disciplinary mechanisms utilised by Remicon to direct employee behaviour.

The second part of analysis is that of the organisational discourse sourced from the organisation's website and the induction day Orientation document. This examination has been conducted to explore how this discourse could enhance or influence employee understandings of themselves and self-evaluation. Excerpts of this discourse are interpreted through a Foucauldian framework concerned mainly with technologies of the self and is presented in the Findings Chapter.

The following sections outline how the narratives and emotions were identified followed by a description of the thematic analysis of the narratives.

5.93 Identifying Narratives

Identifying precise boundaries for where narratives begin and end can be quite tricky as the participants interweaved separate narratives together at times. This was partly produced through the researcher's questioning and participants can interject other information through their narratives. Conversations and narratives do not always follow a logical and systematic order and can thus lead to the interweaving of narratives and other information. Consequently, the identification of narratives does require care and is not a straight forward task (Riessman, 2001). To aid the identification of narratives following Boudens (2005) the following four steps were used as guidelines

1. A specific incident or connected series of incident with a clearly identifiable beginning and end;
2. A temporal ordering of events or occurrences within the incident;
3. An indication of the teller that the events described are causally related;
4. A change in the situation, or in at least one of the characters over the course of the story

5.94 Thematic Analysis of Narratives

The narratives were read several times during the interpretative period to identify and understand the common themes that the narratives were presenting about the disciplinary mechanisms at work through the appraisal and other disciplinary techniques utilised for evaluating the participants. "Themes consist of minor scenes that are continually repeated" (Czarniawska, 2001).

NVIVO, a computer assisted software was used to help with the management of the data set including the documents and web site data collected. Initially coding of the basic themes that were coming through the narratives repeatedly was carried out. These codes were put in to NVIVO to help manage the process. However, during the coding process the hard copies of transcripts were used and referred to regularly as NVIVO tends to decontextualize the data. These themes and codes are framed through a Foucauldian frame as this was the analytical framework (Flick, 2014). The coding and thematic analysis was based on five steps suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006, p.86)

1. Familiarizing yourself with your data
2. Generating initial codes
3. Searching for themes
4. Reviewing themes
5. Defining and naming themes

Working with narratives and carrying out coding and labelling of the text through themes is a creative and interpretative exercise. Hence, this approach does not centre on objectivity and reproducibility (Boudens, 2005; Riessman, 1993). However, the research behind the interpretative work process has been laid out.

So, an example of basic themes or plots that came through in some of the narratives was “criticising judgements” or “withholding of rewards”. Next, recurring themes were put into groups following the concept of “thematic coherence” provided by Agar and Hobbs (1982). Similar themes were then given and categorised under a thematic code, such as for example “hierarchical ordering”. The narratives categorised in this thematic code had a predominant theme that described employees being concerned about their position in the hierarchy of status or rank or ability. More detail will be given in the Findings chapter on these narratives and themes. The next step was to assign a thematic category. Through these steps a higher and higher level of abstraction is achieved (Boudens, 2005).

The narratives that are discussed in the Findings chapter are illustrative of a theme that has occurred over multiple narratives and interviews. For example, narratives demonstrating the theme of withholding rewards are representative narratives of a theme that occurred in many interviews.

An example of this thematic analysis and build up is given in Table 2 including the emotions experienced by the participants.

Table 2. Thematic Illustration and Emotions

Thematic Category	Thematic Codes	Basic Themes	Emotions
Power Relations: <i>Disciplinary mechanisms can be used to distribute rewards and punishments differentially across employees</i>	Invisible Gaze	Criticising Judgements Disciplined by Documents and Things Shaping the Self	Shame, mortification, embarrassment, anger, frustration, upset, unhappy, sadness
	Partitioning	Criticising Judgements Withholding Rewards Shaping the self	Shame, sadness, humiliation
	Hierarchical Ordering	Criticising judgements Withholding of Rewards Disciplined by Documents and Things Shaping the Self	Shame, embarrassment, anger, frustration, annoyed, envy, sadness, unhappy, anxiety, resentment
	Productive Power	Rewarded by Discipline Shaping the Self	Pride, elation, happy

The next section considers the quality in this research.

5.10 Quality Evaluation of Research

“Science cannot be spoken in a singular universal voice. Any methodological standpoint is, by definition, partial, incomplete, and historically contingent.”
(Riessman, 2001, p.706)

Research can be conducted from different epistemological positions. One end of this spectrum advocates the view that knowledge is “out there” and that it can be discovered, tested and verified through specific techniques. In contrast, the second view suggests that

knowledge is socially constructed (Symon, Cassell and Johnson, 2016). This research takes this second view. Confusion arises when evaluation criteria that have been developed for more traditional and quantitative research approach is homogenously applied over a field that is heterogeneous in its nature (Johnson, Buehring, Cassell and Symon, 2006). Traditional evaluative criteria such as internal and external validity and reliability were originally implemented to identify and eradicate poor practices in statistical analysis of causal relations. Consequently, scholars have argued that qualitative research should not be assessed through these same criteria that have been tailored for quantitative methodologies (Symon et al., 2016).

Hence, traditional criteria such as internal or external validity would be misplaced to evaluate the quality of this research. Scholars have suggested alternative and more contingent ways of evaluating qualitative and narrative research (Riesman, 1993; Symon et al., 2016). For example, Lincoln and Guba (1985) have suggested that credibility (authentic representations) could replace validity; transferability (applicability) could replace external validity; dependability (minimising researcher influence) could replace reliability and confirmability (self-criticism by researcher) could replace objectivity.

In general, there is some consensus between scholars that the quality of qualitative research can be demonstrated through being transparent about the whole research process. To provide an “audit trail” of how the research was done, how the data was collected and analysed and why. This transparency in the presentation of the details of the research process should promote “trustworthiness” and credibility in the research and establish a measure of quality (Symon et al., 2016). Traditional means of measuring or evaluating the “trustworthiness” of narratives are not appropriate as narrative analysis is interpretative.

This chapter has been concerned with providing the reader with such an audit trail, by providing details on how the research was conducted and outlining why specific methods such as interviewing have been chosen and how these methods were put in to practice. It has also been outlined why narratives have been evoked at interview to promote elicitation of vital details of appraisal experiences that may lead to the identification of the participant’s emotional experiences.

Moreover, this chapter and the Findings chapter outline how these narratives have been analysed and interpreted to explore the emotions that are elicited in appraisal. In the Findings Chapter excerpts from the interviews are illustrated and their interpretations shown separately to differentiate between what the participant has said and what is the researcher’s interpretations. These interpretations have been based on literature that has already been discussed in this and previous chapters. In addition, it is also pertinent to re-assert that

narrative analysis is creative and interpretative in nature and reproducibility is not the central aim of interpretative work (Boudens, 2005). Moreover, Riessman (2001, p.706) also adds that “There is no canonical approach to validation in interpretive work, no recipes or formulas.”

Stake (2000) also suggests that generalisability in case studies can be evaluated not from sampling but from theoretical contribution. Thus, the generalisability of this research may be evaluated from its contribution to theory. This research has aimed to contribute to the understanding of how and why individuals participate in systems of power such as disciplinary processes in organisations. Thus, part of the judgement of quality of this research could rest on whether the reader decides this research has contributed to understanding of why individuals participate in disciplinary processes.

Another suggestion for assessing quality is that of ethics, Bryman (2016) argues that the way the research has conformed to ethical concerns should be part of the assessment of its quality. Again, the ethical considerations have been presented in the conduct of this research. Another point to address with regards to quality is that of participant validation, where there is an option of asking for the viewpoints of participants after the analysis has been carried out. This option was not taken as the research was particularly concerned with emotions which are difficult to talk about and admit to. Thus, it is quite “normal” for individuals to deny these emotions or not even be aware that they are experiencing these emotions. In this light, it was decided that this process may not benefit this research (Flick, 2014).

What these points allude to is that the final decision in the quality of this research may rest with the reader. An audit trail has been provided as well as the reasons for choosing the epistemological approach, methods and methodology as well as the analysis. This has been to aid accomplish credibility and transparency in this research.

5.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided the details of the research process starting from why a qualitative approach was chosen, on to the organisational context that laid out the interweaving HRM practices used to manage employees in the research organisation. Then research methods used to collect the data with the addition of some details on narratives and the relationship between narrative and emotions were outlined. Hence, it has been set out why narratives were chosen as a means of accessing both the participants’ experiences and the emotions embedded in these experiences of appraisal. This chapter has also described how ethical

concerns have been addressed and finally the process of data analysis was described followed by quality considerations.

Chapter 6 Findings

This chapter presents the findings of this research in three distinct sections. The first section sets out an interpretation of the organisation's discourse by using a few excerpts attained from their web pages. This section is concerned with illustrating how Remicon encourage their employees to behave and understand themselves by drawing out and emphasising valued behaviours and subjectivities. The second section gives an example of "tales in the field" which is designed to provide a small flavour of the culture of the organisation. The concluding section outlines the narrative interpretations focusing on how the organisation exercises power through disciplinary mechanisms and how employees' subjectivities are at times aligned through these mechanisms and the discourse at Remicon. Essentially this section is also concerned with the emotions elicited through these mechanisms and how they impact and shape employee behaviour.

6.1 Discourse at Remicon

Information on Remicon's culture, mission statements and careers has been collected through its web pages. The discourse or language used to describe the working culture at Remicon is analysed to understand how the organisation encourages employees to understand their own roles and the culture of the organisation. Remicon's discourse contains a blend of the "Enterprise Discourse" and "Career discourse". In addition, there are references in this discourse to employee engagement which plays a key role in the organisation's culture and employee orientation.

The Enterprise and Career discourses have much in common; the career is narrated as a pathway to employee self-improvement and self-fulfilment which adheres to the principles of enterprise. The enterprise discourse tends to appear in many different forms in different organisations and usually interacts and combines with other managerial discourses (Fairclough, 1995; Fournier, 1998; McCabe, 2009). The "power effects" of discourse incorporates its subjects, shaping and "retooling" them to fit in with its needs (Fairclough, 2004). The discourse at Remicon aimed to shape employees as responsible, hard-working, high performing individuals focused on contributing most effectively to the organisation's success.

This blend of Enterprise and Career discourse invites employees to understand themselves and constitute their subjectivity in organisationally prescribed ways. The discourse aims to shape employees into individuals who should seek to align their own self-fulfilment and desires with organisational goals (Rose, 1999; Burchell, 1996). Employees are directed to take on certain self-understandings and relations to themselves and to evaluate their lives,

their happiness and their personal worth on specific parameters such as achievement, self-improvement and career enhancement. To achieve self-fulfilment employees are invited to act upon themselves through self-development, training and embellishing a sense of responsibility and autonomy to transform themselves into individuals who become happier people. Moreover, the discourse at Remicon works to reconfigure the subjectivity and identities of employees laying out a desired identity to aspire to. This preferred employee is “promised” success and rewards in return.

To illustrate these points the following are some excerpts from Remicon’s web pages:

Remicon’s employees set high standards for themselves and one another. This desire to achieve, combined with hard work, has placed us among the most admired companies in the medical technologies industry...Exceptional performance is highly valued at Remicon.....We’ll give you the tools, responsibility, guidance and freedom you need to succeed....We embrace your individual strengths and provide you with accountability and autonomy to deliver against clear expectations.

High standards, hard work and exceptional performance are examples of the types of behaviours that employees are expected to demonstrate. The employee’s subjectivity is directed towards an understanding that they are individuals who need to set high standards and perform exceptionally to be valued and recognised in the organisation. The valued employee is one whose behaviours match the list outlined such as high achievement, embracing responsibility, and exceptional performance. Employees are induced to taking on the responsibility and accountability for achieving specified goals that help the organisation achieve their goals which translate into profit.

Their “given” responsibility, freedom and autonomy implies a certain instrumentality in the management of employees. Part of the seduction of organisational discourse is that it sets out what is real, normal, desirable and true and at the same time indicates what is not desirable (Garrety et al., 2003). Moreover, organisational discourses can impact the perspective of employees and in this case how employees may evaluate themselves. This discourse sets out specific criteria that the organisation is likely to use to evaluate the employee and equally criteria that employees may evaluate themselves by. Hence, desirability in Remicon is articulated as hard work, success and performance and failure to behave as such is therefore undesirable.

Remicon employees come to work every day to make healthcare better. Remicon offers results-driven people a place where they can make a difference. It is our privilege to create medical technology that exceeds our customer’s expectations and improve lives around the world. We are looking

for high achieving, passionate and ethical people to join the Remicon team and have a positive impact on people's lives.

Remicon employees are encouraged to see and define their work as ethical and as a means of improving the lives of patients. Their work and "strengths" such as need for achievement are interwoven with improving the health of others. Remicon employees are invited to take responsibility for contributing to organisational goals which is promulgated onto another level, that of an organisation and workforce that care and make a difference to the health of patients. Remicon employees are seduced into making sense of themselves and their work as an endeavour that is highly focused in the pursuit of success, excellence and healthcare without any conflict in these goals. Improving lives and a performance culture that expects hard work and accountability for actions and results are sold as compatible and complementary.

We give you the opportunity to develop your career based on your strengths and potential, including the possibility to move geographically, functionally, laterally and vertically. Remicon is a career destination for engaged, passionate and talented people who seek the innovation, growth and opportunity that only we offer.... That's why our culture offers our employees the ability to continually learn, develop and contribute.....We won't just give you a job, we'll open doors to your fulfilling career... Our employees are fully engaged in their careers and work environment and their input drives the company's improvement process.

A career at Remicon is represented as an ideal that is within reach and should be aspired to. The Remicon career is a new world of opportunity that offers self-development and self-fulfilment for the employee and delivers excellence and success for the organisation and improved healthcare for the patient. Moreover, only Remicon has the key to this career. Employees that get these opportunities are also engaged and rallying to the cause. Engagement and careers contribute to organisational improvements and success. The career discourse weaves and aligns the employees' desires and subjectivity into the goals of the organisation (Fournier, 1998).

The employees' experience of themselves and their relation to themselves and their work is inscribed in this discourse. The employees' subjectivity is prescribed and aligned to the needs of the organisation. The individual is induced to seek personal value, worth and meaning through specific behaviours and delivering specific results that the organisation outlines through this discourse. These knowledges and self-understandings lead individuals to particular ways of thinking, conducting and judging themselves (Rose, 1999).

Summary

The discourse outlined above demonstrates how Remicon positions itself through this language as an organisation that expects employees to behave in particular ways and emphasises subjectivities that they invite their employees to desire and enact such as becoming a career-minded high-achiever. This preferred subjectivity is of course not unique to Remicon. Individuals are invited to imbue this subjectivity which is aligned with society's injunctions of personal desires.

The next section provides a "tale from the field" to illustrate a few points about the culture of Remicon. The induction day illuminated a case of an employee being moved from a marketing position to a lower position of sales representative.

6.2 Tales from the Field

6.21 Induction day

At the induction day, the researcher sat in on most of the day's presentations along with the employees who were attending the day. The mood of the meeting was quite informal and relaxed. During the lunch break the researcher sat with the new employees and listened to their conversations and engaged in conversation with the two recruits, Sam and Lee (pseudonyms) sitting next to her. The conversation at lunch Remicon revealed some perspectives of the culture.

Sam was recounting how a marketing manager at Remicon had recently left Remicon and joined a competitor company soon after setting the contract prices for the product range that he was "in charge" of. Sam explained that this manager had been moved against his wishes from his marketing role into a field sales role. That basically infers he had been demoted to a sales role and then left the organisation. As the researcher did not know these individuals and did not want to come across nosy no questions were asked. The researcher was always wary in interactions with employees at interview or at the induction day not to cross the line and come across as looking for sensitive or negative information. The researcher felt this might jeopardise the tenure at the organisation.

During this conversation one of the managers joined our table. When he started talking to the recruits they all turned their bodies towards him and listened to him. He asked them how things were going and then started to convey a flavour of the organisation's expectations and culture. He did this in a few ways. Firstly, he said that

...at Remicon, we employ similar types of people because we need to get things done, unlike other companies that I've worked for.

He also mentioned the names of a couple of Remicon employees who were well known athletes.

One of the recruits said

...really he/she works for us?

and the manager replied

yes he/she is at Remicon

The manager was implicitly setting informal expectations for these employees by emphasising that at Remicon employees are expected to get things done and this distinguishes them from their competitors. The manager's comments were in line with Remicon's culture of expecting employees to work hard and perform at high levels. He also gave examples of well-known athletes who work for the organisation and was again reinforcing the same message. Remicon employees are high performers; they are competitive and high-achievers.

The next sections present the interview narrative analysis.

6.3 Interview Narrative Analysis

This section presents analysis of the interview narratives on appraisal experiences of the participants to address the research questions.

The overall research question is:

- What is the role of emotions in the exercise of disciplinary power in performance appraisal?

And this question has been broken down to two sub-questions that can be addressed.

- How does the performance appraisal elicit emotions?
- How do these emotions contribute to the exercise of disciplinary power?

The main interview analysis segment is presented in four distinct sections each corresponding to the four thematic codes of Invisible Gaze, Partitioning, Hierarchical Ordering and Productive Power. These are presented in Table 1 in the Methods Chapter. Each of these four thematic codes has then been divided in to three sub-sections of:

1. Basic Themes: such as Criticising Judgements/Withholding Rewards
2. Emotions: identification and analysis of emotions elicited through the basic themes

3. Emotion as Action: employee behaviours that were likely to be induced by the emotions elicited through appraisal are described

Thus, the sections are organised in the following manner:

Invisible Gaze:	Basic Themes→ Emotions→ Emotion as Action
Partitioning:	Basic Themes→ Emotions→ Emotion as Action
Hierarchical Ordering:	Basic Themes→ Emotions→ Emotion as Action
Productive Power:	Basic Themes→ Emotions→ Emotion as Action

The analysis contained in the Basic Themes sections of for example Criticising Judgments help to address the first sub-research question of How does the appraisal elicit emotions? The analysis in these basic themes presents how the organisation executes disciplinary techniques through appraisal as well as other evaluative processes. This is further addressed in the “Emotions” sections as this also contains further explanation of the disciplinary mechanisms that elicit emotions.

The second sub-research question of How do these emotions contribute to the exercise of disciplinary power? is addressed mainly in the “Emotion as Action” section. This section outlines the behaviours that are likely to be induced by the emotions elicited through the participants’ appraisal experience such as for example inducing individuals to increase their performance. The concluding section of “Emotion as Action” helps to outline the role the elicited emotions can play in the exercise of disciplinary power.

The Basic Themes describe the disciplinary techniques that elicit emotions. These themes such as “withholding rewards” consistently appeared in many of the participants’ narratives and were a pattern that came through in multiple interviews and narratives. Again, for example the Basic Theme of Criticising Judgements was a theme that consistently appeared across many interviews. Basic themes such as “Withholding Rewards” have been presented across different Thematic Codes (Invisible Gaze, Partitioning, etc..) as they appear in multiple interviews and narratives. This is illustrated again in Table 1 in Chapter 5.

The analysis of participant narratives demonstrated that disciplinary mechanisms interweave tightly and are closely aligned and co-occur such that a distinct separation between the different mechanisms is difficult. For example, the techniques of categorisation, hierarchical judgements, individualisation and punishing individuals are tightly knit, weaved and tangled together, a distinct boundary to separate them is difficult to draw. These narratives demonstrate that disciplinary power exercised through appraisal differentially rewards and

punishes individuals which elicit various emotions that in turn may direct employee behaviour.

The narratives that are presented in each thematic section are illustrative narratives of that theme. These illustrative narratives have been chosen to be a representative narrative for that theme such as for example the theme of “Withholding Rewards”.

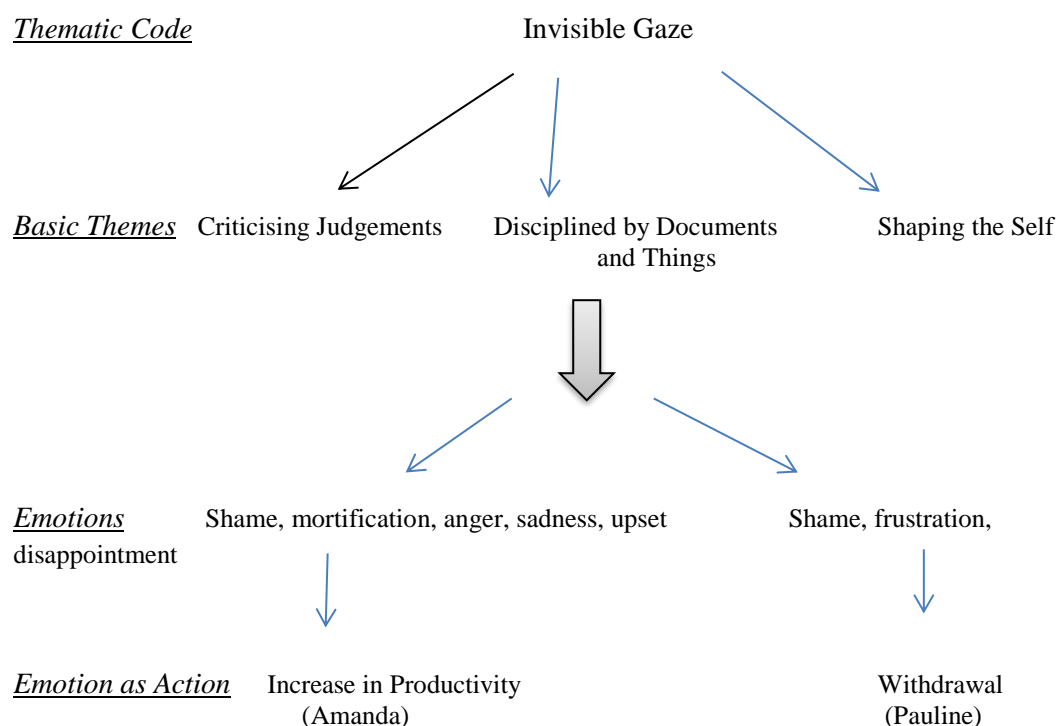
Appendix 5 presents narratives that represent more neutral or indifferent interviews. These participants did not express strong emotions about their appraisals and felt quite indifferent about their appraisals eliciting emotions or motivating them to behave in a specific way.

6.31 Invisible Gaze

The thematic code of “Invisible Gaze” refers to narratives where the predominant theme of the narrative described a context where the performances of the employee had been observed through an almost invisible surveillance by the manager who had made judgements of the employee’s performance without any direct discussion with that individual before the appraisal meeting. The appraisal is then utilised to convey this judgement and to criticise the performances of these employees. The employees are thus unaware that their performances have been judged negatively before the appraisal. The thematic code illustrates the invisible gaze of power.

The narratives of two Remicon senior managers Amanda and Pauline are used as illustrative narratives for this thematic code. Illustration 1 sketches out this thematic code as a simple diagram to demonstrate the flow and organisation of this thematic code. A similar diagram for Thematic Code, Partitioning is in Appendix 4.

Illustration 1. Invisible Gaze



6.311 Invisible Gaze: Criticising Judgements

The theme of Criticising Judgements occurred over several interviews and narratives and appears in more than one Thematic Code. This theme describes how an employee's performance or behaviour is criticised at appraisal. This criticism is made to intervene and to correct the perceived faulty behaviour by implementing different forms of punishments such as diminishing the appraisal grade or imposing a possible halt in progression.

The following are analysis of Amanda and Pauline's appraisal experiences, these narratives are representative of the theme Criticising Judgements.

Amanda's Narrative

Amanda is a senior manager at Remicon; she has recently been assigned a new manager who she meets for the first time at her formal appraisal. Amanda expects to attain a grade of Highly Effective (HE) or even higher for her appraisal; this was her projected grade from her mid-year appraisal the previous year with her previous manager. However, her new manager grades her Consistently Effective (CE), criticising her over a project that she had cancelled. Amanda had cancelled a project at the request of a more senior manager.

Amanda's new manager makes the decision to award her a CE as she had obtained negative feedback about this cancelled project from other personnel at Remicon. Amanda's new manager had not had any previous discussions about this cancelled project with Amanda and had already made her judgements about Amanda's performance on this project before speaking to her. Amanda's manager had cast an invisible gaze on her work through feedback she had sought and received from her colleagues.

Amanda describes her appraisal experience in this excerpt.

A: it was just her belief....she'd spoken to- so the people that had suffered through not having the....programme were mainly my....colleagues.....she'd had a lot of information coming from them about... the [project] she graded me very low on that and I sp- but that was a directive from the president and I wasn't allowed to do that and she said well should've found a different way but she wasn't my manager at the time so....but I was suprised that it then came up consistently through out you know in there you go through not just the actual objectives but then you go through behavioural and it was the one thing that kept coming into every behaviour so it was almost like something had been chosen so where again if I put myself in the shoes of the manager at the time where I believe that came from was she had to make my appraisal come out as CE.....she was looking for things to bring it down yeah:.... I knew it would be non-negotiable my grade having been a manager my grade had already been submitted before any conversation I'd had with her

Power “brings in to play relations between individuals (or between groups)” (Foucault, 1982, p.786). Amanda's appraisal is shaped by the feedback from her colleagues and how her manager uses this negative feedback without consultation. The appraisal engenders a network of relations of power between Amanda, her manager and her colleagues. The appraisal can be a tool for exercising disciplinary power. As the manager only discusses the issue with Amanda at appraisal after her grade has been decided, Amanda's scope of actions is limited by the actions of the manager and colleagues. “The exercise of power consists in guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome....To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others” (p. 789-790).

At Remicon appraisal grades must be submitted in December and most appraisals take place in January. Amanda's manager had not been aware of the circumstances that had led to her cancelling the project. She had decided to award Amanda a lower grade than was projected even though she had achieved all her objectives. It is plausible to describe her downgraded grade as a corrective and punitive measure implemented through appraisal. Disciplinary tools such as the appraisal make the individual amenable to intervention and correction (Foucault, 1977). The appraisal had been moulded to legitimate the grade which had already been submitted before the meeting. The manager acts as judge in the appraisal where unequal

power relations are established and Amanda cannot influence the outcome of the appraisal (Barlow, 1989; Longenecker et al., 1987).

The appraisal does not reveal the “truth” about Amanda’s performance; it constructs it from the perspective of her manager who has already decided how she was going to conduct the appraisal to achieve her desired result (Grint, 1993; Rees and Garnsey, 2003). Amanda’s new manager and peers have formed an invisible gaze around her and judged her work. Amanda’s “apparent” work quality becomes visible through feedback from her colleagues without her knowledge. This is an example of an asymmetrical power relationship. A tailored “truth” and knowledge of her work is constituted through this gaze, power relations and appraisal.

Amanda is graded as CE which has implications for her ranking and other organisational rewards such her career progression as her narrative reveals later. Her grade partially charts and defines her value, rank and position in the organisational map that the appraisal works towards constituting (Foucault, 1977). Amanda is allocated a lower grade than expected and is criticised for her performance. The appraisal acts to correct her behaviour and to enhance her performance.

The feedback from Amanda’s colleagues is an example of how power relations can manifest within an organisation. Individuals can influence another employees’ appraisal grade and mobility within the organisation by feeding back to their manager. It can be viewed as a form of organisational politics. Political agendas can play out in this manner (Barlow, 1989). Amanda is aware that this grade can influence her career progression.

A: it's important when people that don't know me and are making calls that will affect my future and my role in Remicon they'll be () [and having] conversations

This narrative is beginning to illustrate how appraisal facilitates the underlying mechanisms of disciplinary power that Foucault details.

Pauline’s Narrative

Pauline’s narrative is another example where there is a feel that the invisibility of the manager’s judgement and lack of transparency before the appraisal is important for the employee. Pauline’s manager judges her performance from behind the invisible gaze of power and this judgement is only revealed at appraisal. Pauline, another senior manager at Remicon, describes her own appraisal as a “managed decision”. This implies that the manager’s decision was “strategic” or had a political reason behind it, and had been decided without prior discussion with the employee. Her narrative repeatedly reveals that the

decision and its justifications had already been decided without her input (Wilson and Nutley, 2003).

P: and they see it very much of course as a managed decision which it is. So, for my appraisal rating last year I'm kind of like that was her decision em....and how does she know how I'm performing.....and then there were things in the appraisal that I kinda didn't really agree with but there wasn't any opportunity to say that's a bit harsh or I don't really understand.... It wasn't that it was a negative appraisal infact she said to me at one point it's because your performance is so strong that I'm finding these things to talk about....I don't need you to nit pick....there were two minor things that happened that weren't on my radar and that I managed but that she brought into the appraisal....that's really unfair.....it's a bit like your school report card....I remember getting quite nervous about oh my parents are going to speak to my teachers and they're going to find out the truth you know or what's my report going to say. Somebody I think somebody else who is in a more senior position to you is validating and giving a verdict on your performance and there's links of course there's links to financials because....so for me it's more about what does that person think of me, how am I viewed therefore if she's viewing me that way and she will have a very significant potential impact on potential future opportunities for me

Pauline's quality of work is defined and calibrated by her manager through the grade and the feedback she receives at appraisal. Her manager's opinion and judgements are important for Pauline. She disagrees strongly with how her manager conducts the appraisal especially how the manager has picked on minor projects to criticise and devalue her work. The appraisal produces a particular reality, truth, and knowledge about an individual which is then circulated by different mechanisms (documents, conversations...). This can play a potentially significant role in the employee's prospects in the organisation (Foucault, 1977; Townley, 1993a). Pauline's narrative gives the impression that her sense of self and self-understanding may be shaped through her manager's feedback, criticism and the way she conducts appraisal (Foucault, 1988).

There is a suggestion that Pauline's manager is not only judging her performance but that she is also defining what she expects from Pauline and what she will punish. There is a sense that Pauline has been monitored through an invisible disciplinary gaze. At appraisal, this gaze is articulated where her perceived "mistakes" are amplified, criticised and punished by the awarding of a Consistently Effective grade. The appraisal engenders surveillance, hierarchical observation and normalising judgements of an employee's performance at all levels of the organisation.

The mechanisms of disciplinary gaze, hierarchical observation, asymmetric power relations and normalising judgements act to define, intervene and correct Pauline's behaviour. These disciplinary mechanisms can impact the employee's mobility and position within the social order that they help create (Foucault, 1977). The appraisal is setting out the way she is managed and what kinds of behaviours are punished (Wilson and Nutley, 2003). For Pauline, the appraisal outcome is not negative; however, she is still concerned about its ramifications. The appraisal distils out the relational and procedural dimensions of power, management and control (Townley, 1993a).

These narratives are beginning to sketch out the disciplinary mechanisms that are involved in the evaluation of employees' performances at appraisal which are key to understanding how emotions are elicited. Disciplinary mechanisms implemented at appraisal such as hierarchical observation or disciplinary gaze judge the individual's qualities and abilities and allocate a particular truth and value to the individual. This, in turn, contributes to how the individual evaluates themselves and their own abilities and whether they are accepted and validated through the appraisal by the manager and organisation.

