Practices of the Heart: Constituting the identities of managers

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In the late 1990s, managers are required to enact new sorts of practices in their everyday working lives. They must be enterprising. The vocabulary of ‘enterprise’ is a key motif that suggests the direction in which a new mentality of governing (Foucault, 1991) has emerged since the 1980s. It requires a responsible, innovative, risk-taking, and productive individual who actively seeks to manage their life so as to maximise its returns, in terms of both personal and public success (Miller & Rose, 1990; du Gay, 1991, 1994). Indeed, as a method of self-formation (Foucault, 1992), being enterprising requires the manager to conduct a journey of self-understanding that entails not just new ways of thinking, but also new ways of feeling. Feeling passionate about their work is one specific way in which managers are expected to operationalise their everyday practices to achieve enterprising behaviour (Peters & Waterman, 1982). By exploring how the idea of passion is used in management education and training, the paper maps some of the ways in which managers shape their identities at a micro level. These new identities open up new discursive spaces that have the capacity to be both liberatory and limiting of freedom.

The paper is particularly concerned with the moves by management academics and consultants, the ‘gurus’ of management, to focus, not so much on the intellectual side of skills training, but on developing ‘deep communication’ with ‘another human soul’, to use Covey’s description (1990, p. 241). This pedagogy of the ‘heart’, with its particular stylisations of the intensity and range of emotional repertoire required for doing business, entails the ordering of passions in the service of business success. The paper argues that new forms of management thinking and training set out specifically to train managers in what passion feels like, and when and how it should be felt and displayed in relation to their work practices. Passion is thus instrumentalised by being reordered as a pedagogical construct. No longer disordered, passion becomes desirable, as well as learnable. As a mode of self-regulation, it reconstitutes managers, making particular behaviours and attitudes, some of which were previously unacceptable, both possible and acceptable.

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Introduction

The way to open the corporate heart is for individuals to open their own hearts. … You are the key to the corporate heart. (Approaching the Corporate Heart, Cairnes, 1998)

Introduction

Since Frederick Taylor’s work on scientific management was published nearly one hundred years ago, academics, practitioners and consultants have spent their time trying to harness that spirit in man that has led to wasted effort, wasted resources and wasted dreams. Taylor’s obsession with ‘soldiering’ helped him to recognise the need to motivate workers to be ‘first class’ at what they did, and as a result ‘satisfied’ with their labour (Dixon, 1996). Again, in the 1930s and 1940s, researchers such as Elton Mayo and the ‘Hawthorne’
team recognised that ‘maladjustment’ of workers was caused by the inadequacy of their emotional life in the organisations in which they worked (Child, 1969; Rose, 1991; Hollway, 1991) and so led to industrial conflict. The ‘discovery’ of the ‘sentimental worker’ (Roethlisberger & Dickson, quoted in Hollway, 1991) signalled the need to harness these dimensions. It was the discovery of this significant relationship between the individual worker and the social organisation of their work group that first brought the role of emotion (sentiment) sharply into the limelight. As Hollway suggests, contemporary diagnosis indicated that ‘sentimental’ workers were problematic because their responses were not based on ‘a rational response to reality’ (p.72). Indeed, Rose (1975) claimed that Mayoism emerged as ‘the twentieth century’s most seductive managerial ideology’ because it constituted the historic figure of the manager as ‘the broker of social harmony’ (Rose, 1975, p.124). Irrationality could be contained.

However, new and perhaps more seductive ways of thinking have been embraced by management gurus such as Tom Peters, Stephen Covey and Ching Ning Chu at the close of the twentieth century. This paper is about these new seductions for managers, and how new seductions entail new ways to exist. Popular writers have exhorted managers to be passionate about their work as a way to achieve productivity, innovation, and personal fulfilment. What is different in these latest challenges, from the earlier historical diagnosis, is the object that needs to be harnessed. No longer is emotion seen as problematic. It is the lack of passion that is at issue. Passion is understood, within the new discourses of the entrepreneur, as both desirable and learnable (Chin-Ning Chu, 1995; Covey, 1990; Goleman, 1996; Peters & Waterman, 1982, 1989). The paper traces the way the requirement to ‘be passionate’ about their everyday work practices is now integral to the constitution of the identity of the successful manager. The central objective of the paper is to de-naturalise this idea by making the notion of a passionate manager ‘strange’ (Meredyth & Tyler, 1993, p.4).

The paper is divided into three sections. In the first section of the paper, I provide a framework for thinking about the notion of identity, based on the work of Foucault (1981, 1992), Hall (1996) and du Gay (1996). The next section provides an account of the idea of ‘passion’, and some of the shifts
and turns in its constitution as a ‘regime of truth’ (Gordon, 1980). Being passionate is positioned within a broader discourse of enterprise. The intention in this section is to ‘cultivate the details and accidents that accompany every beginning’ and to foreground the way new truths, ‘once unmasked’ can be seen as ‘the face of the other’ (Foucault, 1986a, p. 80). The present is made to seem no more than a series of ‘jolts’, ‘surprises’, ‘unsteady victories’ and ‘unpalatable defeats’ (p. 80). The final section focuses on how managers are enabled to self-regulate their identity through training and competency based approaches to becoming a successful manager, one who is enterprising, and so, passionate about their work.

