© *Academy of Management Journal*
2017, Vol. 60, No. 1, 78–108.
https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2014.0952

IS LOVE ALL YOU NEED? THE EFFECTS OF EMOTIONAL CULTURE, SUPPRESSION, AND WORK–FAMILY CONFLICT ON FIREFIGHTER RISK-TAKING AND HEALTH

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In this paper, we build and test theory about the emotional cultures of prototypically masculine organizations. A qualitative study of fire stations in a major metropolitan area revealed that the emotional cultures of firefighting units were defined by two emotions: joviality and companionate love. In addition, emotion suppression, work–family conflict, risk-taking, and health problems emerged as central themes. A multirater survey study of firefighters across multiple units found that cultures characterized by both high joviality and high companionate love were associated with decreased risk-taking behavior outside of work. Additionally, emotion suppressors who experienced high work–family conflict reported more risk-taking behavior outside of work. Suppressors who experienced higher work–family conflict reported more health problems in strong cultures of joviality, but fewer health problems in strong cultures of companionate love. Longitudinal exploratory analyses of objective performance indicators revealed that, although units characterized by strong joviality had better response times, they were also more likely to have auto accidents and property loss than units weak in joviality, with some evidence that companionate love might attenuate risky behavior on the job. Our findings contribute to a more nuanced understanding of gender, emotions, and organizational culture.

Across a myriad of professions—investment banker, surgeon, engineer, firefighter, police, and others—masculinity is often characterized by toughness, self-reliance, and a preference for rationality over emotionality (e.g., Kunda, 2006). Emotions are rarely discussed, as emotional detachment is considered a key characteristic of prototypical masculinity (Chetkovich, 1997). Indeed, the literature reveals that men are less likely than women to express their emotions (see Brody & Hall, 2008, for a review), particularly positive emotions (Simpson & Stroh, 2004), and are more likely to engage in emotion suppression (Gross & John, 2003).

In the current study, we argue that an organization's emotional culture plays an important role in understanding the impact of masculine organizational culture on employee behavior. We define "emotional culture" as the behavioral norms and artifacts, as well as the underlying values and assumptions, that guide the expression (or suppression) of specific emotions and the appropriateness of displaying those emotions within a social unit (Barsade & O'Neill, 2014). The concept of emotional culture draws on classic work by scholars in anthropology (e.g., Briggs, 1970), sociology (e.g., Hochschild, 1979), and psychology (e.g., Nesse, 1990), who have long documented the centrality of collective emotions for group functioning and survival. We define "masculine organizational culture" as the behavioral norms and artifacts, as

We are indebted to our research participants for giving us the opportunity to study their remarkable cultures and the important work they do. We would also like to thank our editor, Elaine Hollensbe, and three anonymous reviewers for their thoughtful and developmental comments and suggestions. We are grateful to seminar participants at the UBC (University of British Columbia) Sauder School of Business Working Group on Masculinity as a Work Contest, the Center for Compassion and Altruism Research and Education at Stanford University School of Medicine, the Academy of Management Annual Meetings, the Center for the Advancement of Well-Being at George Mason University, the University of Delaware, and the Wharton OB (Organizational Behavior) Conference for junior faculty for their helpful feedback. We thank Charles O'Reilly and Sigal Barsade for their advice and guidance in the development of this work. For assistance with data collection, we acknowledge Aggie Ebrahimi Bazaz and Margaret McCullers. This research was partially funded by a Junior Faculty Research Grant from the University of Georgia.

well as the underlying values and assumptions, of organizations that are dominated numerically by men (Kanter, 1977)—most notably at the highest ranks of the organization—and that have cultures characterized by the high importance placed on prototypical masculine traits such as stoicism, toughness, competitiveness, and self-reliance (Gilmore, 1990; Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Although there has been some initial research on the construct of emotional culture, several unanswered questions remain, such as: How does gender intersect with organizational culture? And how do multiple dimensions of emotional culture interact with one another and with employee individual differences?

Examining the emotional component of masculine organizational cultures is valuable for a number of reasons. First, past ethnographic work reveals certain contradictions to the characterization of masculine organizational cultures as "unemotional." Collinson's (1988) classic study of male shop-floor workers, for example, found extensive evidence of joking and humor used as a means of enforcing masculine cultural norms and expectations. Likewise, Pogrebin and Poole (1988) found that police officers used humor to diffuse emotionally intense situations without being perceived as weak or vulnerable, the antithesis of masculinity. More recently, Ely and Meyerson's (2010) study of an offshore oil platform revealed workers (all male) bonding over the struggles of working away from home for long periods of time.

Second, focusing on the emotional aspect of masculine organizational cultures helps to address a pervasive gap in the organizational culture literature. Prior organizational culture research has taken a primarily cognitive approach, conceptualizing culture as a set of cognitive values shared by members of social units (Krackhardt & Kilduff, 1990; O'Reilly, Chatman, & Caldwell, 1991; Rousseau, 1990). Indeed, until recently (Barsade & O'Neill, 2014), the organizational culture literature had not incorporated emotions into its theorizing, unlike many other areas within organizational behavior (see Barsade & Gibson, 2007, for a review). The current conceptualization of organizational culture mainly in terms of its cognitive components has led researchers to largely ignore the affective mechanisms underlying culture. This oversight is consequential, because it fails to consider the intrapersonal and interpersonal processes that are unique to emotions, including physiological sensations and subjective experiences (Adelmann & Zajonc, 1989), nonverbal displays of emotion (Malatesta & Haviland, 1982), emotion contagion (Barsade, 2002; Hatfield & Cacioppo, 1994), and emotion norms and display rules (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989). These processes are important because they challenge some of the assumptions of cognitively oriented culture research, such as the idea that language is necessary to transmit culture, an assumption that has been called into question by other research (Izard, Fantauzzo, Castle, Haynes, Rayias, & Putnam, 1995).

Examining emotional culture and masculine organizational culture together contributes to the literature in several ways. First, it is useful to examine both together because men engage in high levels of emotional detachment and suppression (Brody & Hall, 2008; Gross & John, 2003), which could be exacerbated in masculine organizational cultures. Second, an emotional culture perspective helps us better understand masculine organizational cultures because it allows us to separate out "prescriptive" (what members of the culture consider desirable or aspirational) and "descriptive" (what the majority of members of the culture actually do) aspects of culture (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991). Thus far, the dominant perspective on masculine organizational culture has been primarily cognitive and prescriptive (e.g., expectations of toughness and stoicism). An emotional culture perspective offers an opportunity for a richer set of characteristics to emerge about what it means, in practice, to be a man. This distinction is important because, as we have noted, there may be a discrepancy between what is culturally prescribed and expected of men and what is actually taking place in masculine organizational cultures from a descriptive standpoint.

Because much of the literature on masculine organizational culture thus far has focused on single-site ethnographies or comparisons of only a few organizations, a final question arises: Does variation in emotional culture play a role in exacerbating or attenuating problems typically associated with masculinity? An emotional culture perspective may be especially useful in shedding new light on the consequences of organizational culture for two outcomes in particular: employee health and risk-taking. In the United States, men experience more chronic health problems, shorter life spans, and higher rates of mortality than women (Courtenay, 2000). Studies consistently show a link between dominant norms of masculinity and behaviors such as refusing to ask for help or seek treatment for pain and denying the need for sleep, and engaging in risk-taking behaviors, such as smoking, drug use, excessive drinking, high-risk sexual activities, and dangerous sports (Barrett, 1996; Courtenay, 2000; Paap, 2006). Because these behaviors often involve the avoidance of vulnerability, the dismissal of fear, and elaborate displays of strength and endurance,

many scholars argue that such behaviors represent idealized forms of masculinity (Courtenay, 2000). If, as we suggest here, a complex picture of masculine organizational culture exists, this raises the possibility that there may be emotional aspects to culture, previously unexplored, that exacerbate or attenuate risk-taking and health problems.

To examine the impact of masculine emotional cultures on employees, we conducted two studies. Because an emotional culture perspective on masculinity is relatively new to the organizational behavior literature, we first conducted a qualitative study of firefighters. The occupational characteristics of firefighting coincide with many of the qualities that constitute a prototypically masculine organizational culture. First, firefighting is a male-dominated occupation. Of the 300,000 people employed in firefighting occupations in 2014, approximately 94% were men (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015). Second, an essential component of firefighters' job duties involves situations characterized by unpredictability, risk, and danger, which aligns with a stereotypical image of bravery and heroism that has traditionally been associated with men (Becker & Eagly, 2004). Finally, displays of toughness, stoicism, and interpersonal aggressiveness—key traits in psychological assessments of masculinity (Spence & Helmreich, 1978)—are encouraged as part of socialization (Chetkovich, 1997). Thus, an investigation of firefighter station culture is an appropriate context in which to explore emotional culture in a prototypically masculine organizational culture.

Next, we conducted a multirater quantitative study of risk-taking and health problems in firefighting units. In this second study, we tested hypotheses that emerged from our qualitative investigation regarding the effects of two emotions that we found characterized masculine organizational cultures—joviality and companionate love—as well as two individual-level attributes that emerged in the qualitative data: emotion suppression and work–family conflict. We also conducted an exploratory analysis of the effects of emotional culture on work group performance, as measured by objective performance indicators.

STUDY 1: METHOD

Sample

The first author and two trained research assistants conducted semistructured group interviews in all 27 fire stations within a large county surrounding a major metropolitan city in the eastern United States. This county, which spanned 16 separate municipalities, contained significant variation in geographic location (urban, suburban, and rural), station size (as reflected by the number of firefighters on duty, often a reflection of station busyness and population density), characteristics of the local population (e.g., age, socioeconomic status, ethnicity), and building construction types. We expected that variation on these dimensions would provide valuable contrasts in organizational culture. The fire chief, the highest-ranking official of the Fire and Emergency Services Department, introduced the research to participants as a study of fire station organizational culture. Participants were 100 firefighters (97 male, 3 female).

Data Collection and Data Analysis

Our data collection method consisted of 1- to 2-hour semistructured group interviews and observation within stations. All interviews were attended by 2 or 3 people who independently recorded quotations and observations in their field notes. This resulted in 85.25 interview/observation hours. The groups we interviewed ranged in size from 3 to 10 people per station, with smaller groups reflecting lower-volume stations. The initial part of the interview consisted of questions about the job, followed by questions pertaining to the culture of the station. Toward the end of the interview, we asked participants to describe how being a firefighter affected other parts of their lives. The final question asked firefighters to describe an incident that occurred while they were on call that was particularly memorable for them.

Because we wanted to capture both highly salient as well as "hidden" aspects of emotions and culture, we took detailed field notes throughout each station visit. Our goal was to create a situation in which crew members interacted with one another naturally as a group so we could observe spontaneous, nonverbal manifestations of the emotional culture that emerged. Unlike the cognitive approach to culture, in which the primary focus is on shared cognitions, a unique feature of emotional culture is that it is also enacted via physical artifacts and nonverbal behaviors such as facial expressions, posture, gestures, gaze, touch, and tone (Mehrabian, 1972). Research assistants were trained before the data collection to focus on artifacts and nonverbal expressions of emotions that were indicative of culture (e.g., station décor or physical displays of affection such as hugs) in addition to what participants said. Each evening, researchers compiled detailed descriptions of the verbal and nonverbal interactions recorded during the interviews. In total, 276 pages of field notes were analyzed.

