Human Resource Development Review

Interrogating Emotions in Police Leadership

Edward N. Drodge and Steven A. Murphy

The online version of this article can be found at:

Published by:

SAGE

On behalf of:

Academy of Human Resource Development

Additional services and information for **Human Resource Development Review** can be found at:

Email Alerts: http://hrd.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts

Subscriptions: http://hrd.sagepub.com/subscriptions

Reprints: http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav

Permissions: http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav

Citations http://hrd.sagepub.com/cgi/content/refs/1/4/420

Interrogating Emotions in Police Leadership

EDWARD N. DRODGE
STEVEN A. MURPHY
Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Theoretical discourse about leadership was traditionally conceived as a rational process of social action emanating from a leader whose traits were deemed largely responsible for the success or failure of the organization. The role of emotions in leadership, when they were discussed at all, tended to be viewed either negatively as irrational dimensions of mind interfering with the rational business of leading or as a discrete psychological category subsumed within emotional intelligence. In this article, the authors conceptualize emotions holistically as an embodied phenomenon that mediates the social process of leadership. They discuss police leadership as a specific organizational context that shapes and constrains emotional expression and suggest ways that emotional intelligence might be construed to aid police leadership development.

Leadership ranks among the most researched and debated topics in the social sciences (George, 2000). Recently, police organizations have succumbed to the allure of leadership as a topic of discussion and research (Adlam, 2001; Kobe, Reiter-Palmon, & Rickers, 2001). In some countries, Canada for instance, the expected exodus of senior police leaders as baby boomers retire en masse lends a sense of urgency to the issue of leadership succession planning and development. At a practical level, identifying who may be a good police leader and defining the characteristics of effective police leadership remain a challenge. However, the broad topic of leadership is even more problematic if one considers the theoretical heterogeneity of the field (Yukl, 2002) and the deeper question of defining leadership (Barker, 2001). In this article, we fuse our interest in police leadership to our understanding of contemporary theorizing and research on the topic of emotions.
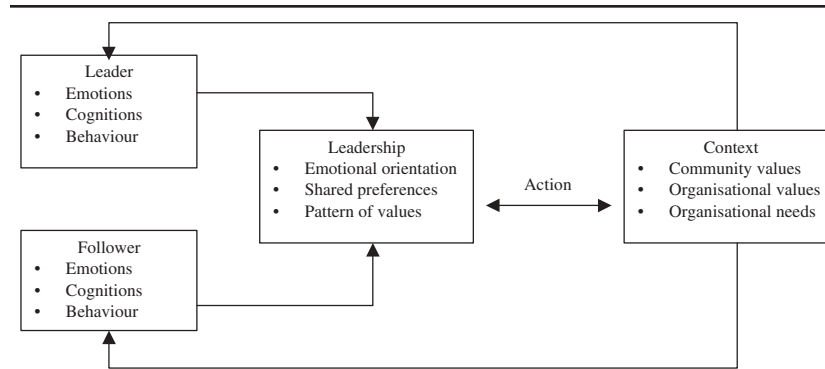
FIGURE 1: Leadership as an Emotional Orientation Arising From a Set of Shared Preferences and a Pattern of Values

Police work provides an interesting organizational context for the exploration of emotions using several theoretical lenses such as the relationship between rationality and emotionality, the social construction of emotions, and emotional intelligence. Police organizations and police work are affect laden because of cultural and social rules and because of the nature of the work itself, particularly as it occurs at the interface with public law and order. The prescription for police emotions, the rational business of policing, and the appetite for leadership development processes all provide considerable challenges for police leadership that have been largely neglected.

In the first part of the article, we interrogate the topic of emotions in police leadership by noting an alternative discourse about leadership that emphasizes the role of socially defined values and by reviewing briefly an embodied mind perspective on emotions. Then we discuss police work as a particular context for the socialization of emotions and explore the potential strengths and difficulties associated with the emotional intelligence construct for leadership development. Next, we pose a critical examination of emotions in transformational leadership theory by exploring the police leadership context. Finally, we propose coaching and mentoring as valuable leadership development strategies and identify several potential paths for research on the topic of emotions in police leadership. In short, this article highlights the point that leadership is an emotional process and that the context for police leadership is defined by the emotional orientation of the organization, the wider culture, and the interpersonal relationships that permeate both (see Figure 1).

Leadership

Leadership is an inescapable part of our everyday existence. We have political leaders, cultural leaders, and spiritual leaders. In most organiza-

tional settings, we have corporate leaders, directors, managers, and union bosses. But leadership is distinct from its embodiment by leaders and proves to be very difficult to define clearly. In this article, we are guided by Barker's (2001) critique of the leadership literature that questions conventional understanding of the topic. In particular, we concur with the view that leadership is a "process of transformative change" (p. 491) and that leadership is about merging individual ethics with community morals "as a means of evolutionary social development" (p. 491). This resonates strongly with our conceptualization of leadership as a complex interplay of socially mediated processes occurring at the intersection of emotions and action. Leadership is manifested not through the emotions a leader displays nor by a leader's emotional intelligence. The critical issue is the emotional preferences or values of individuals underlying their thinking and acting that contribute to working toward a common goal. Emotions, then, are central to the pattern of values (Barker, 2001, p. 473) that emerge as leadership.