What makes this analysis a ‘critical’ account, is its refusal to depict this particular identity construction as necessarily either liberatory or repressive. I argue (following Foucault, in Gordon, 1980; Foucault, 1981, 1992) that identity construction always has the potential to be either or both of the above. Particular identities provide certain opportunities and possibilities, and they close off other options. Therefore, the various ‘games of truth’ (Gordon, 1980) about entrepreneurial behaviour, and in particular, passion, need to be problematised.

**Theorising identity**

Poststructuralist theorising about subjectivity and identity construction takes on various forms. However, what most approaches share is a recognition of the multiple, fragmented and processual nature of identity (Hall 1996; du Gay, 1996; Rose, 1996; Weedon, 1987). The influence of Foucault is particularly apparent in this thinking. His challenge, along with the insistent voices of feminist writers, such as McNay (1992), Weedon (1987), and Irigaray, 1985), has led to a rethinking of traditional essentialist notions of the subject. As a consequence, the common sense understanding of the very meaning of the ‘individual’ as a sort of pre-existent essence is rejected in this analysis. Instead, it is argued that the conception of the individual, in this case, the manager,

... is an effect of power, and at the same time, or precisely to the extent which it is that effect, it is the element of its articulation. The individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle. (Gordon, 1980, p.98)
Understanding ‘how subjects are made’ (Foucault, 1982, p. 208), refuses the assumption that the rational, unified, essential self of humanism is an appropriate way to conceptualise the subject. Rather, subjectivity is ‘precarious, contradictory and in process, constantly being reconstituted in discourse every time we think or speak’ (Weedon, 1987, p.33). From this perspective, it is this on-going performativity of the subject that is observed when gurus such as Tom Peters and Peter Waterman (1982) challenge managers to respond passionately to their work: when Stephen Covey (1990) exhorts them to personal renewal to develop ‘deep communication ‘ with ‘another human soul’ (p.241): when Daniel Goleman tells them that emotional intelligence is more important than IQ: or when Chin-Ning Chu (1995) enlists managers to become ‘eternal warriors’: the ‘entrepreneurs of the world’. Thus, the analysis reasserts, with Hall (1996), that identities are about our wishes to become a particular sort of person;

about using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not ‘who we are’ or ‘where we came from’, so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves (p.4).

When recognised as an on-going and active process of formation, identity is thus a process of fine-tuning and reinvention. A key contemporary reinvention revolves around the place of passion in business life.

One way to approach understanding passion, as central to an entrepreneurial identity, is to refuse the idea of both the natural qualities of the body and the separation of the inner/outer self, and to supplant it with a notion of the discursive body (Foucault, 1982). As a highly malleable phenomenon, the body is, in these terms, the site of passionate feelings, which are discursively produced. The body, as a surface on which all manner of shaping occurs, performs its passionate labour, in the same way it performs other bodily functioning. To be passionate is an actual and observable phenomenon. It is indeed a labour of inscription of the body. In these terms, feeling passionate can be recognised as a form of training the body just like other training, such as how to sit correctly at the computer or to respond appropriately when addressed. As in all forms of training, managers learn how to perform the activity. New forms of management training set out specifically to train
managers in what passion feels like, and when and how it should be felt and displayed in relation to their work practices. Passion has become naturalised as enhancing the capacity of managers, rather than diminishing it. Passion is thus *instrumentalised* by being reordered as a pedagogical construct. No longer disordered, passion becomes desirable, as well as learnable. Recognising the contemporary shift from attention to satisfying the emotional needs of the worker, so characteristic of the human relations approach, to attention to inciting the passionate involvement of managers in their work lives, leads to new questions about the discourses of management that circulate in the 1990s. By drawing on the notion of the performativity of the subject, and the way in which the body is ‘finely tuned’, constructed, and reconstructed as a ‘performing self’ (Schilling, 1993), these micropractices of emotion can be put under the microscope. The new ways in which the contemporary manager is ‘made’ through a variety of discourses (Rose, 1991; du Gay, 1996), but particularly the ‘guru narratives’ (Clark & Salaman, 1998; Willmott, 1992) available through popular self-help literature, provide a fruitful site for analysis. This form of advice requires managers to be involved in ongoing self-regulation through micro-practices such as performance appraisal and competency training. It is about both the invention and the management of intensified forms of emotion - passion.