These mechanisms as will become increasingly apparent contribute to the elicitation of emotions as they define how the employee evaluates themselves, their qualities and worth as well as the evaluations of others such as the manager which influences these self-evaluations. This helps to address the first sub-research question of

- How does performance appraisal elicit emotions?

The next section discusses another disciplinary theme that appeared in many of the narratives, that of disciplining employees through documents and files, emails and sales tables which all contribute to rewarding or punishing employees differentially and to shaping their self-evaluations, and perception of value and worth.

6.312 Invisible Gaze: Disciplined by Documents and Things

The theme of Disciplined by Documents and Things encompasses the disciplinary effects of appraisal and other evaluative processes utilised in the organisation. At Remicon, employees underwent appraisal regularly and the document was then kept on file. The comments and grades captured at appraisal were kept by the organisation and could be referred to in situations such as when an individual applied for another role.

The narratives in this theme are also illustrative narratives. First in this theme is the filing of appraisal documents and grades that act to discipline employees as is demonstrated in Amanda's narrative.

Amanda's Narrative

Amanda has been awarded CE, as her manager has misunderstood the cancellation of an important project that was stopped by a senior Director. She shows concern over the implications of the appraisal document being used by other individuals to assess her qualities and appropriateness for other roles in the future. Amanda believes that this document carries some weight in any potential opportunities for progression and is unhappy that the document does not articulate her performance accurately. There is an implied sense that the appraisal as a physical document forms a fabric of visibility, one that is accessible to specific people within the organisation. The document forms a hierarchically accessible (Townley, 1993b) “information panopticon” (Zuboff, 1988, p.307)

A:....the piece of paper... that's now sitting in my file.... the appraisal document yes it said I was good at my job but it didn't say how good I was at my job and I know I was better than was captured in that document....and it's also on my record I'm wanting to advance through the company and it's that's where anybody that's going to look to me for another role they'll go and look at that so it's important it's on my record....it's important when people that don't know me and are making calls that will affect my future and my role in Remicon they'll be going to documentation like this

As Amanda cannot change her rating, this document forms part of the knowledge about her. The appraisal document contributes to the constitution of Amanda. She is a subject of power that manifests itself partially through disciplinary power but does not exclude other modes (Foucault, 1977). The CE grade at appraisal contributes to defining her qualities and abilities in the job and assigns a value to her as an employee who falls short of the high-performer definition that Remicon elevate in their discourse.

The document that is held on file seems to emphasise the disciplinary effects of the appraisal and the effects of the diminished grade she receives. The disciplinary effects of appraisal resonate as it is held on file and the knowledge that it constructs of Amanda still lives in the document. The judgment of her abilities, qualities and value are preserved and contributes to the potential to elicit emotions.

Pauline's Narrative

Pauline, another senior manager also conveys the significance of the rating being documented in the appraisal as this is a means of assessing employees' performance history. This grade and document form a permanent visibility and description of Pauline that is likely to follow her career at Remicon (Longenecker et al., 1987).

P:....so if there is a role coming up that I would like to apply for, my appraisal rating that that's one of the first questions we ask actually when we're looking at people going across, can you send us their latest appraisal so the rating will be the first thing they look at because it's the easiest thing...yeah to judge people on exactly. That's really why I think it's really that important.

There is an intimate relationship between knowledge and power. The appraisal makes individuals knowable and constituted through the “regime of truth” installed by power. Discipline makes the individual (Foucault, 1977). Pauline understands that the appraisal grade may influence her mobility in the organisation which in turn enhances the disciplinary impact of the appraisal grade.

Processes such as appraisals engender and bolster relations of power; these relations can be with other individuals or they can involve non-humans such as documents. The grades and the comments captured on the document in effect build a paper hierarchy (Zuboff, 1988); a dictionary of individuals with names, ranks, locations, definitions and managerial judgements of all employees. Employees are categorised and filed away. These documents help to draw outlines of employees’ social and personal features and identities (Wilson and Nutley, 2003) held in store to be accessed at any date. Employees are objectified, turned to paper, digital files, to numbers and letters on a graduated grid. They are differentiated and individualised on their perceived and recorded merits, qualities and value to the organisation (Foucault, 1977).

Each appraisal and each document enables the organisation to distribute differential rewards and punishments that differentiate, individualise and differentially value each employee. These documents and their disciplining effects add depth to the differentiation between individuals that evoke self-evaluation and awareness of the self in comparison to one’s peers and enhances the possible evocation of emotions.

Another important document held on file for employees is the talent review which categorises and individualises employees further. This document contains other information that further differentiates employees along other categories. Their potential mobility is partly defined through discussions around the categorisation and ranking induced through this document between management and HR. The employee is not present at these discussions and cannot contribute directly and the form is not shown or shared with employees.

Amanda’s Narrative

Amanda explains this document and its role.

A: yeah we also have talent review which this feeds into [appraisal] as well...every manager will sit with their director and HR and talk about every one of their individuals rank them in the team who's doing what a little bit about succession planning but it's more around you knowing proving that a manager knows their individuals and talks to them, ↑which doesn't always happen!↑ hehe but it is it is about that global stage so you you'll also give a rank in there so that might be interesting for you you'd put in there whether it's talent to watch well placed and so when global decisions are being made they'll look at the talent review and the appraisal and the grades to decide whether that individual be invited for a role or if they've applied for a role whether they'd be invited for interview these grades carry a lot of wait

Again, the implication is that documents can act as tools of discipline as they contain knowledge on many key aspects of the employee such as their current likelihood of promotion. The document does not make the final decision on a person's ability to secure other roles; however, the purpose of the talent review is to provide salient information. The talent review is another process of categorisation and ranking. Talent Reviews were only mentioned at interview by individuals in management roles, this implies that there may be limited knowledge of their existence by non-managerial staff.

The talent review process is another disciplinary mechanism that is conducted regularly and works with the appraisal. The management and HR teams discuss the merits of each employee and pass judgements on these individuals. This review of each individual employee facilitates another process of ranking and distributing and partitioning individuals into very specific positions that speak about their ability, performance and their value to the organisation and how they contribute to the organisation's goals (Foucault, 1977).

This document forms part of the interweaving disciplinary web of processes that are used to exercise power over individuals. It is important as the potential to progress within the organisation can elicit emotions as many individuals strive to be promoted to higher ranked roles. Progression is a means of attaining rank, validation of the self and one's abilities and qualities as well as status and higher compensation and can be influential to the self-image, self-understanding and the constitution of the self. Therefore, this theme of disciplining individuals through documents and "things" also plays a role in the potential induction of emotions that helps address the first sub-research question.

The next theme "Shaping the Self" also came through in many of the interviews and narratives and is about how the appraisal process and its intricate elements such as the grade or the comments from the manager can have a profound influence on an individual's sense of self. This impact was variable across the narratives and individuals and for some participants this shaping of their sense of self or subjectivity/identity could also be through

other evaluative processes such as the sales performance tables and the social comparison that is encouraged through these disciplinary processes. This shaping could also be enhanced by the enterprise discourse and the types of behaviours and subjectivity this discourse elevated. Moreover, all these different processes could work together and enhance one another's effects.

6.313 Invisible Gaze: Shaping the Self

The narratives in this theme are illustrative narratives as this theme came through in multiple interviews. These narratives demonstrate that an employee's identity and subjectivity can be shaped by their appraisal experience. For example, an employee's subjectivity could be shaped by the grade they receive, the judgments, comments and feedback they receive from their manager or perceived judgements made of them by other organisational members.

Amanda's Narrative

The next excerpt from Amanda's interview is an example of how an individual can become dependent on the judgements made at appraisal in shaping their subjectivity and self. There is a strong indication that Amanda seeks to receive knowledge that will aid her affirm her sense of self through the feedback she receives regarding her performance. It is not just judgements made on her performance but also importantly her as a person. There is no clear boundary between the self in role and the generalised view of oneself as a person (Lewis, 1971; Foucault, 1977). Amanda's sense of self or identity is tied to the appraisal grade and comments.

A:...you've probably found this at Remicon we employ people who are high-performers...

R: what's the most important outcome [from appraisal]?

A: the most important outcome is the discussion, it ha- so long as it's two way and then the comments captured at the end around specifically me comments about me in there and how I do my job....from my manager and no not just from my manager, no it has to be the people that I'm trying to influence, the comments from them as well, which we- I gather those as well and put those in my pre-appraisal and obviously you can hear it again and again the grade would I trade comments for the grade probably yes probably the grade is more important to me....

R:...the rating is important why?=-

A:=and then the personal comments about me as an individual...I pride myself on being an over-achiever and being able to develop relationships and be the person that can help others so when something that is opposite to any of that is said in comments it's not- s- I- I don't separate the working Amanda from who I am....it's linked to the fact that but I thought I was doing what you needed and, not the need to be liked because I've got over that one a lot more now the need to be being to to being to supporting them achieving their aims...

For Amanda, the appraisal is an important vehicle for confirmation of her desired identity of high-performer. Her aspirational identity may have been set in motion during other primary or secondary socialisation processes before joining Remicon (Bergstrom et al., 2009). However, it is the very processes such as appraisal that affirm whether she has achieved or failed in becoming this desired self. It is also disciplinary processes such as appraisal which shape Amanda's subjectivity and sense of self and in turn enhance her self-consciousness and insecurity. Amanda's sense of self is constantly being shaped in part by the ephemeral judgements of others through relations of power (Knights, 1990).

In the following excerpt Amanda is asked about the implication of a CE grade.

A:...I never want a C I'm not average hehehehe.....

R:...we've done the personal thing what about the grade why is that important to you

A: um well it's still personal, it's a measure of me...it's a measure of not necessarily me personally but it's a measure of...what I give to the company so how I achieve.....

A Consistently Effective grade says that she is only average, an identity she rejects, an identity that has however, been enforced on her, even if temporarily. She has been categorised as average and not as an over-achiever. This means that she falls short on her desired contribution to the organisation. Remicon value people whose contributions are further up the scale; her location is defined by her grade. The appraisal plays a significant role in how Amanda evaluates herself and her performance; it seems to shape her sense of self.

This shaping may be accentuated by the enterprise discourse and the enterprise culture that seems to play a role in employee governmentality and cultivating the self at Remicon. The culture of the self seems to pivot around enterprising qualities that are elevated such as achievement, hard-work and high performance. These are the qualities that Amanda seeks to exhibit and through which she cultivates her sense of self and subjectivity. Enterprising qualities are weaved through her narrative and the vehicle through which she evaluates and values herself and her contribution to the organisation. Amanda's sense of self seems to be shaped by a combination of technologies of the self and disciplinary mechanisms, governmentality (Miller and Rose, 1990).

Amanda's subjectivity is weaved along these threads through her own will but a will that is shaped and subject to disciplinary mechanisms (Foucault, 1977, 1982, 1988; Rose, 1999). The appraisal acts through and simultaneously shapes Amanda's subjectivity. Power and subjectivity behave as a condition and consequence of one another (Knights and Willmott,

1989). The processes of power such as appraisal render knowledge about employees insecure; these very processes also act as locations of securing these very identities and knowledges (Clarke and Knights, 2015).

There is a suggestion of the self being a material that is flexible and continuously being worked on, a canvas in working progress. The self can become coherent with the desired self or incongruent (Townley, 1995; Skinner, 2004; Garsten and Grey, 1997). The shaping of Amanda's subjectivity is a process that has already been initiated most likely before she joined Remicon and that is exploited and utilised in the quest for organisational goals (Bergstrom et al., 2009; Rose, 1999). The subjection of the individual works to enhance their contribution to the organisation to become a productive subject. This is an example of power that not only can repress but importantly can be productive (Foucault, 1977).

R: ...how do you think the appraisal reflects on your place or status within the organisation

A: ...it's not so much about status what the app says about me is how valuable I am to the company so I would consider myself to be more valuable as a H than as a C...job title is the big driver for that....so for me it's really important so for two years I've been doing role of a director without having the title it was important for me in Jan to get that recognition of the title

Moreover, location and hierarchy also spell out value for Amanda, how much value the organisation places on her and her skills. Amanda's sense of self is also shaped through this "knowledge" that is formed and articulated partly through appraisal.

This theme is also important as the shaping of the self also plays a role in self-evaluation and evocation of emotions that will depend on the sense of self constituted. This theme can contribute to how emotions may be elicited at appraisal and help address the research questions. Differential rewarding of employees through appraisal shapes the individual's sense of self which in turn contributes to the possible elicitation of emotions.

The next section then discusses the emotions elicited through appraisal and other disciplinary processes.

6.314 Invisible Gaze: Emotions

This section discusses the emotions elicited by disciplinary processes such as appraisal. Excerpts of narratives are analysed and the emotions expressed in these narratives identified following the work of Retzinger (1995) and Boudens (2005) as detailed in Chapter 5 and Appendix 3.

Amanda's Narrative

At the appraisal meeting Amanda's new manager gives her a Consistently Effective for her overall rating. Her new manager explains that she disagreed with the comments captured on her mid-year appraisal and that she had not achieved a couple of her objectives. Amanda expresses sadness at the outcome and the way the appraisal was carried out.

A: it was a very very unhappy experience, it wasn't great footing for me and her as new manager going down... it was probably one of the worst appraisals I've had in my life, dreadful and based on preconceptions ...↓I'd say↓....C is a good grade which means well done you've done everything as you should have done but I knew that I'd been achieving above and beyond that, so ↓I wasn't very happy↓

The interview took place about six months after her appraisal. Yet at several points throughout the interview Amanda's voice drops drastically in volume and her intonation also expresses great sadness as she recounts her appraisal showing that the effects are still vivid. She is very unhappy and sad about the way the appraisal unfolded and resulted in negative feedback on her performance as well as the CE grade.

When Amanda is asked how the experience of being graded below her expectation made her feel she responds:

A: oh completely disengaged, angry...it was unfair and all of the you know as a child you want to stamp your foot and go that's not fair... I was mortified! and you've probably found this at Remicon we employ people who are high-performers we're looking for that normal distribution shifted to the right and it wasn't so much nevermind maybe I'm wrong it was wrong so I I I was personally wounded em professionally wounded and just really unhappy

Amanda sees herself as a senior member of the organisation, an organisation that she identifies with and shares its values. She aspires to attain a grade that endears the definition of "high-performer". Being graded as CE contradicts this self-understanding and means that she has failed to achieve being a "high-performer". In addition, being classed as CE connotes that her manager has ranked her skills and attributes as middle of the road, CE is the middle ranking grade, and it is the lowest of the three positive grades. Highly Effective (HE) or Outstanding (O) grades would define Amanda as a "high-performer". She feels that working for Remicon is an indication that she is already part of an organisation that employs individuals that are highly talented. This is however, always being questioned and assessed by the appraisal and other evaluative mechanisms (Knights, 1990).

Being graded as Consistently Effective induces anger, frustration (picture of stamping child) and mortification. Amanda speaks of shame both directly and indirectly through figurative

language such as being wounded, an image she sketches repeatedly during her narrative (Boudens, 2005; Lewis, 1971). Shame can be about the whole self, and can be induced by an “injury” to the self (Retzinger, 1991). This wound or injury is to her sense of pride which she expresses in her mortification (Lewis, 1971). In addition, Amanda is also upset and unhappy with the situation.

Amanda’s wound is also an outcome of injury to her sense of self and identity at work (Ferguson, Eyre and Ashbaker, 2000; Conroy and O’Leary-Kelly, 2014). Amanda feels that the CE grade implies that she is good at her job but does not go far enough to recognise her and categorise her as a high-performer. Her sense of self is being threatened which causes shame and mortification she reacts and tries to manage this threat through her anger. Amanda’s manager had decided to grade Amanda CE; a grade that Amanda feels is wrong and unfair. She expresses anger as well as frustration at her unjust treatment (Fitness, 2000). Anger is also induced in situations where one’s self-esteem, self-image or status is threatened and acts as self-protection (Lindebaum and Fielden, 2010).

Moreover, anger often occurs with shame (Fitness, 2000; Scheff, 2003) where one’s self image and status are undermined (Fitness, 2000; Fitness and Fletcher, 1993). Anger is conceived of as a more masculine emotion and loss of control (Lindebaum and Fielden, 2010; Hochschild, 1983) so at points during the interview she denies her anger.

Later in the interview Amanda is questioned about the different elements of the appraisal, such as her manager’s comments

R: lets look at the personal comments about you as an individual what does that say, what does that mean to you

A: I pride myself on being an over-achiever... I don't separate the working Amanda from who I am and so it's a personal wound...[I was] upset more than anything else so just upset upset and it's linked to the fact that but I thought I was doing what you needed and not the need to be liked because I've got over that one a lot more now, the need to be being to to being, to supporting them [her manager and colleagues] achieving their aims and if it's coming back that they're not and it upsets me no not anger! really so much more upset

Amanda seems to need to perform and be evaluated as an over-achiever so that she can feel happy and proud. This would equate to being graded as Highly Effective or Outstanding as well as receive praise and positive feedback from her manager. Amanda expresses uncertainty in whether she is liked; shame is also a threat to the social relations, the loss of respect and liking (Cooley, 1902; Scheff, 1988). In addition, as an outcome of her grade Amanda is made to feel uncertain of her capacity to support her colleagues achieving their and the organisation’s goals which she also aspires to. Perceived success is dependent on

the achievement of personal and organisational goals (Rose, 1999). Instead, she feels shame, anger, frustration and sadness as she perceives herself to be deficient on these parameters as well as evocation of identity thoughts and threat (Lewis, 1971).

The appraisal acts as a process of self and the other's valuation and evaluation, where an individual is defined by the grade and the feedback they receive from the appraiser. Accordingly, pride is experienced when the individual is assessed positively achieving their desired competency levels and desired identities. On the other hand, if the individual falls short from this goal they can feel ashamed, angry and frustrated (Lewis, 1971).

Many interweaving elements of disciplinary power and its underlying mechanisms induce Amanda's emotions. The appraisal acts to judge her and categorise her as average, defining her abilities, her qualities, her personal value, and her value to the organisation. The appraisal succeeds in individualisation and distribution of Amanda amongst the other organisational members and hence shapes how she feels and thinks of herself and imagines others think and feel about her, her worth and her competence. Moreover, the appraisal manages to punish her rather than reward her work performance, to put into question her progression and to record and keep on file this judgement. All these mechanisms contribute to the elicitation of the emotions described above.

At the end of the interview it is suggested to Amanda that the mortification she had expressed was related to feelings of shame, however, she denies that she had felt shame.

A: mine wouldn't be as strong a link as that as being ashamed of myself because I I I wouldn't say I was ashamed, I was mortified because hang on this is going to be how I'm judged em and it wasn't what I wanted people to be hearing about what I did, the bigger driver for me was because it was wrong and so I didn't take it and go I'm ashamed of me because I still knew actually I knew what I was doing. So it it didn't trigger that but it did make me question oh my goodness! are there people that are going to make decisions about me using things that are incorrect about me and that won't um- so I've been very careful because its I I 've looked at it is it because I need to be liked, is it that because it's more professional than the personal need to be liked em but it was just such a shock it's prior to the appraisal it was such a shock to go hang you know n the the right perception about me is not out there with certain people and that's what I got upset about

Shame is a difficult emotion to admit to, and people can feel ashamed of being ashamed (Lewis, 1971; Scheff, 1988). Amanda found it difficult to admit to feeling shame even though her narrative contained strong indicators of shame as well as expressing the feeling of mortification. Amanda feels that she needs to protect and affirm herself as well as deny shame was involved in her emotional experience. Moreover, she expresses a sense of control

in her actions to counteract the threat of recognising her experience as shame. She focuses on the perceptions and opinions of others in the organisation specifically those who might make key decisions on her future career and job security. She is imagining the others' negative opinions and judgements about her and about her ability. Shame is about a real or perceived discredited self-identity and how the self is viewed and judged by others negatively (Lewis, 1971; Retzinger, 1991; Retzinger, 1995).

Pauline's Narrative

For Pauline, her manager criticises her handling of certain issues and awards her a Consistently Effective grade, the criticism and grade act as punishment.

P: ...well like if my performance is strong just tell me it's strong... so yeah so it made me feel quite I guess undervalued.....from my personal experience em disappointed, disappointed I guess frustrated.....so the undervalued part comes from the part of not feeling that it's being cared about not me necessarily but just this whole process

When asked how she felt about her experience of appraisal, she expresses a sense of disappointment and lack of value attributed to her and her work. Pauline feels that she and her team had worked very hard and were performing better than her peers. The appraisal provides information and knowledge that acts to judge the individual in their abilities. A CE grade is not congruent with Pauline's belief that she had demonstrated a strong performance and undervalues her hard work.

Feeling undervalued can be understood as an expression of mild shame, it does not evoke vivid language as it does for Amanda. She is judged not to be highly capable or a strong performer. The appraisal is a process of distributing value to the individual and their work as an absolute measure and in comparison, to peers and other organisational members. This creates a hierarchy of value with those appointed as Outstanding at the summit and those awarded Unsatisfactory at the bottom, a scale measuring and differentiating the good from the bad (Foucault, 1977). Shame and disappointment result for Pauline as her evaluation falls short of the standard she was hoping to ascertain.

Pauline is also disappointed and frustrated in the outcome as she did not attain a higher grade and was criticised by her manager for her ability. The shame, frustration and sadness (disappointment) is likely to have been evoked by the non-attainment of higher grade and the perceived unfair criticism (Retzinger, 1991). However, her narrative does not contain a strong threat to her identity; there is a sense of mild shame and disappointment rather than devastation.

She goes further in displaying a need to receive care from the way her manager conducts the appraisal as she knows it is an important process and may have implications for her future. This implies that she is not made to feel important as her manager does not give importance to the process. Although she detaches herself from the need for care as an individual in this extract, analysing her whole narrative gives the impression that she may have a need for care as an individual too. The focus on caregiving through appraisal again points to an estimation of shame that is evoked from the damage to social relations. This lack of importance may have also contributed to her feelings of being undervalued (Scheff, 1988; Burkitt, 2014). For Pauline, appraisal is utilised to allocate punishment through criticism and grade to enhance her performance.

The next section then describes how these emotions shape employee behaviour and thus contribute to the exercise of disciplinary power.

6.315 Invisible Gaze: Emotion as Action

The narratives are now followed to examine how emotions evoked at appraisal help to direct these employees' conduct. This section addresses the second sub-research question which is to understand how these emotions contribute to the exercise of disciplinary power.

Amanda's Narrative: Increase in Productivity

In this extract Amanda who had felt mortified, upset and angry at her CE grading is driven to repair her threatened sense of self and to restore her desired image. This "righting tendency" (Lewis, 1971, p.26) means that Amanda enhances her efforts and works harder to achieve her goals. She feels she can make a difference through her work and by working hard achieve her desired goal of being evaluated as a high-performer. The outcome for Amanda is an increase in amount of effort and work she puts into her job. To counteract loss in pride and the feeling of shame and mortification, Amanda works harder to engender the feeling of pride (Lewis, 1971; Tracy and Robins, 2004). An increase in her productivity can also be driven by the anger she had felt about her appraisal experience and to right the wrong that had been afflicted on her. Working harder for Amanda helps prove her manager wrong to assign her as average in the appraisal. Amanda's actions help assert more control in the power relations with her manager.

A:.....I decided to just put it away to put it to bed and the best I could do this year was to outperform and show her what I really do

R: ok alright so how does that make you feel...now that you've shown her that

A: oh it's good it's good I'm already working harder so I said a little earlier that I felt like politician ...It's making me really closer to the stakeholders and manage them and if there's an issue to find out early so that's fine! it's a good thing...it was quite an interesting thing I wouldn't say I disengaged to the point

that I stopped performing it actually made me work harder at what I was doing to prove her wrong so so I started to really put extra in as proof

Social and disciplinary judgements passed through appraisal induce her to behave in a manner that will gain her social and organisational approval and help restore a positive sense of self and sense of ability, status and rank. Amanda works harder to underline her qualities and contribution to her manager and to the organisation. Amanda becomes a more productive subject that is valued for being a high performer and a hard worker, the qualities that the organisation emphasise as being valued (Foucault, 1977; Gilbert, 1997). Shame can also be the underlying factor for identity work, so Amanda's shame motivates her to manage her identity (Toyoki and Brown, 2014; Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008).

Shame is an emotion that is focused on the self, shame is a reflection of the relationship one has towards the self and others and how one feels others feel towards them. Shame is a reflection of the relationship the individual has towards their social world, it is about the individual's standing, rank and status in the organisation. Anger was also induced in Amanda as her appraisal grade is perceived to be unfair and wrong as well as deducting from her status and rank and the increase in performance aims to correct this imbalance. Thus, the elicitation of shame and anger can induce an individual like Amanda to behave in a manner that enhances their status and standing in the organisation (Kemper, 1978; Gilbert, 1997). The emotions induced in Amanda seem to direct her to work harder.

A:...so for me with my manager it's no good for me going ooh it's all horrible here, if I don't like it change it do something about it em you know we can influence stuff

Shame also seems to evoke conformity in Amanda to direct her to strive towards achieving what the organisation desires and values so that she is accorded respect and liking (Scheff, 1988). Amanda feels that she can change the situation. She feels she can influence her standing in the organisation; it is still in her control and that by working harder she can restore and repair her damaged image. Amanda behaves in a constructive manner to enhance her standing and career prospects (Ferguson, 2005; Leary and Cidam, 2015; de Hooge et al., 2010).

Emotions such as mortification, shame and anger contribute to the exercise of disciplinary power by inducing Amanda to enhance her performance and contribution to organisational goals.

Pauline's Narrative: Withdrawal

Pauline expresses a milder form of shame (undervalued), disappointment and frustration at the lack of praise and recognition. Pauline reacts differently to Amanda. These feelings evoke a withdrawal from her manager to reduce the likelihood of being criticised again and to minimise the risk of further damage and to protect herself (de Hooze et al., 2010). Rather than working harder to prove her manager wrong, she moves towards her team to secure appreciation and recognition. These emotions are the flowering of movement, just in a different direction compared to Amanda.

P:....it's actually put my whole relationship with her in question I guess when I think of it that way...if [the appraisal] it's the same as last year I won't be putting any hope or expectation on that as a process in order to feel motivated and engaged I get that from my team and elsewhere.....it made me question how I will approach it next year an- and as I said it's made me question what types of things I go to speak to her about so...if there's an issue that I'd like her advice on I'll think twice about it because I'll think...will she view me differently from having to ask for her advice or is that going to turn around and become my problem, do you know what I mean and something I should have managed differently so it's made me withdraw a little bit

Pauline withdraws from her manager. There is no indication in her narrative that she decreases her work output. However, there is a marked change in how she perceives her manager and the way she works with her. Instead she turns to other sources of pride and motivation which is her team who she has a good relationship with.

Pauline is asked later in the interview how she would feel if she were to get a very low appraisal grade. The next extract demonstrates that she would in this situation feel a very strong sense of shame as a low appraisal grade would indicate that she possessed low ability and competence in her role.

P: I'd be devastated, absolutely devastated to get anything below a CE would absolutely devastate me...like DR or unsatisfactory, um somebody saying you're not doing a good job...and my pride in my work means an- and eh my desire means I need people to think that I'm doing a good job I need people to trust me, I need them to think I know what I'm doing and if I get given that grading that rating do I?

R: you...said something that I'm very interested in you talked about pride so would you say that when you get a good rating that's a source of pride for you?

P: yes

R: what would you think you would feel if you got a a bad

P: I'd be ashamed, really ashamed; I wouldn't want anyone to know

To avoid this potentially devastating feeling of shame Pauline needs to perform at a level that demonstrates her abilities and aptitude and so lead her to feel proud of herself. Individuals are prompted to behave in ways that achieve positive self-evaluations such as high ability and success that elicit pride, and are prompted away from negative self-evaluations that result in shame (Tracy and Robins, 2004). For Pauline, the criticism that she receives at appraisal evokes mild shame which seems to mainly affect her relationship and behaviour towards her manager. However, she is still motivated to attain pride in herself and in her work so her productivity and performance is maintained.

Summary

The above section outlines how the appraisal can exercise disciplinary power by allocating punishments through criticism and diminishing grades that may impact the future progression of employees which also may impact their rank and status in the organisation as well as their strivings for progression, achievement and success. This grade can also categorise and shape the employee's sense of self and work-identity. The narratives describe two employees who strive for progression and to be valued for their qualities and abilities and yet the appraisal denies them this self-understanding and punishes them instead.

Emotions such as anger, shame and sadness are elicited through these punishments which induce each individual to behave in a different way to manage their sense of self. The narratives explain this difference in behaviour. Amanda knows she can strive again for her ambitions of being a high-performer and feels strongly that her manager is wrong and wants to show her qualities. Pauline needs praise and the criticism and shame create a fear that she may be criticised again so to protect herself from further damage she withdraws from the source of shame and goes toward her team who are a source of pride.

The emotions elicited through disciplinary power at appraisal play an important role in shaping the behaviour of these two employees to be aligned with organisational goals and to maximise their performance. The allocation of rewards and punishments differentially amongst employees elicit an array of emotions as they allocate differential value, status and rank to employees. In turn, these emotions shape the conduct of employees directing them towards enhancing performance and organisational goals.

The next section outlines the second Thematic Code of Partitioning.

6.32 Partitioning

The thematic code of Partitioning includes narratives where the principal theme of the narrative described an employee being isolated and partitioned off through disciplinary

power that was exercised at appraisal. Moreover, there can also be a sense that some of these employees feel they no longer belong to the organisation. This partitioning is at the core of these narratives which is achieved through differential rewarding and punishing of employees.

This thematic segment includes the narratives of three Remicon employees: Joe, Adam and Hannah.

6.321 Partitioning: Criticising Judgements

This theme presents a context where the employee feels they have been judged negatively and criticised by the manager, the appraisal facilitates negative hierarchical judgements.

Joe's Narrative

Joe is part of the sales team at Remicon. Joe's interview contained two distinct narratives. One narrative described his appraisal experiences with his current manager which was very positive. The second narrative in contrast described his appraisal experience with his previous manager which was difficult for him. The following excerpts and interpretations are about this second narrative. Joe did not have a good relationship with this manager who was unsupportive towards him and his position within the team.

J: yeah em so the difficulties that I had with my previous manager was that we didn't see eye to eye, he didn't really understand what my role was or what my roles and responsibilities were em he certainly didn't understand what I brought to his team and it took me 6 or 7 months after he started to prove my-my position to him... the appraisal system at that time as well it got emailed to me, [I] had to fill it in on the laptop and send it back to him so I didn't actually have meetings one on one with him to discuss it... he he didn't want to acknowledge that I was part of the team em you know the reps would work with me and would sing my praises to him but he still wouldn't acknowledge it in in and would kind of just ignore it all so

The behaviour of Joe's manager makes him feel rejected and unwelcome in the team. Joe feels that his manager is negative and critical towards him so that he is partitioned off from the rest of the team. The appraisal is a means of being differentiated for Joe, it is one way his manager demonstrates his evaluation of him. Disciplinary mechanisms enable individuals to be compared, judged, differentiated and distributed according to their merit, quality and rank. Joe has been judged and partitioned off by his manager and the appraisal plays its part in the isolation (Foucault, 1977).