All leadership theories vary in the explicitness with which they treat the role of emotions, but there is little doubt that elaboration of an "emotional intelligence" theory (Goleman, 1995; Mayer & Salovey, 1997) has brought the emotions to the forefront of many recent theoretical discussions about leadership. Prior to this awareness, the emotions were largely treated as ancillary to rational, cognitive, and behavioral processes associated with leadership. This is particularly evident in the world of policing. But most leadership theories persist in situating emotions in the shadows of rational processes.

For example, the trait approach to the study of leadership focuses on those stable dimensions of personality that are observable in individuals recognized as leaders, typically encompassing cognitive abilities and behavioral skills. But trait emotions such as optimism and calmness, as opposed to the more fleeting state emotions, are also markers of leadership that are thought to dwell within a leader, even though these emotional traits are implicitly understood to be less important than the cognitive and behavioral traits. Furthermore, emotional traits (e.g., showing vulnerability) in this perspective are typically regarded as separate independent factors from cognitive traits such as intuition, serving to perpetuate the dichotomizing of thinking and feeling. The issue of trait stability has generated some distracting debate in the leadership domain regarding whether leaders are born or can be developed. It now seems clear that leadership comprises a repertoire of behaviors, traits, intelligence, and values (e.g., Kelloway & Barling, 2000), supporting the notion that developmental experiences can be mobilized in the pursuit of leadership.

Apart from research conducted under the guise of trait theory that has identified specific emotional traits associated with leadership (e.g., emotional maturity), other leadership theories have only indirectly explained or

studied the role of emotions. For example, leader-member exchange theory (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995) concurs with our fundamental premise that leadership is a social process (involving followers) and that the emotionally aware leader is better able to respond to the needs of followers in an effective manner. Contingency theory (Fiedler, 1967) and path-goal theory (House, 1971) utilize moderating variables such as leader-member relations to account for the impact of leadership, yet although emotions form the basis for such relations, they are inexplicably peripheral in both these theoretical perspectives. It is rare to see emotion at the center of a leadership model, particularly one that conceptualizes leadership as a social process.

Transformational leadership theory (Bass, 1985) provides the most explicit account of the role of emotions in leadership. Transformational leaders are characterized by the ability to motivate followers to strive toward and achieve their visionary goals through a process of idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration (4-Is) (Bass, 1990). Emotions have a motivational function (Schwarz, 1990) that is evident in transformational leadership. For example, a passionate speech might energize a group of individuals to achieve something far greater than would otherwise have been accomplished without the motivational effects of the emotions. In the case of the 4-Is of transformational leadership theory, if we consider that they require a pattern of behavior that has value for others, then one of the keys to leadership is knowing what sort of behavior has maximal value for others.

Emotions

The emotions are a background to cognition and behavior. They are continuous phenomena emerging in a social context, either real or imagined. For the purposes of our discussion, it is evident that the organizational literature largely construes the emotions as commodities, as raw material that can be acquired, developed, and manipulated. In this section, we summarize several key theoretical positions about emotions to make explicit the underlying assumptions guiding our discussion of emotions and police leadership.

There is widespread agreement that feeling and thinking are inseparable (Ben-Ze'ev, 2000; Gigerenzer & Selten, 2001; Maturana, 1988). Emotions are intertwined with human thinking and behavior, not psychologically distinct from them, and certainly are not a lesser human faculty somehow subservient to rationality. However, as a substrate for human thinking and action, the emotions are not necessarily conscious. We often think and act without awareness of emotions. Nevertheless, one finding from cognitive psychology suggests that by attending to our emotions, we can alter our cognitions and thereby learn to transform our personal and social world

(Oatley, 1992). This is a central feature of the emotional intelligence construct (Mayer & Salovey, 1997).

Another central issue emerging from the renewed interest in emotions is the underlying dichotomy between mind and body that has permeated the study of mind since Descartes's famous aphorism *cogito, ergo sum*. The dichotomy is evident because of a fundamental circularity of the human mind. That is, we are using the mind to speculate on the mind, and a way out of the dilemma is resorting to a figure-ground perspective with the basic emotions underpinning the socially constructed ones. However, the embodied mind perspective (Maturana & Varela, 1980; Varela, Thompson, & Rosch, 1991) together with neuroscience (Damasio, 1994) has disrupted this tendency to separate mind and body and, by extension, has conflated thinking and feeling. In this frame, then, emotions are an example of "consilience," Edward O. Wilson's (1998) notion that there is a physical reality that is only realized through the social world. This is similar to Ashforth and Humphrey's (1995, p. 100) plea for a "middle-ground" concerning the coexistence of both an embodied and socially constructed view of human emotion. This is an important distinction because of our key assumption that leadership is a social process that is influenced greatly by emotional vicissitudes.

Nevertheless, vestiges of the dual mind perspective continue to resonate in the study of emotions with the suggestion that there are basic emotions originating in the body, constituting a natural theory of emotions, along with secondary emotions constituted through language and culture. These basic emotions are rooted in brain physiology (Ledoux, 1996) and are associated with fundamental processes (e.g., revulsion) that are distinct from beliefs, desires, and judgments arising from a history of social interaction. Secondary emotions are manifested via socialization by the family and peers, as well as by cultural and physical environments (Johnson, 1987; Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 1992). Another viewpoint (Griffiths, 1997) suggests that the term *emotion* is misleading because it treats three different psychological categories (brain program, evolutionary psychology, and social constructionism) as if they were one unified construct.

All of this would suggest that the topic of emotions is a complex, value-laden concept inappropriate for study and utility in organizational life and that emotions are disruptive, illogical, biased, weak, and a deviation from what is seen as sensible or intelligent (Putnam & Mumby, 1993). The stereotype of the rational decision maker is a person who can set aside his or her personal feelings (emotions) and calmly calculate the best course of action to deal with the problem or opportunity. It is this somewhat pedestrian view of the emotions that we wish to dispense with to demonstrate the full significance of emotions for the advancement of the police leadership literature.