**Fabrications of emotion in social life**

Why is the idea of ‘passion’, as intense emotional experience, possible to think about in managerial life at this point in history? In a recent issue of *Management Communication Quarterly*, Fiebig & Kramer (1998) provided a heuristic for representing the current state of knowledge about the dimensions of emotion in organisational life. They categorised the components of emotion experience as expectations, catalysts, awareness, emotion management, and the impact of emotions, and provided a diagram that mapped contemporary understandings of the relationships between these components. While Fiebig and Kramer acknowledge that there has been limited research on the topic, the heuristic above organises their overview of the available research. ‘Emotion’ is taken as a given, and the research provides a measure of it. The literature reviewed by Fiebig and Kramer is largely about *managing* emotions in organisations, as is their own reported study. However, this paper focuses
on a different question: How is it that ‘emotion’ and ‘passion’ are possible to ‘think’ about?

In contemporary thinking, emotion is usually juxtaposed with rationality. Foucault (1986b) argues that the important point of emergence in thinking this binary formulation of emotion and rationality was at the moment when Descartes succeeded in ‘substituting a subject as founder of practices of knowledge’, for the classical subject, who was ‘constituted through practices of the self’ (p.371). Indeed, Bordo (1986) describes Descartes work, as ‘a project ... to be discovered’, rather than the usual understanding as a ‘foundation’ from which to discover the existence of rational Man (p. 450). What both their analyses highlight is that the mind/body, intellect/affect, will/nature dualisms are a creation of knowledge structures, not a reflection of reality. Bordo (1986) links this set of dualisms to the man/woman binary formulation and to what she calls the ‘masculinisation’ of thought. These separations are a ‘regime of truth’ (Foucault, in Gordon, 1980), just like other truths, such as the scientific discovery of atoms and black holes. These projects all allow us to think of the possibilities of existence in defined ways.

Similarly, the project of differentiation of emotion and passion revolves around numerous historically specific sets of practices. Indeed, from the time of the Greeks to the eighteenth century, what are now referred to as emotions were called ‘passions’ (Hopfl & Linstead, 1993, p.77). In 1604, for example, a treatise by Thomas Wright on ‘The Passions of the Minde’ described two types of passions or movements in relation to an object. These were:– the concupiscible (from the Latin to desire) incorporated movement towards an object, and the irascible (from the Latin to be angry) requiring movement away from an object (Hopfl & Linstead, 1993, p.77). Both forms of passion are recognisable in the rhetoric of modern management gurus. What is interesting about this construction is how it was employed up until the middle of the eighteenth century in ‘acting ‘ circles as opposed to other domains. The successful actor could exhibit or affect emotions as if they were his own, so that they could become indistinguishable from genuine feeling (Roach 1985). However, in discursive terms, the sphere of the actor was separated from the sphere of the worker and manager, and the idea of performing emotion as a manager or worker was outside the ‘sayable’ (Venn, 1984, 124) in this period.
The groundbreaking work of the Hawthorne studies, and the later work of the Tavistock Institute researchers placed emotion on the agenda for organisational life (See Hollway, 1991, Miller & Rose, 1994; Hatcher, 1998). The need to belong, and the discovery of the sentimental worker, established a regime of truth about the disruptiveness of unfulfilled emotion in organisational life. Indeed, a whole reform movement, based on managing human relations, was produced in response to this discovery. However, the seminal work of Hochschild (1983), on managing the heart, signalled different possibilities. In the 1980s, and more intensely in the 1990s, managing the heart is recognised as a source of considerable productivity and energy. Recent intense interest in the emotions has produced edited collections, books, and articles in academic journals (See for example, Fineman, 1993; Mumby & Putnum, 1992; Lupton, 1998; Cairnes, 1998) as well as a raft of empirical studies such as those cited in Fiebig and Kramer (1998).

The desirability of emotion, as part of organisational life, is sayable in the 1990s. Perhaps it is not surprising that it is also sayable at a time when women form a significant part of the workforce, and feminism has produced its own regime of truth about emotion and women’s special claims on it (See, for example, Gilligan, 1982; Helgeson, 1990; Hatcher, 1998). However, as the section below demonstrates, the performance of intense emotion, passion, is now capable of being an ordered space, one in which passion can be made instrumental in achieving business success.

**Mobilising passion**

Passion, as integral to entrepreneurial behaviour, has become central to good management practice. The *excellence* literature (Peters and Waterman, 1982; Peters, 1989) first alerted us to this *truth*. The distribution of over four million copies of *In Search of Excellence* (1982) around the world spawned a plethora of accounts of success in entrepreneurial activity.¹ In this literature, the binary formulation of bureaucracy versus a flat organisation structure has been used to debunk traditional approaches to managing organisations. The titles of these popular texts provide clues to how to be successful in the new organisation. The first in a series, *In Search of Excellence*, points to particular

¹ Rose (1991) provides an account of the British scene in relation to such activity.
needs of the changing world for flexible, creative, and intuitive qualities of employees, to reduce routine and the administrative mindset. The later, *Thriving on Chaos* (Peters, 1989) and subtitled *A Handbook for a Management Revolution*, claims that the rate of change is so fast that nothing less than the capacity to *thrive on chaos* is required. Risk and uncertainty are highlighted as central to new organisations for the 1990s.