The next theme is withholding rewards.

6.322 Partitioning: Withholding Rewards

As described before the theme of withholding rewards is a re-occurring theme across many narratives and is included in other thematic codes such as Hierarchical Ordering. The appraisal is used to exercise disciplinary power by the differential allocation of rewards and punishment to employees. In turn this differential distribution of rewards allocates differential value, worth, status and rank across employees. The following narratives predominately describe isolation or partitioning of employees.

Adam's Narrative

Adam is a sales representative and has many years of experience as a manager; he views appraisal with his manager as a tick box exercise. He is not able to have fruitful discussions around progression as his manager prioritises other administrative projects along with his appraisal, resulting in lack of time to have those discussions. Here, Adam's manager's actions or way of conducting the appraisal modify what Adam can do, i.e. limit discussion on progression. "The exercise of power is not simply a relationship between partners, individuals or collective; it is a way in which certain actions modify others" (Foucault, 1982).

A:when you see someone manipulating an appraisal you can kind of see what they're trying to do you can see through it....I just think that recently when I've had appraisal that I can kind of it's almost like an open book....I can really clearly see what he's trying to do that it's almost negates the point really because my real frustrations about the job aren't gonna come out in the appraisal and they don't come out in the appraisal.....yea he's ticking a box...

Adam describes his manager's "style" of conducting appraisal as manipulative as there is a palpable "feel" that the manager exhausts time and opportunities to talk about Adam's aspirations. Discipline through appraisal can take many forms; Adam is describing a form of punishment that is borne through lack of interest and the withholding of time which leads to the withholding of progression indirectly. Promotion is withheld by not giving the employee the chance to cultivate any means at arriving at the "career destination" that the organisational discourse embellishes.

The manager's time and motivation emerge as further examples of organisational reward. The manager's time and style of conducting the appraisal becomes another way to differentiate between employees. The enactment of such withholding of awards is subtle but effective as the employee loses interest as the implicit messages are difficult to challenge. Adam must force a discussion that the manager does not want to have. Adam is not sure why his manager is in effect alienating him in measures of time and interest. By withholding opportunity to discuss progression his manager is withholding increase in compensation as

well as value and rank and instead allocating these rewards to his peers who are accordingly placed higher up in the social order and hierarchy created in part by appraisal (Foucault, 1977).

The disciplinary apparatus at Remicon, of which the appraisal forms a significant part, circulates individuals into different positions according to quality, merit and rank by distributing differential rewards and punishments. The appraisal organises individuals into place in an order reflecting value (Foucault, 1977).

Adam joined Remicon with aspirations of being promoted into a managerial position and at the recruitment process he was encouraged that he could carve out a career in management and fulfil his career aspirations. Yet, his manager currently is giving no such indication that he may be promoted and is avoiding these discussions at appraisal which is when Adam feels his development and career aspirations should be discussed.

A:and also I think a part of it...if I was to get promoted [my manager's] manager would have to recognise because he'd be the one to make that decision not [my manager] that I'd been doing a really great job and [my manager's] manager he's never spoken to me in 2.5 years.....I've never had a conversation with him I don't think if anyone at Remicon motivation to enhance my career and help me realise my career goals apart from [my manager]...and that would only come if [my manager] was banging the drum for me at head office saying you should check out this guy called Adam...

Moreover, Adam is aware that he has not even had a conversation with his second line manager and not been shown any interest by the hierarchy at Remicon which he interprets as an indication that he is not being "earmarked" for progression. He views this because of the lack of interest from his own manager. Career progression for Adam also indicates that he is skilled and progression acts to reward and recognise his competence. Career can act as a disciplinary technique working in conjunction with appraisal (Fournier, 1998).

"The distribution according to ranks or grade has a double role: it marks the gaps, hierarchizes qualities, skills and aptitudes; but it also punishes and rewards" (Foucault, 1977 p.181).

Hannah's Narrative

Hannah is a Remicon employee, yet during her interview she talked vividly about her appraisal experience at her previous organisation. Hannah had joined Remicon recently and had left her last company very soon after her last appraisal. She explains in her narrative that

it was the only negative appraisal she had ever had. It was very difficult experience for her. Hannah was awarded a low grade at this appraisal with her last company as she explains

H: if you have an appraisal with someone who doesn't get you doesn't understand you doesn't know you from Adam, is doing a tick-...I mean I can think of one example perfect example of that so so () my last company it was my last appraisal and effectively what had happened is I'd finished the year about 99% em and their grading system was 1 to 5 so their grading of 5 was equivalent of HE and a C would be 3 and they wanted to give everybody a 3...and he still gave me a 2! em and essentially said you didn't hit the number, you missed the mark end of the line's in the sand it's black and white it's a two

Hannah's manager is withholding a higher grade which Hannah feels she should have been awarded and that her performance warranted. Hannah's low grade essentially withholds the allocation of value and worth and places her beneath her peers in the team hierarchy cultivated through the appraisal. Hannah suggests in her narrative that her peers were awarded higher grades than her even though their performance was not as good as hers. She suggests that her manager had known one her colleagues from another company and had recruited this colleague with whom he had a much more "rewarding" relationship.

Hannah is alluding to how disciplinary mechanisms can create a network of asymmetrical power relations where the appraisal may be used to distribute organisational rewards differentially and thus exercise power. During the narrative Hannah regularly compares the rewards she received from her manager with those allocated to her peers. Even though disciplinary power and gaze is exercised over everyone in an organisational setting, the manager's position enables him to decide who to reward and who to punish (Foucault, 1977, 1980a).

The next section describes how the appraisal can shape the employee's sense of self and self-understanding through disciplinary mechanisms.

6.323 Partitioning: Shaping the Self

The following are illustrative narratives of how an employee's sense of self can be shaped. Disciplinary power exercised through the appraisal shapes the individual's subjectivity and affirms if they have been able to secure their desired identity. Where there is discrepancy between this desired identity and the identity that the appraisal sketches then this enhances the potential for the appraisal and disciplinary power to elicit emotions. Being able to become the desired self also has implications of attaining value and worth for the individual. Shaping the self is another way appraisals can allocate value and worth to employees differentially which can lead to the emotions. This section also helps to address the first sub-research question.

Adam's Narrative

Adam's desired self is to be "excellent". The appraisal is an important process for Adam as it describes in detail what it is to be excellent.

R: ...what is it about these weeks that make you engaged?

A: being useful being good at what I do em you know just being in that excellent category is what I enjoy you know and having people think good things of me...

R: most important part

A: I think the main one is a reminder of what's considered best in class so what is, so for me to be O [outstanding] in my job what should I be doing and .. you need to be doing these things and actually at no other point during your Remicon career do you get told what's great you know and what's normal and what's poor especially on your own you know have to figure it out yourself....but to have it in writing in front of you this is what the best of the best would be doing is really really important because if you're motivated by...

R: so it helps you to get to that point of being the best

A: yes and almost self analyse where am I where do I wanna be which is obviously the best, ok where am I now and often I try and work out that gap.....how I'm gonna bridge that gap so my next appraisal is even better...

R: and how would you feel if you got that sort of you are the best

A: yea it would be great I'm not sure.. I'd probably be more concerned with the ones that I'm far away from being O on (when) I was normal or more those if I was walking away from that appraisal those would be the ones I would work on because part of me not being arrogant part of me expects that would be- you know why wouldn't I be O..... something again I'd be concerned about what other people think of me but I like I like to be able to go into my local pub and see someone I haven't seen for years and be proud to tell them what I do now and for people to say oh bloody hell he's doing well you know and that's really important to me what people think of me in that sense so that feels great

As Adam explains he has clear aspirations in his working life which is to be in the excellent category as defined by appraisal. The appraisal functions as a tool for achieving excellence by setting specific objectives to become that person. Adam is trying to become an individual that he can understand and relate to as best in class. Adam's subjectivity is shaped through the appraisal and a significant driver is the grade. The outstanding grade would therefore define him as best in class, as excellent. The appraisal marks the gaps between the qualities of individuals; it differentiates, individualises and shapes their subjectivities (Foucault, 1977). The appraisal may be augmented by the enterprise discourse which elevates high-performers.

Individuals are given a grade through appraisal that helps to shape their own self-understandings and make sense of themselves through the definitions imposed on them.

Employees' sense of selves and identity are borne out of this placing that can change in any direction. Adam's aspirational self is not carved out solely by Remicon, it has already been established. Yet, disciplinary mechanisms shape it continuously. He does not achieve an outstanding grade and knows he must continuously work towards becoming his aspirational self. Adam is being meticulously trained by the art of discipline that categorises the individual and makes the individual (Foucault, 1977; Thornborrow and Brown, 2009). His aspirational self is also in line with the enterprising culture that thrives at Remicon.

Joe's Narrative

Joe primarily desires to have elements of teaching and helping in his role at work and his sense of value and worth are partly established through feeling that he is helping and teaching his colleagues. The affirmation of these attributes and qualities takes place partly through his relationship with his colleagues but mostly through his manager. This means he is performing well in his job.

This is validated through his relationship with his manager and the appraisal. Joe does not receive this affirmation with his non-supportive manager who conducted his appraisal via email. Consequently, this non-affirmation of his desired self shapes his subjectivity and his self-understanding and the value and worth he assigns himself and his position in the organisation (Knights, 1990). Joe's sense of self is tied to the appraisal and tied to power relations.

J: ...everything that I wanted to do was to teach and to help people and that's what I'm actually doing.....I don't have a sales target a lot of reps will look at their sales target and think they're doing a fantastic job if they're at the top of the league whereas because I don't have that sales incentive I need to kind of have worth within the company and having the positive feedback from people who've come back to me time and time again for assistance.....

R: so do you feel that kind of feedback and eh: the way you're appraised, that gives you worth, is that is that what you meant?

J: yeah I think if there's a need for me then obviously there's a reason for me to remain within the company, if ever there comes a point where nobody does need me then obviously what is my position worth to the company there. If you look at my role it's based on performance how well I've performed, if I've performed really well people will want me, if I don't perform very well people won't wanna work with me...

R: ...so in terms...of not feeling part of the team...what did that say to you about how you were doing your job?...

J: yeah it kind of gave me a false representation because I thought I was doing a good job, but obviously he was saying or he wasn't acknowledging all the good things and kind of making me feel that I was doing an awful job so I kind of felt that I wasn't doing anything right

Joe is guided into thinking that he is not performing in his role and that he is not good at his job. Joe experiences a yoyo effect in his sense of self as his first manager at Remicon is supportive, then the second is non-supportive and the third is again supportive. There is evidence in his narrative that his subjectivity is strongly guided by his relationship with his manager and the amount of support and recognition he receives from the manager and how he is evaluated at appraisal. The experience with his non-supportive manager persuades him that he is low in worth both to himself and to the company. His subjectivity seems malleable and dependent on his relationships with his peers, his manager and the appraisal. Joe's self-understanding is governed by how these individuals evaluate his work performance.

Disciplinary power exercised through appraisal and the power relations that are cultivated through discipline impose a "law of truth" on Joe that defines and cultivates his sense of self. Joe is made "subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge" (Foucault, 1982, p.781). The culture of the self is also embroidered with enterprise culture that celebrates and demands performance.

Shaping the self can provide a mechanism for eliciting emotions by failing to understand oneself as capable of performing well that engenders value and worth.

6.324 Partitioning: Emotions

The previous sections have outlined the different disciplinary mechanisms that are exercised through the appraisal, as well as alluding to how the enterprise culture helps to cultivate the self and embolden the disciplinary mechanisms. This section presents the emotions elicited by the mechanisms of withholding rewards, shaping subjectivities and identities as well as other capillary processes of disciplinary power such as allocating differential value, rank and worth.

Joe's narrative about his unsupportive manager reveals that this relationship and the way his appraisal was conducted evoked feelings of alienation and not being accepted as part of the team.

J: but yeah I ha- had to prove my worth to him ...so that that's how it made me feel that I wasn't actually welcome within the team and that I didn't have my manager's backing...it kind of got to the point where I was feeling a little bit down in the dumps...I kind of felt that I was being pushed to the outside really

R: kind of alienated?

J: yeah.....that to me was just you know you're not doing a good job, you, you've got no position here, nobody even though I was getting positive feedback from the reps I was still feeling that I wasn't doing a good enough job

Joe interprets his manager's behaviour as rejection of him, so he consequently feels pushed to the outer rim of the team. Feelings of rejection and alienation are a strong indication for shame (Lewis, 1971). Joe expresses his shame in different and distinct ways. The first is his articulation of a lack of belonging to the team and feelings of being pushed away and alienated. Social exclusion and lack of acceptance can be interpreted as a form of punishment and rejection (Gardner, Pickett and Brewer, 2000; Scheff, 1988; Knights, 1990). The second expression of shame is through his belief that he is not good at his job. The appraisal process and his relationship with his manager both act to evaluate Joe as a person and his qualities and abilities in his role.

Shame is about how the self is valued and evaluated by oneself and others. The other's opinion bearing on one's own evaluations. Shame reflects on social bonds which is very important for Joe. The self-conscious emotions are about how we understand ourselves; they reflect our relationship with ourselves and with our social circle. These emotions help us give meaning to our lives (Tracey and Robins, 2007a; Kaufman, 1974). Shame alerts the self of changes in one's social bonds and status within our groups (Gilbert, 1997). Supportive relationships are essential to our wellbeing and our sense of belonging. Joe does not receive this support from his manager and so feels that he does not belong (Baumeister and Leary, 1995) and feels very unhappy and low as a result.

His manager's rejection and alienation makes him feel he is not good at what he does; this lack of ability and lack of belonging evokes strong shame (Gilbert, 1997; Lewis, 1971). Joe does not speak of his appraisal grade at interview; his focus was on the troubled relationship with his manager and the consequences of this relationship. The lack of support from his manager also damages his perceived bond with the organisation as well as his worth to the organisation. It is important for Joe to be part of a team and the organisation. His social identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) is severely undermined. This expressed lack of value and worth is further indication of shame.

Adam's Narrative

When Adam joined Remicon, during the selection process he was given encouraging messages about his potential to move into management. However, he feels that progression is not on offer with his current manager. Adam expresses sadness and shame from his appraisal experience. Adam tries to down grade how sad he feels by using the phrase "little bit", so he may very well be trying to come across a bit more positive in the interview (Labov and Fanshel, 1977 cited in Retzinger, 1995). His appraisals so far have been graded CE but he is not receiving any positive encouragement about his progression within the organisation.

This makes Adam sad as he is keen to be promoted into a managerial role. Management carries a higher rank and status, as well as the indication that one is highly skilled and competent. He was awarded this higher rank in his previous organisation, yet he feels this is being held back from him at Remicon.

A:...I think because there are areas that are you know where I require developments they I guess sadden me a little bit....and I see other people having you know doing reviews or going off and doing training or getting promoted it kind of saddens me a little bit because that's what I want....and also you have to remember that I'm the last rep....of the country you know.... I get that I feel a little bit like I'm just out on a limb...so I get left alone to do my job but also...I just feel like it's just me just me down there no one comes along, I don't see anyone from Head Office. I don't mix with people who are influential within the company and that sort of thing...I'm not in the mix...isolated

Adam conducted many appraisals in his last role so he is familiar with the process. He senses a form of rejection from his manager regarding progression within the organisation. Adam expresses isolation which is derived from lack of support from his manager and that he is not being included in the group of employees who are being given opportunities to get promoted and progress. The feelings of isolation express Adam's shame which derives from lack of progression, disconnection from his goals and the lack of being evaluated as better than his peers (Lewis, 1971).

Disciplinary processes such as appraisal assign rank and value as well as judge the individual's ability in comparison to peers. Adam is currently being denied the rank he desires and the valuation of being better than his peers. Moreover, Adam does not interact with key individuals in the organisation and realises that his career progression is currently unlikely. He feels disconnected from his manager and the hierarchy. The lack of progression also threatens his desired identity of being excellent. Adam's isolation portrays being partitioned off into a distant place away from his more successful peers and influential figures in the organisation (Foucault, 1977).

Hannah's Narrative

Hannah moved to Remicon when she felt that progression into senior management was unlikely at her last organisation. Her first appraisal at Remicon was a disappointment, yet she readily referred to her experience with her previous organisation which had made a strong mark on her. She states that positive appraisal acts as affirmation for her as an individual, validating her skills in her role and giving her a sense of achievement and pride.

H:....when they go badly which is I'm sure is your next set of questions when they don't go well they can rip your soul apart.....I mean I can think of one example perfect example of that they rip your soul apart....it destroys your soul.....so just it made me feel devalued it made me feel em unappreciated, devalued.....it just made you feel lousy really about all the things you'd done for the company and your time there and your tenure there, didn't seem to matter with one man who had a bad attitude at the top of it you know ↓that was wrong so↓.....it made me feel like my contribution was pretty worthless.....especially when you've worked hard to be a manager because I'd gone through 4 or 5 roles in the company before I got that job. I was really proud of my job and proud of what I'd achieved I was proud of the team I worked for and I just felt that em it was very personal hit at me that em should have been handled differently....

R:....tell me if I'm wrong but it made you [feel] a bit worthless in comparison to what you'd felt before because of [how] he was managing you=

H: =yea!

Her narrative is saturated with shame indicators. Sadness and shame are the two main emotions that come through. In conjunction with the verbal cues of shame she expresses that she is still feeling very unhappy about this experience as her voice intonation falls drastically at several points in the interview. Hannah had received a new manager about two years before she left her last organisation. It is the grade this manager awards her and her likely limited progression that lead to feelings of shame and unfair treatment. Hannah reveals the extent of her shame in this next extract. The figurative language that describes the destruction and tearing apart of her soul illustrates how strongly she was affected by this appraisal. Hannah draws vibrant and explosive pictures of injury to herself and to her pride (Boudens, 2005; Kleres, 2010). Other indirect indicators of shame include feeling lousy, devalued and worthless (Retzinger, 1995; Lewis, 1971).

The appraisal grade had knock on effects on salary and bonus potential as well.

H:.....[the appraisal] so really: personally hurt you because of the bonus potential you had and em your earnings for the year and then your merit review for the following year so personally hurt your finances but just as a smack in the face really of em you know a job that you've worked your l:egs off for all year and just feeling that no one really cared about what you'd done at the ↓end of the year I think↓

R: so you didn't think the organisation cared about you?

H: yea

R: or the manager didn't care about you?

H: well he he becomes the organisation doesn't he...I was no longer working for him as well the company you know when I said to him at the beginning it was very important for me to work for someone I liked who I want to achieve for and I drive the numbers for their success as well as my own and that's a very- I have pride in doing that em and I'd lost that ↓at that point with him↓...

R: would you say that when they tell you that you're doing a good job by giving you good feedback that you're a good manager does that give you a sense of pride in yourself

H: yeah and just achievement you know it it's a validation that you're doing a good job....

R: alright ok so I'm guessing that was disengagement...

H: yea that broke because up until that point it was there

R: would you say there was a bond between you and the manager.

H: me and the business even because that to me that was there up until that point and then it ↓broke↓

R: would you say it was like if you talk about maybe I don't know if you've come across...a sort of belonging

H: yea...no! it definitely is, it's not just about a team belonging, it's about you wanna be part of a team you want your team to be successful

The above excerpt demonstrates how important it is for Hannah to have a good relationship with her manager and if this relationship deteriorates then it leads to a deterioration of her relationship with the organisation. The bonds between her, her manager and the organisation break because of this appraisal and she is left feeling that the manager and organisation do not care for her and this destroys her sense of belonging. She also feels rejected and evaluated to be less capable than her colleagues who she perceives she is outperforming. The appraisal generates and allocates value, worth and belonging, the lack of which is reflected through feelings of shame. She is obviously still very sad and unhappy about these experiences.

Moreover, she felt that her manager's perceived favouritism would likely lead to her being held back from further progression. This rise up the ranks is very important for Hannah; it is what she strives for. Progression indicates that she is successful and competent in her role; Hannah yearns for progression into higher levels in management.

Being held back from her ambition to climb the hierarchy had a devastating effect on her sense of self and caused injury to her pride. There are echoes of being cast off away from an epicentre of success that her colleagues were now occupying. The appraisal repositions her further away from this epicentre of success.

H:...I knew that the problem I had was that I knew it was inconsistent that I knew colleagues who'd scored 60% of their target were getting a higher grade than me... the same year the national managers' award went to someone he recruited who had- who'd scored 15% less target- target than me so eh- e- the consistency was inept so for me that that's that that's really important I wanna know how I've done on my own achievements that matters to me and I also kind of wanna know in the big race you know and that's important we wouldn't

be in a job like this if it wasn't you know you need to know that you've over-achieved

Hannah's strong identification with the organisation seems to have contributed to the extent of Hannah's emotions. When asked if she felt ashamed from her appraisal experience Hannah denies that she had and instead speaks of other colleagues who had in fact felt shame from similar experiences. Hannah goes further and uses the word humiliation for her colleagues. Instead of speaking of shame directly she expresses how she took control of the situation and thus distances herself from the connotations of weakness associated with shame (Lewis, 1971; Lutz, 1988).

H: but I but I that was to take control so that I didn't feel that embarrassed and that bitterness because a lot of people who'd been through a similar thing in that company all left and they didn't work for 6, 9 months because they they just were like were embarrassed and were humiliated just really felt worthless and I wasn't going down that road

Hannah tries to dissociate herself from feeling shame by denying and projecting it onto others (Harrington, 1992 cited in Retzinger, 1995).

The above narratives describe how these employees' shame and sadness was elicited by being isolated and cast off from their team and organisation. The narratives also detail other disciplinary mechanisms such as being punished through lack of progression and hierarchical judgement that criticises and rejects the employee. It should also be noted that none of the individuals in this section of partitioning expressed anger. Hannah who felt that her treatment was wrong did not express anger in the interview, she may have felt it at some point but it did not seem to come through in her interview. The next section describes the actions induced by the emotions elicited in these individuals.

6.325 Partitioning: Emotion as Action

This section presents how shame can at times fail to produce enhanced performance and motivation (Tooby and Cosmides, 2008) and in trying to manage the self this ultimately leads to the individual leaving the organisation to protect the self from further damage.

Joe's Narrative: Potential Exit

Joe's interview on appraisal experience was divided into two, the first part revolves around feeling ashamed and very unhappy and feeling that he is not good at his job which forces him to question his place in the company. Joe experiences a strong sense of shame and sadness which induce him to want to leave the organisation and start again elsewhere even if it involves moving back a step. The strength of his emotions as well as his perception that

he cannot change his current situation as his relationship with his manager is very fragile leads Joe to decide to leave. This decision will enable Joe to halt any further damage to his sense of self (Lewis, 1971).

R: what did that say about you?...

J: I think the easiest way to explain that is that I'd applied for another job ((has a tear in his eye)) at the start of the year before I was transferred it just got to the point where I just thought no I've had enough of it...it was literally right I've got no reason to be here, time to move on....I'm gonna leave and when I did actually say that I'm gonna be leaving that's when the National Manager sort of was brought in he said look what do we need to do to make you stay

These emotions seem to induce him to find another job. He is stopped from leaving by a show of support from a senior manager. The experience of intense shame and unhappiness informs and shapes Joe's behaviour away from the alienating and punishing environment. This is an example of shame inducing withdrawal behaviour; self-affirmation becomes so difficult for Joe that only leaving can lead to protect his damaged sense of self.

Adam's Narrative: Potential Future Exit

Adam's shame and sadness induce indifference and thoughts of leaving the organisation. However, his personal circumstances lead him to stay with Remicon in the short term and doubt his long-term future with them. His narrative suggests that his experience of shame is still not intense but may become increasingly strong with time if he still cannot progress

A:.....a little bit whether that [the appraisal] disengages me or engages me I'm not sure it depends on my mood....you know considering it a day later it's more engaging than disengaging.... it's a good job yeah I'm earning good money but I'm not sure I'm gonna be doing it in two years time so I'm a little bit on the fence with it....I'm in that place where I'm sort of...I'm just not bothered yeah I'm doing my job I'm earning my money I don't love it...some people do the role that I do now for years and years and years...I'd be devastated if I was doing this job in five years time I feel like a lot more to do

Adam also needs to perform in the hope that he may attain better appraisal grades with improving performance and sales figures. He also secures a sense of pride in doing a good job and being appreciated by his customers. His shame and sadness seem to induce thoughts of exit yet this is counteracted by trying to attain pride in appraisal and his work performance thus he maintains his effort at work.

Hannah's Narrative: Exit

Hannah had left her previous company due to intense shame. Her narrative reveals a loss of hope of improvement in her situation; she feels that she had lost her ambition due to believing that her manager was not going to promote her.

H:...you think what am I- why am I bothered! why am I bothering to get up for you in the morning....so I would've I would say that that's probably the only negative valuation I've ever had ever...and that's the soul reason ↓I left that company↓ pretty much....I just like I c- can no longer work for you I can no longer- if you don't get me if you don't get me after the tough year we've had and the things we've pulled together to actually float his elevated status we achieved something that drove his career em I don't wanna work for you anymore..... and so anything I did from that point on was only going to be about my own gain and I I it doesn't keep me going longterm so I knew that from that point I just didn't wanna stay there to ↓work for him any longer↓...it does make you feel em just so unappreciated really just it's like it's thankless you know there's no merit in carrying on if after 2 years if they didn't know you like that I just think they're never going to know you there's never gonna improve you know it's kind of lose the ambition you might have

She felt that her previous manager would not promote her. The lack of progression and support from her manager meant that Hannah would probably not be offered the opportunity to repair her damaged sense of self and the intense shame she was experiencing at the time. She did not believe her situation was reparable. She uses the word “never” two or three times in her narrative with regards to a sense of improvement in the situation and her potential progression (Leary and Cidam, 2015).

Hannah left her previous organisation to repair her shame and to restore a positive self-image and self-worth. She leaves in search of pride. It is plausible to suggest that she was also at the aftermath of the appraisal very unhappy so this would have been another emotion that could have prompted her to leave. Hannah did not believe she could influence the situation to find a way to repair the damage that had been done to her sense of self (de Hooge et al. 2010; Tracy and Robins, 2004; Scheff, 1988). Hannah’s narrative gives every indication that she was working hard to compete with her colleagues so her performance probably did not deteriorate.

Working life does not always follow theory and organisational practices can malfunction and this can be politically motivated such as Hannah’s manager acting out of self-interest rather than organisational goals (Miller and Rose, 1990; Barlow, 1989). Adam’s narrative however shows he desires to be the best and works hard to achieve a high grade at appraisal, hence his search for pride does contribute to the exercise of disciplinary power.

Summary

These narratives underscore partitioning and distribution of employees. Disciplinary and evaluative processes such as the appraisal differentiate between individuals and define individuals as having high value, worth and ability or in contrast as low value and ability. This exercise of power leads to differentiation, acceptance or rejection which elicits emotions that may shape and direct their behaviours. This thematic code has provided examples of where an individual's shame and sadness can lead to exit. In Adam's case, these emotions are less intense and lead to the contemplation of leaving. These emotions contribute to the shaping of the behaviour of these employees and the exercise of power.

The next section outlines the third Thematic Code of Hierarchical Ordering. The narratives in the following two thematic codes are also illustrative narratives of the particular themes.

6.33 Hierarchical Ordering

This thematic code describes narratives where the principal theme of the narrative lies with the hierarchical ordering of employees according to for example promotion and ranking or withholding of rank so that they feel placed at the lower end of a hierarchical order. In these narratives, hierarchical ordering is important to the employee and to their appraisal experiences. This hierarchical ordering is accomplished through disciplinary power exercised through appraisal and other evaluative processes such as the publishing of sales tables. Hierarchical order is also at the heart of how emotions are elicited.

The illustrative narratives of seven employees; Kate, Ben, Elliot, Audrey, Lucia, Paul and Harry demonstrate this thematic code.

6.331 Hierarchical Ordering: Criticising Judgements

A common theme that appeared in many narratives was Criticising Judgements.

Kate's Narrative

Kate is a sales representative; when asked about her appraisal experiences she chose to focus her answers mostly on her experience of appraisal at her last company. The following excerpt illustrates how appraisals can be used to criticise employees. Further in the interview Kate explains that she was hitting her sales targets and is second in the sales performance table when she receives such negative feedback.

K: with what I had to my old manager...it felt more like they were trying to beat you around the head with a stick.....it was always instead of drumming in on the positive side of it, it was like this is where we're doing really badly dedede this is what we need to work on.....I think with [my previous

company] there was this hierarchy of management versus sales reps.... this is where we think you're doing really badly and this is where we think you should be doing well

Kate draws a picture of physical and emotional beating. This is an example of punishment through criticism, punishment through being evaluated as bad at your job despite contradictory evidence that the manager seems to evade at appraisal. The manager shapes the phrasing of appraisal. There is a suggestion that Kate's ability is defined by the harsh choice of words of her manager. Kate suggests that the previous organisation's culture revolves around punitive management processes where improvement is desired, employees are held accountable to deliver these improvements and managers deliver the punishments and criticisms that are expected to result in performance improvement.

It may be assumed that criticism at appraisal was expected to increase the employee's efforts and productivity. The appraisal is a key component of exercising disciplinary power and enables the organisation to intervene and correct an individual's behaviour if their goals are not being achieved. Criticising Kate indicates that the manager and organisation were not happy about her economic utility and output so the appraisal acts as a formal means of intervening to increase her productive capacity. Discipline marks the gaps and hierarchizes the good employee from the bad. Kate's appraisal marks her out as a bad employee and she is duly sent to the lower end of the performance scale (Foucault, 1977).

Disciplinary power cultivates relations of power between Kate and her manager who can assert a particular version of "regime of truth" through appraisal, even though Kate knows the information he is presenting is dubious. The appraisal engenders unequal power relations and Kate must engage with a process that is focused on modifying and punishing her behaviour to become more productive. Kate is subjected to the punitive mechanism of disciplinary power that makes her out to be doing badly at her job and thus directs her to think and feel that she is not very capable and lacks good qualities (Foucault, 1977).

Ben's Narrative

Ben is another sales representative. Like Kate her appraisal narrative is about her previous organisation where she was criticised by her manager at appraisal. It was much harder for Ben to open up about her appraisal experience. It was evident that the experience was still raw for her and brought back difficult and emotive memories. In the following excerpt, she alludes to being criticised by her manager at the very end of the passage. She does not elaborate and is not pushed to do so.

R: do you think that was because of your manager or organisation?...

B: I would say both probably more so my manager but I would say both, culture wasn't great either erm that was probably because they were going through changes but ultimately you need a manager who will take on board what you say because ultimately they're the ones that see you all the time, they need to promote you.....yeah I think so like I said to you before it just becomes a piece of admin if it's never reviewed em and if there's no plan put in place what's the point there's no point telling me I'm not doing something ri-

The narrative suggests that she was being told that she was not performing well. Disciplinary processes enable individuals to be subject to hierarchical judgement. The knowledge distilled in the appraisal facilitates the individual to be known through it, both by themselves and by others. This knowledge shapes how the individual learns to relate to themselves. Each mechanism weaves a different thread through the individual; constituting the subject with a particular subjectivity into life (Foucault, 1977, 1988a).