Emotional Labor

Emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983) can be defined as the effort required to feign emotions for organizational objectives (Putnam & Mumby, 1993), a situation that can create considerable emotional dissonance. Despite the effort required for such an emotional display, disagreeing with the norm for expressed emotion creates more dissonance than does faking an acceptable emotional display (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Perhaps this is why people engaged in emotional labor appear to be so accepting of the emotional rules. Emotional expressions may become "objectified as part of an organisational system that members treat as inevitable and immutable" (Mumby & Putman, 1992, p. 473). Of course, felt and expressed emotions are not necessarily always consistent. In any social situation, individual cognitive processes and cultural norms necessitate some degree of emotional control. Attempting to control anger, tone of voice, or demeanor, for example, may be stressful (Morris & Feldman, 1996). But when emotional labor becomes institutionalized with deliberate norms aimed at serving organizational ends, the tension between felt and feigned emotions can have negative consequences (e.g., Richards & Gross, 2000).

Police officers are socialized against overt displays of emotion, with a high value placed on detached rationality, what Ashforth and Humphrey (1995) referred to as the "prescription of emotion" (p. 107). The ideals of neutrality, objectivity, and impartiality are viewed as necessary antecedents of professionalism in the male-dominated institution of policing. The emotional prescription for police work is tacitly understood: calm disengagement, affectless order, and unquestioning obeisance. There is a presumption that rational thinking can exist in a pure state devoid of emotional content, something that is highly valued in police work where the phrase "Just tell me the facts" belies a deep mistrust of emotions and a presumption that facts are untainted by emotional color. Certainly, this focus on facts by police is dictated largely by the legal requirements that there be a preponderance of evidence for the dispensation of justice. The emotional facts of a case are deemed valuable only in ascribing motive for a particular crime, and indeed, crimes of passion are dealt with severely by courts because of their implicit lack of self-control over the lesser irrational human faculties (Posner, 1999). Yet there is substantial evidence (e.g., Stocker & Hegeman, 1996) that the emotions are an aspect of human psychology that exert a powerful influence over a range of judgments and ethical decisions despite the widespread belief that such judgments and decisions are made in a hermetic sphere of rationality. To speak of self-control over one's emotions connotes a duality of mind where a logical, rational part battles to maintain control over a reckless, irrational part, a situation disputed and increasingly refuted by cognitive science (e.g., Damasio, 1994).

Police personnel are taught the value of certain positive and negative emotions to help police officers adjust their social interaction to organizational aims. Rafaeli and Sutton (1991) described how investigators are trained to interrogate suspects, highlighting the role that emotions play in this important police activity. To elicit confessions from suspects, police interrogators employ combinations of positive and negative emotions, treating emotion as a commodity with a particular exchange value. Investigators typically have to feign emotions, and this can easily lead to role confusion and an inability to identify and experience their own emotions. Emotions in this guise become mere public performances.

It is ironic that police personnel are socialized to curb their own emotions, and there are strong cultural norms aimed at controlling this, whereas on the other hand, they are trained to be vigilant about other people's emotional displays, particularly criminal suspects. Again, emotionality is construed as a weakness, as something negative that undermines higher human functioning. The emotions are infantilized in this police worldview. It must be recognized that the unquestioned authority of rationality that eschews the place of emotions in police work has implications for issues such as how the victims and perpetrators of crime are perceived and treated and the long-term negative effects of emotional repression on personal and family life (e.g., Pogrebin & Poole, 1991). In the next section, we focus on the concept of emotional intelligence and its importance for leadership before moving on to describing the relationship between emotions and police leadership.

Emotional Intelligence

The emotions have been corralled into a strongly materialist quarter in the organizational literature, corporealized and packaged as emotional intelligence for hungry organizations. Fineman (2000) was critical of the emotional intelligence bandwagon in the field of management, contending that emotional intelligence "crudely captures and simplifies emotion" (p. 17). His chief criticisms centered on the readiness of many organizational consultants to reify emotional intelligence and establish a hierarchy of emotions and the presumption that emotional intelligence is a discrete construct that is easily defined and measured. Nevertheless, the emotional intelligence construct, used prudently and critically, sits comfortably at the nexus of leadership, emotions, rationality, and transformational change.

In describing emotional intelligence (Mayer & Salovey, 1997) as the ability of an individual to understand and manage his or her own emotions and those of others, this notion of a pattern of value is apparent as a type of knowing that can contribute to effective leadership. Emotions as abilities make sense if emotions are regarded as high-intensity feelings triggered by specific stimuli (internal or external to the individual) that demand attention

and either attenuate or enhance cognitive processes and behavior (Forgas, 1992). An ability model of emotions has applicability for leadership development because it addresses how emotions are socially mediated in an organizational context. However, by weaving emotional intelligence into the praxis of organizational life as "ability," there is the temptation to promote the plasticity of emotional intelligence (cf. Fineman, 2000). In contrast, a brain-centered view of the emotions (e.g., Ledoux, 1996) suggests implacability and resistance to significant shaping. Developing emotional intelligence, in the latter view, would entail deep self-exploration to more fully realize how one's emotional life shapes encounters with others and one's own behavior. This process of self-knowledge resembles the kind of experience one would have in personal therapy or counseling and points to the superficiality of many organizational attempts to influence emotional intelligence.