Consistent with the principles of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), we did not specify hypotheses in advance of data collection. Instead, we identified content themes relevant to emotional culture using the constant comparison method (Locke, 2001). We first read all of the transcripts and generated an initial list of themes. As part of this initial coding, we generated a list of discrete emotions that emerged in our interviews based on Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson, and O'Connor's (1987) emotion prototypes, which include six main categories (love, joy, anger, fear, sadness, and surprise) and 135 emotion prototypes nested within these six categories. The key data for this analysis consisted of passages identified by the coders in which firefighters expressed emotions through speech, gestures, or behaviors, and passages in which they suppressed or regulated emotions. Within these passages, we also coded for three types of organizational cultural manifestations, based on Schein's (2010) hierarchical model of culture (see also Cameron & Quinn, 2011): (1) *assumptions*, the deep, taken-for-granted aspect of culture; (2) *values*, concepts reflecting what is important, statements of beliefs, and behavioral norms reinforcing these concepts; and (3) *artifacts and practices*, the observable, nonverbal aspects of culture, including formal and informal practices, jargon, décor, and physical artifacts.

With these codes, we began to capture variation in the emotional cultures of fire stations. Across the 27 stations, we found evidence of 26 discrete emotions spanning positive and negative affective domains. We observed that the negative emotions being expressed (e.g., frustration) were more individual than cultural, thus, in a second round of coding, we focused on a smaller set of emotions—positive emotions—that shed new light on our research questions and had not been discussed extensively in the previous organizational behavior literature. Within this smaller set of emotions, we moved back and forth between passages of the transcripts, refining constructs and adding additional categories, until we arrived at a set of core themes. These themes captured both the prescriptive and descriptive dimensions of station emotional culture and also allowed us to observe the full range of the dimensions, including what "weak" and "strong" emotional cultures looked like. As core themes began to emerge, the first author and two separate coders (who were blind to the research questions) coded all of the interview transcripts for entries relevant to each theme.

At the unit level, three themes emerged. The first emotion that characterized the emotional culture of many stations was *joviality* and its subcomponent, amusement. A second emotion, *companionate love*, also emerged as a key component of emotional culture. A final theme that frequently came up in discussions of culture was *crew performance*.

At the individual level, three themes emerged. The first theme was *emotion suppression*, which was described as a common way of coping with work trauma. The second was *work–family conflict*, a chronic situational stressor for many firefighters. The last theme to emerge related to individual outcomes. This theme comprised *health problems* and *risk-taking behaviors* outside of work, both of which appeared to be relevant to masculinity and emotional culture.

STUDY 1: FINDINGS

Unit-Level Themes

The examples listed in Table 1 and Table 2 illustrate how the two major emotional culture dimensions—joviality and companionate love—were manifested and how they were consistent with Schein's (2010) model of culture. We observed examples of emotional culture at each level, from assumptions to values, to artifacts, and practices. Verbal statements were often accompanied by nonverbal behavior such as laughter, smiling, and gestures (e.g., pats on the back, hugs) from speakers and listeners.

Culture of joviality. The theme that emerged as most central to the emotional culture of firefighters—both descriptively as well as prescriptively—was joviality. Joviality is a discrete emotion within the basic emotion prototype of *joy* (Shaver et al., 1987). It is defined as "markedly good-humored, especially as evidenced by jollity and conviviality" ("joviality," n.d.). Firefighters at 81% of the stations spontaneously mentioned traits synonymous with joviality as important characteristics for success in their work environment, suggesting a strongly prescriptive aspect of the emotional culture of joviality.

At the deepest, taken-for-granted level of culture, joviality was evident in the basic underlying *assumptions* guiding most workplace interactions. A basic assumption underlying joviality is that being able to have fun and take a joke makes you a good coworker. For example, when asked what kind of person would be a good fit for the station, a supervisor at Station 20 responded, "No stiffs," while another firefighter added, "You have to be able to take a joke and have fun."

Joviality was also manifest in *values* within the group. Several comments underscored the importance of joviality as a means to achieve the most important

TABLE 1
Qualitative Evidence of Culture of Joviality (Study 1)

Levels of Culture and Cultural Manifestations	Illustrative Examples
Assumptions (e.g., laughter is better than dwelling on negative emotions)	
Physical enactments	Following a gruesome call in which a man lost his arm in a boating accident, a firefighter joked about the incident, physically enacting the man trying to swim without his arm and a fish swimming around with a human arm in its maw (Station 18)
Pranks	At an annoying medical call to a "ramshackle" house, a rookie firefighter is led to believe that a cough that killed two people is contagious and the only way to wash off the bacteria is by showering with salt (Station 1)
Stories of "crazy" calls	A man who tried so hard to kill himself that he finally used an anvil to his head, which was then very difficult to remove (Station 6)
	Patients who had objects (e.g., bottles) stuck in their rectums (Station 6)
	A kid who was chasing his mother with a butcher's knife (Station 6)
Values (e.g., the importance of having fun)	
Beliefs	"Joking is one way of encouraging participation and deflecting isolationism." (Station 20)
Norms	The "wolf pack effect": a group of crew members coordinate together to play pranks and tease people who attempt to go off alone or refuse to participate in group activities (Station 20)
Artifacts and practices	
Informal practices	Socialization: "People always wanna tell rookies that they're nobody, but I'll tell rookies that they are somebody. Because *somebody* needs to pull down the flag. *Somebody* needs to wash the dishes. *Somebody* needs to wash the engine . . ." At that point, the phone rang at the station and the supervisor jokingly yelled out, "*Somebody* better get the telephone!" (Station 21)
	Teasing: (a) "If somebody's pickin' on you, they actually like you"; (b) "People you don't like, you tend to leave them alone"; (c) "People I don't like are kinda invisible to me" (Station 1)
Jargon	Nicknames: Firefighters refer to someone on another shift as "Shrek" because he has little ears and a big head (Station 16)
	A firefighter nicknamed "Horsehead" because of his long head and protruding teeth (Station 12)
	Wordplay: While escorting an elderly dementia patient with a hunched back to the hospital, a firefighter asked her, "So do you like Notre Dame football?", which provoked laughs from the other firefighters (Station 16)
Décor/physical artifacts	"Stanley," a three-foot tall inflatable Superman firefighters placed at various locations throughout the station as a joke, including on fire trucks and in medics' bunkers when they were on call (Station 6)
	"It's common knowledge that I'm scared of midgets and clowns, so, on my last day at the last station, they gave me a clown" (Station 17)

firefighter work output: effective teamwork during emergency calls (Stations 2, 14, 20, 21, 23, and 26). Along these lines, firefighters articulated the belief that joviality makes people less isolated from one another while at the station (isolation was viewed as problematic for coordinating as a team during emergency calls). In support of this belief, firefighters created schemes involving joviality to bring people together for communal events such as mealtimes (see Table 1, "Wolf pack effect").

Joviality also emerged in the *norms and rituals* surrounding how firefighters dealt with emergency calls. Nearly half of the stations (48%) mentioned what they often referred to as a "morbid sense of humor" for dealing with the horror, disgust, and frustration they experienced on calls. In several of the interviews, participants conveyed—explicitly or implicitly—the assumption that engaging in joviality was better than dwelling on negative emotions. For example, when asked how they deal with difficult

TABLE 2
Qualitative Evidence of Culture of Companionate Love (Study 1)

Levels of Culture and Cultural Manifestations	Illustrative Examples
Assumptions (e.g., always show compassion to a crew member who is suffering)	
Stories/physical enactments	Telling the story of a family dog that had an accident and was paralyzed while the firefighter was working; the accident required a trip to the hospital. The dog was very large and the man's wife couldn't lift it without assistance. The respondent and his partner took the ambulance to their house, helped her put the dog in the car, drove the dog to the vet, and then left her there. The firefighter continued sadly, "We put [the dog] to sleep. [It] couldn't walk. When your hips get like that, you can't walk. [It] couldn't walk." At this point in the story, another firefighter jumped up from his seat suddenly and gave his colleague a big bear hug. The situation seemed comedic at first. The firefighter telling the story laughed a little as he hugged his colleague, who held on a while. Finally, the firefighter telling story said, "All right, all right," at which point his colleague relented. (Station 12)
	Crew members told the story of how firefighters raised thousands of dollars to help a fellow firefighter keep his house when he got into trouble financially, despite the fact that this individual had "burnt tons of bridges" in the department (Station 21)
Values (e.g., emotional closeness, caring, and knowing each other well)	
Beliefs	"We know these guys sometimes better than their own wives" (Station 26)
	In the corporate world [unlike firefighting], "you can work for two years in a cubicle next to someone and never know them" (Station 14)
	Being sensitive to the social dynamics of the group as an essential part of supervisor's job: "You'll need to know (and will often be told) who's fighting with who and what's bothering who" (Station 13)
Norms	Firefighters described how they "pick up the slack for each other, help each other out" (Station 15)
	"I can look and see if someone is having a hard time" (Station 23)
	Supervisor praised by his subordinate as being someone who "can sympathize more." The supervisor replied, smiling, "I feel his pain." (Station 20)
Artifacts and practices	
Formal practices	Requiring that a critical incident counselor be notified every time there was an accident or incident with a lot of casualties or that was particularly gruesome or difficult (Stations 16, 21)
Jargon (e.g., metaphors)	"Most jobs, you're out for yourself, everybody's cutthroat. Here, it's like a family" (Station 23)
	Family-like relationships described using metaphors of marriage (Station 19) or mafia (Station 20)
	"So we're family . . . if somebody's having a bad day, we suffer with them. It's like a family" (Station 6)
	"[Being a part of that family] . . . is one of the best parts about the job . . . When it comes down to it, we all come together as a family" (Station 14)

calls, one firefighter stated plainly, "We make jokes and move on" (Station 23). As one supervisor explained, "It's a necessary part to help relieve some of the pressure, some of the feelings" (Station 13). One crew member described how joking allows them to "channel most of the pain" (Station 18).

Joviality was also manifested in the most observable level of culture, *artifacts and practices*. It was particularly evident in the stories told about pranks and practical jokes that took place at the station. Station 1, for example, regaled us with their favorite pranks and accompanying artifacts, such as replacing someone's baby powder with flour, taping the kitchen sink water hose down so water would spray in the user's face when it was turned on, covering the door to someone's sleeping quarters with plastic wrap so they would run into it on their way out, and improperly setting alarm clocks. Table 1 details other

examples of informal practices, jargon, and décor/physical artifacts.

Our interview data further revealed that the ability to hold one's own in a culture of joviality was seen as an important practice for everyone—seasoned employees and newcomers, men and women. For example, despite the limited number of women in our sample, we observed one instance of a female firefighter spontaneously operating within the male-dominated culture of joviality at her station. We had asked a male respondent what he liked the least about being a firefighter, and he replied that he didn't like not being allowed to grow a beard. The female firefighter at the station—one of only three women across the 27 crews that we interviewed—immediately chimed in, "Yeah, they won't let me have one either" (Station 5).

Culture of companionate love. A second emotional culture theme that we observed in our interviews was companionate love, consisting of the discrete emotions of affection, caring, tenderness, and compassion (Barsade & O'Neill, 2014). Companionate love is one of three subcomponents of *love*, a basic emotion prototype (Shaver et al., 1987). Companionate love is based on warmth, connection, and the "affection we feel for those with whom our lives are deeply intertwined" (Berscheid & Walster, 1978: 177; see also Reis & Aron, 2008).[1] Companionate love was not *explicitly* discussed at stations as frequently as joviality, but, like joviality, the manifestations we observed can be organized into the same structure outlined in Schein's (2010) model of culture (see Table 2).