Criticism through appraisal is significant in the elicitation of emotions for these individuals making them feel they are not capable and helps to address the second sub-research question of how appraisal elicits these emotions.

6.332 Hierarchical Ordering: Withholding Rewards

Withholding of rewards such as promotion and progression can act to punish individuals and leads to a significant diminution in their worth as individuals. Respect and being made to feel important can also act as reward which in its absence can lead to various emotions. Differential rewarding through appraisal and other evaluative processes that exercise disciplinary power can evoke emotions.

Ben's Narrative

Ben describes a lack of interest her manager shows in her progression and development as well as criticising her performance. She is evaluated negatively for her abilities and she is made "subject to someone else by control and dependence" (Foucault, 1982). Ben aspires to develop and progress and have a career but her aspirations depend on the support of her manager. One of the processes where the manager can facilitate her development and progression is appraisal. However, her narrative strongly alludes to a relationship where there is a lack of support. The manager evades following up on appraisal so that the process becomes fruitless for making progress.

B: I think just going back to what I said about performance reviews before they never followed through with any performance review so you'd be asked to put a lot of work together and they'd never follow through....they just do what they wanted to anyway....I haven't been able to develop and challenge myself more because it just wasn't of interest to them.....They're never- the

company's not going to support you developing you're just another person, just another number, just do what I say and that's it.....

Ben's narrative explains that she views appraisals as a tool for providing recognition to the employee for their achievements and for doing a good job. However, her appraisal at her last organisation instead facilitates multiple punitive layers. The appraisal is used to criticise her and does not facilitate her progression or development. Appraisal disciplines by differential distribution of organisational rewards (Bergstrom et al., 2009). Ben is differentiated from her peers through lack of opportunities to progress and develop. These rewards are withheld through the appraisal in part. This also leads to differentiating on other parameters such as job titles and salary and in turn through status and rank within the team/organisation (Foucault, 1977).

“Discipline rewards simply by the play of awards, thus making it possible to attain higher ranks and places; it punishes by reversing this process” (Foucault, 1977, p.181). Employees such as Ben are hierarchised according to quality, merit, and rank. Ben is placed at the lower end of this hierarchy where the employee is allocated little value and worth.

Harry's Narrative

The next excerpt is from Harry's interview. Harry is another sales representative who is keen to develop a career and wants to leave sales for another role. Harry perceives he has been promised a promotion on the sales career pathway that has not yet materialised. This move has been challenging to obtain. He has been in sales for many years and wants career development away from sales.

H:...I'm currently pursuing a new role as I said I've done sales for 10 years I feel I've done that I've been successful I only missed one year one target in ten years... I presented them to very high level and fingers crossed things are starting to move but yeah as always there's always there's a lot of stagnancy...There's not always room to move with regards to headcount positions that come up...In all my appraisals I've been either O or HE and that's brilliant and I appreciate that and its always nice having been in those categories always but ok why have you only given me a small salary increase then, I mean exceptionally small why haven't I been promoted as quickly as you're promising why does it not seem to be reflected in other things

Harry has obtained high grades at appraisal. Yet, the appraisal grade has not secured him promotion on the sales career pathway or promotion into another role. Harry also complains of receiving a small salary increase. In his narrative, Harry consistently emphasises status and rank of the people that he works with. His narrative suggests quite strongly that these elements are important to him.

Harry feels that the organisation is withholding these rewards from him and feels that appraisal is the very process through which these rewards should be allocated. He feels he has not been awarded the status, rank and value his performance, qualities and experience warrant. The appraisal has not facilitated the career progression that Harry yearns for and in turn has placed him in a low position in comparison to his peers some of whom have been promoted and have achieved more success at Remicon.

Harry describes how he and his peers talk about their aspirations and their achievements at work and some also talk about their salaries. The implication is that aspirations and achievements can be widely known and visible between peers. In a competitive environment where comparison and ranking are used to discipline employees there is a suggestion that these conversations and encounters may accentuate the impact of ranking and differential distribution of organisational rewards.

R: so how do you do you keep an eye on promotions, appraisals?

H: not appraisals, we don't have visibility and I've always been someone who never talks about salary some- some of them really like to talk about how much they're earning and salaries I despise talking about money to be honest anyway with anyone even with people in my family so I don't do that and appraisal [we talk about] what they wanna achieve what their goals are yeah we talk about that regularly

Paul's Narrative

Paul is also a sales representative for whom progression within the company is important. He is ambitious and wants to go into management and regards his grade at appraisal as the most important part of the process. Paul has so far been graded HE at appraisal until his last appraisal where he was awarded CE. Paul feels that his manager withheld a higher grade from him due to his lack of experience in Remicon.

P: I'd say I don't wanna give the wrong impression. I'd say last year I got a lower review that I got before .. em it was a new a new manager who had new views, different views and I personally believe he personally interpreted this very differently to how my previous managers had...yeah and I my response was therefore I've got worse than I was last year and I plateaued my learning and development

Paul feels his current manager was mistaken in awarding him a CE as he had achieved all his objectives and had performed well. He feels the manager should have awarded him a higher grade. Paul believes the appraisal is an important process in his progression in the organisation and is an indicator for how well he is performing and being judged by the organisation. Paul feels his progression may be decelerating and his climb up the ranks into

management may thus be threatened or slowed down by his new manager. Progression and promotion carry an indication of quality, competence and self-improvement as well as status for Paul. This employee views the appraisal as a reflection of his potential to achieve his aspirations and his competence.

Lucia's Narrative

Lucia only receives a CE at her last appraisal when she was expecting a higher grade. Unlike Paul, Lucia is more upset about how her new manager is conducting the appraisal. Lucia feels that her manager is not demonstrating the respect that her experience and knowledge deserves. In this narrative respect in the form of voice and participation at appraisal acts as reward for Lucia.

L:...we don't have a lot of discussions.... it's what he thinks he doesn't ask
my opinion it's what he thinks and what he thinks is right and not really any
no discussions very little discussion around any of the objectives or anything
it's just him

Lucia has a lot of experience in the industry and feels she is a senior member of her team. She found her last appraisal difficult as her manager had a more autocratic style where she is not involved in the discussions or decision making. Therefore, Lucia is concerned about her lack of participation and how her opinions are being discounted. In addition, Lucia received a CE, a grade that was lower than she had hoped to achieve which also links to her salary increase.

Lucia feels that she is not receiving the respect and status she feels she should be accorded as a senior member. This example demonstrates that an individual can interpret the conduct of appraisal as a status securing process, where they can be made to feel important and accorded rank. The appraisal again acts to allocate rank to an employee. Discipline is an art of rank (Foucault, 1977, p. 146).

Audrey's Narrative

Audrey is another representative; at an appraisal, a few months before being interviewed Audrey's manager suggests a potential move into another role. However, this is meant to occur in another year or more. Audrey misunderstands this message and applies for another role soon after the appraisal. Audrey's manager is not happy about her application and gives her mixed feedback about progression and promotion on the sales career pathway at her next appraisal, citing her sales figures and tenure at the organisation. Audrey is confused about the mixed messages and moving goalposts for promotion.

The appraisal can be used to punish behaviours that fall outside of the organisation's implicit culture. At appraisal, there is criticism of Audrey's behaviour by her manager although this does not equate to Audrey's own understanding of her behaviour and motives.

A:.....and at like my next performance appraisal eh I think I said something along the lines of I'd like to become a tsm [territory sales manager], which is just the same job but one pay grade higher and maybe a raise or something like that and eh it was brought up that my loyalty had been brought into question for going for the the...I felt a little bit confused and I even said you don't understand I thought this is what you wanted me to do..... and then there was an immediate response of well you know you're a grown up you do what you wanna do kind of thing and I was like well, so just kinda left it there but then in a conference call they were talking about she started talking about career progression to everybody and it was basically said you know for your career progression you might have an idea where you wanna be we have an idea where you wanna be um somebody will tap you on the shoulder and tell you hehe when you should be going for a position so....and then I thought right well that's the way I should have done it apparently um but yeah I didn't know that at the time.....

Yet, she conforms to decisions made about her motives and does not challenge this "objective" assessment so as not to "get on the wrong side" of her manager. Appraisals gain credibility through managerial and academic discourse that defines appraisals as objective and neutral processes that rule out subjectivity and bias (Brown and Benson, 2003). However, the asymmetric relations ensure that it is her manager's version of Audrey's motives for applying to an internal vacancy that is awarded the status of the "truth". Audrey's story has been invalidated and her punishment is applied, at least in part, at appraisal.

A:...I suppose I've been told one thing and then found out another like a few times I've been told well ok we expect this [promotion to tsm] to happen you know but em it hasn't or I'm told another thing like later on when I follow up hey is that going to happen now? no no that'll happen in sort of another year or something like that when I first asked to become tsm I was told oh that'll happen like in 6 months now I'm told it won't happen till like January, I asked about it in January I was told oh no you have to be with the company 2 years before you can become tsm well why was I told that I could have it in January?

Audrey's initial discussions at appraisal about promotion to territory sales manager (tsm) were greeted positively. After her loyalty is questioned, this positivity melts away and is replaced by changing goal posts and mixed messages. Parameters such as tenure start being used to evade movement on the subject. Audrey's manager is using appraisal to correct perceived deviant behaviour, to explicate what is acceptable and desirable and what is not

(Wilson and Nutley, 2003). There is no expanded discussion where Audrey can put her case across on equal terms, she is coerced into submission and acceptance of motives assigned to her. Power is exercised through relations that carry differential weight and rank, which in turn impact on Audrey's current rank. Discipline can grant rewards to individuals yet through the same mechanisms it can withhold rewards and punish individuals (Foucault, 1977).

Elliott's Narrative

Elliott is another sales representative who is ambitious and competitive and wants to be promoted on the sales career pathway. However, he has been promised this promotion for a few months by his manager and is still waiting for it to materialise. Elliott's narrative also suggests shifting goal posts with regards to sales targets and tenure, presenting a similar scenario to Audrey.

E: yeye I think I think they kind of dangle a carrot in front of your head sometimes and say look go for this carrot and then even if you get there the- there never was a carrot so like I think that's what sometimes they're in danger of....I think promotion wise they should have a structure if you do this you will get that and that's a piece of paper that you can look at and say well actually I've done all this why haven't I got it and if they've got no reason for it then that's when you question who you're working for

The appraisal facilitates differential allocation of organisational rewards such as promotion and progression (Bergstrom et al., 2009). Employees at Remicon receive differential rewards that are decided by the management teams and facilitated at appraisal. Promotional decisions are made at the biannual management meetings where a group of managers discuss and ratify employee promotions. Thus, power relations extend to other managers who can impact the rewards an employee is allocated. Power relations are therefore at the heart of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977).

The next theme is "Disciplined by Documents and Things" where the disciplinary effects of appraisal is enhanced by other evaluative processes such as sales tables or promotional emails.

6.333 Hierarchical Ordering: Disciplined by Documents and Things

This theme describes how employees can be disciplined by the power relations that are cultivated not with other people directly but with non-humans such as documents, emails and performance tables such as sales tables. These "things" or artefacts also evaluate employee's performances and enhance the disciplinary effects of appraisal by further defining the individual's qualities, value and abilities. These processes also interweave with the appraisal

and allocate differential value and worth to employees underscoring the organisation's ability to exercise power. Moreover, these processes have a higher visibility than the appraisal as they are openly visible to many employees enabling social comparison more readily.

Harry's Narrative

Harry's career has stalled at Remicon and in this excerpt, he talks of how he finds out about his peers being promoted to higher grades. Remicon pronounce promotions via emails from HR.

H: well we've got the criteria for reaching different levels () but I've hit my next level criteria for over the past year and I still haven't been moved up to that level and everytime I say why aren't I up there I should be up there I've ticked all the boxes they agree and they say we're not we haven't got any headcount release and then someone else...suddenly gets promoted

R:...so you talk to your colleagues obviously so you know occasionally what's happening?....

H: you have an announcement come through from HR.....oh you get a- literally an email comes movers and shakers I think it's called and it has people who've been promoted and has what they were and what they're going to so it's quite visible

Remicon enhance the visibility of employee status and rank by highlighting which employees have been promoted via email announcements. This visibility adds to the individualising effects of the other disciplinary mechanisms. Hence, these emails are another disciplinary technique that interweaves with appraisal. These emails inform Harry where the organisation is placing his peers in the hierarchical and social order and how the organisation is valuing these employees. Social comparison becomes facilitated through the visibility of these emails.

Remicon also openly document and discuss salary banding informing employees the approximate range of salary they can earn at each grade and each job is graded on a scale.

H:...you have a bracket and you earn, you know they're going to earn, going from that to that, unless sometimes I can imagine you can negotiate outside the bracket I don't know I don't know I think it's quite rare these days originally when started at Remicon I think you could, but now....you got the the tiered system, you achieve that yo go to that you achieve that you go to that.....I know I can earn 15k....more with another company

Salary is a reflection of status for employees and it is a relative term, it becomes not just about the salary in absolute terms but how someone's salary compares to others.

Whereas the outcome of appraisal is less visible, other disciplinary processes announce more openly who is successful and who is not. The disciplinary gaze is facilitated by multiple disciplinary techniques employed that work together each reinforcing and enhancing the other. Each closely connected to the other, each facilitating the making of individuals visible and knowable (Foucault, 1977).

Audrey's Narrative

Sales tables also act as disciplinary techniques where they evaluate and make visible the performance and qualities of the individual. Audrey is a representative who compares herself to her peers when she views the sales performance tables that are circulated regularly. Audrey's subjectivity is shaped by how she compares to her peers on aspects such as status and ranking. She uses how she compares to her peers on appraisal grades and the sales tables to build her sense of self and to evaluate herself compared to her peers.

R: so it does make a big difference to you what grade you got?

A: oh yea:

R: so you got HE why do you think that is

A: um I'm competitive....if I didn't know only 6 people got it before it wouldn't have meant so much uh so yeah I like to I like to be good hehe....it's knowing how I compare to everyone else hehe

R:....do you compare yourself?

A: oh yeah well we get tables like every month, quarter whatever, we get tables of where we sit with like sales or whatever because it's a sales company so all the sales reps are ranked

These disciplinary techniques also have a role to play in shaping the individual and how they relate to themselves and others in the organisation. The self-self and self-other relations are shaped by the appraisal and these other supplementing disciplinary techniques.

There is a suggestion from her narrative that her subjectivity is influenced around specific aspects, such as her worth to the organisation. However, her identity or her sense of self is more diffuse and does not pivot strongly around being an over-achiever. There is also a suggestion that her values are not closely intertwined or aligned with the organisation. She expresses cynicism about the appraisal and the competency framework. Audrey has not aligned her subjectivity completely with that of the organisation. The interview did not reveal a strong buy into the organisational discourse other than career and promotions, which are not solely a unique "trait" of Remicon. This indicates that her aspirations towards building a career probably began before she joined Remicon through primary or secondary socialisation (Bergstrom et al., 2009; Rose, 1999).

The narratives in this theme demonstrate how these additional disciplinary techniques also induce self-evaluation and self-valuation and accord differential value and worth as well as positive or negative subjectivities to individuals. This theme of Discipline by Documents and Things therefore also further enhances our understanding of how organisations elicit emotions through the exercise of disciplinary power.

6.334 Hierarchical Ordering: Shaping the Self

The next illustrative narrative of this theme highlights how disciplinary power can induce objectification of the individual.

Ben's Narrative

For Ben, her negative and criticising appraisals, lack of progression, development and learning at her previous organisation have a profound impact on her subjectivity. She subsequently starts to doubt whether she is capable of doing the job and loses confidence in herself and her abilities.

R: so what do you like about the appraisal?....

B: eh I think it's a good way of re-evalua...yourself, I think...it gives you a chance to look at what actually have I achieved what have I done could I have done more so I think it's a good re-evaluation....I think it helps you identify areas of interest and where you'd like to develop certain skills or help you to build certain skills and attributes that you'd need for a certain career path...because it comes down to more than just someone writing HE or O or just unsatisfactory...yeah you can say to someone that's not good enoughyou tell me, you feedback to me what you think I've done wrong or could have done better... They're never- the company's not going to support you developing you're just another person, just another number, just do what I say and that's it

R: you know you said about your last company and you said that they didn't make you feel that you were important and they weren't giving you a lot of time and support and you felt a bit inadequate did it make you feel that you weren't good at your job

B: yeah questioned me it made me question myself it made me question if I was good enough for this role and when I think when I came here and I knew straight away I loved it...I loved my manager and I think it took me 6 months to believe I could do it...so I questioned everything.....it's taken a while to get your confidence back and think you can do it...

Ben's narrative expresses a strong dependence on how she is evaluated and constituted through appraisal and the opinions of her manager. Power relations play a key role in Ben's subjectivity. She also expresses that she feels like a number. She is being subjected to a specific view of herself and objectified in the process to feel that she is not important and

akin to an object or “a number”. She sees herself as not standing out from the crowd, so she blends into other employees becoming one of many without distinctness. There is a homogenization and objectification of this employee (Townley, 1993; Foucault, 1977). Being criticised directs Ben to start believing that she is not good at her role. Her sense of self and her understanding of her abilities in her work seem to have been shaped at least in part by the evaluations received at appraisal.

In addition, she is not progressing which underlines this perceived lack of quality and ability as well as depriving her value and rank. The appraisal differentially distributes value and worth through exercising disciplinary power by differential awards of rewards and punishments. This in turn elicits emotions in Ben who is made to feel incapable. Disciplinary techniques underscored by the enterprise culture that celebrates progression, career and performance shape the self-self and self-other relations. Even though Ben’s narrative focuses on her perceived lack of abilities, it is plausible to suggest that her more successful peers provided calibration for her own abilities and progression.

The next section discusses the emotions elicited by disciplinary power exercised by the organisation.

6.335 Hierarchical Order: Emotions

The emotions expressed in these employees’ narratives are now discussed. This section also helps to understand how the disciplinary mechanisms elicit these emotions in individuals.

Harry’s Narrative

Harry has been performing well and has consistently received high grades. In the following extract, he talks of wanting career progression. The distinct fall in his intonation reveals the uncertainty of his future progression and that he is very sad and quite desperate to leave sales.

R:...you know where you want to go...

H: yeah I do I think I prefer business management over- and I think I want to try people management at some point as well so ↓I'm not sure how it's going to be↓ ↑but as I said I wanna move out of sales↑ so I don't so I think my next logical step would be ↓a sales management role ↓but I feel I don't really want to stay in sales so....try something else↓

He also seems to be trying to hide his true feelings by increasing his voice volume when it drops. Harry seems to be hiding his unhappiness about his current position in the company and generally in his work. He tries to avoid revealing his true feelings to protect his image (Czarniawska, 2004), yet at times his body language and voice reveal his true feelings (Retzinger, 1995).

Harry expresses his anger at receiving a small salary increase at his last appraisal despite his high grade. Salary is a symbol of worth to the organisation for Harry and his perceived unsatisfactory salary undermines his feelings of worth to the organisation. This evokes anger and resentment. This lack of worth indicates shame. Shame and anger co-occur commonly (Lewis, 1971; Scheff, 1988)

H: it's almost insulting...and I think it's disgusting

Despite his appraisal grade Harry's self-valuation is very low as his worth hinges on moving into a higher-ranking role that infers high competence. He also has been denied promotion on the sales career pathway, at the same time seeing other individuals being promoted to higher grades. Harry's body language also showed explicit indications of shame as his shoulders would hunch at points where he spoke about his feelings around worth. He also looked more uncomfortable as I probed about how his lack of progression affected him (Thompson et al., 2004; Lewis, 1971).

R: just to make it explicit so do you think the rating says something about your value or your worth because that was the impression I was getting

H: not really no...I don't I don't know I don't think it's where as I said before I've always been O, HE but I don't think I've got anything for it....so I don't see any value [in the appraisal]

R:.....it hasn't actually made you feel that you're worth anything

H: yeah exactly yeah exactly

Harry expresses both anger and shame as he is made to feel worthless through the denial of promotion and rank. He also sounds very unhappy about his situation. This worthlessness is heightened as he sees that other individuals are progressing whereas he is stuck in sales a role which he is keen to leave and progress. This lack of progression and stagnation makes him feel very sad as there is tangible uncertainty of any change in his circumstances. Foucault speaks of the "art of distribution" being an important component of discipline. Harry is a figure who has blended into the background of the organisation's portrait. He has been placed at the back of other more prominent people in this picture, and he tries to conceal his place in this portrait as it makes him feel ashamed and unhappy at his current fate due to lack of success.

One way to find worth in the organisation is to climb the career ladder. This is what makes the career such a jewel for those who seek value and worth. Moreover, progression on this ladder secures higher salary and rank which in turn enhances worth. Organisational processes such as appraisal and careers, discipline individuals by differentially distributing rank and worth (Foucault, 1977). Career, of course, is also an important component of the

concept of success and enterprise where one needs to look to secure happiness, self-worth and self-fulfilment.

Elliott's Narrative

Elliott is a representative and has been promised a promotion to the next level on the sales career pathway for the last few months but is yet to receive it.

R: ...how does that make you feel?

E: annoyed, vey angry yeah I mean it's annoying when I'm I'm almost treated because I'm only...but I'm almost treated as if I might be stupid hehe but I'm not stupid so I know, like put it this way, I know that this year there's two meetings where they discuss promotions....only two yea, and I know one of them has already been... I speak to people who know the things so I learn off of them so it's basically I hate being caught out looking stupid... because I'm I'm younger and I don't have a mortgage but to me it's not about that it's more about give me the respect that I'm due because I'm doing a good job

Elliott feels that he should have been promoted a few months ago when he was first promised promotion. He feels this higher status and ranking would more accurately reflect his skills and ability. However, his manager did not follow through with this perceived promise and Elliott feels misled and that this might make him look stupid. He also expresses feelings of disrespect from his manager. He implies his manager might be assuming that his age and his inexperience make him easier to manipulate by promises of promotion thus questioning his intelligence. These are all markers of shame. He is also angry with his manager for impeding him from reaching his goals and with the indication that he may be less intelligent than him. Elliott's anger can also be induced through his comparison with peers who he feels are ranked higher and are earning more than him but are not any better at the role. Higher salary is a symbol of status for Elliott and the existence of this gradient in status both makes him ashamed and angry (Lewis, 1971).

Elliott is asked if the lack of promotion and the fact that his colleagues are on higher grades evokes shame in him.

E: =I would say that he's not given me the respect that I'm due

R: ...so it's it's not a source of pride for you then?

E: yeah massively..

R: ...would you say that you would feel the the opposite of pride. Is shame, would you say that there was an element of

E: eh I wouldn't no because I know I've done enough, I think if I I suppose I'm interpreting the meaning of shame wrong there, yeah I would yeah I would be. I don't I think I would I would project it outwards like I know I've done enough I know I've done enough so there's no reason for me to be ashamed

R: but you feel embarrassed

E: I feel a little bit embarrassed yeah because there's other people who're doing the job not as well as me and they've got it and it's almost as if like they're higher up than me when they shouldn't be and I don't like that yeah hehe but I wouldn't say I would say if anything a little bit of embarrassment....But I would say I'm more angry the emotion that I'd be feeling because I'd know I deserved it but I've not got it

R: yeye, so anger is the overriding

E: I think it' it's effected my pride so I don't like that yeah

Elliott finds it hard to say that he is experiencing shame, yet finds the word embarrassed more acceptable and talks of his pride being affected. Shame is taboo and implies weakness whereas embarrassment is less taboo and does not have the same connotations (Lewis, 1971; Scheff, 1988). Elliott is comfortable to express his anger as feeling angry reflects power and masculinity (Lindebaum and Fielden, 2010; Rafaeli and Sutton, 1991). Elliott is evaluating himself and his ability at his job through his progression which also has financial implications as a promotion would result in higher salary.

Elliott is in fact comparing his salary, his ability, his rank and his perceived status and standing versus his colleagues which are all articulations of success. He sees a ranking order where his colleagues are higher up in the hierarchical ordering. Elliott believes his promotion is in part dependent on the appraisal process which evaluates his behaviours and performance. Appraisals distribute differential ranks by judging the individual on their skills and aptitudes, and this knowledge or perceived “truths” about the individual are circulated amongst organisational members (Foucault, 1977).

This means that each individual who is aware of Elliott’s grade can then judge him on this knowledge and the implied information such as salary and ability. This plays a role in the shame and anger that is evoked in Elliott, he is competitive and aware of how he compares to his colleagues (Garcia, Tor and Gonzalez, 2006). It is not just how his manager evaluates him through the potential promotion but how he sees himself and how he is seen by his colleagues. Shame is evoked in competitive defeat (Lewis, 1971). Differential ranking and social ordering is an essential component of discipline and the execution of disciplinary power (Townley, 1993a).

Elliott illustrates how he looks at the performance of his colleagues and their place on sales tables in comparison to his. If his colleagues do better than him this evokes envy. At Remicon employees are ranked explicitly through performance and sales tables which play a role in the exercise of disciplinary power as they induce employees to evaluate their skills and performance against one another provoking continual self-evaluation and self-conscious emotions. Sales tables are visible to all employees and distributed regularly. In addition, to

the self-conscious emotions other emotions such as sadness, happiness or anger seem also to be evoked according to the individual's perceived ranking.

R: so you help each other but you do look at other people in the team
E: oh yeah definitely 100%.....
R:....what does that mean rub it in your face
E: ah just like look at what I've done basically so in another words that's it's almost like a joke it's a joke but a lot of us wouldn't e- to ourselves admit it's a joke
R: it's fun but it's also, there's a serious side, competition
E: yeye definitely
R: would you say if if you were in the middle and your colleagues were at the top would you say that you felt a bit of envy towards them
E: oh yeah yeah definitely

Visibility of sales league tables plays a key role in inducing emotions such as shame and envy in employees who are openly compared to one another (Roberts, 1991; Foucault, 1977).

During the interview Elliott distinguishes various sources of pride.

R: do you think that whole idea of being the best and being good at your job does that give you a sense of fulfilment a sense of pride
E: yeah....I would much rather see my name at the top of a list than earn more bonus so yeah hehe...it's not a competition between me and them it's more of like more of a fun competition it's a lot it's more for your pride really rather than anything else not about the money or anything like that so...yeah exactly
I think a lot of people say the money side of things but I use money as a means to get in my pride to get in everything like that

The sources are being the best at his job, being on top of sales tables and his salary which illustrate further why not achieving promotion provoked feelings of shame and anger. Pride is evoked by feelings of ability, success, achievement and high status (Gilbert, 1997) and the deference afforded by other people as a result (Cooley, 1902; Scheff, 1988).

Audrey's Narrative

Audrey is a sales representative; at appraisal Audrey's manager suggests a potential move into another role, however, this is meant to occur in another year or more. Audrey is confused about the mixed messages and moving goalposts for promotion.

A:....it made me lose focus em I just felt kind of like lost and kind of emm just lost focus I guess... so initially um yeah I was I guess upset about it em frustated, and then I was like oh no I don't know like I guess nervous kind of like scared oh no they're questioning my loyalty have I like completely like screwed up any chance of doing anything here you know quite demotivating

She ends up losing focus from her job as she is processing what has happened including the many emotions elicited. Audrey expresses anxiety and nervousness from this experience as she is unsure whether her pursuing another role will have permanently damaged the likelihood of progression. She also expresses frustration and anger due to the mixed messages she is currently receiving from her manager about her behaviour and sales performance. As well as feeling confused she speaks of feeling lost as she feels adrift from her manager and organisation because of applying for the vacancy. She now realises that she has broken an “implicit rule of the organisation in her untimely pursuit of promotion.

She fears she is being punished for her “misbehaviour” and there may be further consequences and there is a sense that her relationships may have been damaged. She is asked whether she feels she is good at her job.

R: that episode about...the promotion, there was an element of frustration you expressed...did it say anything to you about how good you are at your job

A:...did I feel like how good I was, was being questioned

R: yea

A: em no only because I'm pretty sure I'm good at my job hehe em it made me question how much I was valued...

R:...What does a promotion say to you?

A: right so it says we think you're worth keeping, we think you're worth the extra money or whatever it is sort of thing and also it's kind of vain thing on my business card it just says sales rep which is sort of you think sometimes well if if like you hand that card to somebody particularly internally because like they'll know the different ranks they may not take you quite as seriously and that could be same with the customers but the customers don't know the ranks quite as much but em it just says that they don't value what you do as much as I'd like them to

The potential block from promotion prompts Audrey to question how much the organisation value her and what worth they attach to her. Promotion to a higher grade carries with it connotations of more respect, higher ability, a higher salary, and rank (Garcia et al., 2006). As she has failed to secure these rewards she does not feel as valued as she would like to be. Diminished feelings of value, worth and rank may have evoked mild shame although she does not articulate this clearly. She also seems to express injury to the bond she had forged with her manager and organisation who were initially very supportive (Lewis, 1971, Kaufman, 1974).

Audrey is a competitive person and monitors her sales performance and ranking regularly. During the interview Audrey presents her sales performance table on an iPad which

demonstrates that she was around the bottom of the table, roughly 3rd or 4th from the bottom out of about 15 people.

R: how does being at the bottom make you feel?

A: that others might think that I suck, it's how it reflects on me, it's what others think of me, that I'm shit. I'm concerned about what it reflects on me.

R: what does it say to you about you, about how good you are at your job?

A: oh I know I'm good at my job, it's what they think of me because I know I've got this happening on my area, that I've lost [an account] earlier ... the promotions are dependent on the sales vs target figures

R: how does it make you feel being at the bottom

A: annoyed

R: what else other than annoyed...in terms of emotions how does it make you feel getting a HE

A: pride, I feel pride

R:...going back to being at the bottom, the opposite of pride?

A: em shame! It's fun looking at them when you're at the top but not when you're at the bottom

R: why

A: because I'm competitive and I want to be at the top, wanna be seen as the best.. I wouldn't say it was jealousy

R: do you want to be in their place

A: no

R: sales wise I mean

A: yes maybe....gluttony gluttony hehe...

The sales tables are a significant mechanism for the measurement of performance in Remicon; the sales of Remicon products ensure its longevity as a business and its profits. As a mechanism of measurement, it works hand in hand with the appraisal feeding into the most important objective for sales representatives on appraisal. Her current low ranking on the sales table evokes shame in her as she is concerned about what others will assume about her ability. Shame conjures up images of herself in the eyes of others; shame can be evoked in competitive defeat. She perceives that her sales performance may reflect lack of ability in the eyes of her peers, even though she is still confident of her own abilities (Lewis, 1971). Shame can be precipitated through a focus on the social environment and the perception of being looked down at (Gilbert and Miles, 2000). She also feels annoyed about her low position in the sales ranking.