*Thriving on Chaos* contains a chapter entitled ‘Pursue “Horizontal” Management by Bashing Bureaucracy’. The chapter starts by telling a story in which Peters lists suggestions to improve organisations. At the top of the list he states, ‘I beg each and everyone of you to develop a *passionate* public hatred for bureaucracy’ (p. 457, my italics added). Bureaucratic organisation becomes the symbol of all the ills that formality, rules, structure, and hierarchy create. Peters contrasts bureaucracy with the new entrepreneurial organisational form he proposes. He links it to the personnel of the organisation, by suggesting that management should use a new radical strategy - ‘fun, energy, anger, participation, vigor’ - to demolish the bureaucracy (Peters, 1989, p. 460). The obvious implication of this is that all these characteristics are missing in the traditional (characterised as ‘bureaucratic’) organisations, and in those who people them.

What new organisations require, he suggests, is a response that allows workers the opportunity to engage in these enterprising practices, and simultaneously improve economic performance. The commercial enterprise, given ‘paradigmatic status’ (du Gay, 1994, p. 659) as the model for all organisations, effectively sweeps the differentiation between public and private goals and practices from view. What emerges is an image of the ‘best’ way to organise, where enterprising qualities of the employee (risk-taking, flexibility, uniqueness, self-reliance, innovativeness, communicativity and autonomy) are mobilised in the pursuit of the improved economic performance.

Linked to this notion of enterprise that floods the *excellence* and *quality* literature is the attention given to how the individual should act at an ethical
level. Here, particular moral prescriptions are provided, so that managers are told how they ought to feel and what kind of relationship to themselves they should conduct (Gordon, 1991, p. 48; Foucault, 1986b, p.352). They are told that it is ‘right’ to desire to be entrepreneurial, and also to become more emotionally involved.

Individual citizens are constituted as ‘desiring’ the opportunity to participate in this way, thereby realising their ‘true’ selves. This finding of the true self is understandable, both in relation to discourse about the ‘inner’ experience, and also in reference to the Enlightenment project of the knowing subject referred to above. As well, these gurus argue for a ‘balance’ of the rational and the emotional, for as Peters and Waterman (1982) warn, ‘we have to stop overdoing things on the rational side’ (p. 54). This incitement of desire to use what has been traditionally understood as the ir/rational and disordered side of human development is an important step in the instrumentalisation of passion. Emotion is mobilised in calls such as to listen ‘empathically’, but simultaneously, it is reined in by naming and limiting how the body itself should perform. For example, Covey (1990) demands that managers listen, ‘with your ears, but you also listen with your eyes, and with your heart’ (p. 241). Training the body in how to feel and act is a critical dimension in training the manager.

Peters’ (1989) workers have a mission that links them to society. It is the ‘goodness’ of enterprising behaviour that makes it desirable and even admirable. Peters quotes George Gilder’s tribute to entrepreneurs, in the *Spirit of Enterprise*, where he argued that ‘[t]he entrepreneurs sustain the world’ (p. 245). Peters (1989) positions ‘the inventive genius’, the risktaker, and innovator, as the champions of organisations (pp. 245-294). This heroisation of routine behaviour is an important regulating device for underwriting the seduction of such activity. As Jeffcutt (1994) suggests, the heroic manager figure is given an opportunity for renewal and reinvention. ‘The quest can thus be understood as a heroic process of passage through which the quester (seeker) and their world, becomes re-ordered and

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2 The term *ethical* is used, following Gordon (1987), as ‘the means by which people come to understand and act upon themselves in relation to the true and false, the permitted and the forbidden, the desirable and the undesirable’ (quoted in du Gay, 1994, pp. 659-660).
transformed’ (Jeffcutt, 1994, p. 229). Effectively, this formulation of knowledge about the manager produces powerful mechanisms for regulating daily behaviours of members of organisations, by understanding these behaviours as passions and personal beliefs.

This particular formulation is recognisable as a move to replace and redraw, as well as to draw on the heroisation of entrepreneurial masters who have captured the imagination of authors and readers throughout the twentieth century, but particularly in the 1980s. According to this image, activity, passion, and self-fulfilment are the hallmarks of the employees of the 1990s. This identity construction is central to the knowledge produced in the *excellence* literature, and entails an all-encompassing self-regulation of heart, mind, and body.