In strong cultures of companionate love, the importance of showing compassion, affection, and caring in times of need was a deeply held *assumption*. Firefighters from Station 15 gave several examples in which they talked about "being there for each other to talk" after bad calls or the willingness to "take over one another's work when someone was having a bad day" or had a bad reaction to a call. One crew demonstrated companionate love in a non-work situation by assisting a colleague who nearly lost his house to foreclosure (see Table 2, "Stories"). This story illustrated how helping one another is taken for granted in a strong culture of companionate love. As one firefighter noted, "No other profession has a tighter brotherhood" (Station 21). Another respondent related an occasion when the family dog passed away and he was not there to help his wife. At the end of his story, one of the crew members gave the respondent—who was clearly distressed, even in retelling the story—a hug. Such acts of compassion, affection, and caring also frequently involved listening to and sympathizing with colleagues as they discussed personal problems such as marital infidelity. One respondent described the collective emotion that emerged from this type of interchange with these words: "If one of us hurts, we all hurt" (Station 15).

Of great importance to firefighters in units defined by a strong culture of companionate love were the *values* of emotional closeness and knowing each other well (see Table 2, "Values"). One firefighter at Station 21 said, "I'll be able to tell if something's bothering [my supervisor], since we'll get to know each other very well." His supervisor articulated how this closeness leads to greater interdependence, stating, "The more time you spend together, the more you get to read each other. You have to make your workers feel a part of a unit so there is no 'you–me' [gesturing to indicate a physical separation between himself and a hypothetical other]." A strong culture of companionate love was also evident in firefighters' discussions of the caring relationships among colleagues. Respondents in 44% of the stations used the metaphor of "family" to describe the close, deeply intertwined relationships they developed with one another on the job (see Table 2, "Jargon"). They contrasted their family-like relationships to other professions, which they described as "cutthroat" (Station 23). Consistent with the family metaphor, firefighters sometimes used a parent–child metaphor to describe relationships between leaders and followers and between tenured employees and rookies (see Table 2 for examples). One junior-level firefighter affectionately described his supervisor as follows: "He's like a daddy. He takes care of us" (Station 9). Upon hearing this description, the supervisor responded using similar metaphoric terms: "You have to take their hand and show them what is expected."

At a more transactional, work-task level, respondents at several stations mentioned *formal and informal practices* involving interpersonal sensitivity and caring. For example, some stations have a formal practice of notifying a critical incident counselor every time there is an accident or incident that involves multiple casualties or is particularly gruesome or difficult (Stations 16 and 21). At a more

[1] The concept of companionate love is distinct from the concept of compassion, as studied in organizational research, which touches on a broad set of organizational constructs (e.g., Rynes, Bartunek, Dutton, & Margolis, 2012), not all of which are affective. Within the emotions literature, the construct of companionate love encompasses compassion, but goes beyond it to focus on emotions such as affection, caring, fondness, and tenderness, which do not stem from others' suffering, as compassion does.

informal level, caring and tenderness were described as normative by supervisors, who noted that part of a leader's training is to "learn to be gentle and firm at the same time" (Station 19). Some supervisors described the ability to "read a person's feelings" as an essential skill for leaders (Station 21).

There was also nonverbal evidence of a culture of companionate love. At two stations (Station 4 and 15), we observed cakes and cookies that crews had purchased with their own money to celebrate achievements or special events in their colleagues' lives (e.g., birthdays, babies). A physical *artifact* of the "caring and knowing each other well" value at one station was a chalkboard displaying a "House Dues" list and the grocery items that each person needed: "Pancake mix for Stewie, decaf tea, real butter, olive oil" (Station 16). Acknowledging each person's role in the kitchen and what each liked to eat or drink was essential to the ritual meal referred to by over half of the stations (55%) as "common chow."

Relationship between a culture of joviality and a culture of companionate love. Although previous research has found that it is possible to define the emotional culture of organizational units along a single dimension (e.g., companionate love; Barsade & O'Neill, 2014), in our research context, a more complex picture of emotional culture emerged. Specifically, we found evidence of stations where (a) *both* joviality and companionate love were expressed, (b) *neither* companionate love nor joviality was expressed, or (c) *either* joviality *or* companionate love was expressed. One illuminating example of a strong culture of both joviality and companionate love came from a rookie at Station 15. He described how he noticed something amiss at his first big fire but was hesitant to say anything because, if he were wrong, he would be teased (common in a strong culture of joviality). Recognizing his nervousness (such emotion recognition was typical in a strong culture of companionate love), his colleagues validated the importance of speaking up: "Yeah, you can get ribbed for five or six months, but better to have that on your hands—something that will pass—than to have been able to prevent a tragedy and not having done it." Another example comes from a crew at Station 25, who described a practical joke (typical of a culture of joviality) they played on a female coworker. The crew called their coworker into the chief's office and told her she was being transferred. She became very upset and started crying. Her colleagues were surprised; as one firefighter explained, "That's the first time I had someone cry on me." Her colleagues felt badly and immediately apologized (consistent with a strong culture of companionate love).

Such indications of the co-occurrence of joviality and companionate love led us to systematically examine the possibility of a relationship between the culture of joviality and the culture of companionate love within stations. The result was a re-coding of all stations according to the strength of the joviality and companionate love being expressed at each one. This process resulted in a 2×2 matrix of stations in terms of "strong" versus "weak" cultures of joviality and companionate love. To categorize cultures as *strong* versus *weak* in joviality or companionate love, we coded for two dimensions found in previous culture research (Barsade & O'Neill, 2014; Jackson, 1966): "crystallization," reflecting the breadth of culture, and "intensity," an indicator of the depth of culture. Excerpts from all 27 stations are represented in Table 3.

We identified 10 stations (37% of the sample) as having both a strong culture of joviality and a strong culture of companionate love. Eight stations (30% of the sample) were weak in both culture of joviality and culture of companionate love. Nine stations (33% of the sample) had either a strong culture of joviality or a strong culture of companionate love, but not both. Five of those stations (19%) had a strong culture of joviality, but a weak culture of companionate love. The remaining four of those stations (15%) had a strong culture of companionate love, but a weak culture of joviality. The existence of these last two categories— stations that were high in either joviality or companionate love, but not both—underscores the importance of examining joviality and companionate love as discrete emotions reflecting unique underlying mechanisms that can also interact with one another to define a unit's emotional culture.

Individual-Level Themes

Emotion suppression. In exploring the emotional culture themes that emerged, we also found many references to an individual difference historically linked to men and masculinity: emotion suppression (Brody & Hall, 2008; Gross & John, 2003). Consistent with the definition of emotion suppression in scholarly research (Gross, 1998), respondents at 41% of the stations mentioned dealing with work-related negative emotions in a way that involved "shutting off," "not expressing," or "not showing" their emotions. Many firefighters expressed the belief that it was not appropriate to express negative thoughts and feelings that emerged as part of their work as first responders in crisis situations. One respondent described this process as follows: "It's not that you don't feel it, you just—you just don't show it. It's automatic on scene to shut off those emotions, so that

TABLE 3
The Interaction of a Culture of Joviality and a Culture of Companionate Love (Study 1)[a]

		Companionate Love	
		Weak	***Strong***
Joviality		$N = 8$ (30%)	$N = 4$ (15%)
	Weak	Talk of feelings, policies, and procedures, but no behavioral evidence of joviality or love (4) Contempt coded as humor, little orientation toward one another (6) Contempt coded as humor, conflict, fighting (7) High anxiety: "the challenge is staying alive" (8) Lack of cohesion, lack of training (10) Bureaucratic, disdainful, autocratic, "top gun" mentality (11) Humor and love not visible due to high interpersonal conflict (22) Lip service to religious/Christian notions of love (referencing Jesus being kind to sinners), but not embodying it—instead, tension, coldness, lack of humor (27)	Slow station; evidence of love despite high dissatisfaction, disengagement (3) Not autocratic; strong evidence of love (empathy for patients), recognition of liabilities of humor (16) Strong evidence of sensitivity, concern for others; low humor (concern over harassment), strong leadership, hierarchical (21) Family metaphor, high levels of cohesion, but few other emotions expressed (23)
		$N = 5$ (18%)	$N = 10$ (37%)
	Strong	Relaxed, cozy; extensive talk of pranks (1) Humor ("man-to-man jokes"), but also petty infighting (2) Evidence of humor, but also high dissatisfaction and no love (attributed to challenges of diversity) (5) Evidence of humor as norm enforcement, but autocratic, no physical touch, lack of sensitivity to others' feelings (13) Humor to socialize and cope with pain; hierarchical culture constrains love (18)	Aggressive, "tough skin": lots of pranks, teasing to socialize, but also evidence of caretaking (9) Strong culture of humor (pranks, dark humor, socialization) and love; cohesiveness (12) "Top gun" station with evidence of humor and love (14) Fun "frat house," family-like, cohesive, safety oriented (15) Pranks, macho ("adrenaline rush"), but strong culture of helping one another, knowing each other well (17) "All-star" culture; humor as coping, recognition of when it's inappropriate, evidence of love (19) Humor (pranks, teasing, need to be thick-skinned) and love ("I feel his pain," smiling) intermingled (20) "Top gun" mentality, but also concern over safety; humor and love intermingled ("we hug every night") (24) Strong evidence of love (knowing each other, being sensitive when you go too far, being affectionate), gendered humor (25) Childlike enjoyment ("A bunch of big kids," "a frat house," "always cuttin' up, pushing to the limit") combined with a close-knit camaraderie and compassion for patients (26)

[a] Numbers in parentheses represent station identification numbers.

it starts to become habit after a while" (Station 19). Another respondent described how this technique was particularly important for handling bystanders in traumatic situations, such as parents who may be hysterical over the death of a child (Station 6).

Emotion suppression also extended to the physical realm. One captain described how firefighters have to "maintain distance" on calls as a way "not to get attached" (Station 13). A firefighter at Station 13 described the first time a woman on a scene asked him for a hug. He had never been asked to do this before, and he was hesitant to oblige. Consistent with the notion that emotion suppression is an individual difference, firefighters noted that everyone manifests their attachments to accident victims (a common source of negative emotions) in different ways (Station 1). One firefighter

described how he was fine with bad calls involving children, but broke down at the scene of an accident involving an 81-year-old woman who reminded him of his mother (Station 16).

Over time, individuals' attempts to suppress negative emotions and not talk about them with others resulted in extreme callousness toward other people. One respondent described the process as follows: "The callousness bleeds over and gets worse over the years. You show less emotion, even with your own family" (Station 19). Another stated, "I've become emotionally hardened. It affects your personal life" (Station 22). One respondent perceived the challenge as a direct conflict between role expectations inside and outside of work: "It is hard to turn emotions on after you have turned them off" (Station 19).

Work–family conflict. At the individual level, a second prominent theme emerged; in this case, a stressor: work–family conflict. The pervasiveness of this theme came as a surprise to us.[2] Respondents in 52% of the units mentioned the negative effects of work on family life when asked what they liked least about their job. By the end of the interviews, respondents in 89% of the units had mentioned work–family conflict related to their job, including in response to one of the final questions, which explicitly asked how their work affected other parts of their life.