Psychotherapy and counseling provide an opportunity to bring what may be partly realized or unconscious into consciousness. Such personal growth processes are largely about developing self-awareness that serves as a basis for personal decision making, work adjustment, and relationship building. However, therapeutic efficacy depends on the development of a strong working alliance (Bordin, 1979), client motivation (Keithley, Samples, & Strupp, 1980), and mutually constructed goals (Locke & Latham, 1984). The organizational context does not easily provide these conditions for the development of emotional intelligence primarily because of the issue of trust. There are different goals and agendas at play such as individual careerism and organizational appraisal that compromise the trust and commitment required of individuals to develop emotional intelligence in the service of the organization. There are also implicit and explicit power hierarchies in organizations that constrain the development and utilization of emotional intelligence. Optimally effective therapy and counseling provide the conditions for the expansion of individual potential into a variety of unforeseen realms. Organizational interest in emotional intelligence has a restricted focus that reduces the breadth and depth of such individual possibilities. However, coaching and mentoring in an organizational context can provide relationship conditions similar to personal counseling. We turn to these activities in the last part of the article.

Another way to construe emotional intelligence is self-understanding and the understanding of others emerging from the construction of a shared meaning, or emotional orientation (Drodge & Reid, 2000; Maturana, 1988). The sensitivity to other people's emotions is central to being a leader and produces a dynamic grounded in personal experience, mutual understanding, and community (Putnam & Mumby, 1993). The emotional orientation of a community is the culturally defined recognizable patterns of relating to each other that includes shared beliefs, values, ways of communicating, and

forms of acting. However, people are often unaware of their emotional orientation and are therefore sometimes unable to reflect on their emotional state. To what extent are police officers aware of their emotional orientation? Furthermore, would police officers more aware of their own and others' emotions be more effective leaders?

Recent research suggests that police officers need emotional competence to work in an ambiguous, stress-laden context in which productive work is increasingly team based, project bound, community oriented, and continually changing (George, 2000; Putnam & Mumby, 1993). By drawing awareness to emotions and the important connections to police work, we are simply asserting that this marginalized aspect of organizational life offers alternative ways of viewing police leadership and development.

Emotions and Leadership

A number of changes have occurred in Western policing cultures during the past decade that stimulate the need for a greater understanding about the role of emotions in police leadership. Community-based policing, the entry of women into senior management positions, and the assignment of some police forces to peacekeeping and international police training missions require a shift in the way that emotions are acculturated and understood if police organizations are to successfully navigate these new policing landscapes.

For example, trait theory provides a useful but limited perspective for understanding the role of emotions in police leadership. Police organizations can institute some emotional screening in recruitment testing that seeks to identify stable emotional traits that are deemed suitable for police work while simultaneously rejecting individuals on the basis of negative emotional characteristics. Personality testing is most useful in this selection activity. However, as recent evidence suggests (Brothers, 1997), the emotions are not simply unyielding intrapsychic phenomena but are also socially constructed and therefore flexible and subject to shaping. A study of police in New Zealand (Howard, Tuffin, & Stephens, 2000) highlights this point that emotions are cultural adornments in police organizations whereby some emotion-laden topics are discussed freely whereas others have an aura of emotional taboo because there are police culture sanctions against their expression. Clearly in this case, trait theory cannot fully account for contextual influences that lead to a particular typology of police emotions arising from socialization and cultural norms and that can be developed in a particular direction. Emotional expression in this example results from the interaction of individual traits, culture, and social situation.

As indicated earlier in the article, the emotions are central to transformational leadership theory (Bass, 1985). Transformational leader-

ship implicates those being led, the employees, subordinates, or followers, in the leadership process. Quite clearly, followers are a necessary part of the leadership equation; indeed, transformational leadership is defined by the ability of a leader to motivate followers to transcend their own personal goals for the greater good of the organization (Bass, 1996). Prominent leadership historian James McGregor Burns pointed out in a recent interview (Bailey & Axelrod, 2001) that he uses the term "transforming leadership to emphasise the reciprocal relationship between leader and follower" (p. 119). The terms *transforming* and *relationship* implicate the emotions and a pattern of values as key dimensions of the leadership process. However, this raises the possibility that transformational leadership can also involve the charisma of an individual who motivates individuals toward unethical or illegal goals, something which Bass and Steidlmeier (1999) term *pseudo-transformational* (p. 187).

Clearly, unethical or illegal behavior can have enormous value for some individuals, motivating them into action and creating a leadership situation that is corrupt. In the policing context, there are many examples of corrupt behavior that has appealed to a subculture of police officers and that has had tremendously negative repercussions for individual organizations and police forces in general (Punch, 2000). It is important to recall Barker's (2001) definition of leadership referred to earlier in this article at this point because it contains notions of individual ethics and community values. Policing as a social institution rests largely on these two foundations, so to observe and study something called "police leadership," close attention must be paid to the role of emotions in individual ethics and community values.

For idealized influence, individualized consideration, inspirational motivation, and intellectual stimulation to be evident in a police context, there must be some value in the behavior or attributed behavior for a group of police officers. But to be transformational, that is, to motivate a large group of individual police officers to engage in the social development of a police organization, the behavior or attributed behavior must have widespread value. And because police forces in democratic societies must conform to a set of values prescribed by the larger communities in which they operate, what we observe to be police leadership must also have values consonant with the wider public. This poses considerable challenges for police organizations with regard to identifying and developing individuals who best represent the values that are capable of "evolutionary social development" (Barker, 2001, p. 491).