Furthermore, she initially denies being envious however she admits that she would rather be in the place of her colleagues who are performing better than her, a potential sign of envy (Smith and Kim, 2007). In this extract, there are elements of anger (annoyed) shame and envy. The potential envy seems to be elicited not through lack of ability Audrey is comfortable with her skills. It seems to be evoked by her position on the sales table which

gives the impression that her colleagues are performing better. The ranking of each sales role and placement on performance tables work together with the appraisal in establishing of a network of disciplinary mechanisms that are tightly knit and interdependent which make them even more effective at inducing an array of emotions.

As these mechanisms are geared to provoke self-evaluation, shame, anger, sadness, frustration, pride and envy are particularly ardent (Garcia et al, 2006).

Lucia's Narrative

Lucia is another representative at Remicon; she has a lot of experience in the industry. Lucia became upset at a few points during the interview, visibly upset and in tears; she did not wish to stop the interview as she felt that she needed to tell me of her experiences. Her narrative is based around not being treated with the respect that she feels her extensive experience and knowledge deserves. At the beginning of the interview she was vague about the effects of the appraisal and spoke mainly about being disillusioned and demotivated. Then she began to convey more details.

R:...what did that say about youthat you're told what to do...

L: I don't really know what it said about me I was really upset at the time

R: why, why were you upset?

L: well because I felt that I was being treated like a child and I'm not a child.....

R: going back to the appraisal.....what did it make me feel?

L: I suppose it made me feel angry, it made me feel that I wasn't being listened to, it made me feel that my opinion didn't count em that no matter what I said it was just his opinion...it made me feel that my opinions weren't important

Lucia is clearly upset, unhappy and angry at her manager's style of conducting the appraisal which conveys little acknowledgement of her perceived expertise. Lucia refers to being treated like a child as her manager does not involve her in key discussions that are pertinent to her; this also evokes shame in Lucia (Lewis, 1971). Lucia feels her opinions are being rejected as they are not important enough for her manager to elicit them and utilise them in his decisions. Her manager grades her CE at appraisal which has ramifications for her salary and she cannot influence this decision as her input is not sought. She derives pride from being seen as an important and senior member of the team.

L: I suppose because you're seen as being an important part of the team and=

R: =is that important?

L: yeah and they respect your knowledge and I suppose that's what I aspire to

This comes through further when she talks of her mentoring role in the team which makes her feel important. This underlines the significance she attaches to being treated with respect for her knowledge, skills and experience which is being undermined by her manager at appraisal.

Lucia also reveals that she is at the bottom of her sales league currently and even though she is not being pressured by her manager she still feels discomfort and questions her contribution to the organisation. Feelings of discomfort are also an indication of shame (Retzinger, 1995).

L: yea I don't think I feel ashamed of myself em because I know I do a good jobyeah I do feel I am at the moment I am at the bottom and I do feel uncomfortable about that and I've told [my manager] I feel uncomfortable about that.... and I feel that I'm I'm you know, not bringing my bit to the party cause I'm my sales are low but he's very reassuring from that point of view, I know you're doing a good job and I know your sales will come in

The appraisal and sales table ranking seem to be working and reinforcing Lucia's lack of status and importance in the team. The narrative reveals mild shame that mainly seems to be borne out of lack of importance being accorded to her through appraisal. Lucia can draw on her role as a mentor within the team and that she is high up on the sales career pathway for a source of prestige and pride to counter balance her appraisal experience as well as a good relationship with the manager outside of appraisal.

Paul's Narrative

The overwhelming emotion Paul expresses is anger and frustration at receiving a CE at appraisal. There is a mild indication of shame as he tries to present himself in a positive light. He blames his manager for lack of experience and knows that senior figures in the organisation think well of him. Interestingly, Paul explicitly expresses that he would feel envy towards his colleagues if they received better evaluations and performed better than him either at appraisal or at sales.

R: ok what did getting a CE say?

P: quite annoyed well very frustrating and it obviously had an impact on the salary review.....very frustrating, definitely frustrating....

R: did you feel that you were doing a good job when he gave you a CE

P:...no (unsure tone)...just an ok [job]....

R: do you think do you look at your colleagues with regards to how they do in their appraisals do you talk about it

P: we don't talk about it, we don't talk about it in detail but I'm quite a competitive person and if I was the only person with a CE I I wouldn't have been too impressed. I know I wasn't and unfortunately I wasn't the only one

that was struck with this em mediocre brush shall we say em but yeah I would have been I do I'm quite a competitive person hehe....

R: if you spoke to somebody who got a HE or O when you got a CE how would that make you feel

P: em I'd be I'd be really happy for them genuinely but I'd be really jealous, I think jealous would be the word that comes straight to mind.....

R:.. ok do you think that jealousy als comes in when it comes to league tables of sales?

P: yeah may- a little bit

Paul's narrative reveals that he is aware of his peers' performance and describes his feelings towards his colleagues as jealousy which is commonly used in place of envy (Smith and Kim, 2007).

Kate's Narrative

Kate has been working as a sales representative at Remicon; at her interview about her appraisal experience at Remicon she regularly spoke about her previous company (without being asked) where she had been very unhappy. She was currently very happy at Remicon however, her previous appraisal experience was still very vivid and raw as she was constantly criticised for her sales performance at appraisal. The following excerpt illustrated the shame Kate felt at being criticised at her appraisal at her last company.

K: so it is it is horrible so you do really come away almost bursting in to tears even though you're doing a good job....I was the second highest performing person within my division yet in my last company yet I was made to feel that I was bottom of the league table and actually I wasn't hehe doing the job that I was meant to be doing and there was actually more that I could be doing... ultimately made me feel was, no matter how good I do in this company it's never going to be appreciated anyway....it's obviously a bad reflection it's going to make me feel like I'm inadequate or I'm perha:ps you know erm not doing what I've set out to do

R: would you say you were a success?

K: I'd feel like a failure really after an appraisal....no no it's fine yeah you do you feel like you failed in what you set out to do it's a horrible feeling

This passage is full of indirect verbal indicators of shame, although she does not use the word shame itself. Kate repeatedly describes a sense of failure and being made to feel like a failure by the appraisal criticism. Kate also speaks of being made to feel at the bottom of the table even though she has the second highest sales performance in her team. At times, she expresses that she knew that she was good at her job, however the criticism made her feel that she was a failure and thus not good at her job. Shame is a painful emotion; Kate is

portraying the depth of her shame through the choice of her words such as: failure, bottom and horrible (Thompson, Altmann and Davidson, 2004).

Kate's appraisal criticism undermines her social status and ranking through messages of disapproval, putdowns and lack of acceptability of her performance but also of her as an individual (Gilbert and Miles, 2000). This explains why even though her sales are doing well compared to her peers she still feels that she is at the bottom of the sales table. Kate does not convey any feelings of anger towards her manager which may indicate that she ultimately understood the criticisms because of perceived personal deficiency and inadequacies which lead to intense shame. For Kate, the anger and blame may have been directed back on herself (Lewis, 1971; Clough, 2010).

The appraisal succeeds in judging Kate's abilities and weaving this understanding through her as though it were the "truth" about her even though she wants to believe the opposite. The power relations created through the appraisal and the intricate relation between power and knowledge, where they both imply one another, evoke strong shame in Kate. Her evaluation of her ability is built around her manager's criticisms at appraisal and not the actual sales figures (Foucault, 1977; Townley, 1993).

The appraisal and the critical culture of Kate's previous organisation also evokes feelings of lack of care and lack of belonging as the social bonds created in these environments are severely undermined (Scheff, 2000).

K: there would be times you know with my previous company they don't care about me why should I care about them

Ben's Narrative

Ben is a sales representative at Remicon, she is currently happy at Remicon. When questioned about appraisal at Remicon, she felt that she had limited yet satisfied experience. However, her overall experience of appraisal was negative due to her previous experience. She found it difficult to elaborate fully on her experience of appraisal at her last company. When probed about this experience she showed signs of discomfort as she found it hard to articulate her experience and even had a tear in her eyes. The probing was sensitive to her visible discomfort. She did reveal some elements of her emotional experience.

R: so how did that make you feel about [appraisals]

B: em I think it's just a little bit inadequate sometimes you know you are in sales and you're...out on the road doing what you need to do, you can almost feel a bit isolated... I suppose you feel a bit inadequate, you're just a number really

R: oh so your experience made you feel inadequate
 B: yeah
 R: rather than the appraisals being inadequate
 B: well they were inadequate
 R: as well...so did it make you feel inadequate in your role
 B: erm no I think it made me feel inadequate in the sense of they're not interested in making sure they're getting the best of you. They're not interested in developing people...it's just a bit like you're not really what's the word I suppose you're not that important
 R:...you said about your last company....they weren't giving you a lot of time and support and you felt a bit inadequate did it make you feel that you weren't good at you job
 B: yeah questioned me it made me question myself it made me question if I was good enough for this role....
 R:...that sort of lack of confidence I guess sort of questioning if you were good at the job did that give you a sense of maybe a sense of shame
 B: a little bit yeah I think I think it's one of them isn't it, I think you look back and you realise how much you felt

Ben implies that she had been criticised by her previous manager at her last organisation. She speaks more openly about feeling stifled and of a lack of progression and development with the previous organisation. Furthermore, she reveals at the end of the interview how stressed she was at her last organisation. The excerpt demonstrates that Ben was made to feel that she lacked the adequate standard in quality and skill to be successful at her previous role which then in turn resulted in limited progression. The shame indicators in her narrative pivot around feelings of inadequacy, low ability and rejection by her manager and organisation which additionally made her feel unimportant. Unlike some other participants Ben's appraisal experience had resulted in her losing confidence in her ability at her role as a sales person.

Disciplinary power is exercised by distributing individuals in to different positions of value, status and rank that imply a hierarchy of qualities for these individuals. When Ben is placed in a low position in this social order that implies lack of quality and ability; this also has implications on her personal nature and quality (Foucault, 1977). This causes the individual to feel shame as they are deemed inadequate and of less quality and worth compared to their colleagues. Moreover, she is deemed not good enough to be promoted or progress so that she can secure higher status or rank. Hence, disciplinary power elicits shame in Ben. This disciplinary power is bolstered by the enterprise culture at Remicon that is also conveyed in society (Rose, 1999). The contact point between technologies of power and technologies of self is governmentality (Foucault, 1988).

When asked if she felt shame, Ben admits to this emotion and she goes further to explain that it had taken her a long time to get her confidence back and there was a sense in her narrative that this was still an ongoing challenge for her.

The next section describes how these self-conscious emotions can contribute to the exercise of disciplinary power by directing the individuals' conduct.

6.336 Hierarchical Ordering: Emotion as Action

The mechanisms for eliciting an array of emotions were outlined above, this section presents the behaviours induced by these emotions that contributes to the exercise of power and thus explains a key role for these emotions in the exercise of disciplinary power.

Lucia's Narrative: Compelled towards Pride and away from Shame

For Lucia, her manager's authoritarian style at appraisal is evoking feelings of anger, upset and shame; however, she has a very good relationship with him generally. As it is important for her to feel and be seen to be doing a good job and avoid further shame and attain pride by being viewed as professional and good at her role she does not seem to withdraw or reduce her effort or productivity.

R:.....did that effect how you did your job or how you performed

L: no because em I think I'm very professional from that point of view and I'm very self-motivated...but I think I'm even more self-motivated than a lot of people and that desire to do a good job, what it made me feel was well I'm still gonna do a good job no matter what.....on them and part of my bonus is attached to it as well..

Moreover, Lucia is aware that she is currently at the bottom of the sales league table and her bonus and other organisational rewards are tied into her productivity. Hence, she needs to maintain her performance to avoid any future loss in rewards. Lucia's actions are caught in the disciplinary apparatus that ties her into maintaining her performance to attain potential rewards and avoid punitive measures. She is compelled towards attaining pride and minimising shame (Tangney and Dearing, 2002).

The disciplinary apparatus continuously calculates and measures the individual's economic output and ties and constrains him by making him/her subject to sustaining their productivity (Foucault, 1982). Lucia needs to perform as well as she can to attain organisational rewards and her desired subjectivity and in the process, be subjected to discipline. Discipline is the price that individuals need to pay to realise their desires (Foucault 1986; McKinlay and Starkey, 1998). It seems in turn that discipline is the cost that employees are willing to pay to work towards attaining pride and happiness and avoiding shame, anger and sadness.

Elliott's Narrative: Increase in Productivity

Elliott works hard to be the best at his job and be on top of the sales league tables to attain pride and because he feels envy towards his colleagues if they were to beat him in this competition and in their rivalry for rank (Garcia et al, 2006). Elliott is motivated positively to work and better his performance in comparison to his peers. Elliott is exhibiting envy that leads to self-improvement which then he hopes also will lead to pride. Envy motivates individuals to neutralise others' advantage and so can lead to self-improvement (Van de ven et al., 2011). In Elliott's case, envy, anger and strivings for pride means that he works hard and competes for organisational rewards.

R: how does that make you feel to think that you are the best rep?

E: oh brilliant yea if the figures come out and I'm on top yeah fantastic yea....I would much rather see my name at the top of a list than earn more bonus.... but you just wanna win but at the end of the day everyone knows we're not it's not a competition between me and them it's more of like more of a fun competition it's a lot it's more for your pride really rather than anything else not about the money or anything like that....

In this case, envy is elicited through social comparison that is facilitated through the appraisal and sales league tables. Disciplinary mechanisms work through making the individual and his performance visible and comparable to one another. The sales tables openly create a social and performance hierarchy that is reinforced through progression, promotion and salary allocation. The disciplinary gaze makes each individual visible, each made knowable to themselves and to one another in specific parameters that also reflect in their imposed subjectivity. The disciplined individual is thus made amenable to modification in their behaviour to direct them towards achieving organisational goals and high productivity (Foucault, 1977).

Disciplinary mechanisms elicit emotions such as envy as these mechanisms are concerned with producing visibility, self-evaluation, and other's evaluations of the self and social comparison (Greenberg et al., 2007). Elliott's conduct is shaped through discipline and Remicon's enterprising culture that underscores competition and individualisation and the seeking of self-fulfilment through career and progression.

Paul's Narrative: Increase in Productivity

Paul expressed anger at attaining CE grade and wants to avoid further repetition of this grade at his next appraisal. He also expressed envy towards his peers if they were to outperform him on appraisal and sales league tables. This envy induces him to be aware of his peers'

performance details so that he can match them and outperform them. His productivity seems to be driven partially because of this envy (Van de Ven et al., 2011) and anger.

R:...if you spoke to somebody who got a HE or O when you got a CE how would that make you feel

P:... I'd be really happy for them genuinely but I'd be really jealous, I think jealous would be the word that comes straight to mind em Id probably wanna know why but you can't really ask that I'd be aware of what they'd done throughout the year not the day to day business but the above and beyond. You're aware of those things and I'd be like well I've probably done and why haven't I been-..... we're not able to openly discuss them definitely jealousy would be yeah

R:...do you think that jealousy als comes in when it comes to league tables of sales?

P: yeah may- a little bit

R: are you doing well sales wise?

P: pretty much on the money....I'd say looking at other members it's come out of nowhere why is that what are they doing that I'm not you know how what what's going wrong if they're doing it right possibly?..

For Paul envy seems to enhance his productivity to reduce the likelihood of experiencing shame and to attain pride. Disciplinary power exercised through appraisal and the sales tables shape Pauls behaviour by directing his efforts and productivity by eliciting envy and anger.

Elliott's Narrative: Potential Exit

Elliott feels envy towards his peers and his manager has stalled promoting him so Elliott feels some shame and feels disrespected, as well as being very angry about his treatment.

E: I know there's only one more meeting where I can get this promotion in Jan If [manager] doesn't doesn't do it then I won't be getting January I'll be getting next year so I'm gonna have the conversation with [his manager] as to if you've not discussed this by the next meeting there's a good chance I'll go because I'm not gonna stick around for someone who's gonna promise it and not give it to me....I would say that he's not given me the respect that I'm due. I would leave because of that

Shame and envy can co-occur (Smith and Kim, 2007), as is illustrated with Elliott. The feelings of disrespect, shame and embarrassment seem to elicit thoughts about leaving the organisation. Shame can also inhibit pride (Lewis, 1971) and he would hope to attain pride in another organisation if he does not get promoted at Remicon. His overriding emotion is anger and this emotion seems also to play a role in his inclination to leave.

Part of the goal of shame is to maintain the respect and positive regard of others (Lindsay-Hartz, De Rivera and Mascolo, 1995), as well as alert individuals to detrimental changes in

their status and rank within their social groups to be able to repair this damage (Gilbert, 1997). Shame is a painful emotion that can motivate individuals to withdraw from the shame inducing environment to protect the self.

The disciplinary apparatus evokes self-evaluation and social comparison which in turn elicit emotions such as envy, anger and shame which in turn help to direct employee intentions and behaviours. Elliott becomes more open to a potential exit and plans to leave if his situation does not improve.

Harry's Narrative: Exit

Harry feels worthless at Remicon, his career has stalled and is finding it difficult to move up through the hierarchy and places much emphasis on his career progression and salary to secure pride for himself. He is more open to leave Remicon as a result.

R: how did it make you feel?...

H: why do I bother hehe.....it wasn't that detrimental but it didn't make me a secure employee...

R:...it made you...think about other employers?

H: em passively but not actively

There is a suggestion Harry is trying to secure a sense of pride through gaining promotion and salary. He is not concerned with increasing his work effort to secure pride as it seems pointless however he still need to perform as he is tied into the bonus system. For Harry effort and hard work have not equated to pride and progression, so there is an indication of hopelessness around this relationship at Remicon.

R:...how did it influence your performance?...

H: it's not detrimental to be honest to my performance because at the end of the day I see it as that thousand pound or £600 whatever it is is small compared to what I can on a bonus so I'm still gonna go out there and try and sell and earn more

As well as determining bonus, Harry's performance influences his grading at the next appraisal and this will have knock on effects on his status and his promotional opportunities. Harry is thus tied into performing as highly as he can. Disciplinary processes work towards securing productive employees by directing employee agency and resistance (Foucault, 1977; Foucault, 1982; Bergstrom et al., 2009).

The mechanisms of power are "sufficiently positive and productive" to undermine opposition or resistance to them. The independence or agency of employees such as Harry are narrowed in scope by the allure of economic gain such as the bonus system which may improve not

just their material circumstances but also their mental and emotional well-being if only temporarily. Individuals are thus guided towards becoming self-disciplining economic subjects. These subjects in part at least take part in systems of power and subjugation not because they are forced to; they are free to join in these practices and free to leave. At the same time, the subject is directed to be aligned with the organisation's interest in productivity by aligning their economic interest with that of the organisation (Knights and Willmott, 1989).

"The exercise of power consists in guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome" (Foucault, 1982, p.789). At Remicon, employees are compelled to perform as a pre-requisite to being evaluated on their performance at appraisal and by the disciplinary apparatus. As much as they are free to act and behave as they choose, disciplinary power and their government restrict and shapes their behaviour in a specific direction. That is to maintain their productivity and performance and even to increase it. If they do not they may risk punishment through any of a number of interweaving disciplinary mechanisms and the possibility of elicitation of emotions such as shame.

Harry leaves Remicon a few months after the interview. He was clearly feeling very unhappy, angry and ashamed at the time of the interview. It seems that disciplinary power exercised in such a way that strips the individual from his/her pride and evokes strong shame, resentment and sadness can induce them to leave to protect their damaged selves. For Harry, it seems that the main means of resisting his predicament was to leave. It seems that he felt it was the only option left as he felt that he could not improve it in any other way (Bergstrom et al., 2009).

Ben's Narrative: Exit

Ben exits her previous company where she was experiencing intense shame and stress due to negative appraisals and pressure. As she describes she does not feel that she spent less time working but that she was not happy or motivated. The most crucial point she makes is that she had lost hope of any change in her situation. She perceived that there was no route for her to achieve her goals, repairing her situation did not seem to lie in her hands (Ferguson, 2005; Leach and Cidam 2015). Her route to securing pride and alleviating her stress or repairing her sense of shame was blocked.

B: I wouldn't say it changed necessarily how I did my job would I say it made me a happier person probably not but it didn't make me not go out to work, I still did my job I just think I accepted this was never going to be the place for me...I wasn't happy there so in some ways I probably did lack some sort of

motivation probably motivation to push and do more things.....because ultimately it was never going to happen anyway

Disciplinary processes in organisations such as the appraisal are implemented to motivate individuals and to improve performance by evaluating, comparing, rewarding, punishing and making these mechanisms visible (Aguinis, 2009). These processes are designed to induce an increase in productivity, yet this can fail as it does with Ben. Disciplinary processes direct employee behaviour, for Ben that results in exit. She leaves her previous organisation to relieve her unhappiness and stress and to try again at another organisation.

Summary

Disciplinary power can create a hierarchical social order of employees through differential rewarding and punishing of individuals that can evoke individuals to maintain or maximise their performance to attain the rewards on offer and attain pride and to avoid being punished through the withholding of these rewards that elicit emotions as shame. Organisations allocate value, rank and status to individuals differentially and employees work to be at the top end of this scale and to avoid being at the bottom as this has strong ramifications for them.

Employees perform according to prescriptions of what is valued by the organisation to secure organisational resources and rewards such as progression and development and to be accepted and accorded high status, respect and compensation. Employees who strive for achievement and want to be the best have strong yearning to be at the top of the hierarchical order. The above narratives demonstrate how individuals strive for respect, status, rank and worth, the other alternative is to feel shame, anger and envy and to lack the rewards that shape the individual's sense of self.

Emotions induced through disciplinary power such as envy shape the individual to increase their productivity to maximise their contribution to the organisation. Equally individual strive to attain pride and respect which also compels them to maintain high productivity or to increase productivity. These emotions compel individuals to “willingly” participate in systems of power that can have negative as well as positive effects on their sense of self.

The next section outlines the fourth thematic code of Productive Power.

6.34 Productive Power

This final thematic code is based on narratives where the appraisal was used to reward the employee such as receiving promotion or support from the manager. These narratives illuminate another side to appraisal and disciplinary power; here employees experience the

productive and rewarding function of disciplinary power. Appraisal rewards and constitutes a positive self-image and self-understanding for the employee. The productive side of power is what individuals strive for, yet only specific individuals receive the rewards on offer.

6.341 Productive Power: Rewarded by Discipline

The theme of Rewarded by Power is a theme that occurs over multiple interviews and the following are representative narratives. The interviews also revealed that many of the employees liked having appraisal to track how they were performing and receiving feedback. Feedback was viewed as a reward (Bergstrom et al., 2009) when it was to help steer them on the right course to achieve their goals.

Henry's Narrative

Henry a sales representative has a very good relationship with his management team who are providing him with opportunities for development and career progression. Henry has also been promoted regularly along the sales career pathway at Remicon.

H: what we're getting the opportunity to do with the appraisals or what I've done this year eh with [my manager] is what you fancy and what you want to do next what skills do you want to develop and if that's getting involved in projects that are interesting

Henry is thus being rewarded by the organisation through appraisal by attaining support, promotions and career development. Foucault argues that power must not be viewed only in negative terms; through discipline organisations can allocate rewards to employees. Henry thus is awarded rank and status as he successfully attains promotion and progression (Foucault, 1977).

Joe's Narrative

Joe was moved to a new team and manager to keep him in the organisation as he had decided to resign as his manager had been unsupportive. Joe has a much better relationship with this new manager who is much more supportive. Whereas, his last manager would not even meet up with him to conduct the appraisal and would challenge him regularly, his new manager meets up with him regularly and conducts regular appraisals to support his work and development.

J:...[the manager] who is 100% behind me backs me on everything that I do understands exactly where I'm coming from in our interactions with each other have been positive ever since I started working under them. So I'd say every appraisal have been fantastic... yeah I think she, she fully understands exactly

what is going on....when we do the ratings I always look for the top end of the scale rather than the low end

R: ok so what is the main outcome of the appraisal?

J: I would say the most important for me is to be hearing that I'm doing a great job keep up the good work and kind of encouraging to develop myself further and to do things better

In contrast to his other narrative, Joe talks about personal development and career progression in this much more positive narrative about his appraisal and general experiences with his new manager. He now feels he has a place in the organisation and can think more long term. For Joe, his new manager's support and positive attitude and the potential to develop and cultivate a career acts as an organisational reward which is partly attained through the appraisal.

Joe is much more positive and feels a belonging and an alignment with the organisation. His subjectivity is forged in part by his new experience. The disciplinary mechanism is important in how organisational awards are allocated which in turn allocate differential value and worth to employees. Joe's new subjectivity is being redefined through his new experiences, through the knowledge and the new "truth" that the new manager constitutes about who Joe is and how he is performing. In Joe's case discipline helps to shape his subjectivity, it produces this new more positive reality for Joe (Foucault, 1977).

Kate's Narrative

Kate is a sales representative who left her last company as she felt that she was being harshly criticised at appraisal and who in turn felt like a failure. In contrast, at Remicon she has a very positive manager.

K: yeah I think definitely I mean it is a positive kind of positive I suppose for myself and how I feel my relationship with my manger eh I think...it's very very positive

Her relationship with her new manager is much more positive in general and he is also positive in the way he conducts appraisal focusing on how she can develop her skills and performance. This makes a significant difference to Kate as she herself has become more positive in her work and her attitude towards the organisation. At her first appraisal, she receives a Development Required grading which is because of her being new. It is her manager's support and the positive relationship that acts as a reward for Kate. Disciplinary power creates power relations and her relationship with her manager and team members is important to how she progresses within the organisation.

Being rewarded through progression, promotion, value, acceptance and belonging that is awarded through disciplinary power elicits emotions in these Remicon employees.

6.342 Productive Power: Shaping the Self

In this theme, the narratives demonstrate how the subjectivity and self-understanding of employees are shaped quite profoundly. The appraisal and the discourse at Remicon play a vital role in shaping how individuals understand themselves and their role within Remicon through disciplinary power and the technologies of the self. This self-understanding then in turn can play a role in eliciting emotions. Individuals can build a positive and valued sense of self if they are rewarded through support and progression.

Frank's Narrative

Frank is a senior manager at Remicon; he has been promoted regularly throughout his tenure with the company. Frank's narrative shows how his sense of self is complemented by specific elements of the enterprise discourse that focus on responsibility, accountability and working hard as elevated organisational values. Frank has "bought into" specific parts of the enterprise discourse (Fournier, 1998; McCabe, 2000) that intimately align his values and desires with organisational excellence (Rose, 1999). Frank's subjectivity is closely aligned with enterprising qualities.

F: ...I think there are a lot of opportunities to be given responsibility and be held accountable for things. I think probably goes back into performance reviews and things, expectations are set and you're held accountable and if you're willing to work hard and deliver the results then you tend to get on I like the culture here people are hard working they want the same things they wanna succeed it's friendly have a laugh and a joke but get on with some serious work too hehehe.....I think it's good I've had good managers....generally good at giving me the feedback and telling me like where I could maybe do a bit better.....have helped me to feel emotionally attached to Remicon.....I think that's the accountability part I mean it's quite a big part of Remicon, it's part of like our pillars kind of like you know the values... it's not just values that you talk about but also it filters through to the appraisals.... the values we're supposed to live by...that's why I'm maybe a I'm a good fit for Remicon because I kind of share the same sort of values

He also elucidates how these enterprising qualities are measured in the appraisal. Frank aspires to behave in enterprising manner to be accountable and responsible for his role and responsibilities for which he is measured and evaluated through the appraisal. Power can be productive and shape the self and constitute subjectivities that are shaped partly in conjunction with technologies of the self.

Frank's subjectivity and how he understands himself and his place in Remicon is shaped through disciplinary power and technologies of the self. The appraisal and the enterprise discourse both shape and encourage a subjectivity that emphasises how he should conduct himself and how to value himself. These two technologies work hand in glove to promote behaviours that are valued and encourage employees to adopt these behaviours and values as their own. Frank is partly directed and partly "freely" chooses within an organisationally designed set of choices what types of behaviours and values to imbue (Foucault, 1988a; Burchell, 1996; Rose, 1999; McCabe, 2000).

Louise's Narrative

Louise is a manager at Remicon. During the interview, she focuses on specific aspects of Remicon's discourse on saving patient lives and helping people. Yet, there is no indication of her ambitions or desires being based on helping people. Her desires and ambitions are very career oriented. Louise feels very happy and positive to work for Remicon; there is an implication that she has aligned herself very closely with organisational goals that should help her achieve her own goals.

L: just like I want to achieve results for the company I really believe in the company...the way they effect patients like directly I think it's something really special to be involved in and like to know that you could make a difference to someone's life I don't know how some people can't be excited about doing that and every single person in this building has some way that they're effecting that patient regardless of what they're doing I think having that correlation to the patient really helps to like engage people I think in other companies it could be more difficult....and like since working here because like Remicon are in the Times 100 companies best companies to work for if ever I was to look for another job the first thing I'd do would be to look at that list their obviously a reason that people want to work there em so that's how I think how it differs from other companies the employees are cared about

Louise has not worked in the industry before, so her views on saving lives and being a "top 100" company seem to have taken shape at Remicon. She feels that the organisation cares for their employees. She seems to have "imbued" (McCabe, 2000) various elements of the organisation's discourse which enhance her effort at work. In turn, her enhanced work efforts are highly valued by the organisation, specifically at appraisal. Organisational discourse works closely with employee subjectivity, for Louise, to shape her experience of herself and her work.

L:... whenever I come out of an appraisal with [my manager] I always feel like I can achieve anything he he's got he's so good at doing them I come out feeling amazing

The combination of ambition, hard work and imbuing some of the organisation's discourse results in a very committed employee who enjoys very positive appraisals. Louise's self-understanding is such that she sees her work to be part of a whole apparatus at Remicon that contributes to saving patient lives. Her quest to find fulfilment and happiness at work is enhanced by this self-understanding (Foucault, 1988a).

6.343 Productive Power: Emotions

Frank's Narrative

Frank is a senior manager; he describes how he feels when he receives a good appraisal rating in the next extract. Frank expresses his pride and happiness and sense of doing a good job.

R: ...so how does it make you feel say when you get a H

F: I feel pretty elated if I get an H to be honest, hehe I was actually trying to remember the other day I've had an H like for the last 2 years I think and then I had a C a couple of times before that I've had an H....it makes me feel like I'm I'm doing a great job like I would say an H I mean I see an O as like

R: difficult to achieve?

F: ...I see the Hs basically that's like I've done the best possible job like and someone thinks I'm doing a good job and I know how difficult well maybe because I don't give out Hs very freely...and I know I know my boss's like that....I know of, know his style it makes me feel like I really have done a good job so yeah makes me feel good about Remicon and be more engaged

Frank feels very happy and is proud in himself and in working for Remicon. He has grown to identify with the organisation and its values very strongly displaying a strong loyalty and alignment with the organisation throughout his interview, explicating a high sense of social identity. This in turn seems to enhance his feelings of pride and joy.

Joe's Narrative

Alienated by his previous manager; Joe is moved to another region so that he can have a new manager. He has a very good relationship with this new manager and feels a lot more supported. When questioned about how feels now

J: it makes me feel that I have a place that I am a valued member of the team and that she recognises me for the person that I am and for the job that I do, so it's kind of, I'll say it again it's given me my worth, that that that I can place a value on myself...