The pervasiveness of work–family conflict is notable not only because it came up so often, but also because it relates to the individual difference of emotion suppression that we identified. Indeed, the two seemed intertwined in the way the firefighters talked about their work and how work could potentially spill over into non-work life. Consistent with the literature on work–family spillover and conflict (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000), one form of work–family conflict stemmed from the way on-the-job stress and trauma spilled over into firefighters' personal lives, resulting in increased tension between firefighters and their families and friends. In a classic example of strain-based conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985), one respondent said, "To go home and be nice is hard. I come home. I'm dead. Kids wanna see me and all I wanna do is shower and sleep. It's hard to be happy after you got slammed all day" (Station 1). Another explained one of the reasons there was so much conflict: "There's a lot of stress associated with the job. Stress of little kids dying in your arms . . . [But this is] not something you can talk to your wife about, because she doesn't have a clue what you're doing" (Station 11). One respondent explained that his wife "learned to quit asking questions" (Station 11). Negative emotions that respondents experienced on the job were often depleting (Rothbard, 2001) and had a negative impact on the quality of respondents' interactions with spouses and children. One respondent said that not leaving work at work was "almost like a cancer. It can eat you up and cause stress at home" (Station 9). A supervisor explained that, if firefighters don't deal with difficult calls when they occur, "you just button it up and abuse the wife, but not physically. Just by being emotionally distant" (Station 24). Another respondent noted, "You also take it out on the kids—you end up being short-tempered with them" (Station 24).

Consistent with Byron's (2005) meta-analytic findings that work schedules influence work–family conflict, the toll of unpredictable schedules on dual-career families was particularly high. This tension was exacerbated by the stressful nature of firefighters' work. One respondent described an incident in which he and his partner arrived at his partner's home late from work because there had been a multivehicle accident with several fatalities on the highway in the

[2] This was a surprise, in part, because the topic of work–family conflict came up spontaneously in response to general introductory questions such as, "What do you like least about your work?" and "What is the most challenging aspect of your work?" We did not expect work–family conflict to be so central to our respondents, particularly in response to such general questions. We also had not expected work–family conflict to play such a significant role in our predominantly male study population. Although past research on work–family conflict has studied both men and women, the vast majority of the scholarly literature has concentrated primarily on the implications of work–family conflict in women's lives (Covin & Brush, 1991; Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brinley, 2005; Hall & Richter, 1988), independent of organizational culture. This perspective has been expanded very recently by research acknowledging that work–family conflict is a problem for men as well, particularly men with children at home (Humberd, Ladge, & Harrington, 2014; Ladge, Humberd, Baskerville-Watkins, & Harrington, 2015). However, the bulk of the literature has focused on gender differences in work–family conflict, resulting in insights such as the finding that women experience role overload and stress more than men (Gutek, Searle, & Klepa, 1991) and that the pattern of spillover differs for men and women (Rothbard, 2001; Rothbard & Edwards, 2003), with men segmenting work and family more than women do (Crosby, 1991; Rothbard & Brett, 2000). As a result, when men responded that work–family conflict was something they liked least about their job, or that it was one of the most challenging aspects of their work, we were surprised, especially because these responses seemed inconsistent with the characteristics of toughness, stoicism, and self-reliance that are associated with traditional conceptualizations of masculinity and masculine organizational cultures (Gilmore, 1990).

early morning hours, close to the end of their shift (Station 12). His partner's daughter was crying because her mom was already at work and her dad was supposed to take her to school. The respondent reported thinking, "This poor guy has just worked 24 hours and ended on this really bad call with the brains, and now his daughter's crying at him." The respondent then hurried back to his own home. Upon his arrival, his wife rushed to the car and, according to the respondent, "gives me this really terrible, 'You're in trouble!' look. But I can't go up to her and scream and say, 'I just got finished scraping brains out of the ambulance.'"

Firefighters' attempts to manage work–family conflict were also sometimes evident in physical acts of separating the work and non-work arenas in what is referred to by work–family researchers as "segmentation" of work and non-work (Rothbard, Phillips, & Dumas, 2005). One firefighter remarked that he wouldn't take his work shoes home with him and didn't want his work clothes essentially contaminating the home. "They tease me that I change into flip flops before I leave work, but I see shootings where it's impossible not to step in blood. I'll never take these shoes home with me. When I get home and my kid runs up to hug me, I don't want to touch him. Not until I go to take a shower and change clothes. It freaks me out" (Station 2).

The relationship between emotion suppression and work–family conflict. Like the relationship we observed between a culture of joviality and a culture of companionate love at the station level, we observed a relationship between emotion suppression and work–family conflict at an individual level. Unlike joviality and companionate love, emotion suppression and work–family conflict varied significantly among individuals within each station. When asked how they dealt with difficult calls, one firefighter explained, "Everyone deals with it in their own individual way" (Station 4). In some cases, we observed firefighters suppressing painful emotions about their job, as evidenced by their refusal to describe a painful negative incident that occurred on the job, yet freely acknowledging the extent to which their work caused conflict outside of work. These individuals could be described as being high in suppression and high in work–family conflict. Other firefighters did not suppress and had no difficulty offering examples that revealed the grief, horror, and disgust that occurred on calls, as well as the intimate personal details of work–family conflict at home. At one station (Station 6), some firefighters were extremely forthcoming with stories of "crazy calls" (i.e., those that served as fodder for jokes) and also alluded to the kinds of difficult calls that other firefighters we interviewed avoided discussing (e.g., tragic accidents involving children or other "undeserving" people). The conversation then turned to the perceived impact of firefighters' schedules on marital life. One firefighter explained, "At other jobs, you're at home every day. But here, you can work 48 hours, and your wife might get used to sleeping by herself." "Or with somebody else," another firefighter added, making the group laugh. This example highlights what it means for firefighters to be low in emotion suppression and high in work–family conflict, and how a culture of joviality might interact with that as well. Some firefighters suppressed emotions at work but had strong relationships with their spouses, many of whom were nurses and could understand what they were going through. One firefighter who spent 13 years on very difficult calls noted, "I can talk to my wife. She cries with me sometimes" (Station 8). Although he did not share the details of his most difficult calls with us—which could be an indicator of high emotion suppression—he appeared to benefit from low work–family conflict. Firefighters for whom the negative impact of the job on family life was not apparent and who described difficult calls openly exemplified people who were low in both suppression and work–family conflict.

Consequences of emotions for individual risk-taking and health. Firefighters generally perceived the emotional culture of their station and their individual emotion regulation style as functional for coping with the emotionally painful aspects of their work. Yet, some explicitly acknowledged that the interaction of the station's emotional culture, firefighters' stress levels, and their own individual emotion regulation strategies could have negative consequences for health and well-being. For example, when asked how being a firefighter affected the other parts of his life, one firefighter said, "I keep it all inside" (indicating emotion suppression) but noted that sometimes "it comes out unexpectedly, like when I'm watching a movie and I just start crying" (Station 12). One respondent offered the following analogy: "Here's a can of emotions. You put it on the shelf. You do your job and you deal with it later . . . [but] sooner or later that [can] gets full and has to be spilled out" (Station 21). This remark highlights the impact of individuals' emotions (presumably negative) on behavior when the emotions are not acknowledged and processed. Another noted, "If it bothers you, it's best to get it out, because if you don't, it will come out in other ways, like with alcohol" (Station 1). These statements point to a link between

the emotions at the core of firefighters' work and their psychological well-being outside of work.

In addition to alcohol, and consistent with the masculinity literature (e.g., Courtenay, 2000), firefighters mentioned other interests and hobbies involving elevated levels of risk-taking outside of work.[3] Several respondents described the best fit for a new hire at their station as someone who shared common hobbies such as skateboarding or "something extreme" (Station 10). One crew reported enjoying riding motorcycles and dirt bikes in their free time (Station 16). A shared interest in gun sports was mentioned at several stations, and we noted the mounts of deer and other hunted animals as wall décor in several stations (e.g., Station 6). One crew described themselves as "country boys" who enjoyed hunting and fishing (Station 18). Others described their interest in working outdoors, with respondents at two stations specifically mentioning their enjoyment of chainsaws and axes (Stations 21 and 24). Respondents also mentioned a shared interest in sports involving an increased level of risk, such as white-water rafting (Station 15) and "full-contact volleyball" (Station 21).

Health problems were a source of concern for many firefighters. Firefighters at 26% of the stations mentioned poor health as a consequence of their work.[4] In response to the question of how the job affects the other parts of his life, one supervisor replied that the job "affects you physically" because firefighters are always "running on lack of sleep" (Station 24). One respondent described firefighters as "unhealthy" because they are "always stressed, always in the car, don't get to eat a decent meal because they are always up and out the door" (Station 14). Another respondent described the greatest challenge of his job as "staying alive" (Station 18). Even those at stations with a lower call volume perceived a link between their work as firefighters and poor health. These respondents perceived a physical toll from maintaining a constant state of readiness, being "as alert and awake at 2 a.m. as they are at 7 a.m. the day before when they began their shift" (Station 14). This statement by one respondent reflected a belief common among firefighters: "Firefighters' life spans are also really short because of all the fumes of the fires, the sleep deprivation, and the stress. The average life span for firefighters is 55 years of age" (Station 14).

Consequences of emotions for crew performance. Several comments made during interviews also suggested that there was a relationship between emotional culture and unit performance. Consistent with the prescriptive account of joviality described earlier, firefighters alluded to a positive relationship between a culture of joviality and crew coordination and communication. A crew high in joviality (Station 18) described how they communicate on calls "without even talking, just by facial gestures." Using this knowledge of what the other is thinking, they "communicate to each other silently what needs to happen, like, 'We gotta get this person to a hospital right away.'" After describing the station's culture ("fun" and "jovial," "we joke around a lot"), a firefighter at another station noted how "we can anticipate based on our knowledge of how that person prefers to work" (Station 15). At Station 25, which had a strong culture of joviality and a strong culture of companionate love, respondents spoke at length about the importance of knowing each other's limits and what to expect from people to be able to work together efficiently. One respondent said, "Yeah, I don't have to tell my crew what to do. My driver knows where to park the truck. It flows smoothly. You mesh."

We also recorded several remarks hinting at the liabilities of joviality for performance, such as the unnecessary risk-taking that sometimes occurred in highly jovial crews, who were too "gung-ho" and "testosterone-driven" on calls. One experienced firefighter expressed the belief that younger firefighters "drive more excessive" and expressed a preference for an "experienced driver who is not gonna put my life in jeopardy" (Station 26). A supervisor at another station voiced a concern that subordinates do not realize the responsibility that comes with "having this 30,000-pound truck under your control" (Station 19). Consistent with these concerns, a rookie firefighter at Station 26 described the best part of job as "Playing with big, expensive toys." One firefighter described the biggest challenge as "Testosterone. Firefighters are alpha males. They get locked in. They lose focus and sight" (Station 9). Risk-taking was viewed positively among some, for example, as an "adrenaline rush" and a positive feeling that comes from "something exciting" happening on calls at work (Station 15).

[3] Fearless, high-risk behaviors such as these exemplify what some gender scholars refer to as contests or competitions to "be a man" (Gilmore, 1990) or as ways of "demonstrating masculinities" (Courtenay, 2000).

[4] As with risk-taking, health problems among men can be interpreted as a manifestation of masculinity, in that taking health risks and avoiding help-seeking when problems occur are ways of preserving one's status and identifying oneself as a strong and competent man (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Courtenay, 2000).

STUDY 1: DISCUSSION

Results of our qualitative study of fire stations—exemplars of masculine organizational culture—indicate that two emotions, joviality and companionate love, primarily characterized the emotional cultures that we observed. These findings represent several novel theoretical insights. First, while the existing literature offers glimpses of masculine cultures characterized by a type of joking and humor that corresponds to what we observed in strong cultures of joviality (Terrion & Ashforth, 2002), we know of no evidence documenting masculine cultures defined this strongly by companionate love. Our finding that joviality and companionate love exist to some degree in the culture of many fire stations challenges the pervasive assumption within the organizational behavior literature that men—particularly men working in prototypically masculine organizational cultures—do not frequently express emotions—particularly positive emotions—at work. At the very least, these findings challenge the assumption that masculine organizational cultures are not characterized by the affection and caring that typify strong cultures of companionate love.