There are many instances of morally corrupt and politically expedient police leadership that usurped power and ignored societal values (e.g., Punch, 2000). It is also evident that police forces in Western democracies have not been particularly proactive and responsive to societal changes. For

example, police officers have seen first-hand the effects of family violence yet have done little about responding at a deeper level to change the legal system to protect women and children in abusive situations. Women's advocacy groups, the medical profession, and educators were more instrumental than the police in lobbying and instituting changes despite the fact that police personnel are on the front lines in responding to family violence. Police organizations tend to be reactive and slow in responding to societal changes, because they must wait for society's values to evolve to the point where police policies and procedures receive widespread public approval. HR practices that are effective in selecting and promoting the best police leaders are nullified in the face of the cultural evolution of values that act to constrain those leaders from being transformational.

It is assumed that police officers implicitly agree about the importance of upholding the letter of the law in respecting the importance of individual rights and freedoms in a civilized society. However, some laws concerning individual rights and freedoms are seen as impediments to fighting crime. For example, obtaining a search warrant in Canada is often cited by police officers as an onerous activity that frequently impinges on their ability to arrest an obvious suspect. In this case, the abstract law runs headlong into the reality of building a case based on evidence that may be difficult to obtain. Police leaders must thread a line between respect for community values as expressed in law and a sense of shared value as a police officer working to solve crime and maintain public peace and order. It is easier to idealize the police brotherhood or to inspire collective actions for the police culture than it is to transform the police organization for widespread social evolution. A countercultural emotional orientation (shared preference for action) is far more likely to motivate police behavior than the cool abstraction of law. On the other hand, a formal police leader who is clear in respecting the law and the code of behavior with respect to rights and freedoms, while simultaneously empathizing with subordinates, would be acting as a moral (emotional) example for followers. This latter situation is difficult to accomplish.

When individuals share an emotional experience, they may be influenced through emotional contagion (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994). There are three ways to "catch" another's emotions. First, through conscious cognitive processes, individuals can empathize with a display of emotion. Second, through conditioned or unconditioned responses, people may feel and display emotion based on prior experiences. Finally, individuals may mimic the emotion displayed by another (Hatfield et al., 1994). Emotional contagion in a police context is evident in a variety of situations. For example, when another officer is killed in the line of duty, there is a widespread expression of unanimity, sympathy, and anger among police personnel. When a child is abducted and murdered, police are energized into massive,

coordinated, swift action to catch the killer. Basic emotions ("affect program"; Griffiths, 1997) are aroused in these situations as opposed to secondary emotions (Damasio, 1994). Secondary emotions are culturally defined and acted out as social myths. Public laws, police policies, and institutionalized police bureaucracy entail an emotional orientation, but the emotions are not as motivational because the context evokes secondary emotions. Police leadership emerges when an individual is able to appeal to the basic emotions by linking policies and laws to personal values in a large number of police officers. Inspirational motivation and intellectual stimulation require individuals to adopt an emotional orientation that has personal value.

However, it should also be noted that emotional contagion is not necessarily positive (Lewis, 2000). In fact, formal police leaders may gain credibility with their subordinates by dismissing policies that emanate from central headquarters as being out of touch with policing realities. Subordinates may mimic the negative emotion expressed toward senior management as a conditioned response to their supervisor's display of negative affect. Formal police leaders need to be aware of their emotional effect on subordinates, an area where emotional intelligence as ability might have some impact.

Inspirational motivation involves providing meaning to followers through collective action (Ashkanasy & Tse, 2000). That is, by providing an understanding of how the police officer on the street fits into the grand scheme of the organization, the leader provides his or her subordinates with a unifying vision. The community-based policing model requires a paradigm shift from reactive police enforcement to proactive community involvement aimed at alleviating some of the root causes of crime. In contrast to the professional model of policing that reinforced cultural norms surrounding detached emotional involvement from the community, community policing called for the building of relationships with key community stakeholders. A formal police leader would be acting in a transformational manner by encouraging officers to become more attuned to a community's emotional orientation through building relationships in the community. Police leaders have the potential to inspire and encourage individual police officers to work toward goals that have value in society beyond the rather narrow constraints provided by typical police work. The optimal emotional orientation to be achieved must bridge both basic emotions that are deeply personal and secondary emotions that have cultural and social significance.

To be intellectually stimulated involves questioning assumptions and finding new ways of doing things (Bass, 1990). Such behavior is imbedded in an emotional context or comprises an emotional orientation. Intellectuality and affect are symbiotic. Some authors (e.g., Ashkanasy & Tse, 2000) question whether leadership development could have any effect on intellectual stimulation, as they argue that conventional intelligence is not amena-

ble to improvement through training. However, if we consider the "ability model" of emotional intelligence (Caruso, Mayer, & Salovey, 2002), police officers can learn to be more emotionally aware of themselves and others, and this can become the basis for a new emotional orientation that seeks creative solutions to issues confronting police. For example, police officers are socialized to not question assumptions because such questioning can have life-threatening implications in dangerous situations. However, there is a diminution of personal self-efficacy if this powerful socialization influence carries over into a police officer's duties that do not have life-threatening implications. Becoming self-aware of one's own assumptions and the assumptions underlying the behavior of commanding officers, colleagues, criminals, and victims may provide police officers with a valuable emotional tool. The danger, as pointed out earlier, is that emotional intelligence is enlisted as a systematic tool to alter emotional orientation in a police organization. Trust between individuals must be evident prior to such developmental activities, and this is predicated on emotional awareness. In a sense, emotional intelligence development is not possible without trust, and if trust is already apparent, then emotional intelligence development may be less necessary. This is one of the many paradoxes associated with human emotions making their organizational utilization highly problematic.