The creation of an ‘imagined community’ (Clark & Salaman, 1998) of heroic managers is critical to this process. It is here that the idea of passionate involvement takes shape and gains hold as an ethical comportment. By giving the ‘dark’ side of rationality such visibility, its Other is also illuminated. As a consequence, the emotional side of managers emerges in an *excellent* organisation, according to Peters and Waterman (1982). For example, they suggest the following:

"B]usinesses are full (100 percent) of highly ‘irrational’, (by left brain standards), emotional human beings: people who want desperately to be on winning teams (‘seek transcendence’); individuals who thrive on the camaraderie of an effective small group or unit setting (‘avoid isolation’); creatures who want to be made to feel that they are in at least partial control of their destinies. (p. 60; also quoted in Rose, 1991, p. 115)

They go on to suggest that excellent organisations take advantage of the ‘emotional, *more primitive* side (good and bad) of human nature’ (my italics, p. 60). The valorisation of this emotional side is contained within the logic that it can still be managed: ‘All that stuff you have been dismissing for so long as intractable, irrational, intuitive, informal organisation can be managed’ (p. 11). Indeed, it allows Peters and Waterman (1982) to claim that ‘soft is hard’ (p.
The terms soft and hard, with their material embodiments, have connotations of the soft and flabby body of females and the hardness of masculinity, and also the extended connotation of the hard and difficult processes of thinking and scientific reasoning and the softness of emotional work. In their move to make ‘soft’, a hard task, Peters and Waterman make emotional work just as legitimate and rigorous as intellectual work.

This type of move overlaps with the multiplicity of gendered binary formulations that have been the subject of much feminist analysis. These include hard/ soft, rational/ emotional, independent/ nurturing, strategic/ spontaneous, and competitive/ co-operative (Morgan, 1986, p.179) and, more recently, controllable/ intractable (Calas & Smircich, 1991; Haraway, 1990; Grosz, 1994). While during the 1980s, the discourse of feminism and management still maintained a comfortable distance, the mobilisation of this knowledge in the 1990s has produced the possibility of new knowledge production. For example, Enterprising Nation (Midgley, 1995), Australia’s national blueprint for management and leadership excellence, claimed that the soft skills are harder to master than the hard skills such as the technical ones (p. 1248), and linked this to the role of women in business. Indeed, women are positioned as ‘embodying’ those skills.

Goleman’s (1996) repositioning of emotions as forms of intelligence is another important contribution to the construction of this new regime of truth about emotional involvement. By drawing on scientists of cognitive psychology and psychology of education, Goleman verifies his arguments for a ‘different kind of intelligence (p.36). He uses Gardner’s (1993) book on multiple intelligences to claim that interpersonal and intrapersonal intelligence are the keys to self-knowledge and other-knowledge (Cited in Goleman, p.39).

Goleman further claims that: ‘A life without passion would be a dull wasteland of neutrality, cut off and isolated from the richness of life itself’ (p.56). He goes on to say, nonetheless, that what we need is ‘appropriate’ emotion (p.56). Goleman provides a rationale for the changing valorisation of the emotions, giving EQ an equal significance with IQ, describing emotional intelligence as a ‘master’ aptitude, one that ‘affects all other abilities, either facilitating or

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1 Rose (1991) describes the flurry of attention to such entrepreneurs in Britain. The Australian attention to the now infamous Alan Bond and Christopher Skase represents a similar phenomenon.
interfering with them’ (p.80). The construction, by Descartes, of the separation of the rational and Other, is still maintained, but its transcendence is refuted. Numerous other moves in the book point to the shifting truth of emotion. Chapter headings such as *Managing with the Heart* and *Schooling the Emotions* suggest the thrust of the argument. Additionally, two of the appendices are particularly suggestive of the moral imperatives inherent in the text. Appendix A is a detailed definition of ‘emotion’, extending for two pages, and listing the families or dimensions of emotion; and Appendix C, entitled *The Self-Science Curriculum*, defines the actions that someone who is emotionally intelligent would engage in.