Second, evidence of substantial variation in the culture of joviality and the culture of companionate love across stations—with joviality and companionate love possibly related, but distinctly different—advances the nascent research on emotional culture within the organizational culture literature. Our findings demonstrate that multiple dimensions of emotional culture can coexist within organizations, which suggests the possibility of interactions between them. As joviality and companionate love are the two strongest instantiations of positive affect (Sauter, 2010), this possibility makes sense. From a theoretical perspective, however, being strong in joviality and weak in companionate love, or vice versa, is also interesting, because it suggests that there may be compensatory processes at play.

Third, we found that the emotional culture of fire stations operated in tandem with two individual-level constructs that also emerged prominently in our interviews: emotion suppression and work–family conflict. Firefighters frequently endorsed emotion suppression—which the psychology literature shows is detrimental for individuals (Srivastava, Tamir, McGonigal, John, & Gross, 2009) and relationships (Richards, Butler, & Gross, 2003)—as an essential means of coping with their work. This discrepancy between employees' instincts about how to cope with emotionally stressful jobs and previous psychology research calls for a deeper exploration of emotion suppression and its relationships to the other themes—both individual (work–family conflict) and cultural (joviality and companionate love)—that emerged in our study.

The second individual-level factor, work–family conflict, emerged as a theme at the majority of stations. The magnitude of this finding is noteworthy, not only for the pervasiveness of the problem as reported by firefighters, but also because the finding helps to clarify the emerging picture of masculine emotional cultures, which departs from the dominant view of masculinity as tough and interpersonally aggressive. Indeed, our findings contribute to recent studies that explore family problems as a common source of emotional stress for men (Ely & Meyerson, 2010) and document men's emotional struggles with the pressure to be "ideal workers" in addition to being committed partners and parents (Humberd et al., 2014; Ladge, et al., 2015; Reid, 2015). However, despite these promising new developments in the scholarly literature and reports documenting generational changes in men's roles at home and work (Galinsky, Aumann, & Bond, 2011), there remains a dearth of studies on either organizational culture or masculinity in which work–family conflict is a dominant theme. As such, this unexpected insight regarding the prevalence of work–family conflict in masculine organizational cultures contributes to the gender, organizational culture, and work–family conflict literatures.

Lastly, findings from Study 1 raise questions about the consequences of masculine organizational culture. Consistent with the broader masculinity literature (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Courtenay, 2000), the prevalence of high-risk behaviors and health problems that are often associated with what it means to "be a man" came through clearly in our interviews. Indeed, the data highlight these outcomes as being related to emotional culture, emotion suppression, and work–family conflict. We also find some evidence that the emotional component of masculine organizational culture may have consequences for unit performance. In the next section, we draw on the scholarly literature in addition to the insights from our qualitative study to develop hypotheses about how a unit's emotional culture intersects with individual coping strategies and stressors to affect firefighters' risk-taking behavior and health problems.

HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPMENT

As noted earlier, recent research has established the direct impact of emotional culture on employee,

client, and client family outcomes (Barsade & O'Neill, 2014), yet the question of how multiple dimensions of emotional culture interact remains unanswered. Our qualitative data indicated that the relationships among emotional culture dimensions and the individual-level styles and stressors that contribute to the emotional life of firefighters are complex and would benefit from a systematic examination of the numerous interactions among them.[5] Because these relationships reflected different levels of analysis, our qualitative findings lead to a diverse set of hypotheses. We posit interactions at the unit level (Hypothesis 1), at the individual level (Hypothesis 2), and at the cross level (unit and individual; Hypothesis 3 and Hypothesis 4).

Interaction between Culture of Joviality and Culture of Companionate Love

Although joviality and companionate love have different underlying characteristics and action tendencies, as the two strongest and most distinct instantiations of positive affect (Diener, Smith, & Fujita, 1995), they are likely to complement each other (Fredrickson, 1998; Wright & Staw, 1999), particularly when they coexist and jointly define the emotional cultures of organizations. Indeed, we saw empirical evidence of this in our qualitative data. A culture of joviality allowed men to accept companionate love when displays of companionate love alone might have made them uncomfortable, and a culture of companionate love allowed firefighters to be sensitive to one another and engage in "repair work" (Goffman, 1959) when the culture of joviality went too far. The discrete emotions literature also supports an interaction between these dimensions of emotional culture. While joviality creates the urge to play and explore (Ellsworth & Smith, 1988; Egloff, Schmukle, Burns, Kohlmann, & Hock, 2003), love helps to build positive social connections (Fehr & Russell, 1991; Gonzaga, Keltner, Londahl, & Smith, 2001). Joviality is a high-activation positive emotion that is associated with energy (Fredrickson, 2001), and, in the form of humor, can be a coping mechanism that allows one to ease the burden of distress (Pogrebin & Poole, 1988). However, research has also found that joviality (in particular, teasing) is associated with status competitions and aggressive behavior (Keltner, Young, Heerey, Oemig, & Monarch, 1998; Tesser & Collins, 1988). In a strong culture of joviality, individuals may engage in behavior that goes too far (e.g., harassment or bullying) or is displaced in unhealthy ways (e.g., alcohol abuse) if there is no appropriate outlet or means of tempering it (Bacharach, Bamberger, & Doveh, 2008). Likewise, a culture of companionate love has two possible instantiations. On the one hand, companionate love can provide firefighters with opportunities to assimilate and integrate critical incidents, which, according to Bacharach et al. (2008), reduces the severity, duration, and arousal that result from distress; on the other hand, without joviality, crews in a strong culture of companionate love may miss the opportunities to harness high-arousal, high-energy ways of interacting that could have benefits for getting along at the station and working together as a crew (Fagen, 1981).

What this logic suggests is that strong cultures of joviality and companionate love may temper each other when they coexist, leading to greater psychological resilience and enhanced emotional well-being. This greater resilience and enhanced well-being may directly reduce health problems (Carson et al., 2005) and the workplace stress and burnout that frequently trigger a need to cope by engaging in risky activities (Bacharach et al., 2008; Seppälä, Hutcherson, Nguyen, Doty, & Gross, 2014). There are two pathways by which this occurs. First, having a strong culture of companionate love and a strong culture of joviality together enhances resilience because it normalizes the act of seeking help, which can be a barrier for men, who are under social pressure to be independent, strong, self-reliant, robust, and tough (Addis & Mahalik, 2003). Pressure to "be a man" often means dealing with problems alone and not asking for help (Rosette, Mueller, & Lebel, 2015), which our data suggest often bleeds over into greater risk-taking behavior outside of work and health problems that stem from excessive stress and the ignoring of pain symptoms (Coté, 2005). Second, a strong culture of joviality and companionate love has the potential to "undo" the negative effects of stressful work, perhaps by fostering greater versatility and flexibility in coping. A recent review of the literature reported that, when people experience positive social interactions at work, their cardiovascular system is less taxed and their immune system is strengthened (Heaphy & Dutton, 2008). Indeed, positive social connections have been shown to produce health benefits (Kok et al., 2013). Such findings imply that having a culture defined by both joviality and companionate love is better for reducing risky behaviors and health problems that may stem from work-related stress.

[5] Although we hypothesize and test interaction effects, we will also report any stand-alone main effects of these independent variables.

Hypothesis 1. At the unit level, there is an interaction between a culture of joviality and a culture of companionate love on individual-level risk-taking behavior and health problems, such that a strong culture of joviality is complemented by a strong culture of companionate love, resulting in (a) decreased risk-taking and (b) fewer health problems.

Interaction between Emotion Suppression and Work–Family Conflict

A key finding from our qualitative data was that firefighters who have high levels of work–family conflict at home often cope with negative emotions at work through emotion suppression. Emotion suppression can have negative consequences for health and well-being, impacting cognition, mental health, and the quality of interpersonal relationships (Butler, Egloff, Wilhelm, Smith, Erickson, & Gross, 2003; Richards et al., 2003; Richards & Gross, 2006; Srivastava et al., 2009). Work–family conflict has also been shown to have negative effects on a variety of outcomes, both work related (e.g., job attitudes, career success) and non-work related (e.g., life satisfaction, substance abuse) (Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000). As a pervasive stressor (Eby et al., 2005), work–family conflict is likely to contribute to greater risk-taking and health problems by increasing feelings of stress (Grandey & Cropanzano, 1999; Porcelli & Delgado, 2009). Stress impacts health by disrupting the body's physiological responses, affecting cortisol levels, catecholamines (e.g., epinephrine and norepinephrine), and blood pressure (Allen, 2012). An association between physiological stress responses and risk-taking behavior has also been established empirically. A recent study of male investment bankers, for example, found that a trader's cortisol level was associated with financial risk-taking and volatility (Coates & Herbert, 2008).

Beyond the independent effects of work–family conflict and coping strategies on health and risk-taking, researchers have also examined interaction effects. However, past research has primarily focused on problem-focused coping strategies as a way to reduce the negative effects of work–family conflict on health and risk-related behaviors (see Greenhaus, Allen, & Spector, 2006, for a review). By contrast, what we propose, based on the qualitative data, is that avoidant coping strategies such as suppression will exacerbate the stress that comes with greater work–family conflict. This suggests the following pattern of relationships. If employees in a masculine emotional culture have high work–family conflict (a stressor) and they use a maladaptive strategy such as emotion suppression to cope with negative emotions at work, their stress levels will be particularly high, leading to greater health problems and elevated risk-taking. However, if work–family conflict is low, this might alleviate some of the overall stress employees are experiencing, even if they are emotion suppressors, thereby reducing the likelihood of health problems and resulting in lower risk-taking. Similarly, if employees have high work–family conflict but do not use emotion suppression to cope with negative emotions at work, overall stress levels might be alleviated because employees are not using a maladaptive coping strategy to deal with workplace stress. Lastly, if work–family conflict is low and employees do not use emotion suppression, their stress should be the lowest, resulting in correspondingly lower levels of health problems and risk-taking, suggesting an interactive relationship between emotion suppression and work–family conflict on individual health and risk-taking.

Hypothesis 2. At the individual level, there is an interaction between emotion suppression and work–family conflict on individual-level risk-taking behavior and health problems, such that (a) risk-taking behavior and (b) health problems are increased for employees who engage in more emotion suppression and experience greater work–family conflict.

Interaction between Emotional Culture, Emotion Suppression, and Work–Family Conflict

Building on the idea that the interaction of emotion suppression and high work–family conflict leads to greater risk-taking and health problems, we then asked the question: How might a culture of joviality and a culture of companionate love either exacerbate or mitigate this relationship? While, in Hypothesis 1, we posited that cultures of joviality and companionate love could work in tandem—tempering each other, all else equal—here, we suggest that the specific attributes of these emotional cultures may work differently when combined with the high stress levels associated with high work–family conflict and suppression. In investigating these cross-level effects, we thus examine the relationship of each of these emotional cultures separately.