Coaching and Mentoring for Leadership

The organizational literature has noted the importance of coaching and mentoring in the development of leaders (Day, 2000). However, the relevance of emotions for leadership is largely left to proponents of emotional intelligence. This section outlines briefly the possible roles that coaching and mentoring can play in the development of transformational police leaders.

Coaching and *mentoring* are terms often used interchangeably in the organizational literature, but important distinctions should be highlighted. We refer specifically to executive coaching as any intervention aimed at improving executive performance and the performance of the organization. Coaches can be internal or external to the organization, although internal coaching is more difficult because of professional boundaries, the limits to confidentiality, and the barriers to establishing a trusting relationship that ensue as a result of this. Coaching has also been described as organizational consulting, and its connections to counseling and clinical psychology are strong (Rotenberg, 2000). Coaching requires the same kind of relationship-building skills as counseling and therapy with the added knowledge of contemporary management and organizational trends. One management consulting firm describes coaching in terms of five strategies: forging a partnership, inspiring commitment, growing skills, promoting persistence, and shaping

the environment (Peterson, 1996). There has been little empirical research on adherence to or compliance with coaching protocols (Kilburg, 2001), nor have there been many outcome studies documenting the efficacy of coaching for the individual and the organization (Kampa-Kokesch & Anderson, 2001). Some of the ongoing concerns in the area of executive coaching include who the client is (the executive or the organization), the nature of coaching outcomes (what change looks like), and inherent difficulties in establishing trust in a coaching relationship.

Mentoring relationships, in contrast, tend to be more informal in nature and usually involve a one-on-one hierarchical relationship (typically, but not always, at middle- or senior-management level). Mentoring relationships are usually designed to develop a protégé for a particular organizational outcome (often succession into a higher level position). The mentor typically has a wealth of tacit knowledge about the work and working conditions associated with a particular job or function, including skills, knowledge, and abilities, but also sociopolitical processes (Gibb, 1999) that are shared with the protégé.

The efficacy of coaching and mentoring as leadership development tools is largely dependent on the type of working alliance shared by the parties, the motivation of the individual being coached or mentored, and the extent to which goals are mutually constructed. In other words, an effective coaching or mentoring relationship must be one of trust. There must also be some perceived value or emotional connection with the coach or mentor for an individual to be willing to take the significant step toward self-reflection.

The foundation for the development of leaders in coaching and mentoring relationships is a shared emotional orientation. That is, the protégé or individual being coached must value or resonate with some values or behaviors in the mentor or coach. These values can be consistent or inconsistent with organizational objectives. For instance, there is some evidence that for a subculture of individuals, being coached in the fine skills of corruptive behavior is particularly attractive (Alford, 1999), and this can be a shared emotional orientation. Alford (1999) went on to say that "the task of a leader is to give voice to the ego ideal, distinguishing its progressive and regressive aspects, interpreting the charms of corruption, while resisting them" (p. 201). In a sense, there are transgressive mentors who can also be transformational. But such individuals may be shaping future leaders through a set of shared values and an emotional orientation that may not be serving organizational ends.

There are significant constraints on creating a dynamic of interpersonal trust conducive to self-reflection, especially in police environments. First of all, supervisors may play a role in pay and promotion decisions, so the conditions for creating an atmosphere of emotional trust may be marginalized. Second, and more important, the police culture is one of shared camaraderie

in work that is generally mundane and linear but punctuated with moments of exhilaration and danger (Jackall, 1997). It is an oral culture in which story swapping and gallows humor predominate but in which shared intimacy is taboo. Coaching, in particular, requires the participant to share personal feelings that place one in a vulnerable position, but police officers are socialized against exposing their vulnerability, making the coaching relationship a difficult one. Coaching for personal development when the goal is promotion and leadership succession is an easier task than coaching for emotional development. Finally, police forces are publicly funded institutions that lack the financial resources and flexibility of private corporations to pay for the services of external coaches; therefore, effective internal coaches and mentors may be a practical, cost-effective alternative.

Implications for Research

In the previous section, we briefly described two practical implications of an emotional orientation for leadership development. However, the theoretical synthesis of police leadership and emotions presents many more opportunities for research falling roughly into three categories:

1. empirical studies demonstrating developmental approaches to emotional intelligence for police leadership,
2. qualitative research that provides a fine-grained analysis of the emotional orientation constituting police leadership, and
3. research aimed at identification and selection of individuals with the emotional orientation consonant with police leadership.

In the first research category, empirical studies of the efficacy of coaching and mentoring for emotional intelligence might be undertaken, or coaching methods might be compared for their relative efficacy in developing emotional intelligence using 360-degree assessments. In the second category, qualitative research methods are underutilized in organizational settings but have much to offer in contextualizing leadership. As we have shown, police work occurs in an emotion-laden context that is complex and dynamic. Ethnographic studies, participant observation, focus groups, and in-depth interviews can provide rich descriptions of that emotional complexity that might transform police leadership. Finally, despite the difficulties with the situatedness of emotions as material, the notion of embodiment expresses the view that research can identify individuals whose fundamental emotional predisposition is favorable for police leadership. Much more work needs to be done to clarify how certain social situations and cultural values inhibit and facilitate the emotional orientation for police leadership.