R: yeah ok alright would you say that gives you a sense of pride?

J: oh yeah, I must say I'm very proud of working with the team that I am working with

Joe speaks of his place in the team during both the negative narrative and the positive narratives. His social identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) plays a significant role in his experience which is transformed from someone who feels they have no place in the team and organisation to someone who feels highly valued by the organisation. Joe expresses his pride by speaking of his positive worth and value, and his secure placement and belonging within the team and organisation. The experience of appraisal and the support from his manager also make him feel he is doing a good job, and actually achieving what he has always wanted to do with his life; helping people and making a difference with his work. Joe is expressing pride in his positive relationship with his manager and his work which are accompanied by a significant increase in his self-worth and his perceived worth to Remicon (Tracy and Robins, 2007a; Baumeister and Leary, 1995).

Kate's Narrative

Kate's narrative on her experience of working and being appraised at Remicon is wildly different from her old company. At Remicon she has a good relationship with her manager and team and feels like a success and is being recognised and appreciated for her work. This is despite receiving Development Required on her first formal appraisal. The difference is that her manager at Remicon does not criticise her and is encouraging during appraisal which counteracts her DR rating. She is also aware that the reason for her grade is a need to improve her product knowledge.

K: yea it's that sense of if I do a good job that's going to reflect positively on my company on my team and my manager you know I'm contributing to that team and in that first place you've got to have that first mutual respect...it's really positive I think it's recognition.....it makes you feel happy and successful I think are the two things that I think it makes you feel you've succeeded

R: yeah so successful would you say pride

K: yeah yeah

As she expresses she feels respected, happy and successful and part of the team and moreover that she is contributing to the organisation's success. Her narrative has changed from feelings of failure to success due to her relationship with her manager her appraisal experience and evaluations. For Kate, a sense of belonging and social identity plays an important role in her subjectivity and leads to being happy and proud of her work (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

Henry's Narrative

Henry has consistently been graded highly at his appraisals as well as having regular opportunities for development.

R: ...[the manager] giving you a good rating, what does that say about you do you think?

H: I hope it means that I'm perceived to be good at my job and performing at a high level...delivering good business, good growth, I'm actually supporting my colleagues more and more now spending more time actually working...it feels good to be delivering at a high level.....

R:Does that give you a sense of pride?

H: yes...it's, it's certainly very positive, very content where I am...I feel valued....

R: you feel valued

H: yeah I do

R: what does that mean?

H: I know well the feedback I get from the business is that they want me to be here in the long-term they wanna develop me.....

R: so you feel a concrete feeling of belonging or being part of it, being one of them, being accepted

H: yeah absolutely.....it took a little bit of time to feel this is where I belong certainly adapted to that now

Henry is obviously happy and proud of his position, his salary and other organisational rewards afforded to him. He has regular discussions with senior managers about business indicating strong bonds with key managers indicating a sense of belonging to the organisation. Henry's pride does not just evolve from his appraisal grade; he is being awarded a variety of organisation rewards such as developmental opportunities and progression. On top of all of that he is a mentor figure within the team which acts to underline his status and rank, distilling into a solidified bond with the organisation.

6.344 Productive Power: Emotion as Action

Joe's Narrative: Increase in Productivity

Joe's new manager and her style of conducting appraisals and management elicit strong feelings of joy and pride in him which in turn makes his place in the organisation more concrete as well as producing ambition to progress. In addition, he is focusing on improving and increasing his effort and performance levels.

Joe:she makes you absolutely love what you're doing....her optimism has kind of pushed everybody to wanna excel in what they're doing...we're getting to the top of the sales league but also in everything else that we do we get positive feedback from everyone on other things that we do so not only in sales but our interactions with our customers the things that we do we're kind

of setting ourselves as the stand out group trying to do more for our customers...

Overall, there is an enormous difference in Joe from someone who had decided to leave Remicon to someone who is ambitious and working towards his goals. This narrative suggests that he is working hard to achieve his objectives and is trying to improve his skills. The emotions of joy and pride seem to be making him have more zeal at work and increasing his effort and productivity.

Kate's Narrative: Increase in Productivity

Similarly, with Kate, a new manager and specifically the change in the conduct of appraisal induce a substantial change in her. She now shows loyalty and increases her productivity and effort towards her and the organisation's goals. She currently sees a long-term future with Remicon.

R: so how does the fact that Remicon's way of doing thing [performance appraisals]...what does it make you feel?

K: it makes me feel that I want to give back to them and it feels more like a partnership....I really don't see any reason why I wanna leave this company unless something dramatically happens....I feel that they do actually care about me that actually if I wasn't performing or I wasn't doing my job well I'd be letting my team down my manager down and the company down so you do feel like you're working together.....and I think that makes you want to push that bit harder as well erm and ultimately it makes you want to do even more and succeed even more it's almost like a high when you get that recognition you want to carry it on hehe

This narrative was saturated by how closely aligned Kate is with her manager and organisation and consequently wanted to work hard to show appreciation of installing some pride in her. Her narrative suggested that her current working conditions were inducing an even bigger impact on her performance due to her previous negative experience.

Louise's Narrative: Increase in Productivity

Another example of pride increasing productivity of an employee comes from Louise who is bursting with enthusiasm and energy that she puts into her work. Louise expresses that she feels happy and motivated working for Remicon and she feels her work is recognised which indicates that she feels a sense of pride at Remicon. She is a strong advocate of the organisation and her manager. She is highly motivated and increases her efforts to work towards her ambitions. By working hard Louise maintains her pride, happiness and enthusiasm.

L:...whenever I come out of an appraisal [my manager is] really good at motivating but giving like good criticism like areas where I can improve but I never come out feeling like that wasn't so good and I just feel really positive....just like really like motivated like happy to be working here like I've never woken up since working here and think uhh I don't want to go to work...but like after I didn't think I could be anymore motivated but I found even more motivation em and it just made me really refocus again say ok lets look at last year what can I cut out that maybe has taken too much time and what can I get really good on this year and like really felt focused and motivated

She is consequently rewarded for her loyalty to the organisation and continues to work hard in return.

Henry's Narrative: High Productivity

For Henry during his tenure he has been supported by being promoted and developed towards attaining his ambitions so he feels valued and happy at Remicon. He also feels a sense of pride and belonging and aligns himself with organisational goals.

H: yeah....it's it's certainly very positive very content where I am it's not that I don't wanna keep driving forward but I can see myself being here for a long time I feel valued I wanna be here....the feedback I get from the business is that they want me to be here in the longterm they wanna develop me and they want me you know it's a very positive place to be as I said I was having a beer with [Business Director]....he said he would support me as long as you're not leaving I'm more than happy to support you for another opportunity.....you want to deliver more it's not I'm not here just to tick the boxes to be here I feel part of this culture feel part the company

He in return sustains his work rate and commitment, and wants to deliver more results for the organisation.

Frank's Narrative: High Productivity

Lastly, Frank explains his elation and pride in getting a high appraisal grade together with his positive experience at Remicon have resulted in him being aligned with organisational goals that motivate him to work hard.

R: ...how does it make you feel with an H

F: oh it makes me wanna go do loads more work

Summary

The narratives discussed in this thematic code demonstrate that disciplinary power exercised through appraisal together with the shaping of the self further through technologies of the

self and the enterprise discourse can act to enhance each other's effects. The mechanisms of rewarding individuals through appraisal awards them with self-respect, value, belonging, a valued identity and the feeling that they are competent and successful individuals who are valued highly by the organisation. These individuals seemed to be directed by being compelled towards pride and joy/happiness to increase or maintain their performances.

6.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that discourse at Remicon tends to encourage enterprising behaviours as well as endorse pursuing a career at Remicon. This discourse promulgates the types of employees and behaviours Remicon value. In turn, this discourse encourages subjectivities that some employees seem to imbue quite readily such as becoming an individual that pursues a career and is committed to being a high-achiever. Different individuals had imbued different elements of the discourse which was reinforced through other organisational processes such as appraisal. Not all the employees at Remicon "bought into" the discourse or the organisational values or culture.

Employees whose narratives contained elements of enterprise discourse may have also been influenced before joining Remicon through societal injunctions and Remicon had succeeded to build on and sustain what had already taken shape from previous socialisation (Rose, 1999; Bergstrom et al., 2009).

The appraisal narratives illustrated how employees felt they had been punished or rewarded through the appraisal process enabling the organisation to distribute rewards differentially. This differential distribution of organisational rewards such as rank and status elicited emotions such as anger, frustration, shame, happiness, pride and envy. These emotions play a significant role in shaping these employees' behaviours.

Overall, there is a sense that these disciplinary mechanisms are operated to achieve conformity towards organisational goals such that approved behaviour was rewarded and deviant behaviour punished (Scheff, 1988). Furthermore, the risk of being punished and feeling shame and sadness for example induces individuals to sustain their performance and conform to the organisation's expectations. This is also reinforced by the risk of losing organisational rewards such as bonus which also ties the employee into performing.

Individuals are compelled towards pride, happiness and achieving success, a sense of high ability or belonging. These employees all strived towards pride, happiness and achieving success and away from shame, envy, anger and sadness. When shame and sadness was intense and they could not control their situation, and could not repair their damaged sense

of self they left the organisation. Disciplinary power can also elicit envy as well as other emotions to encourage and invite individuals to enhance their productivity and organisational profits.

Organisations can make instrumental use of emotions elicited by exercising disciplinary power by evaluating individuals in the appraisal so that employees in the main increase or maintain high productivity by eliciting emotions such as envy, shame and anger, or avoid experiencing shame for example and be compelled to perform and seek pride and happiness. Moreover, the elicitation of these emotions through interweaving disciplinary mechanisms that can be strengthened by technologies of the self produces the apparent willingness of individuals to participate in these systems of power that Foucault struggled to explain.

Chapter 7 Discussion

In this chapter, key aspects of the Findings have been further elaborated and analysed. Firstly, further elaboration of the decisive emotions that were found from the interviews has been laid out. This section elaborates on the self-conscious emotions and anger that were commonly expressed and that played important roles in directing employee conduct. The next section discusses how the employee manager relationship can be understood through a therapeutic lens to direct employees to strive to become enterprising selves. And Finally, employee resistance is outlined.

7.1 Emotions Elicited at Appraisal

Participant narratives demonstrate that appraisal and the other disciplinary processes evoked various emotions that could affect employee behaviour and tenure. The current literature on appraisal has not examined how this process can induce emotions because the employee's sense of self and capability is put in to question. The interviews demonstrated that the appraisal can be used to influence an employee's progression, financial remuneration and other rewards which can then affect the employee's sense of self and their perception of value, status and ability. The narratives show that this imposed value, ability and status induce an array of emotions. Emotions were induced through one's own perceptions as well as how the individual believed they might be perceived by others.

The interviews revealed that when an employee is criticised, alienated or unsupported a wide spectrum of emotions were elicited such as shame, mortification, embarrassment, anger, frustration, sadness, disappointment, envy, upset, fear and anxiety. The positive narratives where the employee had been supported and rewarded revealed a much narrower range of emotions, that of pride and joy/happiness. The most common emotions that were expressed over both the positive and negative narratives were the self-conscious emotions of shame, mortification, embarrassment, pride and envy. Many of the negative narratives expressed shame or shame related emotions of embarrassment and mortification. Almost all the positive narratives expressed joy/happiness and pride. The narratives underscore that self-conscious emotions, anger and happiness/sadness are important emotions in the context of disciplinary processes.

These emotions are likely to be important as appraisal and disciplinary processes can be influential in changes to social status, achievement of personal desires and goals and changes to the self-concept that can influence the patterns of relationships between individuals in the social group. These changes can lead to individuals being isolated or elevated to the top of the social order that lead to these emotions. Emotions that were voiced in participant

narratives such as envy, anger, pride and shame reflected employees experience of attaining or losing these organisational rewards and their place in the social order of status, ability, value and belonging.

Local practices can cultivate patterns of relationships between self and others and thus the principal emotions experienced by individuals. Organisational practices such as appraisal reinforced by enterprise/career discourse can shape and dictate these social patterns and hence dictate what types of emotions are produced. Disciplinary practices and enterprise discourse that accentuate significance of employee performance and competition produce 'emotional regimes' with their own emotional contours. At Remicon these practices shape the patterns of social order, power relations and differential status that in turn cultivate the emotional regime.

The emotional regime at Remicon commonly consisted of the self-conscious emotions, anger and happiness/sadness when employees were evaluated favourably or unfavourably. These local practices at Remicon are emboldened by social injunctions that elevate the enterprising self that seeks to achieve and become successful. The governing of individuals, their social relations and emotions are fashioned through enterprise form.

It is worth noting that emotions of empathy and sympathy that would be regarded as more caring emotions and supporting mutuality and solidarity between employees were rarely expressed in narratives. Management processes at Remicon invited individuals especially those in sales and marketing to compete which seems to have fostered emotions such as envy of peers to incite more effort. Management practices were designed to maximise output and performance not solidarity between employees.

Emotions as patterns of relationships between self and others within social groups can help build and maintain or threaten social bonds. At Remicon, emotions helped individuals orient themselves in social relationships mainly to move them towards competing with others whom they may have considered as threats as employees competed for limited rewards such as social status and position relative to others. Hence the evocation of emotions as envy. Equally, emotions such as happiness and pride may have been essential to maintaining socially supportive relationships that support well-being as well as a sense of belonging to the social group (Baumeister and Leary, 1995).

Emotions within these regimes can be ambivalent and contradictory. Shame for example, oriented Amanda to increase her work effort, yet for Joe shame made him want to leave. Emotions such as shame are complex and complicated to manage in these cultures of the self and its experience can induce contradictory behaviours that may be paradoxical to

organisational goals of enhanced performance (Burkitt, 2014, D'Aoust, 2014; Gausel, Vignoles and Leach, 2015).

The following section outlines why self-conscious emotions and anger were a common feature of the emotional regime at Remicon.

7.11 Self-Conscious Emotions

The narratives described how appraisal and disciplinary processes evaluate the employee's conduct, performance and sense of self. This ties in well with the elicitation of pride, shame, and envy that play a significant role in our sense of self. Processes of evaluation can place a strong focus on our sense of self. The individual's capability and value are put into question by these disciplinary processes. The employee can be deemed to have performed well, be defined as an over-achiever or be assessed to fall short of these standards.

Self-conscious emotions shape our sense of self, the way we accord value to our selves and how we understand ourselves, our status and how we give meaning to our lives. The significance of self-conscious emotions arrives from their association and evaluation of the self which is at the heart of the disciplinary processes such as appraisal. This is especially relevant for shame, pride and envy as these emotions are aroused through self-reflection and self-evaluation processes (Kaufman, 1974; Tracy, Robins and Tangney, 2007). The appraisal is a process where the manager evaluates the self and induces self-evaluation which can elicit shame if this evaluation is negative or pride if it is positive.

The self-conscious emotions more than any other emotions are about the self and self-evaluation processes arousing self-reflection and influencing the individual's sense of identity. As these emotions are caused in and through social interactions and self-evaluation, they can constantly fluctuate which makes their influence on the experience of the self so central (Kaufman, 1974; Tracy et al., 2007; Tracy and Robins, 2004; Tracy and Robins, 2007b; Lewis 1971; Tangney, 2003; Goffman, 1959; Cooley, 1902). Self-conscious emotions can also play a role in how individuals are moved to protect or defend their self-concepts and positions in a social group such as their work groups to either strengthen and maintain their relations or avoid rejections and threats from others (Tracy and Robins, 2004). As demonstrated by the narratives employees were sometimes acutely aware of their positions and their abilities and their potential to progress in comparison to their peers and adjusted their conduct to address potential threats by for example enhancing their work effort to enhance their position and rank.

Self-conscious emotions direct individual behaviour by moving us to do things that are socially valued and to avoid doing things that lead to social disapproval (Tangney and

Dearing, 2002). People strive to achieve and to be a “good person,” or to treat others well because doing so evokes pride, and to avoid transgressing socially valued behaviours that would evoke guilt or shame. (Tracy and Robins, 2007a). Hence in an organisational context, these emotions are likely to move employees to adhere to social and organisational standards and norms that are embedded in for example the enterprise/career discourse and disciplinary processes such as appraisal. Moreover, shame can alert the self and others to detrimental changes in social status, social rank and move employees towards behaviours that facilitate acceptance and being socially valued in the group promoting conformity (Gilbert, 1997).

Hence, the self-conscious emotions are likely to be important in the performance appraisal context as this process can be influential in changes to social status, rank, influence social relationships, competitive goals and threats of isolation for example by gaining or losing promotion. The allocation of status and rank and the shaping of the individual’s sense of self may elicit these emotions which in turn can motivate specific behaviours to manage their position in the social hierarchy.

7.111 Shame

One of the main emotions to come through the narratives was shame. Participants expressed shame when they were criticised, alienated and made to feel that they had performed badly or just been average for instance. Shame is a feeling of being small, defective, and worthless, of being inadequate, rejected and a sense of being a failure in competitive defeat. It can present itself as feeling of being awful, damaged, defeated an injury to the self, a feeling of childishness or less than others in one’s own eyes and the eyes of the “other”. Disciplinary processes that highlight the evaluation of the self and social comparison with peers seemed to induce shame when employees were evaluated negatively, criticised or alienated by the manager.

Shame is “other-connected” (Lewis, 1971 p.38); the nature of shame is reflected in the significance of the other, their hostility and negative evaluations (real, or imagined). One can be ashamed of being ashamed that can lead to denial or distancing from the individual, this was demonstrated by Amanda (Lewis, 1971). Shame and acceptance of its experience is made more difficult by the taboo nature of shame (Lewis, 1971; Kauffman, 1989; Scheff, 2000). The description of the feeling of shame elaborates how shame could be felt by participants who had been criticised and evaluated negatively through disciplinary processes.

Lewis (1971) describes shame as the rupture of the social bond and her analysis places a strong emphasis on the arousal of shame through social interactions (Scheff, 2000, 2003). Shame can be elicited when the self-image or concept is threatened or demeaned either through one’s own actions or through the actions of another. Disciplinary processes can

provide fertile ground for threats to the self-concept. Then, the individual may move towards mending the self. This “righting tendency” (p. 26) can initiate a change in behaviour, shame thus can direct specific behaviours to achieve a more balanced sense of self. Lewis suggests that the repair to self-esteem can only occur under conditions where the individual can perform certain behaviours that achieve the needed correction. This “righting tendency” seemed to directed employee behaviour, such as Amanda.

Lewis argues that self-evaluation can occur outside of awareness and to different degrees depending on how easily individuals can differentiate their sense of self from others’ opinions, evaluations and judgements. There are many varieties of shame phenomenon: humiliation, mortification, embarrassment or feeling ridiculous but all involve an “other” as referent and a source of evaluation of the self (Lewis, 1971).

7.112 Shame and Anger

Some of the narratives expressed both shame and anger. Negative evaluation or rejection of the self can induce anger and shame. These two emotions can occur together frequently as demonstrated by the narratives of Amanda and Elliot for example. In these narratives, the manager had either held back promotion or a high grade that denied the employee a positive sense of self, ability, value or identity. This rejection or failure to attain the desired outcome and the ensuing sense of low ability or non-affirmation of identity evoked anger as well as shame. Hostility, blame and anger can be evoked towards the manager who has rejected or evaluated the self negatively (Lewis, 1971, Retzinger, 1991).

In anger, the self feels hostility towards the other if the other has rejected the self or imposed a negative self-understanding.

The elicited shame can also shape identity as is addressed next.

7.113 Shame and Identity

Some of the narratives highlighted the employee’s reflections on their identities, such as Adam who wanted to be excellent at his job. Self-conscious emotions such as shame, embarrassment, and pride play a significant role in our sense of self and identity as they are directly about the self and are evoked by self-reflection and the evaluations of other significant people which form a part of our self-definition (Tangney, 2003; Lewis, 1971).

Shame experiences can inform on the individual’s relationship to oneself, to others and to the world. As Adam had not been evaluated as excellent in his job he could not relate to that identity in his relationship with himself, his relations with his manager or friends. The experience of shame is inseparable with the search for a secure and self-affirming sense of self and identity that offers a sense of continuity, a sense of value to the self, and meaning to

our lives. Identity is bound up with our relationships with others and a break in this bond can cause shame. It is a lifelong process that is always under the influence of others (Lynd, 1958).

The significance and influence of self-affirmation becomes more paramount in the face of failure or rejection to feel a sense of value and worth. Disciplinary processes can provide fertile ground for non-affirmation of self and identity. Shame can interfere with the sense of self or identity formation, such as an identity of an over-achiever as demonstrated by Amanda's narrative. Self-affirmation is more important to our sense of self and identity than pride (Kaufman, 1974).

7.114 Envy

Envy is an unpleasant and painful emotion that "arises when a person lacks another's superior quality, achievement, or possession and either desires it or wishes the other lacked it (Parrott and Smith, 1993, p. 906). The literature often distinguishes two forms of envy, the first sense "envy proper" (Smith and Kim, 2007) or "malicious envy" and in a second sense as "benign envy" (Van de Ven, Zeelenberg, and Pieters, 2009). Malicious envy is associated with ill will and inferiority and is often kept secret and is consequently the last emotion that an individual will admit to. Benign envy, on the other hand is the form of envy that is argued to be free of hostile feelings and ill will (Silver and Sabini, 1978; Smith and Kim, 2007).

The narratives did not reveal participants having hostile feelings towards their peers, so the experiences of envy described seemed to have been "benign envy". The appraisal and other disciplinary processes that evaluated and distributed rewards asymmetrically can elicit envy since some individuals are recognised as having more ability and quality than others. Limited organisational rewards and the asymmetric distribution of rewards and punishment of employees lead to differential status and achievement of rewards. Elliot, for example felt envy towards his colleagues who may be evaluated to be more competent than him and consequently be more likely to be promoted.

Envy in its benign form can be constructive in the behaviours it promotes such that it results in the desire to bring oneself up to the level of the person being envied and can lead to self-improvement and increase in performance. Envy can promote better performance when it is perceived to be achievable and under one's control (Van de Ven et al., 2011; Schaubroeck and Lam, 2004; Lockwood and Kunda, 1997; Smallets et al., 2016). Paul and Elliot's envy enhanced their willingness to outperform their peers to improve their chances of progression, enhanced status and feeling pride.

The government of employees at Remicon made use of creating an emotional regime that invites competition for limited rewards and induced envy to move employees to compete for status, rank and securing their desired identities. Envy was an important emotion in this form of enterprising government of individuals. This form of government and emotional regime was enhanced through social comparison through visibility of performance tables for example.

7.115 Envy and Social Comparison

Social comparison processes are at the core of envy, as it stems from a human tendency to understand our own standing from how it compares to others (Miceli and Castelfranchi, 2007; Silver and Sabini, 1978; Smith et al., 1999). Social comparison is a central feature of social life and individuals gain self-understanding and assess their status not just by attaining objective information but through comparing oneself to others (Buunk and Gibbons, 2005; Festinger, 1954; Collins, 1996). The appraisal and other HRM practices evoked employees to compare themselves on important self-relevant domains of competence and performance against their peers that is likely to affect their self-definitions and work identities.

Envy can be induced by comparison to a similar person on an important domain that results in a threat to the self-concept. This is particularly pertinent if it is a comparison of performance in a social situation where another's performance relative to one's own may have influence on our self-definitions and our self-evaluations. In short, we envy another individual who is like ourselves who shares similar attributes such as age, gender or social class and yet who has a distinguishing attribute, advantage or quality that we lack (Tesser and Collins, 1988; Tesser, 1990; Salovey and Rodin, 1984; Vecchio, 2005).

As the narratives demonstrate social comparison were induced commonly as expressed by Audrey, Elliot and Harry for example. These employees compared their performance, value, worth and rewards with their peers who they saw to be doing comparable jobs.

7.116 Pride

Pride can be defined as an individual's perception and evaluation of ability, achievement, mastery or success. Many of the positive narratives articulated pride when the individual felt successful, of high ability and likely to progress with in the organisation. The self and the evaluation of the self is at the core of eliciting pride (M. Lewis, 2008; Tracy and Robins, 2004). The evaluation of one's actions as success or failure can be influenced by many factors. One potential factor is childhood socialization by influential figures and relevant experiences of rewards and punishments (M. Lewis, 2008). A second factor is cultural factors that determine what is defined as success and how important it is for an individual to seek success in their life to have meaning and feel a sense of value and worth (Rose, 1999;

Bauman, 2001). Western culture encourages the seeking and attaining of pride at work (Rose, 1999).

The role of pride is to facilitate an individual to seek a positive sense of self through for example achievement. Pride motivates an individual to seek out a positive self-concept and the respect and liking from others. Most of narratives that contained a sense of achievement, a sense of value, acceptance, respect and progress expressed pride. Individuals are compelled towards pride and away from disapproval and isolation. Moreover, society and upbringing define what type of people we should strive to be and it is the attainment of pride that motivates individuals to act or seek out these self-definitions or identities through the necessary mastery or accomplishments (Tangney and Dearing, 2002; Scheff, 1988).

7.12 Anger

Anger is a social emotion. Work connects individuals to hierarchical and unequal structures of authority and status (Shieman, 2006) as well as practices where power and authority can be exercised over them (Foucault, 1977). Common elicitors of anger involve actual or perceived insult, injustice, betrayal, inequity, unfairness, goal impediments, the incompetent actions of another. Anger and frustration are related emotions. (Shieman, 2006; Berkowitz and Harmon-Jones 2004). Amanda and Pauline for example, expressed their anger and frustrations over their unfair treatment at appraisal.

One of the most prominent reasons for anger involves direct or indirect actions that threaten an individual's self-concept, identity, or public image. Insults and disdain are examples of these threatening actions (Canary, Spitzberg and Semic, 1998, cited in Shieman, 2006). Appraisal experiences where the manager had for example held back promotion, as for Elliott, and threatened his sense of self and ability and evoked anger. Amanda and Pauline were angry and frustrated as they felt the manager was being unfair in their grade allocation which in turn threatened their self-concept.

Perceptions of inequity, where an individual feels they are receiving less than they deserve can evoke anger and frustration. One example of a factor that may produce anger is financial underpayment (Mirowsky and Ross 2003a).

7.121 Anger, Power and Resistance

Anger can be thought of creating distance rather than movement towards the other (Fischer and Manstead), or a reorientation of self to the other. In their expressions of anger Amanda and Elliot may have been reorienting and adjusting their deflated sense of self and status to elevate themselves. Holmes argues that anger is a prevalent emotion in producing power

relations and being produced by them. In short, anger is an important part of power relations (Holmes, 2004).

Holmes argues that anger can be evoked not only when it breaches some mutually agreed norm or rule but when it threatens to shift power. This is underscored with reference to respect. “Anger is a situated and embodied emotional activity that inhibits or makes possible ongoing respectful relationships with others.” (Holmes, 2004, p. 213). Becoming angry can at times counter power relations rather than reinforce them. Anger can challenge and produce resistance to power relations. It is a powerful embodied and sensational experience. Anger can be defined as part of the struggle in power relations. Anger can be connected to political action and human motivation and the struggle for justice (Burkitt, 2014; Swaine, 1996).

For Amanda, the CE grade deflated her perceived status and her ensuing behaviour and anger can be interpreted as her struggle and resistance in her power relations with her manager to claw back and enhance her status. Equally in Elliott’s case his manager’s withholding of promotion evoked anger as this was withholding status he felt he deserved and his anger was a form of resistance against this withholding of rank. These employees had not lost hope of enhancing their status. In contrast, Harry who also expressed anger lost hope of enhancing his status and his anger as resistance failed. Anger is not guaranteed to attain emancipation (Holmes, 2004).

Anger can move people in political and social contexts. Holmes emphasises anger as movement and the ambivalence of this movement in political contexts. These presentations of anger express complexity of social contexts and relations. Anger, here, can be portrayed as the counterpoint to Western cultural elevation of rationality and calm behaviour (Holmes, 2004). Expression of anger is influenced by status and contextual power relations, and when expressed this indicates blame (Spelman, 1989 cited in Holmes, 2004).

The next section discusses the “therapeutic” relations appraisal engenders between manager and employee.

7.2 Enterprise and the Therapeutic Culture

In his later work Foucault became more interested in the history of how individuals come to act upon themselves in the constitution of self and the history of subjectivity. Foucault framed the practices through which individuals shape their subjectivity as technologies of the self. Foucault was also interested in how individuals through history develop knowledge about themselves through these practices and the role of expertise and truth in this self-transformation in pursuit of fulfilment and happiness (Foucault, 1988).

Foucauldians have extended his analysis to highlight how in contemporary society individuals are turning towards “experts of subjectivity” or “engineers of the soul” such as counsellors, psychologists and life coaches to transform themselves and their lives in the pursuit of meaning and personal fulfilment. Foucauldians also note that work has been transformed into a site where people are encouraged to strive for meaning and personal purpose. The workplace has been reconceptualised as a site of self-fulfilment through striving to become an enterprising self in pursuit of meaning and happiness.

Remicon is an example of an organisation that promotes itself, its business purpose and its culture to be a place where its employees can come to work to seek personal fulfilment, to care for others (patients) and strive towards rewarding careers. At Remicon one way that the organisation encourages their employees to strive for happiness and fulfilment is through becoming enterprising selves in a heavily tilted culture where social relations take the form of enterprise. This manifests in employees for example being encouraged to pursue self-interest, to view their peers as their competitors and to be concerned with the profitability of the organisation and to feel accountable for organisational goals.

One important component of employee strivings towards enterprising forms and self-transformation is the “therapeutic” culture where the manager acts as a guide to the employee in this self-transformation. This guidance takes place especially at appraisal but not exclusively. This is where the manager can act like a counsellor or life coach to guide the individual in their conduct, performance and their pursuit towards self-improvement and self-fulfilment attained through achievement and pursuing a career.

According to Rose (1991) “Therapeutics, like religion, may be analysed as techniques of self through which human beings are urged and incited to become ethical human beings, to define and regulate themselves according to a moral code, to establish precepts for conducting or judging their lives, to reject or accept moral goals”. The role of the manager at appraisal for example is to urge and encourage the employee to work hard, to be accountable for their results and performance and to strive towards self-improvement where the manager defines and guides how to achieve these goals.

It has been argued that neoliberal forms of government have appropriated and transformed psychology psychological knowledge of “human nature” and motivating factors such as a need to achieve and strive towards achievable goals to find novel ways of managing individuals and incorporating these features in to HRM practices and in social relations. Binkley has theoretically and empirically examined this juncture through analysis of life coaches who aim to fashion the lives of others through enterprise. These life coaches advocate exercise of initiative and autonomy to realise one’s desires. Life coaching as

described by Binkley is a similar therapeutic technique, to the role of Remicon managers, where coaches can be referred to as technicians of the soul aiming to shape their clients into enterprising subjects (Binkley, 2011).