The discrete emotions literature offers several potential mechanisms to explain why the combination of

high work–family conflict and high suppression may operate differently within a strong culture of companionate love. Risk-taking and health problems are likely to be buffered by having a strong culture of companionate love due to the emotional resources and support that follow from the "other-oriented" nature of companionate love (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). This orientation could lead to less risk-taking and better health through an attentional mechanism; namely, increased perspective taking and sensitivity to others (Aaker & Williams, 1998). Increased perspective-taking and sensitivity in this context means that people in a strong culture of companionate love will notice when a colleague has problems outside of work and will encourage him or her to cope by expressing the pain rather than bottling it up. The empathy of colleagues in a culture of companionate love can prevent work–family stress from further depleting emotional resources and precipitating poor decision-making outside of work (Porcelli & Delgado, 2009). Depletion would be less relevant to employees low in suppression because they are not carrying around this additional source of stress (suppressing negative emotions), or to those low in work–family conflict because they are more likely to receive support for their work-related stress from family and friends outside of work.

High-quality work relationships based on affectionate, intimate bonds between people also offer individuals a protective buffer, increasing their resilience and self-control in non-work life (Fredrickson, 1998). Resilience and control are particularly helpful when curbing the temptation to engage in risk-taking behaviors as a means of dealing with the stress associated with high suppression (e.g., Grandey, 2003) and high work–family conflict. Bacharach et al. (2008), for example, found that firefighters frequently coped with workplace trauma through drinking, but that a greater availability of unit resources (training materials, safety procedures) protected against this tendency, mitigating it. The literature indicates that the protective effects of positive social interactions can have a direct effect on health, improving cardiovascular and immune functions as well as physiological resourcefulness (Bono, Glomb, Shen, Kim, & Koch, 2013; Heaphy & Dutton, 2008). A key physiological mechanism facilitating this improvement is the hormone oxytocin and its impact on the stress response (Carter, 1998). Lack of recovery from stressful events (a consequence of high suppression) and the inability to build, maintain, and repair oneself during times of rest (very likely when work–family conflict is high) also contribute to health problems and absences due to sickness (see Heaphy & Dutton, 2008, for a review). Put simply, a culture of companionate love may offset the negative interactive effects on risk-taking and health for individuals who are high in emotion suppression and high in work–family conflict.

Hypothesis 3. There is a cross-level interaction among individual-level emotion suppression and work–family conflict and the unit-level culture of companionate love on individual-level risk-taking behavior and health problems, such that a stronger culture of companionate love attenuates the relationship between suppression and work–family conflict on (a) risk-taking and (b) health problems.

In contrast to a strong culture of companionate love, a strong culture of joviality may exacerbate the negative effects of being high in emotion suppression and high in work–family conflict on risk-taking and health problems. Unlike companionate love, joviality can have a self-enhancing aspect that is associated with status differentiation (Keltner, Capps, Kring, Young, & Heerey, 2001; Keltner et al., 1998). This humor-based form of joviality is broadly linked to masculinity (Collinson, 1988; Pogrebin & Poole, 1988). The role of teasing has been highlighted as "a training ground for young men to prepare for an aggressive, competitive adult world" (Keltner et al., 1998: 1244).

A strong culture of joviality could have particularly deleterious consequences for colleagues who suppress their negative emotions and are experiencing high work–family conflict. First, status differentiation (e.g., guys jockeying for the "top dog" position) requires effort and self-regulation, which can deplete psychological resources for those already highly stressed (Muraven & Baumeister, 2000). Depleted resources at work can result in decreased resilience, lower self-control, and reduced caution in non-work life (Bacharach et al., 2008), increasing the likelihood that individuals will engage in unnecessary risk-taking and ignore what is best for their health and well-being. A second mechanism in a strong culture of joviality is positive emotion regulation and affective repair (Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Isen, 1984). In a strong culture of joviality, acknowledgment of other people's problems may clash with the desire to maintain a high level of fun and joking. A colleague who is struggling with work–family conflict and their own negative feelings about work may be perceived as a "killjoy." As such, employees in a strong culture of joviality might be more likely to avoid those colleagues who need companionship the most. Because joviality often entails

striving for self-enhancement, people in a strong culture of joviality are also less likely to make themselves vulnerable to others. Vulnerability has been shown to be helpful for a variety of life situations (Brown, 2012), but displaying vulnerability is particularly difficult for emotion suppressors. In sum, a strong culture of joviality does not offer opportunities for recovery from emotionally stressful experiences at work to those who habitually engage in emotion suppression and are experiencing work–family conflict, leading to greater risk-taking and more health problems.

Hypothesis 4. There is a cross-level interaction between individual-level emotion suppression and work–family conflict and a culture of joviality on individual-level risk-taking behavior and health problems, such that a stronger culture of joviality strengthens the relationship between suppression and work–family conflict on (a) risk-taking and (b) health problems.

STUDY 2: METHOD

Sample and Procedure

To test our hypotheses, we recruited firefighting units from the same metropolitan fire department we examined in the prior study. Of the 27 crews interviewed in Study 1, 26 also participated in Study 2. In addition, Study 2 included 42 new crews that had not been interviewed in Study 1. Thus, Study 2 encompasses a broader representation of the total number of county work units.

Firefighters received an email from the fire chief informing them of the opportunity to participate in a study of station organizational culture. Supervisors (called "battalion chiefs") distributed paper-and-pencil surveys designed to measure emotion suppression, work–family conflict, risk-taking behavior, and health problems to firefighters under their command. Participants were allowed work time to complete the survey. As a participation incentive, participants' names were entered into a raffle to win a pair of tickets to a home game of the state university's top-ranked football team. Approximately two weeks after the initial email, respondents received a reminder email encouraging them to participate.

We received responses from 324 firefighters out of a total of 600 firefighters (a 54% response rate). These individuals were nested in 68 station shifts out of 82 possible station shifts (84% of the shifts). Of the 324 respondents, 91% indicated that they were male and 2.2% indicated that they were female (6.5% did not indicate their gender). Caucasians accounted for 89% of the sample. Forty-three percent of respondents were more than 30 years old, and 42% had been firefighters in the county for more than 10 years. Seventy-four percent of the respondents were married, and 64% had children living at home.

Unit-Level Measures

Culture of joviality and culture of companionate love. To measure the culture of joviality, we created a scale derived from the prototype model of emotions proposed by Shaver et al. (1987). According to this model, the prototype *joy* has seven subcategories, one of which contains the discrete emotions *joviality* and *amusement*. We sampled two additional items, *enthusiasm* and *excitement*, because they were the most prototypical emotions within the second largest subcategory of the joy prototype and were also among the most frequently observed discrete emotions reported by our outside observers during the station interviews in Study 1.[6] To measure the culture of companionate love, we used three items from the Shaver et al. (1987) prototype model of emotions. Two of these items, *caring* and *tenderness,* were also used by Barsade and O'Neill (2014) in their companionate love scale. We added a third item, *fondness*, which was frequently observed by outside raters during the qualitative interviews.

Supervisors rated the emotional culture of each unit under their command.[7] In this way, supervisors were informants, reporting on the emotional culture of the units they supervised, rather than participants describing their own emotions.[8] Following Barsade and O'Neill (2014), we measured the frequency with which the emotions occurred within the units. This approach best captures the *actual* expression of emotions (versus the reporting of emotions supervisors believe *ought* to be expressed) representing a culture of joviality and a culture of companionate love communicated through verbal utterances, facial

[6] We also ran all the analyses with only two items (*joviality* and *amusement*); the results were unchanged.

[7] Supervisors commanded either six or seven units each. As firefighting units were nested within supervisory units, we ran an analysis of variance on the culture variables, which revealed significant differences between as well as within supervisory units.

[8] We collected supervisor ratings rather than firefighters' ratings of culture to avoid common method bias. Indeed, Barsade and O'Neill (2014) found comparable results between outside raters and employees who rated emotional culture. In their study, outside observer ratings also corresponded with cultural artifacts.

expression, body language, auditory tone, and touch (Mehrabian, 1972).[9]

Unit performance. Although results from Study 1 suggested a relationship between emotional culture and unit performance, directional effects were not clear. Thus, we chose to examine the effects in an exploratory fashion. We examined crew coordination as our first indicator of unit performance.[10] Two other measures that firefighters commonly use as metrics of crew performance are auto accidents and property loss.[11] All performance data were at the unit level and included incidents that occurred during a one-month period commencing two months after survey data collection. During this one-month period, the average coordination time from the emergency call to crew departure was 49.4 seconds ($SD = 29.7$). Nearly a third of the units (27.2%) had at least one auto accident ($M = 0.36$, $SD = .71$), with a range of 0 to 4 accidents. Nearly half of the units (46.9%) had at least one report of property loss ($M = 0.79$, $SD = 1.0$).

Individual-Level Measures

For all individual-level measures, we surveyed firefighters about their own experiences. Firefighters reported on their *emotion suppression* using the suppression subscale of the Gross (1998) emotion regulation questionnaire, modified for this study. This scale tapped into suppressing negative emotions on the job. The instructions were: "The following questions ask about how you control (i.e., regulate and manage) negative emotions such as sadness, guilt, or anger after a difficult call" (e.g., "I keep negative emotions that I feel after a difficult call to myself"). We measured *work–family conflict* by having firefighters report on their individual work–family conflict using the work-to-family subscale of the Netemeyer, Boles, and McMurrian (1996) work–family conflict scale. Firefighters rated their *individual risk-taking behaviors outside of work* using the five items with the highest factor loadings from the Franken, Gibson, and Rowland (1992) attitudes toward physical risks questionnaire. To measure *health problems*, we used seven items from the Center for Disease Control physical symptom classification, as reported in Wilson, Dejoy, Vandenberg, Richardson, and McGrath (2004).

Control Variables

We controlled for several variables that might relate to our independent and outcome variables.[12] Given that the experiences of women and men are very different in masculine organizational cultures (Chetkovich, 1997), although 91% of the participants were men, we controlled for *gender* ("1" = *male*, "2" = *female*). Because work–family conflict might be influenced by marital status and having children (Humberd et al., 2014; Ladge et al., 2015), we also controlled for these factors. *Marital status* was measured using dummy variables for single, divorced, and married (with *married* as the omitted category). *Children at home* was measured categorically as well ("1" = *yes*, "0" = *no*). *Tenure* as a firefighter in the county was measured using six categories ("1" = *less than one year*, "2" = *1–5 years* . . . "6" = *more than 20 years*). Tenure may be related to health problems in that the longer firefighters are on the job, the more health problems they are likely to experience (Bacharach et al., 2008). Because we were looking at emotional culture, and because work–family conflict and health problems are both related to job attitudes and stress (Allen et al., 2000), we controlled for firefighters' *trait negative affectivity* and overall *job satisfaction*. We used a shortened version of Watson, Clark, and Tellegen's (1988) Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS scales) that included five trait negative affectivity items.[13] We measured job

[9] An exploratory factor analysis of supervisor ratings revealed that the items representing a culture of joviality and a culture of companionate love loaded cleanly on two separate factors.

[10] In fire and emergency service departments, *coordination* is typically measured as the amount of time it takes for a crew to depart the station when there is an emergency call. Better-coordinated crews are generally able to depart the station faster than less-coordinated crews.

[11] Although some on-the-job incidents—particularly catastrophic accidents—are unavoidable, these measures generally reflect a lack of caution and a higher level of risk-taking (Flin, Mearns, O'Connor, & Bryden, 2000), both of which could be impacted by cultures of joviality and companionate love. Property loss reflects whether there was any damage caused by firefighters to client property, buildings, and vehicles while on scene.

[12] We also ran the models without any control variables; the pattern of results was the same.