At a more generic level, our fundamental premise that emotions occupy a central position in the leadership phenomenon should be addressed.

Although leadership studies, particularly from a traits perspective, have equated many personal qualities (including emotions) with leadership by studying the positive attributions made about particular individuals identified globally as good leaders, it would be interesting to examine the negative attributions made by individuals concerning those same leaders. In effect, this would be a study of negative emotions expressed by followers who dissent in the attribution of leadership to a specific leader. When we look for reasons to ascribe leadership to someone, we provide rational explanations about behavior, whereas in denigrating the leadership qualities of a person, we become more emotional. Clearly, not every leader will be universally acclaimed to exhibit good leadership 100% of the time, so it would be informative to verify through discourse analysis the existence of negative attributions when they occur. We contend that such negative attributions inevitably are emotions operating in the background of all human interactions including the attribution of leadership.

Conclusion

In this article, we have made explicit how emotions are intertwined with rationality and action in leadership. Central to our theoretical position has been situating leadership as a pattern of value that is grounded in an emotional orientation. This emotional orientation is constrained by individuals' history of emotionality, cultural requirements, and institutional prescriptions. For organizational purposes, the emotional orientation enables leadership to emerge as an observable phenomenon and, at a more fundamental level, ensures that organizations are energized toward accomplishing common goals.

The policing environment was used to illustrate the challenges and opportunities associated with creating emotionally aware transformational leaders. We acknowledge that these same challenges are evident in organizational life in both private and public sectors. The myth of rationality permeates policing and serves to marginalize the important role of emotions in daily organizational activities. Although we have presented a limited portrayal of emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983) in policing, our primary objective has been to expose the daunting challenges associated with effective utilization of emotions for police leadership development. Self-reflection is a critical first step to emotional awareness, and this is particularly problematic given police officers' socialization and strong normative behavior. We propose that individualized coaching and mentoring come closest to mirroring the therapeutic conditions necessary to gain the trust of police. Ultimately, this article is cautionary about the emotional intelligence construct in leadership development because emotions cannot be packaged as a uni-

tary static phenomenon. Rather, emotions in personal and organizational life are continuously shifting, negotiated targets.

References

Adlam, R. (2001). Provision of police leadership development opportunities, Bramshill: Problem, solution, and a critical engagement. *International Journal of Police Science and Management*, *3*, 260-278.

Alford, F. C. (1999). Interpretive leadership and the charms of corruption. *Journal of Psychoanalysis of Culture & Society*, *4*, 201-208.

Ashforth, B. E., & Humphrey, R. H. (1995). Emotion in the workplace: A reappraisal. *Human Relations*, *48*, 97-125.

Ashkanasy, N. M., & Tse, B. (2000). Transformational leadership as management of emotion: A conceptual review. In N. M. Ashkanasy, C. E. Hartel, & W. J. Zerbe (Eds.), *Emotions in the workplace* (pp. 221-235). Westport, CT: Quorum Books.

Bailey, J., & Axelrod, R. H. (2001). Leadership lessons from Mount Rushmore: An interview with James MacGregor Burns. *Leadership Quarterly*, *12*, 113-127.

Barker, R. A. (2001). The nature of leadership. *Human Relations*, *54*, 469-493.

Bass, B. M. (1985). *Leadership and performance beyond expectations*. New York: Basic Books.

Bass, B. M. (1990). *Bass and Stogdill's handbook of leadership: Theory, research, and managerial applications* (3rd ed.). New York: Free Press.

Bass, B. M. (1996). *A new paradigm of leadership: An inquiry into transformational leadership*. Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

Bass, B. M., & Steidlmeier, P. (1999). Ethics, character, and authentic transformational leadership behavior. *Leadership Quarterly*, *10*, 181-217.

Ben-Ze'ev, A. (2000). *The subtlety of emotions*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bordin, E. S. (1979). The generalizability of the psychoanalytic concept of the working alliance. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research & Practice*, *16*, 252-260.

Brothers, L. (1997). *Friday's footprint: How society shapes the human mind*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Caruso, D. R., Mayer, J. D., & Salovey, P. (2002). Emotional intelligence and emotional leadership. In R. E. Riggio, S. E. Murphy, & F. J. Pirozzolo (Eds.), *Multiple intelligences and leadership* (pp. 55-74). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Damasio, A. R. (1994). *Descartes' error*. New York: G. P. Putnam.

Day, D. V. (2000). Leadership development: A review in context. *Leadership Quarterly*, *11*, 581-613.

Drodge, E. N., & Reid, D. A. (2000). Embodied cognition and the mathematical emotional orientation. *Mathematical Thinking and Learning*, *2*, 249-267.

Fiedler, F. E. (1967). *A theory of leadership effectiveness*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Fineman, S. (Ed.). (2000). *Emotion in organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Forgas, J. P. (1992). On bad mood and peculiar people: Affect and person typicality in impression formation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *62*, 863-875.

George, J. M. (2000). Emotions and leadership: The role of emotional intelligence. *Human Relations*, *53*, 1027-1055.

Gibb, S. (1999). The usefulness of theory: A case study in evaluating formal mentoring schemes. *Human Relations*, *52*, 1055-1075.

Gigerenzer, G., & Selten, R. (2001). *Bounded rationality: The adaptive toolbox*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Goleman, D. (1995). *Emotional intelligence*. New York: Bantam Books.

Graen, G. B., & Uhl-Bien, M. (1995). Relationship-based approach to leadership: Development of leader-member exchange (LMX) theory of leadership over 25 years: Applying a multi-level multi-domain approach. *Leadership Quarterly*, *6*, 219-247.