In this study, therapeutics can be translated as a means of being guided by an “expert”, the manager and “their truth” towards attaining personal fulfilment through virtuous and ethical conduct at work where the employee strives to become a better person and a better worker. The employee has an active role in his/her pursuit towards these goals and in this constitution of self. In enterprising cultures, this means that the employee with the guide of their manager shapes his/her behaviour and subjectivity to strive to become an “enterprising self”.

Therapeutics can be understood as the guidance of an individual by someone who is perceived to be in a position of authority, is knowledgeable and who is viewed as an expert on how to guide the employee to become happy and fulfilled through moral goals. These goals are enterprising goals of hard-work, self-improvement and being accountable for example. The individual plays an active role in the self-formation and in engaging in practices that shape oneself and one’s life. In an organisation such as Remicon, the relationship between an employee and their manager for example during appraisal where they discuss the employee’s performance, objectives, achievements, shortfalls, plans and feedback can be viewed as a therapeutic relationship. The appraisal does not form a therapeutic boundary; however, it is a focal point of this practice of the self. The manager can guide the employee in the governing of the self which also benefits the manager as well as Remicon.

The enterprise and career discourses are part of this technology and there are of course the disciplinary practices which marry up with these discourses. Therapeutics at Remicon can be a curative practice, a punitive practice, and a rewarding one where the individual with the advice of their guide strives to cure their soul, their conduct or their ills. Rewards can be distributed too if the employee demonstrates the right conduct. The individual is guided by someone who guides through truth and expertise. At Remicon, the manager can be understood as an “engineer of the soul” or “expert in subjectivity”.

Participant narratives of this study can demonstrate the therapeutic interactions and culture between the manager and an employee. Participant narratives demonstrate that appraisal can act to provide positive and affirming feedback on the employee or be a site for intervention, criticism, correction and punishment. Pauline a senior manager is an example where the manager exercises intervention to “cure” or correct Pauline’s conduct. Her narrative demonstrates that employees’ subjectivity and self-transformation can be shaped through their interactions and discussions at appraisal.

The manager's interventions are based on the pursuit of what is valued, desirable and deemed by the organisation to be good conduct. What these narratives reveal is that Remicon employees in their pursuit of entrepreneurial qualities such as being a high-performer and a career are guided by their managers through feedback and comments made to them about their conduct and performances. The following excerpt is from Pauline's narrative.

P:....I don't need you to nit pick....there were two minor things that happened....that she brought into the appraisal....that's really unfair....it's a bit like your school report card....I remember getting quite nervous about oh my parents are going to speak to my teachers and they're going to find out the truth you know or what's my report going to say. Somebody yeah I think somebody else who is in a more senior position to you is validating and giving a verdict on your performance....so for me it's more about what does that person think of me

What this excerpt shows is that the therapeutic relationship may be a tense one, where the guide/manager can direct conduct and where the employee is limited sometimes to say what they feel. The employee is likely to tailor this conversation to be about their achievements and minimise their potentially faulty behaviour. The discussion to direct the employee is narrow and entrepreneurial in its scope and is also linked to financial rewards for both. The manager is likely to guide the employee to perform and work as hard as possible and to constantly "raise the bar" as Pauline reveals later in the interview. This "raising the bar" is of benefit to both the manager and the organisation. The "therapeutic" guidance has self-interest at its core, whether it is the interest of the manager or the profit motives of the organisation.

Pauline and her manager are concerned about her performance and how this performance fits in with her objectives and the organisation's goals. The concern is for Pauline to be a high-performer, to be career minded, to seek happiness through career and the performance principle and to contribute to organisational goals. The manager in this case, intervenes to correct any behaviour that is misaligned with this goal. Through feedback at appraisal and comments written on the document the manager guides the employee on how to either correct non-enterprising conduct or to reward enterprising conduct.

For Pauline, therapeutics involves criticism and potential deflation of grade as intervention and correction. For other employees as outlined in the Findings such as Henry and Louise this guidance at appraisal involved rewarding the employee with positive feedback and encouragement for demonstrating "good" behaviour. These narratives demonstrate that the therapeutic relationship can take a more positive tone and centre around rewards, recognition and facilitation towards apparent self-fulfilment.

The contemporary image of the self is no longer guided by religion or traditional morality as this authority has been displaced by the authority of “experts of subjectivity”. The contemporary subject is no longer someone who has duties and obligations towards his fellow men in society, solidarity is not an obligation, but someone who has self-interest as his orientation towards others. The contemporary self at Remicon is a high-achiever, competitive, and accountable towards the organisation and its goals. Contemporary expertise on subjectivity is founded on “psy” knowledge on human motivation such as the need for self-improvement and need for achievement. The Remicon employee is defined by this truth and expertise that meets the goals of profit. Therapeutics at Remicon is centred on this truth and knowledge (Rose, 1991).

At Remicon the therapeutic culture can manifest through a manager who criticises, alienates and punishes an individual who they assess as not demonstrating the right kind of behaviour and performance or a rewarding relationship. The narratives have spelt out the various scenarios that play out in the therapeutic relationship. The manager can hold back career and promotions which are elevated as means of self-fulfilment or facilitate the employee towards these rewards.

The next section outlines employee resistance at Remicon. It is also worth noting that the interview questions were not concerned about employee resistance.

7.3 Resistance at Remicon

Resistance differs according to the understanding of and exercise of power and practices at an organisation. Remicon invest in selecting individuals who fit their culture through their recruitment processes that use psychological profiling to identify enterprising individuals. This is consolidated by HRM practices that tie the employee into rewards that are “resistance-resisting”. The career pathways and hierarchical differentiations such as salary and job titles seem to fuel and perpetuate motivation, career aspirations and a preference for differentiation (Karreman and Alvesson, 2009).

Harrison, a Remicon employee at head office, made an interesting point about his favourability towards differentiating between employees. In the excerpt below he comments about he and his peers all receiving Consistently Effective grades at appraisal one year.

H: we heard everyone was getting just CE so it's like working in North Korea everyone's the same

The narratives did not reveal that Remicon employees engaged in much ‘explicit’ resistance such as sabotage of company material. There were a couple of instances of employee

“misbehaviour” such as re-appropriation of company products for the employee’s own benefit and the re-appropriation of company time for personal use (Thompson and Ackroyd, 1995). The main avenues for resistance at Remicon were exit, indifference and cynicism which will be detailed briefly.

7.31 Cynicism and Indifference

Common forms of resistance that were evident in the interviews were indifference (Edwards et al., 1995) and cynicism (Fleming and Spicer, 2003) shown towards appraisals as they were viewed as “tick-box” exercises that were used for administration purposes as well as to force people out of the organisation. A couple of employees, Amelie and Megan, who had both been with Remicon for many years explained that behind the façade of the official account of the process the main purposes behind the appraisal were either punitive or to force the employee to leave the organisation (Barlow, 1989). The interviews revealed that appraisals were understood to have conflicting purposes.

In the main, they were used to set expectations and goals, regulate conduct, intervene or punish employee behaviour, enhance performance and to force employees to leave. They could also be used to guide/coach on careers, progression and to reward. However, their punitive measures seemed to be the appraisal’s main concern. They could be used politically to downgrade individuals, to force exit and to keep records of grades and comments that could be both positive or negative.

Megan was a head office based employee. She was quite candid in her indifference and scepticisms about the appraisal. In the next excerpt, she explains that appraisal is just a tick-box exercise and under the veil of performance evaluation, the appraisal was a disciplinary and punitive tool.

M:...HR says you've got to do an appraisal, so have you done an appraisal for Megan? I have so the box is ticked....from people I have spoken to I think the process can be used to get rid of people on these ones down here and here [points to DR and Unclassified grades] so I think that can be used in a career non-development move I think it happens at this end. Is that really going to get me on to the next level [promotion] I don't think so.....a lot of my colleagues would think if they're down there and you're being performance managed then you're being performance managed out of the company

Amelie is a manager based at head office who is also sceptical of appraisals and feels managers could easily have discussions with their employees about updates on their work without a formal appraisal process.

A: I'm not a great fan...of the appraisal process em again I think if you're a good manager you're sitting down with em every single month and you're

having this dialogue....I know that you have to have it to eh tick the box and you know something formal that goes on record and I'm quite sure for legal reasons it's proof and sometimes I feel it can be [taps table in frustration] you know ooh this is the tool where you know we'll put somebody down as DR because we know we want to get them out the business so we'll start by doing this eh so yeah when we've gone through management training sometimes you kinda get taught to use things like this to effectively manage people out

Later in the interview Amelie expands on how HR managers who train on appraisals “coach” managers on how to use appraisal to manage unwanted people out.

Cynicism and indifference for the appraisal seems to be borne out of an understanding that appraisal acts as a disciplinary tool to punish employees and to doubt the official account that links it to employee development or career progression. The latter purpose may be applicable for some employees but it is the punitive purpose that lights up the cynicism. This scepticism materialises from hearing about the use of appraisal in practice at Remicon which get used to punish and pressure people out of the organisation. This is confirmed and laid out in management training.

It is also worth noting that the cynicism and indifference towards appraisals involves some degree of critical thinking and agency (Rose, 1991) to evaluate official discourse on appraisals and compare that to practical experiences of employees and to reject to buy into the official discourse. This is demonstrated by Megan and Amelie for example.

Another HR process that was viewed with cynicism occasionally was employee engagement partly because this can also be used as a disciplinary process to manage the performance of lower level and middle level managers. First and second line sales managers were evaluated on engagement levels of their team. Serge, a sales manager was sceptical of the use of engagement and explained in his interview that managers who had low engagement levels as measured by the Q15 scores were sometimes forced out of the organisation.

In addition, engagement was viewed with cynicism by a few employees who viewed it negatively partly because it was a symbol of how the employees contributed to the organisation. These employees were generally unhappy of some aspect of their working conditions at Remicon. In this excerpt Harry, a sales representative, who is very unhappy at his lack of progression is asked how he defines engagement.

H: I would define engagement as em I suppose the phrase you cut yourself and you bleed Remicon

7.32 Exit as Resistance

If career aspirations and development were thwarted at Remicon, exit seemed to be one of the main means of resistance being evaluated and implemented by employees (Bergstrom et al., 2009) as demonstrated by Joe and Elliott who expressed an intent to leave if he were not to be promoted and Harry who left the organisation about three months after his interview.

Where the employee was not expecting to be promoted and had been at Remicon for a long time or had had a long tenure of working, they did not express exit as a possible strategy for resistance. Harrison is an example of a Remicon employee with a long tenure who was not expecting to be promoted. In the place of an exit strategy Harrison expressed cynicism towards employee engagement and indifference towards the appraisal.

Also, worth noting that one of the reasons for Remicon HR Director agreeing to take part in this research was a recent surge in concern to increase employee engagement that was hoped to reduce turnover, and the organisation had had its highest turnover in 2013.

7.33 Resistance as Transforming or Inversing Discipline

The narratives illustrated that disciplinary mechanisms could be used to aid the employee to attain their goals. Amanda's narrative also demonstrated a case where power relations could be inverted.

Transforming Discipline

The very processes such as appraisal that could be used to discipline employees at Remicon could be used to exercise resistance. This resistance took specific forms. For example, Megan who was sceptical and indifferent to the official account of appraisal used this process to help her plan and organise her goals at work, despite her negative view of the process.

M:...I make it [appraisal] work for me is.....the way I use it....at the beginning...we set objectives and I use that as a guideline and every couple of months I check them ok I'm here on this I' here on that and I generally try and relate them to my overall plan is not necessarily a monthly what is it I want to achieve this year

She uses the appraisal to her advantage. According to Foucault this can be a form of resistance; "in the same vocabulary, using the same categories" (Foucault, 1986, p.101) of discipline Remicon employees use the appraisal to "deform, transform, bend, and divert to their own purposes the disciplinary practices and the relations within which they are enmeshed" (Covaleski et al., 1998, p. 300).

Other examples were demonstrated by employees like Paul and Elliot who intentionally aligned their efforts to use processes such as the appraisal and competencies to work in their favour, to help their career progression by “playing the game”. In this excerpt Paul explains that he tailors his goals to comply with organisationally valued goals so he can gain leverage in his pursuit of progression.

P: [my objectives] they've got a lot more specific probably more difficult, a larger scale I'd say. Rather than going I'm gonna sell a product, it's going I'm gonna set up a national course or do something towards management which is funnily enough one of my objectives and that's one of my longer term personal aims to try and start to tailor it because you know what it means from the company's view as well. Play the game you know

Resistance as Inversion of Power Relations

Amanda is another example of an employee who uses the appraisal for resistance when she receives a CE, a grade. Remicon advocate a “no surprises” [appraisal management training documents] policy for appraisals to which her manager has not conformed. Amanda is aware of the rules of conduct of appraisal and understands that her manager has not complied with the organisation’s directions on how to conduct appraisals by not discussing her objections over the cancelled project before the appraisal. Amanda seems to suggest that her manager is now aware that she had not conducted the appraisal properly, implying that she has utilised the “rules” of the appraisal to gain some leverage in the relationship. Amanda also reveals at the interview that she has good relationships with HR team, which may have helped her understand how to assert herself with her manager.

Foucault’s thought on power also included the potential for resistance where power is exercised and in this following excerpt is an example of where resistance can be exercised. This illustrates that Remicon employees had some, if limited scope in implementing resistance to the disciplinary power exercised over them at appraisal.

A:...I signed my document but I did say to her I'm signing it under duress because I disagree and I put in to my employee's comments that I disagreed with what was in....I didn't carry on the conversation too much because I knew it would be non-negotiable.....we now have a really good working relationship because I've worked hard to say this is what it needs to be like and I don't need to find out about it in my year end appraisal...which is not when you should be delivering news like that....but I know now that I'm in a position with her where she is aware of what I do, of the level I'm at and is appreciative of the impact....

Amanda understands that it is in her own interest to sign the document, yet record that she disagrees with what is captured in the document and then continues to pursue her own

interests after the appraisal by making her manager aware that she should not be faced with surprises at appraisal. Amanda chooses to demonstrate consent and exercise resistance in a manner that serves her own interests (Knights and McCabe, 2000), by utilising specific aspects of the appraisal process as “counter-offensives from ‘below’” (Foucault, 1980, p. 256) or a “temporary inversion of the power relations” (Foucault, 1977, p. 27). However, the resistance and agency available to her is within the framework of organisational processes, she cannot openly refuse to sign the appraisal form as this may be counter-productive.

7.34 Resistance to Career

One aspect of enterprise that was occasionally “resisted” was the concept of career, this was demonstrated by about three or four employees. Amelie, a manager in the office, for example had a young child and was not focused on career progression because she wanted to focus on her child. This was partly fuelled by the amount of work that was required at Remicon.

A:...it's kind of hard because there is a section when you talk about what you need to do for the next year...there is this ethos at Remicon where do you want to be and what do you want to learn. I don't have the ambition to be a director or anything like that because it can be hard sometimes when people ask you that because you feel you have to say something

This was partly a work-life balance issue which was also the main concern of Jolyn, a Remicon office manager, who wanted to work closer to her home and was not so concerned about her aspirations to move on up at Remicon. Another example, is Lucia, a sales representative, who did not want to progress into management as she had already been a manager with another company for many years. However, she did consider progression on the sales career pathway. Lastly, Steve, a sales representative, who had so far failed to get into management looked to his life outside of work to find another form of self-fulfilment and viewed his job at Remicon as enabling him financially to look at options outside of work.

The next and concluding chapter presents the main findings of this study followed by the contributions to theory and literature from this research as well as implications for practice, future research and limitations of this study.

Chapter 8 Conclusions

This chapter summarises the main findings of this research putting these findings into context of the literature reviewed in this thesis. Then the contributions of this thesis to theory and literature is considered. Then the practical implications are considered. And finally, future directions for research are summarised and finally possible limitations of this research are outlined.

8.1 Overview of Research

This study has conceptualised performance appraisal as a tool for exercising disciplinary power to shape employee behaviour. Disciplinary power exercised through appraisal and other interlocking processes are complimented by the discourses of enterprise and career that aid to reinforce and elevate the value of entrepreneurial conduct. The aim of this study was to explore the possible elicitation of emotions through the mechanisms of disciplinary power that was reinforced by technologies of the self of the enterprise discourse, governmentality of employees. Moreover, this study aimed to examine the role these emotions could play in the exercise of this power in shaping the conduct of employees. Hence this research attempted to answer the following research questions.

What is the role of emotions in the exercise of disciplinary power in performance appraisal?

- How does the performance appraisal elicit emotions?
- How do emotions contribute to the exercise of disciplinary power?

The research was carried out on an organisation that implemented a performance centred appraisal with a strong focus on performance and sales targets for sales and marketing personnel whom constituted most of the participants. In addition to sales personnel the study also collected interviews from other departments such as Finance, HR and Training and Education. Data was collected through employee interviews, organisational documents and web data. Employee narratives were interpreted through a Foucauldian theoretical framework and analysed to explore whether the appraisal may be utilised to exercise disciplinary power with a focus on the mechanisms detailed by Foucault (1977). The narratives were also examined to identify emotions that were elicited by these disciplinary mechanisms and whether these emotions were likely to shape employee behaviour.

8.2 Main Findings

The following sections summarise the main findings of this research.

8.21 How Disciplinary Mechanisms Elicit Emotions

The appraisal is portrayed as a neutral and rational process that evaluates the performance and behaviours of employees objectively and hence confers the “truth” about individuals to help improve performance (Townley, 1993a). The findings demonstrate that behind the “myth” of rationality and objectivity, appraisal enables organisations to reward and punish employees differentially through underlying disciplinary techniques enacted at appraisal such as criticising judgements and withholding rewards such as career progression.

Through appraisal and other interweaving evaluative processes, the organisation can shape employee subjectivities and evoke an array of emotions because of the differential distribution of rewards and punishments. The appraisal can be either used to distribute rewards such as promotion or to intervene to correct undesirable behaviour through corrective measures and punishment. The power relations engendered through appraisal as part of the disciplinary power apparatus enables this differential treatment and judgement of employees. These disciplinary techniques illuminate on how the appraisal can elicit emotions and address the research question

- How does the performance appraisal elicit emotions?

The appraisal reinforced with the enterprise discourse enables the judgment and evaluation of employee performance, skills and merits that shapes the individual’s own self-understandings, self-self relations as well relationships with their peers, and managers. This judgement is then used to differentially allocate value, worth, status and other organisational rewards to these employees and is strengthened by other evaluative processes such as ‘public’ announcements of rewards such as promotions. This differential value and worth may be bestowed in many ways such as through a sense of ability, a sense of belonging or through self-development and career progression within the organisation. Moreover, career is used to discipline (Fournier, 1998) and to affirm a positive sense of self (Grey, 1994).

This ultimately constructs a hierarchy of value and worth with employees being able to ascertain their position and value accorded to them and to compare their rewards and rank with their peers. What are essentially being shaped are the self-self relations and the self-other relations, where the latter are typically relations of power or government (Kendall, 2011). This system is not static, it is dynamic and individuals may be circulated up or down or horizontally depending on their performance, behaviour and relationships they build. The data demonstrated that politics can play a role in the distribution of rewards and value such as who may progress in the organisation.

The interviews revealed that as well as the appraisal many other interweaving processes worked together with and reinforced the disciplinary effects of the appraisal (Foucault, 1977). Organisational processes such as publication of sales tables, emails announcing employee promotions and talent reviews worked alongside the appraisal to form a network of closely aligned disciplinary mechanisms that collectively constituted knowledge and “truths” about individuals through the “expertise of management” (Rose, 1999). The narratives illuminated the underlying mechanisms of disciplinary power such as engendering power relations, relationship between power and knowledge, hierarchical ordering, categorisation, visibility, individualisation and criticising judgements.

Employees strive to attain these rewards such as feeling that they are good at their jobs, progress through the organisation, have flourishing careers, cultivate expertise and feel that the organisation values their work and contribution and in turn feel a sense of value and worth in themselves. The appraisal and other disciplinary processes offer employees an unavoidable reflection and judgment on their qualities and merits. The ephemeral judgments on an individual’s ability, value and worth make it necessary for employees to constantly perform and seek affirmation and recognition of their value, self-worth and capacities (Roberts, 1991, 2001; Knights, 1990). Furthermore, through these disciplinary techniques the appraisal achieves individualisation and an individuated work force and a social order where every individual is propelled towards performing as an economic cog in the machinery of the organisation (Roberts, 1991).

The employee narratives build an intimate relationship between the knowledge that is borne through these disciplinary techniques and how individuals are induced and invited to evaluate themselves and to compare themselves with their peers. These knowledges also play a vital role in how individuals feel others will judge and evaluate them as the disciplinary mechanisms heighten their self-reflections, self-consciousness and give rise to potential insecurities about their competence and value. In turn, these employees must turn to these same disciplinary mechanisms that define a truth about them to shape the knowledges that these mechanisms make visible to have an input into how they are known and judged (Knights, 2002; Roberts, 1991).

The self is constituted through these knowledges of the self and the perceived judgements and opinions of the other (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934; Roberts, 1991). Social comparison and self-evaluation are ubiquitous (Wheeler and Miyake, 1992). Remicon employees are invited to continuously pursue recognition, affirmation of their abilities and competence which is conditional on these disciplinary processes and consequently constantly up for evaluation and change (Rose, 1999; Roberts, 1991).

Disciplinary mechanisms shape and cultivate the power relationships amongst organisational employees through differentiation based on criteria as status and rank. These mechanisms also produce an emotional regime that in the main support these practices. They are mainly but not always mutually reinforcing. Sometimes the matrix of disciplinary practices and discourses alienate employees and elicit emotions such as strong shame that results not in increases in performance but in withdrawal or turnover.

8.22 Elicited Emotions Direct Employee Conduct

The disciplinary techniques outlined above elicited an array of emotions, the most common emotions were shame, anger, sadness/happiness, pride and envy.

The second research question is

- How do emotions contribute to the exercise of disciplinary power?

As Burkitt has argued emotions are relational phenomenon. Emotions can be understood as movement in patterns of relationships between self and others that are also power relations. Disciplinary practices such as appraisal cultivate these patterns of relations and the emotional regime of the organisation. The emotional regime at Remicon was leveraged around emotions that were self focused such as shame and pride as well as emotions like anger that were aroused partly through non-attainment of the individual's goals or the decline of their status and worth. The emotional regime was cultivated through an enterprise culture of the self where social relations took the enterprise form centred on self-interest and progress through the organisation's hierarchy.

In the main these emotions successfully aligned the employee's efforts with enterprising behaviours that Remicon promoted and valued such as high-achievement. For example, the elicitation of anger and shame in Amanda moved her to increase her performance and work efforts to be elevated to a high-achiever, attain a high appraisal grade and progress in the company. The elicitation of envy and anger enhanced the work efforts of Elliott and Paul. Additionally, Pauline seemed to maintain her performance because of her pursuit of pride and the fear of feeling shame. The narratives demonstrated that individuals were compelled to strive towards attaining pride, acceptance and being conceived of as having high ability and to secure status, value and rank or to enhance these measures (Gilbert, 1997, Tracy and Robins, 2004; Tracy and Robins, 2007a; Lewis, 1971).

This study has demonstrated that in the main the elicited emotions moved or motivated employees to direct their conduct to be in line with organisational goals that also elevates self-interest. The emotional regime was saturated with the self-conscious emotions of shame,

pride and envy as well as happiness/joy, anger and sadness. Yet, these emotions, especially shame and sadness, did not always achieve the desired goals (D'Aoust, 2014). And emotions that might have promoted solidarity such as empathy were rarely expressed.

Shame was the emotion that induced more paradoxical behaviour in individuals. Shame either induced an increase in productivity that was in line with organisational goals as is the case for Amanda or it could induce withdrawal that at its most intense seemed to result in exit. There were a few narratives that described a tendency to think about leaving the organisation, withdrawing or leaving. There was also an indication that individuals worked to a high standard to avoid feeling shame and sadness/unhappiness, and being punished by losing out on rewards and seeking pride and joy. Individuals who exited their organisations had one common feature. These individuals had lost the belief that they could change their situation and repair their shame and damage to their sense of self. Control of their environment was a key factor as well as the intensity of their shame (Ferguson 2005).

What the narratives revealed was that the matrix of regulatory practices that the organisation used to enhance performance and to regulate employee behaviours did not always achieve its desired goals. Emotions such as shame can be ambiguous and contradictory and may produce paradoxical behaviours in different individuals. Shame and sadness that were commonly evoked in negative experiences of these disciplinary practices can work against the organisational goals of enhancing employee well-being, performance and even increase turnover (Miller and Rose, 1990).

8.23 Enterprise discourse, “Psy” Profiling and Subjectivity

Analysis of web data, documents and interview narratives demonstrates that Remicon employees are subjected to a discourse that centres on achievement, performance, taking responsibility, and crafting a career that enable them and the organisation to improve people's lives and in turn enable employees to find self-fulfilment and meaning (Donzelot, 1991; Sturdy, 1992; Rose, 1999).

Literature has recognised the instrumentality of psychological profiling that understands the strivings of individuals and the incorporation of these motives into organisational processes (Rose, 1999; Townley, 1993a). This study demonstrates how an organisation can use psychological profiling in their recruitment processes to filter the “right type” of individuals, to select enterprising individuals, (Barratt, 2003b; Grey, 1994) some of whom in turn readily respond to the elevation of these values and identities.

The enterprising values and behaviours are then continuously elevated and underscored through the enterprise discourse and disciplinary processes. These valued behaviours are

then measured through appraisal and other processes. Hence, employee subjectivities and emotions can be shaped and manipulated accordingly. This is pertinent as enterprise discourse seems to strengthen the evaluation of these behaviours through HRM practices that in turn elicit a multitude of emotions. These emotions in turn shape the contours of social and power relations in the organisation.

The discourse prescribes what type of employees and behaviours are valued which may then enhance employee strivings and shape employee self-understandings. At Remicon the career and enterprise discourses seemed to help embed the enterprise form as a natural form. This discourse stirs and elevates the individual's yearnings for self-development, growth and goal achievement through the vehicles such as career. The employee is invited to constitute a particular understanding of themselves and has limited access to alternatives. The narratives show that in the main the status of those individuals who attain these goals are elevated. Many of the individuals readily took on the "enterprise form" and responded to the vocabulary of achievement and responsibility and readily pursued these identities (Rose, 1999; Miller and Rose, 1990).

The organisation attempts to align what individuals want and need with what the organisation is portraying is on offer and within reach (Lyotard, 1984). The combination of the enterprise discourse and disciplinary mechanisms, the government of Remicon employees, thus aim and attempt to shape employee subjectivity and conduct (Garrety et al., 2003; Thornborrow and Brown, 2009; Burchell, 1996).

The majority of employees who were interviewed presented a spectrum of different degrees of imbuing the organisational discourse such as striving to be an over-achiever or being focused on being responsible and accountable for their actions and performance. A few employees did not articulate a sense that they had imbued the organisational discourse although they still seemed to strive for self-improvement or career or some aspect of enterprise. A few of the participants even expressed cynicism about some aspect of the organisational practices such as engagement. There was non-uniform imbuing of enterprise discourse (Fournier, 1998), yet a few employees demonstrated its ability to be subjugated through it (McCabe, 2000).

Employees that expressed their cynicism or were "playing the game" were expressing their agency and self-interest and had not become unthinking "corporate clones" (Covaleski et al., 1998). Remicon encouraged and directed economic self-interest that conformed with behavioural norms and aligned with organisational goals (Burchell, 1996; Willmott, 1993).

8.4 Contribution to Theory and Literature

This section discusses the contribution to theory and literature this thesis attempts to make. First, the contribution of emotions to the exercise of Foucault's disciplinary power is considered as well as a contribution to Foucauldian Studies. Then the contribution toward literature on emotions of control in organisations is outlined followed by appraisal and emotion literature.

8.41 Foucault's Disciplinary Power and Foucauldian Studies

This thesis hopes to contribute to both Foucault's thought on disciplinary power and to Foucauldian studies that have used his thought on discipline.

Foucault's Disciplinary Power

Foucault suggested that his concept of power and power relations can be analysed within an organisational setting.

“One can analyze such [power] relationships, or rather I should say that it is perfectly legitimate to do so, by focusing on carefully defined institutions. The latter constitute a privileged point of observation.” (Foucault, 1982, p. 791)

Accordingly, this research has attempted the analysis of power and power relations in a case study of an organisation where disciplinary power and technologies of the self are employed in the government of employees.

Foucault stated clearly that he considered the human being to be a thinking being.

“Man is a thinking being. The way he thinks is related to society, politics, economics and history and is related to very general and universal categories and formal structures.” (Foucault, 1988, p.10)

He also draws a clear link between thinking and acting or conduct.

“All of us are living and thinking subjects. What I react against is the fact that there is a breach between social history and the history of ideas. Social historians are supposed to describe how people act without thinking, and historians of ideas are supposed to describe how people think without acting. Everybody both acts and thinks. The way people act or react is linked to a way of thinking, and of course thinking is related to tradition.” (Foucault, 1988, p.14)

Foucault's thought on disciplinary power and governmentality seems to have revolved around the notion of thinking and acting human beings. This implies that his thought on the “how” of power (Foucault, 1982) or how disciplinary mechanisms impose conformity and

the shaping of conduct is linked primarily to thinking. Although, he has described that in antiquity emotions were governed in practices of the care of the self, he did not develop this aspect of his thought on governmentality. He did not develop a role for emotions in the how of power; in his thought on disciplinary power or governmentality.

In fact, he did not finish his work on technologies of the self as he passed away before he could do so (Martin, Guttman and Hutton, 1988). He is also recognised as a thinker who rejected the notion of a pre-given nature or essence for the human being, instead he was more interested in the individual as constituted through systems of power and knowledge or how their subjectivity is constituted by for example through power-knowledge systems.

The current literature proffers in the main that individuals participate in disciplinary mechanisms and governmentality which shapes their behaviour and conformity by shaping their subjectivity and attempting to secure desired identities (Thornborrow and Brown, 2009; Clarke and Knights, 2015). The contribution of this research is concerned with considering a role for emotions in Foucault's conceptualisation of disciplinary power and governmentality. These disciplinary practices are reinforced and supplemented by technologies of the self, so the elicitation of these emotions is also reinforced. This thesis argues that emotions elicited through disciplinary mechanisms contribute to the directing of employee conduct and the exercise of disciplinary power and the government of these individuals.

A relationship has been established between emotions and human behaviour in the literature (Scheff, 1988). Additionally, there is literature that illustrates how self-conscious emotions play a role in shaping the conduct of employees within a Foucauldian framework of discourses and power (Zembylas, 2003, 2005) and technologies of the self and power (Garrety et al., 2003). Garrety et al., find a role for self-conscious emotions through similar mechanisms of differentially valuing particular behaviours and subjectivities that this research also examines.

The translation of Foucault's disciplinary mechanisms onto appraisal and related HRM practices has already been conducted by many scholars. For example, Townley's (1993a) analysis of the appraisal has already illuminated how organisations can achieve social order, individualisation and make the individual knowable and amenable to intervention. Townley argues that disciplinary practices such as appraisal enables organisation to carry out partitioning and ranking of their workers and thus to govern and shape their conduct. However, these scholars have not examined the role of emotions elicited and shaping of employee conduct. Scholars have tended to stay within the boundaries that Foucault provided. This research has tried to expand the analysis a step further and has focused on

the relationship between emotions that are elicited through these disciplinary practices and the conduct of employees.