Another group of texts that supports the focus on the more passionate comportment of business life required in the 1990s derives its truth from metaphors of war and the exotic ‘other’. Two of these are Khoo Kheng-Hor’s (1990) *War at Work* and Chin-Ning Chu’s (1995) *Thick Face Black Heart*. The earlier *War at Work*, using Sun Tzu’s *Art of War* as a guide to the principles of good modern business practice, makes a number of moves that destabilise traditional common sense thinking about business practice. Firstly, the metaphor of war is used to give direction to business practice. This metaphor, with its language of strategy, victory, battles, and even deceit, provides both familiarity and ‘strangeness’. The familiarity comes in terms of the textual form, using memos to address managers and lead them through a series of issues about good management. However, drawing on Eastern knowledge frames allows the creation of new points of reference for discussion. These possibilities allow the discussion of ideas such as ‘deceit’ in business. By framing discussion in terms of the ‘manoeuvres’ and ‘tactical variations’ of battle, Khoo Keng-Hor argues that ‘[s]ometimes we have no choice but to put on masks and act out shows’ (p. 29), and again, to be ‘calm and mysterious’ (p. 46). The metaphor of performance is a critical device for the provision of both practical and moral prescription. This metaphor also links to other discourses of strategy commonly used in US business practice. Problematic action is described in terms of ‘irrational hangovers’ and successful action in terms ‘rational action’ and ‘control of destiny’ (See Knights & Morgan, 1991).
The opening pages of *War at Work* are also the sort of ‘surprise’ that Foucault (1986a) reminds is the very ‘stuff’ of truth making. *War at Work* opens with a story about the court of Prince He Lu, 2,500 years ago. Here, Sun Tzu, an aspiring strategist, was tested by his Prince to see if the principles of conducting war that he proposed could work. The test was conducted on the 180 concubines who composed Prince He Lu’s court. After a bad start, Sun Tzu managed to drill and discipline even these women. The harnessing of the women’s emotions serves as an interesting metaphor for the possibilities of taming the unruly and disordered, when even women can be disciplined.

Another text, in a similar vein, is *Thick Face Black Heart* by Chin-Ning Chu. As both a woman and an ex-Chinese national, Chin-Ning Chu speaks, as ‘other’, of the ‘Asian Mind Game’, of the possibilities of new identities for managers in the 1990s. Her popularity on the speaking circuit reflects the magic that gurus conjure, and the persuasive appeal of their highly rhetorical performances (Clark & Salaman, 1998). She argues that ‘ruthlessness’ and other emotions be managed with ‘dispassion’. By carefully drawing on the metaphor of the warrior, the samurai, and the general to describe and parallel the work of the entrepreneur (p. 14; p. 21), Chu shifts the terrain of possibilities so that she can speak about absolute ruthlessness performed in an ordered and disciplined way. A new discursive field, drawing on Eastern philosophy, manuals of war, and moral training, provides a model for ‘thriving and succeeding in everyday life using the ancient wisdom of the East’, to quote the book’s subtitle. What is critical to realise is twofold. First, that the conditions that make the arguments of Chu’s book ‘sayable’, in Western management, arise in their inter-connectedness with what might seem the more traditional Western views of authors like Peters and Covey. And second, the allusion to Eastern philosophy makes this knowledge at once both desirable and attractive to learn. However, its otherness is manageable because it can be inscribed in terms of the rationality/emotion framework unsettled by the *excellence* and *EQ* gurus.

This regime of truth about emotion, and the intensity of passion, entails training the bodies of managers to perform their work relationships as specific stylisations (Foucault, 1992) in the service of commerce. This pedagogy of the ‘heart’, with its stylisations of the intensity of emotional experience required for
doing business, entails the ordering of a range of passions, including ruthlessness and courage, in the service of business success. The body is inscribed with new possibilities that are both potentially liberating and limiting of freedom.

**Enterprising bodies**

The seductiveness of this instrumentalisation of emotion, in relation to managers, is intensified because the idea of enterprise and enterprising behaviour has a new salience in the 1990s (Foucault, 1991; du Gay, 1991,1994, 1996; Gordon, 1991). Being enterprising requires three different sets of virtues: being innovative, which includes the characteristics of vision, imagination and resourcefulness; managerial virtue, which includes effectiveness, leadership and superintendence; and liability to risk, which includes vulnerability to failure, and prospect of profit (Skillen, 1992, p. 75). Much of this can be learnt through traditional forms of education and training. However, part of the construction of the identities of managers relies, critically, on having the individual manager ‘care for the self’, as Foucault (1988) calls it, by paying attention to their daily practices. This attention to daily practices produces high levels of self-regulation, as managers, for example, examine how they are to act, as well as how they are to think. To be successful, managers are required to be ‘enterprising’. They are required to possess technical skills such as planning and organising. However, additionally, individuals are required to conduct themselves as particular sorts of moral objects. They must be responsible, even ‘anxious’ to take responsibility, be ‘active, not ‘passive’, and independent, not ‘dependent’ (OECD, 1989, p.36). They must also be able to communicate effectively and to negotiate and influence others. That is, they must be able to enact this ethical comportment. The constitution of the enterprising individual relies on ‘infolding’ (Deleuze in Rose, 1996, p. 143) these attributes. It maps out an ‘heroic quest’ for managers to seek out (Cairnes, 1998). Being enterprising provides a site for the playing out of mechanisms for both the regulation and the self-regulation of the subject. The employee of the 1990s, as enterprising, must monitor and test, as well as transform him or herself. Training the body to feel in particular ways plays an important part in this process. While an incitement to ‘initiate creative ideas’ evokes a sense of freedom, the aptitudes and self-regulation
required for the individual to ‘take responsibility’, and become a risk-taker, a collaborator, and a ‘negotiator’ (OECD, 1989), suggest both constraint and the cultivation of self-discipline.