Griffiths, P. E. (1997). *What emotions really are: The problem of psychological categories*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hatfield, E., Cacioppo, J., & Rapson, R. (1994). *Emotional contagion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hochschild, A. R. (1983). *The managed heart*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

House, R. J. (1971). A path goal theory of leader effectiveness. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *16*, 321-339.

Howard, C., Tuffin, K., & Stephens, C. (2000). Unspeakable emotion: A discursive analysis of police talk about reactions to trauma. *Journal of Language & Social Psychology*, *19*, 295-314.

Jackall, R. (1997). *Wild cowboys: Urban marauders and the forces of order*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Johnson, M. (1987). *The body in the mind: The bodily basis of reason and imagination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Johnson-Laird, P. N., & Oatley, K. (1992). Basic emotions, rationality, and folk theory. *Cognition & Emotion*, *6*, 201-223.

Kampa-Kokesch, S., & Anderson, M. Z. (2001). Executive coaching: A comprehensive review of the literature. *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice & Research*, *53*, 205-228.

Keithley, L. J., Samples, S. J., & Strupp, H. H. (1980). Patient motivation as a predictor of process and outcome in psychotherapy. *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics*, *33*, 87-97.

Kelloway, E. K., & Barling, J. (2000). What we have learned about developing transformational leaders. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, *21*, 355-362.

Kilburg, R. R. (2001). Facilitating intervention adherence in executive coaching: A model and methods. *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice & Research*, *53*, 251-267.

Kobe, L. M., Reiter-Palmon, R., & Rickers, J. D. (2001). Self-reported leadership experiences in relation to inventoried social and emotional intelligence. *Current Psychology*, *20*, 154-163.

Ledoux, J. E. (1996). *The emotional brain: The mysterious underpinnings of emotional life*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Lewis, K. M. (2000). When leaders display emotion: How followers respond to negative emotional expression of male and female leaders. *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, *21*, 221-234.

Locke, E. A., & Latham, G. P. (1984). *Goal setting: A motivational technique that works*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Maturana, H. R. (1988). Reality: The search for objectivity or the quest for a compelling argument. *Irish Journal of Psychology*, *9*, 25-82.

Maturana, H. R., & Varela, F. J. (1980). *Autopoiesis & cognition*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Reidel.

Mayer, J. D., & Salovey, P. (1997). What is emotional intelligence? Implications for educators. In P. Salovey & D. Sluyter (Eds.), *Emotional development, emotional literacy, and emotional intelligence* (pp. 3-31). New York: Basic Books.

Morris, J. A., & Feldman, D. C. (1996). The dimensions, antecedents, and consequences of emotional labor. *Academy of Management Review*, *21*, 986-1010.

Mumby, D. K., & Putnam, L. L. (1992). The politics of emotion: A feminist reading of bounded rationality. *Academy of Management Review*, *17*, 465-486.

Oatley, K. (1992). *Best laid schemes: The psychology of emotions*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Peterson, D. B. (1996). Executive coaching at work: The art of one-on-one change. *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice & Research*, *48*, 78-86.

Pogrebin, M. R., & Poole, E. D. (1991). Police and tragic events: The management of emotions. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *19*, 395-403.

Posner, R. A. (1999). Emotion versus emotionalism in law. In S. B. Bandes (Ed.), *The passions of law* (pp. 309-329). New York: New York University Press.

Punch, M. (2000). Police corruption and its prevention. *European Journal on Criminal Policy & Research*, *8*, 301-324.

Putnam, L. L., & Mumby, D. K. (1993). Organisations, emotion and the myth of rationality. In S. Fineman (Ed.), *Emotion in organizations* (pp. 36-57). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Rafaeli, A., & Sutton, R. I. (1987). Expression of emotion as part of the work role. *Academy of Management Review*, *12*, 23-37.

Rafaeli, A., & Sutton, R. I. (1991). Emotional contrast strategies as means of social influence: Lessons from criminal interrogators and bill collectors. *Academy of Management Journal*, *33*, 623-637.

Richards, J. M., & Gross, J. J. (2000). Emotion regulation and memory: The cognitive costs of keeping one's cool. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *79*, 410-424.

Rotenberg, C. T. (2000). Psychodynamic psychotherapy and executive coaching—Overlapping paradigms. *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis*, *28*, 653-663.

Schwarz, N. (1990). Feelings as information: Informational and motivational functions of affective states. In E. T. Higgins & R. Sorrentino (Eds.), *Handbook of motivation and cognition: Foundations of social behavior* (pp. 527-561). New York: Guilford.

Stocker, M., & Hegeman, E. (1996). *Valuing emotions*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Varela, F. J., Thompson, E., & Rosch, E. (1991). *The embodied mind: Cognitive science and human experience*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Wilson, E. O. (1998). *Consilience: The unity of knowledge*. New York: Vintage.

Yukl, G. (2002). *Leadership in organizations*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Edward N. Drodge completed his doctoral studies at the University of Toronto. He taught at Memorial University of Newfoundland and the University of Ottawa before his current position as a researcher in human resources with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. His research has focused on emotions in counseling and learning, the application of complexity theory to career development, and leadership.

Steven A. Murphy completed his Ph.D. in organizational behavior at Carleton University. He has taught at Carleton University and the University of Ottawa and currently works as a researcher with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. His research interests include emotions and leadership development, ethics and meaning in organizational contexts, and employee well-being.