[13] We focused on trait negative affectivity and not trait positive affectivity because the former has been shown to relate to negative outcomes (Watson, Clark, McIntyre, & Hamaker, 1992), whereas the latter has not. To test whether we should also include positive affectivity, we examined whether it explained additional variance in our models. While it did explain variance in risk-taking ($t = 2.89$, $p < .01$), it did not change the pattern of the findings. Moreover, it did not explain additional variance in health problems ($t = 0.07$, $p < .90$). Because negative affectivity was a strong predictor in both models, to maintain consistency and parsimony in our models, we decided not to include positive affectivity in the tables.

TABLE 4
Descriptive Statistics and Correlations (Study 2)[a]

	Mean	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Gender ("0" = male, "1" = female)	.02	.15														
2. Single	.16	.37	−.01													
3. Divorced	.09	.29	.03	−.14												
4. Married	.74	.44	−.01	−.75	−.54											
5. Kids at Home	.65	.49	−.02	−.40	−.10	.41										
6. Tenure	3.43	1.70	.01	−.37	.04	.28	−.22									
7. Trait Negative Affect	1.59	.54	−.03	−.04	.00	.03	−.01	.13	(.73)							
8. Job Satisfaction	6.17	1.06	.06	.16	−.07	−.09	.10	−.27	−.23	(.92)						
9. Work–Family Conflict	3.36	1.52	−.12	−.24	−.02	.21	−.15	.31	.36	−.31	(.89)					
10. Suppression	3.62	1.37	.04	−.02	.00	.00	.07	.00	.01	−.02	.03	(.73)				
11. Culture of Joviality	3.69	.76	.06	.00	.00	−.02	−.04	−.11	−.04	.07	.02	.15	(.85)			
12. Culture of Companionate Love	3.53	.71	.16	.03	−.08	.03	−.06	−.00	−.08	.13	.03	.13	.36	(.85)		
13. Health Problems	1.59	.52	−.03	−.21	.02	.16	−.15	.27	.46	−.24	.46	−.05	−.08	−.13	(.74)	
14. Risk-Taking	3.67	1.37	−.04	.20	−.00	−.17	.07	−.18	.17	.02	.04	−.04	−.02	−.02	.05	(.91)

[a] Single, Divorced, Married, Kids at Home = "1," otherwise = "0" (e.g., Single = "1"). Culture of joviality and culture of companionate love were calculated as unit-level means, assigned back to individuals. Reliability coefficients (α) are on the diagonal. Correlations above .12 are statistically significant at $p < .05$. Degrees of freedom (*df*) are below correlations. *n* ranges from 294 to 322.

satisfaction using the three-item Cammann, Fichman, Jenkins, and Klesh (1983) scale.

Analytic Strategy

Because we tested cross-level hypotheses, involving relationships between Level 2 (unit) and Level 1 (individual) variables, we used SAS PROC MIXED (SAS Institute software suite) to analyze multilevel models (Littell, Milliken, Stroup, Wolfinger, & Schabenberger, 2006).[14] Each model had a number of fixed and random effects. We used an unstructured variance–covariance matrix structure to maximize model fit. To reduce multicollinearity between random intercepts and slopes, we grand-mean centered all predictor variables in all major analyses (Hofmann & Gavin, 1998). For exploratory analyses, all relationships were at the unit level, thus, we used ordinary least square regression and logistic regression for normally and non-normally distributed variables.

[14] Because a Level 2 variable (e.g., emotional culture) can only explain differences between groups (Hofmann, 1997), we ran a null hierarchical model to show sufficient between-level variance in the Level 1 outcomes before testing our hypotheses. Results showed significant between-group variance in risk-taking ($\tau_{00} = 6.02$, $z = 1.62$, $p < .05$) and health problems ($\tau_{00} = .16$, $z = 1.89$, $p < .05$), which justified using cross-level analyses.

STUDY 2: RESULTS

We report descriptive statistics and intercorrelations among variables used in the cross-level analyses in Table 4. One notable finding is the moderate positive correlation between a culture of companionate love and a culture of joviality. This corresponds to our supposition that companionate love and joviality are distinct positive emotions that can overlap, but do not necessarily do so.

Tables 5 and 6 present results of multilevel models predicting individual-level risk-taking (Table 5) and health problems (Table 6) from supervisor observations of the culture of joviality and companionate love, as well as firefighter ratings of work–family conflict and suppression. Although not hypothesized, we modeled main effects (see Model 1) before testing the hypothesized interactions. As noted in Tables 5 and 6, we found main effects for work–family conflict (but not for emotional culture or suppression) on health problems and risk-taking.

Hypothesis Testing

As predicted by Hypothesis 1, we found a significant interaction between the culture of joviality and the culture of companionate love on individual risk-taking (see Table 5, Model 2). This interaction was not significant for health problems (see Table 6, Model 2).

TABLE 5
Effects of Emotional Culture, Work–Family Conflict, and Suppression on Risk-Taking (Study 2)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Intercept	2.82 (1.00)***	3.06 (1.00)***	3.05 (1.01)***
Female	−.15 (.54)	−.06 (.55)	−.01 (.58)
Single	.59 (.28)†	.56 (.28)	.57 (.29)
Divorced	.26 (.31)	.29 (.31)	.30 (.31)
Kids at Home	−.03 (.20)	−.02 (.20)	−.01 (.21)
Tenure	−.14 (.06)**	−.14 (.06)**	−.14 (.06)**
Trait Negative Affect	.50 (.17)**	.48 (.16)***	.48 (.16)***
Job Satisfaction	.04 (.11)	.05 (.11)	.05 (.11)
Work–Family Conflict (WFC)	.10 (.07)*	.12 (.06)†	.11 (.07)
Suppression (Supp)	−.12 (.11)	−.09 (.13)	−.09 (.13)
Culture of Joviality (Joviality)	−.15 (.15)	−.29 (.16)†	−.28 (.16)†
Culture of Love (Love)	.07 (.16)	.17 (.17)	.10 (.09)
WFC × Joviality		.09 (.09)	.11 (.09)
WFC × Love		−.08 (.10)	−.11 (.11)
Supp × Joviality		.09 (.17)	.08 (.17)
Supp × Love		−.02 (.21)	−.02 (.21)
WFC × Supp		.17 (.07)**	.14 (.09)†
Joviality × Love		−.56 (.23)**	−.57 (.23)**
WFC × Supp × Joviality			−.03 (.11)
WFC × Supp × Love			.08 (.14)
Pseudo R^2	.14	.16	.16
Δ Pseudo R^2	.14	.02	.00
χ^2	7.97*	7.63*	8.03*
df	287	287	287

Notes: These are cross-level models predicting individual-level risk-taking from firefighter ratings of work–family conflict and suppression and supervisor ratings of culture of joviality and companionate love. Models report unstandardized estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

*** $p < .001$
** $p < .01$
* $p < .05$
† $p < .10$

Figure 1 displays a graph of the interaction between a culture of joviality and a culture of companionate love on risk-taking. Specifically, risk-taking is lowest in units where the emotional culture is defined by strong joviality and strong companionate love, and it is highest in units where the emotional culture is defined by a strong culture of joviality and a weak culture of love.

As predicted by Hypothesis 2, we found a significant two-way interaction between work–family conflict and suppression on risk-taking (Table 5, Model 2), but not health problems (Table 6, Model 2). The significant interaction shows that, when firefighters engage in high levels of suppression and experience greater work–family conflict, their risk-taking levels increase. As shown in Figure 2, this effect is driven by the simple slope for the high suppression condition ($\beta = .25$, $SE = .09$, $t(323) = 2.87$, $p < .01$). When firefighters do not engage in emotion suppression, their levels of work–family conflict do not have an effect on risk-taking.

Table 6 (Model 3) shows the predicted three-way interaction among work–family conflict, suppression, and emotional culture on health problems.[15] These interactions were largely driven by firefighters who were experiencing both high work–family conflict and high suppression. Specifically, Figure 3 shows that, when a firefighter had high work–family conflict and strongly suppressed emotions stemming from the job, a strong culture of companionate love helped to ameliorate health problems, supporting Hypothesis 3. By contrast—and in support of Hypothesis 4—in this same situation, a strong culture of joviality exacerbated health problems. Although not hypothesized, Table 6 (Model 2) also reveals significant two-way interactions between emotional culture and work–family conflict. These indicate that a strong culture of joviality exacerbates the relationship between work–family conflict and health problems,

[15] Although not hypothesized, the four-way interaction of work–family conflict, emotion suppression, joviality, and companionate love on risk-taking and health problems was also tested. The four-way interaction was not significant.

TABLE 6
Effects of Emotional Culture, Work–Family Conflict, and Suppression on Health Problems (Study 2)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Intercept	1.18 (.29)	1.05 (.29)	1.02 (.20)***
Female	−.06 (.17)	.02 (.17)	−.02 (.17)
Single	−.04 (.09)	−.02 (.09)	−.01 (.09)
Divorced	.07 (.06)	.06 (.06)	.06 (.09)
Kids at home	.06 (.06)	.07 (.06)	.07 (.06)
Tenure	.03 (.02)	.03 (.02)†	.03 (.02)*
Trait Negative Affect	.32 (.05)***	.33 (.05)***	.32 (.05)***
Job Satisfaction	−.01 (.03)	.03 (.04)	−.01 (.02)
Work–Family Conflict (WFC)	.10 (.02)***	.09 (.02)***	.10 (.02)***
Suppression (Supp)	−.02 (.03)	−.01 (.04)	−.02 (.04)†
Culture of Joviality (Joviality)	−.05 (.05)	.01 (.05)	.00 (.05)
Culture of Companionate Love (Love)	−.04 (.05)	−.08 (.06)	−.05 (.06)
WFC × Joviality		.05 (.02)*	.04 (.03)
WFC × Love		−.07 (.03)**	−.04 (.03)
Supp × Joviality		.03 (.05)	.05 (.06)
Supp × Love		−.02 (.07)	−.04 (.07)
WFC × Supp		−.02 (.02)	.01 (.03)
Joviality × Love		.10 (.07)	.12 (.07)
WFC × Supp × Joviality			.06 (.03)*
WFC × Supp × Love			−.09 (.04)*
Pseudo R^2	.34	.35	.36
Δ Pseudo R^2	.34	.02	.01
χ^2	7.87*	6.03*	5.83*
df	287	287	287

Notes: These are cross-level models predicting individual-level health problems from firefighter ratings of work–family conflict and suppression and supervisor ratings of culture of joviality and companionate love. Models report unstandardized estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

*** $p < .001$
** $p < .01$
* $p < .05$
† $p < .10$

whereas a strong culture of companionate love ameliorates it.[16]

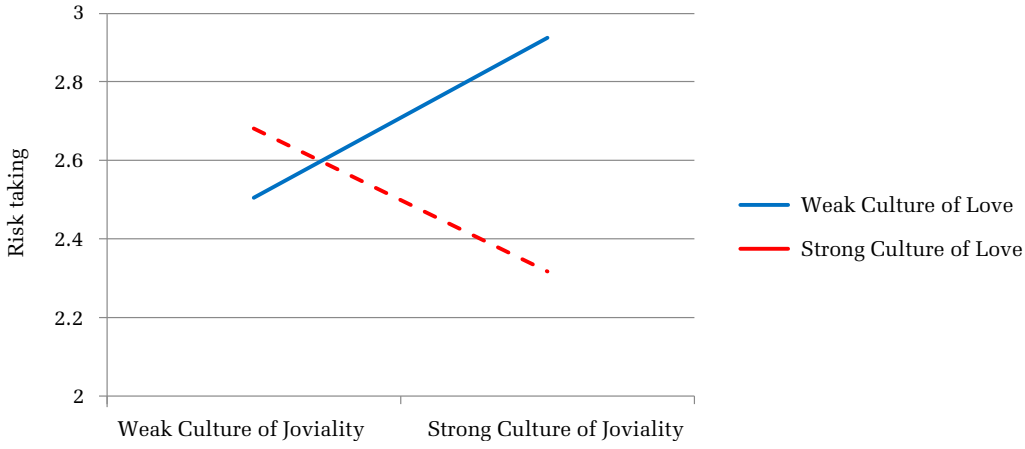
For the objective performance indicators, we performed an exploratory set of analyses. We did not find an interaction between joviality and companionate love. However, results (see Table 7) reveal that a stronger culture of joviality was associated with lower coordination time (meaning a faster response to calls) two months later. A culture of companionate love had no effect on coordination time. By contrast, a culture of joviality was associated with a higher likelihood of subsequent auto accidents and property loss. A strong culture of companionate love was associated with a lower likelihood of auto accidents, but had no effect on property loss.