Training to order the passions

To conclude the paper, I offer two examples of the way these new regimes of truth are enacted through ‘how to’ programs used to train managers in enterprising behaviour. Courses are often developed to achieve this objective. Manuals regularly form part of the training programs to support the learning of individuals. During 1992-1995, Australian management and managers were placed under scrutiny by the formation of a national taskforce, commissioned by the Australian government, the Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills. The outcome of millions of dollars of research and contemplation was a document entitled Enterprising Nation: Renewing Australia’s Managers to Meet the Challenges of the Asia-Pacific Century (Karpin, 1995). Along with the reports, the Task Force commissioned and produced a series of training packages and a significant initiative called the Frontline Management Initiative. Two of these are briefly discussed below, to draw attention to the way daily practice is shaped by the regimes of truth outlined above.

Manuals such as the Frontline Management Development Kit (Australian National Training Authority, 1998) provide important channels through which to explore the identity construction of the manager. The practice of creating manuals, in the hands of managers, draws attention to the way the re-engineering of managers for the Year 2000 in Australia is as much about shaping bodies as it is about cognitive processes. Carefully elaborated techniques and documentation provide step by step plans for producing managerial identity. The manuals work to provide regulation of the organisations that adopt the Kit, the trainers and assessors who administer the Kit, and the managers, themselves, who monitor and work on themselves. Each of these types of work, from training to assessing to being assessed, requires work on the self. For example, through the development of an Individual Development Plan (Frontline Management Development Kit, Participant’s Guide, pp. 22-30), managers construct and choose techniques to shape themselves, practice performing competencies as they are outlined,
and measure themselves against pre-established standards. They can use a Self-Assessment Form (p.30) that they are reminded is ‘not an end point of assessment, but it is a valuable starting point’ (p.30). They are also encouraged to engage their ‘coach’ or ‘co-ordinator’ to help them to improve the quality of their self-surveillance (p.30). The improvement of professional competencies, including establishing and managing relationships, and the development of ‘risk-taking’, ‘responsibility’, ‘empathy’, and ‘camaraderie’, as part of front-line management competencies, all point to the ways in which manuals and the knowledge regimes which shape them contribute to the self-regulation of managers. They are told that the ‘manner in which they conduct themselves’ and their commitment to ‘taking responsibility for their professional development’ are the keys to organisational and personal success.

Work on the self and the opportunity to act on others’ behaviour are the fundamental practices produced through manuals. Through mechanisms created for recording their reflections and planning their own re-invention, these personal development plans translate the imperatives for moral development of a particular kind into concrete forms and practices. The interface between the individual and the social body entails increasing freedom to choose how to act, and yet involves increasing capacities and channels for normalisation of ways of acting and being.

*Gender Issues in Management* (Edith Cowan University, 1996) is another manual from the Task Force that elaborates how managers should bring this new ordering of emotion to their everyday workplace practice, and how changing demographics make these ways to ‘feel’ more appropriate. The second module in the manual for MBA programs, on the culture of management, sets up a clear binary formulation of the traditional ‘masculine model’ versus the desired ‘feminine model’. By claiming that ‘the under-utilisation of a significant proportion of the available and future workforce is a significant waste of resources and a serious liability.... for competitiveness’ (p. 63), the ‘failure’ of the present system and the requirement to ‘break the chains of the old mindset’ (p. 63) are established. This ‘old mindset’ is then linked to a masculine model of management and leadership. Two quotes that crystallise the binary formulation of past and present requirements come from
two gurus of management, McGregor and Peters. McGregor’s (1967) statement is used to both personify the old way, and simultaneously underline that women’s ways have always been important and present, even if unacceptable. He claimed that:

[T]he model of the successful manager in our culture is a masculine one. The good manager is aggressive, competitive, firm, just. He is not feminine, he is not soft or yielding or dependent or intuitive in the womanly sense. The very expression of emotion is widely viewed as a feminine weakness that would interfere with effective business processes. ... [These emotions] are repressed but this does not render them inactive’. (McGregor, 1967, quoted in Edith Cowan University: Hutchinson, Smith, & Crowley, 1996, p. 76)

While downplaying the emotional side of management, this definition clearly consolidates a specific set of practices as inherent in the manager, linked to the ‘masculine’ and the past. This quote from McGregor achieves the important effect of casting into relief an element of the identity of the manager that was previously present, but had been under-emphasised.

The authors of the curriculum material then position this image against what women can offer organisations (pp. 83-89), and the relationship of these characteristics to successful organisations for the Year 2000. Quoting Peters (1991), as a contemporary guru, establishes the truth of their claims. Peters posits that:

[a]s we rush in to the 1990s, there is little disagreement about what business must become: less hierarchical, more flexible and team oriented, faster and more fluid. And in my opinion, one group of people has an enormous advantage in realising this necessary new vision: women. Modern management methods reflect women’s inherent strengths - and those most outmoded reflect men’s inherent weaknesses. (quoted in Edith Cowan University: Hutchinson, Smith, & Crowley, 1996, p. 84)

The direct link between the excellence literature (for which Peters is the primary authority) and gender demonstrates the overlapping and divergent sources of knowledge which can coalesce to produce truth.