Most previous literature that has examined the relationship between disciplinary practices or governmentality of employees has been concerned with the subjectivity or desired identities of these individuals to draw a link between subjectivity/identity and the conduct of these individuals. This research has found that the employee's subjectivity may be shaped by governmental practices. Yet, there were also individuals who did not seem to have imbued substantial portions of the organisationally prescribed subjectivity of becoming an over-achiever or taking responsibility for delivering organisational goals.

The findings show that a few individuals expressed a particular "desired identity" such as being an over achiever or being excellent. Only a few narratives had a real focus on these desired identities. However, what was a common feature for all these narratives was a need for mastery and competence or simply put "to be good at their job". Some narratives expressed this simply as wanting to do a good job and others emphasised and elevated it in to a need for being an over-achiever or excellent. The latter group of narratives seems to reflect the intensity of the need and striving for mastery and competence perhaps more than being hinged on a need to secure a "desired identity". In addition, the selection process filtered individuals who had a high need for achievement and who strived for recognition of their performance.

The findings show that these individuals were highly focused on how they were evaluated on their performance and achievements. What the narratives also revealed was that the individuals could also yearn for more than just mastery in their roles; they could for example express a need for belonging or being an important part of the team or taking responsibility (Rose,1999). So, when individuals in the organisation are evaluated on their performances, allocated different grades, evaluated on sales tables, promoted to a higher grade, handed opportunities to progress within the ranks or held back from promotion these disciplinary techniques shape the self-self and self-other relations which are also at the heart of self-understanding, self-evaluation and the emotions elicited.

This research demonstrates that disciplinary practices elicit emotions as they reflect and evaluate the individual's mastery and competence, their value and worth, their importance and whether they are accepted and feel a sense of belonging to the organisation. On the other hand, they may be rejected on these counts, made to feel inferior with little value or worth and feel isolated. Their sense of self is constituted through discipline and may be damaged through discipline and technologies of the self. As Foucault argues discipline makes the individual. It is this making or shaping that evokes the individual to reflect on their position,

status, value and progression within the organisation and in comparison, to their peers that can elicit emotions as shame and pride. Overall, these emotions impose conformity to performance rules and shape and direct employee behaviour so that they can feel happy and proud and avoid shame, anger, sadness and envy.

Therefore, this thesis argues that it is the elicitation of emotions such as shame, pride, anger and envy that shape employee behaviour when disciplinary power is exercised through appraisal and other evaluative processes. The elicitation of these emotions is the missing note in Foucault's thought on disciplinary power. He provides the practical framework such as the engendering of relations of power, power-knowledge, individualisation and hierarchical judgements yet he did not develop a role for emotions. His thought was concerned about the social body, the non-corporeal soul and man as a thinking being. This thesis argues that humans are both thinking and feeling beings.

Foucauldian Studies

Furthermore, Foucault struggled to explain why individuals "willingly" participate in practices and systems of power. The reason behind why individuals willingly participate, is that, these practices put into question their abilities, value, status and belonging within the social system that in turn motivates them to secure the affirmation of a positive sense of self and pride, and avoid the loss of face, respect and status that evoke anger, shame and envy. The individual's emotions and the self-consciousness that this system gives rise to "take a hold" on the individual. The individual becomes concerned with his/her self-evaluation and self-understanding through their own eyes and through the eyes of the other that reflect on their position, status and value in the organisation that induces this "willingness" to participate and compete for their social status, worth and belonging to the organisation. The individual wants to be evaluated so that their work and ability can be recognised and so that they can gain recognition and status in the organisation (Vidaillet, 2016).

Foucault (1991) stated that his oeuvre constituted a set of propositions and was not meant to be complete or dogmatic.

"what I don't say isn't meant to be thereby disqualified as being of no importance.....What I say ought to be taken as 'propositions', 'game openings' where those who may be interested invited to join in; they are not meant as dogmatic assertions that have to be taken or left en bloc." (p. 74)

This thesis has used Foucault's oeuvre and was interested to join the ever-expanding industry that has put forward new readings on his thought and in this case on disciplinary power and governmentality.

This thesis postulates that the reason individuals in Nutley and Wilson (2003) study wanted to be appraised and their contribution recognised did so because this might lead to a source of pride in their contribution even if they did not “buy into” the appraisal. This attainment of pride also had another side, which was that these individuals could compare their rewards and status positively with their peers and avoid feeling shame, anger, sadness and envy.

In addition, Knights and Willmott (1985) and Knights (1990) and many other authors whose work has been reviewed in this thesis in Chapter 3 also neglect the elicitation of emotions in their analysis of Foucault’s thought. These scholars elevate the role of subjectivity and identity and its relation to power and are preoccupied with the anchoring of identities (and self-worth) made insecure through power relations. These scholars who have been concerned with a focus on subjectivity and identity have teased out an implicit role for the emotions but have not cultivated this seed any further (Thornborow and Brown, 2009; Toyoki and Brown, 2014; Rose, 1999).

Another example is the work of Townley and other authors who have examined appraisal through a lens of disciplinary power and governmentality and the ordering of labour through constructs of subjectivity/identity or agency. These authors have recognised the role of emotions only implicitly and have not been concerned to examine a role for emotions in shaping or controlling employee conduct (Covaleski et al., 1998; Bergstrom et al., 2009). In addition, scholars have theoretically linked shame and envy to Foucault’s oeuvre and appraisal (Vidaillet, 2016; Stiles, 2008).

Therefore, this thesis also contributes to Foucauldian studies that have made use of his concept of power and attended only to identity and subjectivity by conferring a role and contribution of these emotions in the exercise of disciplinary power.

8.42 Governmentality Literature

The governmentality literature has developed Foucault’s thought in various ways trying to evolve and broaden its scope, direction and insight both in and outside of organisational contexts. Of interest to this thesis a few scholars have recently examined emotions and governmentality. Notably Anne-Marie D’Aoust’s (2014) innovative research has explored how governmental regulation of marriage migration has problematised understanding, legitimating and regulating of “love as technology”. Sam Binkley has explored how neoliberalism has appropriated positive psychology and “happiness as technology” to incite individuals to conduct themselves according to entrepreneurial behaviours such as autonomy, initiative and self-interest.

Some of the key authors that initially developed Foucault's thought on governmentality in the 1980s and 1990s are Miller and Rose (1990), Rose (1991, 1999) and Burchell (1996). These authors have written about governing individuals through a matrix of regulatory practices and discourses such as the enterprise discourse that are positioned to induce entrepreneurial conduct that steer individuals towards optimal economic and organisational goals. The work of these authors is interesting to this thesis as they have indicated that the culture of the contemporary self has been fashioned by political and neoliberal shaping that is prevalent in contemporary society.

Their work has been mainly theoretical and empirical work has mostly involved the analysis of historical and archival data. For example, Miller and Rose (1990) have conducted historical analysis of the development of accounting practices in the UK. Rose (1999) has charted the history of psychology, its relationship with human motivations, subjectivity, technologies of the self and governmentality of the self-self and self-other relations and the incitement of the concept of the self as enterprise. These authors have not developed their work in an organisational context where enterprise discourse and a matrix of disciplinary processes are used to govern individuals in pursuit of enterprise and economic goals of profit.

Binkley's (2011) analysis follows this line of thought in his analysis of life coaches, but is placed outside of an organisational context and excludes analysis of organisational practices. Other research such as Mangan (2009) or McCabe are placed within an organisation, yet have focused on the enterprise discourse and been concerned with either other discourses that compete with the enterprise discourse or employee resistance to the discourse. Barratt (2003b) has examined enterprise as a filter for recruitment practices, but not been concerned with disciplinary practices. Other research has focused on disciplinary practices and not enterprise discourse or enterprising selves (Covaeski et al., 1998). Each of these preceding studies has had a different concern.

This research attempts to contribute to this stream of literature on governmentality as it is an empirical study of an organisation that governs its employees through enterprise form, enterprise/career discourse, recruitment and selection of enterprising individuals using psychological profiles, and a network of interweaving regulatory processes. These individual elements have not been studied through one organisation before. This study therefore, reinforces and develops insight into Foucault's thought as well as Foucauldians such as Rose, Miller and Burchell who have written extensively, mainly theoretically, on the contemporary self being shaped as an enterprising self but where research has not been able to study all these different elements of shaping the self under one umbrella.

This study contributes to the governmentality literature as it is an empirical study that marries together many organisational features that scholars have been concerned with in one setting such as managing employees through enterprise discourse, disciplinary practices, and the use of psychological profiling for selection of enterprising individuals. This research underscores a contemporary neoliberal form of governing that utilises a matrix of discourse, disciplinary practices and the “psy” sciences to constitute and reinforce individuals as enterprising employees. This is a matrix that works through “technologies of emotion” or an enterprise emotional regime as well as discourses, vocabularies, and regulatory practices.

This study therefore supports and develops insight on Foucault’s thought on how neoliberal forms of “rational” practices of governing individuals takes place in a contemporary organisation that promotes itself as a place of work where employees can reach their full potential and lead meaningful and self-fulfilled lives as they will be rewarded by progression, responsibility, autonomy and financial rewards. The organisation also promotes itself as a caring and ethical organisation whose work helps improve human lives. This study demonstrates that many aspects of his oeuvre and thought can be assembled together such as disciplinary power, the dubious “psy” sciences that provide the claim of expertise, ethics of the self and regimes of truth as well as contemporary forms of enterprise discourse.

This is an assemblage of power/knowledge, disciplinary practices and expertise and contemporary forms of technology of the self or the culture of the self all in one organisation in the quest for economic goals and self-interest leveraged through shaping of subjectivities and elicitation of emotions that contribute to the exercise of power and the conduct of conduct.

8.43 Disciplinary Outcomes and Organisational Hierarchy

Studies in the critical literature on appraisal has conceptualised appraisal as a means of exercising disciplinary power and producing various outcomes such as differential distribution of rewards and punishments such as progression, as well as the social ordering (Bergstrom et al., 2009; Townley, 1993a; Covaleski et al., 1998).

A further contribution of this study is that it has shown that disciplinary mechanisms can achieve similar outcomes across hierarchical positions within the organisation. Disciplinary outcomes being replicated across differential hierarchical positions has not been demonstrated in other studies. This means that differential distribution of rewards and punishments such as progression, alienation, criticism or praise and recognition can occur across all positions and are independent on hierarchical positions in the organisation. Thus,

employees can be awarded or declined value, ability, status, worth and belonging to organisation that cuts across the hierarchy. This differential distribution can also evoke emotions such as shame or anger across all positions. These outcomes occurred across managerial and non-managerial positions as well as different departments such as sales, marketing, education and HR.

The employee's position in the hierarchical structure of the organisation did not prevent or protect them from being criticised or alienated for example. Employees could be made to feel inadequate or not attain their high-achiever status that they strived for no matter what position or status they held in the organisation.

8.44 Emotion, Control and Power in Organisations

This study also contributes to the literature on emotions of control in organisations. This literature on power, emotions and control is mainly comprised of controlling emotions such as Hochschild's instrumental use of emotional labour and research on the emotions of control in the pursuit of profit such as the work of Flam (1993) and Rafaeli and Sutton (1991). This thesis contributes to this literature by highlighting the instrumental use of emotions that are produced through evaluative processes such as appraisal to produce increase in the work efforts and productivity of employees. The individuals pursue emotions such as pride and happiness and try to avoid feelings of shame, disappointment and envy. These disciplinary practices cultivate an emotional regime that shapes and aims to control employee performance.

Like the work of Fineman and Sturdy (1999) this thesis finds that these emotions are both a social product and a condition of control of employees in the labour process. Exercising disciplinary power and control over employees and their behaviour is an essential ingredient in the organisation's pursuit of their goals and these emotions are a necessary condition of this quest for power, control and goal attainment.

The literature on emotions of control has focused on anxiety and fear (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1991) or examined inter-organisational interactions of organisational members and identified a variety of emotions that play a part in the control of employees. This research contributes to this literature by highlighting emotions such as shame, anger, sadness, disappointment, embarrassment, pride, envy and anxiety that can have an important influence on employee behaviour in particular as emotions that enhance productivity and align employees with the profit motive and induce conformity and social order.

The research on emotions and power has not approached power and control through a Foucauldian lens of disciplinary mechanisms as this thesis has undertaken. Neither has this

literature examined the relationship between power, emotion and control through a perspective that connects organisational processes with exercising power and control over labour with an essential contribution from emotions. The current research on power, control and emotion has been more concerned with a structural conceptualisation of organisations where hierarchical structures of organisations command control and exercise power over employees' behaviours and emotional expressions or control employee behaviour. This study contributes to this research by examining organisations through another lens that uses the prism of organisational processes, power, control and the unlikely seam of emotions running through them.

The current research on emotion, power and control has also only lightly touched on the shaping of employees' sense of selves and self-understandings in this formula. This thesis underlines that the manipulation and shaping of self-understanding plays an important role in the evocation of emotions that can serve to shape and control employee behaviours and work zeal.

8.45 Appraisal and Emotion Literature

The current literature on emotion and appraisal has paid attention mainly to the examination of the role of affect in the relationship between manager and subordinate in the outcome of the accuracy of performance ratings at appraisal. Although more recently other constructs such as emotional exhaustion and negative affectivity have been examined with a focus on employee attitudes and productivity. This thesis addresses a gap in this research by examining the capacity of appraisal to elicit emotions that play an essential role in the exercise of power and the shaping of employee behaviour. This thesis hence contributes to the literature on appraisal and emotion by highlighting a role for emotions elicited through this widely used organisational process.

This study also adds to literature that has examined appraisal in the context of power and politics (Longenecker et al., 1987; Barlow, 1989), in particular Longenecker and his colleagues who noted the capacity of political and self-interested motives of managers in organisations to reward employees differentially to evoke emotions in employees. These authors also noted that accuracy of evaluations at appraisal were not the main motivation behind the process.

This thesis also adds to the literature on appraisal that has highlighted the significance of the social context and the relational dynamics of appraisal as well as the importance of factors such as distributive, procedural and interactional justice which all align with differential rewarding and punishing of employees. This thesis also provides empirical data that

examines the relationship between social comparisons, procedural and distributive justice, appraisal and emotions (Greenberg et al., 2007, Vidaillet, 2016). Moreover, this thesis also builds on the instrumental role of emotions in appraisal (Brown and Benson, 2003). Furthermore, this thesis demonstrates how the elicitation of emotions can help understand and enhance the satisfaction and quality of appraisal experience (Brown et al., 2010).

8.5 Implications for Practice

This section considers the practical implications of this research. This study highlights the capacity for organisational evaluation processes such as appraisal to elicit emotions in employees which may positively or negatively impact employee performance, attitudes towards work, their manager and the organisation. It may be interesting for practitioners to consider that the manner in which appraisal is conducted may negatively impact an employee's sense of self. For example, criticism at appraisal may elicit shame and withdrawal instead of self-improvement.

It may be beneficial for practitioners to consider that when one individual may react to a low grade or criticism with self-improvement another may withdraw from their relationship with the manager and work. Hence, it may be beneficial for practitioners and managers to be aware of differences in employee reactions to evaluation through appraisal in particular the potential for an employee to leave (Brown et al., 2010) due to feelings of lack of value and worth. The findings from this research may illuminate some of the reasons behind the dissatisfaction that employees express about the appraisal (Pulakos, 2004; Kluger and Denisi, 1996; Thomas and Bretz, 1994). The appraisal may be improved in practice by raising awareness of its emotional consequences.

This study examined a sales focused organisation that implemented an appraisal system that was concerned with evaluation. The implications of this research are most relevant to similar organisations but should also be useful to consider for organisations that implement developmental appraisal. Most organisations, whatever the type of appraisal system they implement, are likely to have limited resources such as progression opportunities and compensation to allocate to employees which may cultivate social comparison and differential status and value to employees (Greenberg et al., 2007).

An important consideration for practice is the increase in intention to quit for employees who are experiencing shame from being evaluated negatively or withheld from progression. In these cases, organisations may benefit from considering intervention that focuses on addressing the lack of pride that is evoked in these employees and considering ways of

addressing this lack. This is likely to be different for each individual and needs to be approached on an individual basis. This research indicates that sources of shame and pride may be different for each individual and thus this raises the importance of examining the motivation for each individual.

Organisations could also consider implementing an appraisal process where ratings are decided after discussions with employees rather than before the appraisal interview has occurred. This may allow the manager to consider grades or other elements of evaluation after or at the appraisal and encourage a supportive and safe environment to discuss relevant issues to encourage trust in employees (Farndale and Kelliher, 2013).

This research highlights the significance of the relationship between manager-employee and support the employee feels he/she is receiving and the distribution of organisational resources such as progression and salary in comparison to peers. Both resource allocation and relational dynamics are important in the appraisal process (Pichler, 2012). The appraisal and other evaluative processes contribute to the individual's perception of status, value and worth in the organisation (Lind and Tyler, 1988) which can lead ultimately to the employee changing employers. HR practitioners and organisations may include the significance of the relationship between manager and employee and differential allocation of rewards in managerial training and an awareness that employees are likely to be aware of these differences and feel they are not receiving respect and status and feel undervalued.

8.6 Future Research

Whilst this research has highlighted interesting findings with regards to emotions elicited in appraisal and other evaluation processes, it could not follow up how employees' emotions and behaviours changed over time. Future research could utilise a longitudinal approach to follow up employees' experiences over a longer period. This will allow future research to follow the relationship between emotions and turnover. It would also be interesting to investigate the impact of malicious envy evoked through evaluative processes in organisations. This would likely require the researcher to consider their methodological approach to explore emotional experiences that may threaten the individual.

The literature also recognises that shame and envy co-occur and has indicated the closeness of these emotions (Kim and Smith, 2007). It would be interesting to explore the relationship between these two emotions to better understand how individuals can be more prone to one or the other of these emotions.

8.7 Limitations of Research

In chapter five, following Riessman (2001), it was suggested that any perspective or position taken in research is bound to be partial and incomplete and thus limited in some way. This research is interpretative in nature and thus has not claimed objectivity but has been concerned with presenting plausible interpretations of the participants' experiences of appraisal. Narrative analysis and qualitative research by nature are interpretative and so can only present the researcher's interpretations of accounts presented at interview and that interview narratives are co-constructions between the researcher and interviewee.

That said this research has been able to give these participants voice on experiences that were at times very personal and intense in order to provide anonymous feedback to the organisation to improve the implementation of appraisal and to contribute to this research. Participant accounts at interview were also checked when needed to validate that the "correct" understanding was noted to minimise subjective interpretation. Furthermore, details of the research process have been presented in previous chapters as well as an extensive literature review to help the reader understand and follow the interpretation of narrative excerpts provided.

Other potential limitations of this research are that only one organisation was studied and the research sample is quite small. This may limit the generalisability of findings. However, Stake (2000) has suggested that generalisability of case studies can be evaluated from their theoretical contribution rather than their sampling.

One other potential limitation is that this research studied a sales focused organisation. The study of a non-sales organisation may yield different emotions. However, the research examined the appraisal experiences of employees in a variety of functions and found that similar emotions were evoked across all functions.

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Appendix 1

Transcription Coding Adapted from Jefferson (2004)

Symbol	Name	Use
<u>Underline</u>		When a word or part of a word is underlined, this indicates a raise in volume or emphasis
↑	An upward arrow	indicates there is a rise in intonation
↓	A downward arrow	indicates there is a drop in intonation
::	Colons	indicate elongated speech or stretched sound
= speech	Equal sign	indicates the start and end points of overlapping
- or utterance	Hyphen	indicates an abrupt halt or interruption in speech
CAPITALS		where capital letters appear it denotes that something was said loudly or even shouted
()	Parenthesis	indicates unclear speech or speech that is in doubt
((text))	Double parenthesis	indicates of non-verbal activity
hehe		indicates laughter

Appendix 2

Interview Schedule for Sales Representative Role

General Introduction

- Explain research project to participant, should receive some feedback around December, 2014
- Explain confidentiality and anonymity
- Explain consent form- sign consent form
- Explain clarification and probing
- Ask participant if they have any questions

Establish Rapport with Participant

- 1. What is your current role?
- 2. How long have you been working for?
- 3. Have you had other roles with the company?
- 4. What did you do before?
- 5. What was your dream job growing up?
- 6. Ask age, for demographic data

Explore Employee Work Relationship

- 7. Why did you choose to become a sales representative?
- 8. What do you find fulfilling about your job?
 - *Why?*
 - *Can you tell me a bit more?*
 - *How do you mean?*
- 9. What do you find unfulfilling about your job?
 - *Why?*
- 12. What are your aims and ambitions at work?

Current Appraisal Process

- 13. How often do you have appraisals here?
- 14. Who conducts the appraisal?
- 15. What are your perceptions about the purpose of the appraisal?
- 16. Are you given any guidance or training on the process?
- 17. What do you like about the appraisal?
 - *Why?*
 - *Can give me an example of this or when this happened?*
 - *How does that make you feel?*

- 18. What do you dislike about the appraisal?
 - *Why?*
 - *Can you give me an example of when this happened?*
 - *Can you think of a time when this happened?*
 - *Has this happened to you?*

Appraisal Experience (Ask about Current and Include Previous if Helpful)

- 19. What kinds of things did you discuss in your last appraisal?
- 20. Is the appraisal important to you and your career/aims?
 - *How?*
- 21. What are the most important outcomes of the appraisal for you?
 - *Why?*
- 22. What is the impact of the appraisal on you?
 - *Can you give me an example?*
 - *Just to make sure I've understood; are you saying.....*
 - *Just to clarify; do you mean.....*
 - *You're teaching me really interesting things, thank you, are you saying..*
- 23. How would you describe your appraisal experience?
 - *Can you tell me more*
 - *Can you give me an example of something that happened?*
- 24. Can you tell me of an experience that sums up your appraisal?
 - *What did this mean for you?*
 - *How did that feel?*
- 25. Can you remember an important occurrence/incident during your appraisal that had an impact on you or the outcome of the appraisal?
- 26. Can you tell me about a time that sums up your relationship with your manager during the appraisal?
 - *And then what happened?*
 - *What did that mean to you?*
 - *Just to make sure that I understand you, is this what happened?*
- 27. Can you tell me about an incident where your relationship with your manager influenced your appraisal experiences?
- 28. In the context of appraisal, how do you see yourself in relation to your peers?
 - *Can you give me an example of something that happened?*

- 29. How do your appraisals reflect on your status/place with in your team/status in the company

Work Engagement

- 30. How does the appraisal influence your performance in your role?
 - Tell me about how you behave, how attentive/focused you are?
 - How you feel toward work and you colleagues/customers?
- 31. How would you say your appraisal affects the way you approach your job?
- 32. Can you give me an(other) example of particular time that reflects this, giving as much detail as you can remember?
- 33. How would you describe the difference between before and after your appraisal in your approach to work?
 - Just to make sure I've understood you, do you mean.....?
- 34. Do you remember this impact to be any different immediately after your appraisal as compared to now?
 - Can you give me an example?
- 35. How does the appraisal make you feel about yourself in your role?
- 36. Is there anything you want to add or stress to help me understand how your appraisals affect you and your desire to do your job
- Finally do you have any comments or feedback about the interview?

Appendix 3

Identifying Shame and Anger in Text

Once the narratives were identified the guidelines provided by Retzinger (1995) were used to identify the emotions of shame and anger in the text. According to Retzinger hundreds of words could indicate shame without referring to it directly, however, she provides the following list as a starting point for verbal cues of shame. Retzinger has used the work of other scholars such as Gottschalk et al., (1969) and Lewis (1971) to build this list. For example, Lewis found many of these words occurred regularly in the transcripts of her clients during their therapy sessions.

According to Retzinger (1995), certain behaviours can be coded for shame. For example, if individual A puts down individual B, individual A's behaviour can be coded as anger. Alternatively, if A shames B then this can also be coded for anger as it is hostile (this can be out of awareness of A). The following are a list of code words or phrases for shame with some context included:

1. *Direct indication*: embarrassed, humiliated, chagrined, ashamed, mortified and so on
2. Abandonment, separation, isolation. Statements that indicate feelings of not belonging or otherwise being separated from significant others. Examples: alienated, alone, deserted, detached, distant, disconnected, divorced, dumped, estranged, ostracized, rebuffed, rejected, split, withdrawn.
3. Ridicule. Words or phrase about being emotionally hurt or threatened by another person: put down or made to look foolish or different. Examples: absurd, asinine, bizarre, defeated, dejected, foolish, freak, funny, hurt, idiotic, injured, intimidated, offended, ruined, strange, upset, weird, wounded.
4. Inadequate. Statements which reveal that one feels that one does not measure up to one's own or the other's ideal image. Examples: defenceless, deficient, exposed, failure, inept, helpless, impotent, inferior, insecure, oppressed, powerless, shy, stupid, unable, uncertain, unfit, unsure, worthless.
5. Discomfort. References to social setting, social-emotional discomfort as referred to by Goffman (1959). Examples: antsy, fidgety, hyperactive, jittery, jumpy, nervous, restless, tense, uneasy.
6. Confused/indifferent. Statements that indicate muddled thought processes or absence of fluster in an emotionally arousing situation; momentary forgetting (Lewis, 1971). Examples: aloof, blank, dazed, empty, hollow, spaced, stunned.

Hiding Behaviours that Indicate Shame

Verbal hiding behaviour can also indicate shame, which is illustrated when feelings of shame are hidden behind words or behaviours. One example of this is through projection; that is

when feelings of shame are projected on to another person. This behaviour enables the narrator to dissociate the self from her/his own feelings of shame; it is defence mechanism (Harrington, 1992 cited in Retzinger, 1995). Another hiding behaviour is through paralinguistic, non-verbal gestures such as drop in volume of talk, to almost inaudibility, this usually happens at the end of sentences (Labov and Fanshel, 1977, cited in Retzinger, 1995). There are also a variety of visual indicators that indicate shame; one example is gaze aversion (Retzinger, 1995).

The following list of verbal hiding behaviours also point to shame and anger; it is also adapted from Retzinger (1995). This list is a shortened version of the list.

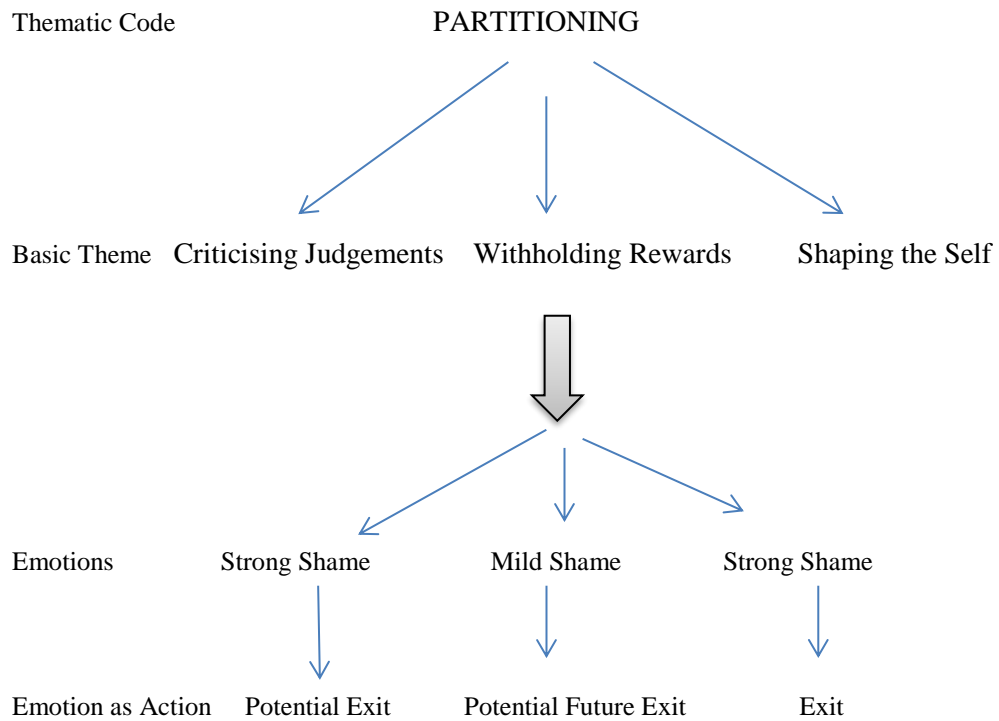
1. Mitigation. Word or phrase that makes something appear less severe or painful; downgrading an event so it no longer appears to need attention (Labov and Fanshel, 1977)
2. Abstraction. Talk about oblique, general or suppressed, such as “they” or “it” rather than refer to specific events or people
3. Denial. A direct or implicit statement that explicitly denies a feeling or provides a rational for the feeling (Sillars, Jones and Murphy, 1982, p.85 cited in Retzinger 1995)
4. Distraction. This can include a number of behaviours from topic change, joking, to triangling.
5. Fillers. This refers to phrases such as “you know” or “I don’t know” interjected in a conversation

Anger Indicators

Retzinger (1995) has also provided a list of code words for anger which she sourced from Gottschalk et al., (1969). Words such as annoyed indicate mild anger and enraged is a reflection of a more extreme form of anger. Some expressions of anger can also be an indication of feelings of shame as shame and anger often occur together, such as when a person shows hostility towards the self through self-criticism (Retzinger, 1995)

Appendix 4

Illustration 2. Partitioning



Appendix 5

Indifferent Narratives

Not all the participant narratives spelled out that disciplinary mechanism exercised at appraisal elicit emotions explicitly. A small number of the participants' narratives expressed indifference to the appraisal and the rewards or withholding of rewards experienced through appraisal. These individuals were mainly performing well and had not experienced difficult appraisals.

Steve's Narrative

Steve is a sales representative who has worked in the industry for a few years. He would like to progress into management but has not secured this position at Remicon yet. He has been graded positively and had generally positive appraisal at Remicon.

R: so how does it make you feel when you get HE

S: it doesn't make me feel very much at all....well I kind of think well I know I am anyway...I kind of think well I knew that anyway....I think I'd feel more worried about DR than I would elation about O....well it doesn't have a big effect I think if I was doing badly it would have an effect if I just got Os I would be thinking what does that mean I mean there's there's no role for me to go into

Steve does not believe that his positive appraisals elicit emotion in him and he feels that his appraisals have not led to promotion so does not see the process as indicative of progression. He also did not seem to convey shame or envy in his narrative. He does however; explain in his narrative that he strives for other ways of fulfilment outside of work. He seeks self-fulfilment he is currently incapable of securing at work away from work.

Harrison's Narrative

Harrison's narrative showed that he was not motivated by the appraisal, he had been working for Remicon for many years.

R: so how do you think the appraisal and the outcome of your appraisal influence....how you perform in your role

H: ehm if I'm brutally honest I don't think it makes a lot of difference you could argue it should