The manual provides a list of appropriate behaviour (characterised as women’s communication style). Prescriptions for a particular form of moral engagement are implied through this list. Women are claimed to:

- listen more and interrupt less;
- adopt an informal collaborative style...;
- use language that is more questioning and reflective;
• nominate participative, problem-solving strategies;
• choose collaborative, negotiated resolution to conflict rather than hierarchical authority based strategies. (Edith Cowan University: Hutchinson, Smith, & Crowley, 1996, p. 86)

Specific strategies that women use, such as speech which is ‘polite, indirect, employing many softening devices to avoid imposing beliefs or agreements on others through strong statements or commands’ (Case, quoted in Hutchinson, Smith, & Crowley, 1996, p. 87) are also introduced. The attention to daily practices of speaking, listening, language use, and a range of ‘softening devices’, including styles of handling conflict and techniques for decision-making, shores up a particular identity for the manager as an embodied subject. They are prescriptions for action. By advocating the adoption of these micro-practices in the workplace, an increasingly self-regulated workforce is produced.

This focus on women’s styles of communication and ways of relating can be understood as a form of the instrumentalisation of passion discussed earlier. The traditional masculine/feminine hierarchy of logic/emotion is unsettled. However, control of emotions is nonetheless suggested by the instrumental way in which these ‘devices’ are given visibility in the manuals. Both women and men are expected to ‘employ’ them in situations where emotions run high, such as in conflict and decision-making where differing opinions may reign. Emotions are not understood to be a disruptive force in such a representation, but rather are seen as able to be controlled and functionally engaged. The disorder of passion is transformed into ordered passion. The contribution of feminists and gender experts to the production of this knowledge makes them complicit in this reaffirmation, and facilitates the process of naturalising emotional engagement in organisational life.

Conclusion
Rewriting the identity of managers in the 1990s entails new freedoms to give new shape to those dimensions of workplace life that have been frowned upon for so long. However, the analysis offered above does not suggest that it is simply a process of liberation and progress that invites new practices for a range of managers, both male and female. Understanding the ‘emotional’ life
of workers in the 1990s can be fruitfully explored by suspending judgement about the characteristics of ‘enlightened’ emotional life, and recognising feeling emotion as a form of training.

The intersection of many truths about ‘entrepreneur’, as a risk-taking, passionate, innovative, and effective, responsible leader and manager of people (a woman’s way) and events, has produced the enterprising manager of the 1990s. This paper has traced some of them. The excellence literature, the work on EQ, and the work of gurus drawing on Eastern models of training provide one set of insights into this regime of truth. Through this particular intersection, and the ways in which thinking Other has been made possible, new incitements to be ‘passionate’ are imaginable.

Creating the conditions of possibility for this new valorisation of the emotional dimensions of organisational life, not just the rational aspects, has in its turn, has created new possibilities. First, in the intersection of the discourses of emotional response in managerial life with the common sense understandings of women as driven by emotion, new ways of being a manager have been created and new opportunities for women to be entrepreneurs have evolved. Being passionate, however, does not only entail the ‘concupiscible’ (Hopfl & Linstead, 1993), traditionally understood as the virtues of ‘good’ behaviour. Passion, for contemporary managers, also implies the importance of ‘anger’ (Peters, 1989), ‘deceit’ (Kheng Hor, 1990), and ruthlessness (Chin-Ning Chu (1995). These ‘irascible’ qualities must however, like their more positive counterparts, be performed ‘appropriately’, as Goleman argues. Their use is to be dispassionate and functional. As Chu (1995) asserts,

> It is about tapping into that state of perfect strength, perfect control, and perfect detachment in fulfilling your worthy objectives. (p. 277)

Thus, to feel in certain ways is also an (un)freedom. It demands perfect control and is also prescribed in particular ways in organisational life. These new moral imperatives, labelled as the entrepreneurial ‘virtue’ of passion, come in many forms, ranging from hating bureaucracy to listening with empathy to co-workers, to acting ruthlessly in pursuit of personal and organisational objectives. Ordering passion, to achieve these objectives in the service of good managerial practice, dislocates the disorder of passion. It becomes, as Chu (1995) proposes, possible to make passion ‘dispassionate’.
And in doing so, Chu claims, it personifies ‘the greatest natural resource: the ... entrepreneurial spirit’ (p. 336). It also becomes clear that making managers who are passionate may well inspire new dreams of success, but will undoubtedly destroy others.

REFERENCES