[16] These findings are consistent with the predicted three-way interactions between emotional culture, work–family conflict, and suppression. What the three-way interaction shows us is that the two-way interaction findings are stronger for those who are emotion suppressors.

STUDY 2: DISCUSSION

Study 2 offers a quantitative test of the relationships we observed in the Study 1 qualitative data. This test provided some support for the hypotheses we generated from Study 1 and also produced new findings that we did not hypothesize a priori. Taken together, our results make a subtle yet important point, which is that at the unit level—*assuming individual level factors are held constant*—the positive aspects of a culture of joviality and a culture of companionate love can work together to temper each other and allow individuals to flourish. However, when looking at a more granular level, taking into account how individuals vary in their stress levels as well as how they cope with that stress, some features of a culture of joviality (e.g., teasing and high activation) may ironically exacerbate negative outcomes (i.e., health problems), whereas the social support and relational aspects of a culture of companionate love may ameliorate them.

FIGURE 1
Two-Way Interaction of Culture of Joviality and Culture of Companionate Love on Individual Risk-Taking (Study 2)



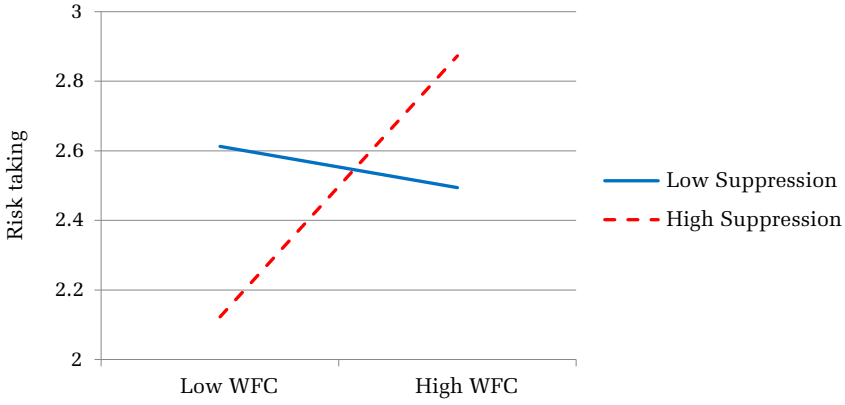
It is noteworthy that risk-taking was predicted by two-way interactions, whereas health problems were predicted by three-way interactions. It may be that risk-taking is a more proximal behavior and thus the simpler two-way interactions were sufficient to detect the effects, whereas with health problems, a more specific set of conditions was required to see these effects emerge.

In addition to the hypothesized relationships, we found preliminary evidence of a relationship between emotional culture and crew performance (measured objectively). Exploratory analyses suggested some benefits to a strong culture of joviality that coincide with the prevailing sentiment of firefighters we interviewed. However, we also found evidence indicating that a culture of joviality may lead to increased risk-taking on the job. In contrast, we found suggestive evidence that a culture of companionate love might help prevent unnecessary risk-taking on the job. Taken together, these exploratory unit-level findings lend additional support to the findings we obtained from our qualitative and survey study results.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

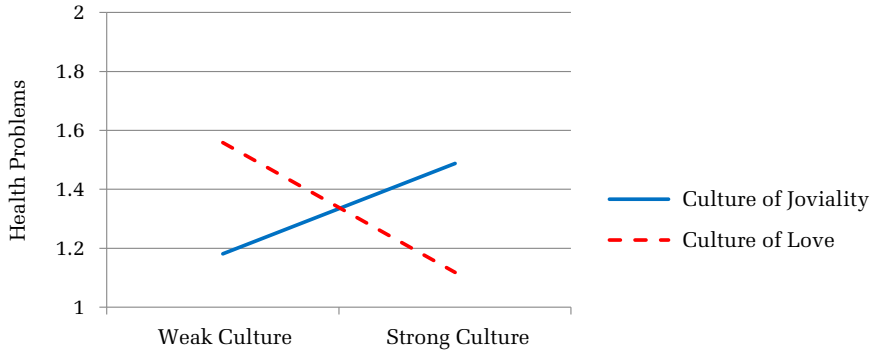
Using both qualitative and quantitative data, we built and tested new theory about the emotional culture of a prototypical masculine organizational culture and its relation to emotion suppression, work–family conflict, risk-taking, health problems, and performance. Results from interviews and

FIGURE 2
Two-Way Interaction of Suppression and Work–Family Conflict on Individual Risk-Taking (Study 2)



Note: WFC = work–family conflict.

FIGURE 3
Three-Way Interaction of Culture of Joviality and Love on Health Problems for High Work–Family Conflict and High Suppression (Study 2)



observation of station culture revealed that a culture of joviality and a culture of companionate love can coexist to jointly characterize the emotional culture of firefighting, a prototypically masculine culture. From the qualitative data, we also learned that these two dimensions of emotional culture operate in conjunction with individual-level differences in emotion suppression and work–family conflict to influence outcomes. Results from a multilevel, multirater survey study demonstrate that emotional culture impacted individual risk-taking and health problems, albeit in slightly different ways. Exploratory analyses of longitudinal, objective unit-level performance measures indicated that both a strong culture of joviality and a strong culture of companionate love have implications for unit performance. Taken together, our qualitative and quantitative findings call into question certain assumptions in the literature on masculinity, emotions, and work–family conflict in the workplace. Our findings also illustrate how a culture of joviality and a culture of companionate love can undo some of the negative consequences of masculinity. These findings have implications for both theory and practice.

Theoretical Contributions

Masculinity. By demonstrating that a culture of companionate love is just as prevalent in a prototypically masculine culture as it is in other organizational cultures, our research contributes to the masculinity literature, which—until very recently—has assumed that toughness, self-reliance, and the avoidance of vulnerability and compassion are inherent to what it means to "be a man" (Gilmore, 1990). This seeming paradox—the presence of a strong culture of companionate love in cultures defined by both emotion suppression and a preference for rationality over emotionality—illustrates the importance of adopting a more nuanced, contextualized view of masculine organizational culture. Our research clearly shows that men are comfortable expressing affection, caring, and tenderness at work in a way that is reminiscent of the brotherhood or camaraderie often demonstrated in military settings or men's sports teams (King, 2013; Messner, 1995). One key factor in resolving the paradox is the acknowledgment that masculine organizational cultures are also defined by a second emotion, joviality, which is commonly manifested in a form of humor that involves teasing and pranks (Collinson, 1988; Keltner et al., 1998; Pogrebin & Poole, 1988). Our findings suggest that recognizing the coexistence and interplay of these two emotions—companionate love and joviality—is necessary for understanding some of the contradictions and tensions linking masculinity, organizational culture, and emotion suppression. Although hundreds of millions of Beatles followers believe "all you need is love," our findings indicate that companionate love really should be examined in conjunction with other discrete emotions.

One negative implication of the presence of companionate love in masculine organizational cultures is that men might feel less comfortable with such behavior in demographically heterogeneous settings, resulting in the unintentional exclusion of women and underrepresented minorities. However, recent research found that the presence of women in predominantly male consulting client teams resulted in the expression of greater interpersonal sensitivity on the part of both male and female team members

TABLE 7
Effects of Culture of Joviality and Companionate Love on Unit Performance (Study 2)

	Coordination Time[b]		Auto Accidents[c]		Property Loss[c]	
	Model 1[a]	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Intercept	53.2 (2.66)***	52.9 (2.92)***	−1.11 (.20)***	−1.05 (.21)***	−.26 (.13)*	−.20 (.13)*
Culture of Joviality (Joviality)	−8.89 (4.21)*	−8.92 (4.24)*	.63 (.29)*	.56 (.30)†	.38 (.19)*	.37 (.19)†
Culture of Love (Love)	.70 (4.06)	.32 (4.31)	−.54 (.27)*	−.41 (.33)	−.04 (.19)	−.08 (.21)
Joviality × Love		1.36 (4.77)		−.25 (.37)		−.26 (.23)
Model F test	2.63†	1.76				
Adjusted R^2	.05	.04				
Log Likelihood			−55.6	−55.4	−76.8	−76.1
AIC			130.0	131.5	203.5	204.2
BIC			137.2	141.1	210.7	213.8
χ^2			95.0	94.0	103.2	104.1
χ^2/df			1.21	1.22	1.32	1.35
df	62	61	78	77	78	77

Notes: This analysis shows the effects of supervisor ratings of the culture of joviality and companionate love at Time 1 on unit-level performance at Time 2. Models report unstandardized estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

[a] Although the overall model is not significant when joviality and love are entered together, the model is significant when joviality is entered separately.

[b] Coordination time (measured in seconds) was normally distributed, so we used ordinary least squares regression for this analysis.

[c] Since auto accidents and property loss were count variables, we used Poisson regression, which produces log likelihood estimates instead of β coefficients.

*** $p < .001$
** $p < .01$
* $p < .05$
† $p < .10$

(Williams & Polman, 2015). Future research should explore the possibility that the presence of demographically diverse groups might circumvent some of the negative effects of masculine emotional culture; in particular, the problems associated with a strong culture of joviality that is not tempered by companionate love. There may also be a double standard regarding who is allowed to express vulnerability; such behavior may be acceptable for men in a strong culture of companionate love, but not for women—who have worked hard to be seen as equals in masculine organizational cultures—in any circumstances. These topics have been explored to some extent in other research (e.g., Chetkovich, 1997); however, when examined from an emotional culture perspective, they also lend themselves to fruitful new avenues of research.

Organizational culture. Building on nascent research on emotional culture, our study examines multiple dimensions of emotional culture as well as its boundary conditions. By taking into account this fuller profile of emotional culture, we advance organizational culture theory (e.g., Barsade & O'Neill, 2014). In addition, our findings about the importance of physical, nonverbal manifestations of emotional culture, such as environmental artifacts and human touch, further expand the largely intellectual "cognitive" approach to organizational culture adopted in much of the prior research. By focusing on these less explored aspects of culture, we highlight some of the mechanisms unique to emotional culture that our research shows have a measurable impact on workers' behavior, health, and performance.

Emotions. Our findings are not only important for the nascent work on emotional culture; they are also important for research on basic emotions. While negative emotions such as anger, sadness, and fear can be easily distinguished by employees and experimental subjects alike, many researchers fail to disentangle the unique dimensionality of positive emotions in the laboratory and in the field (Sauter, 2010). Although a culture of companionate love and a culture of joviality are clearly related to each other, they are also quite distinct, as evidenced by the modest correlation between the two constructs. Moreover, our findings highlight the domain specificity of discrete positive emotions' influence on well-being and performance. For example, we show how emotions such as joviality can be positive in one performance domain (e.g., team coordination) and negative in another (e.g., risky behavior on calls).

Emotion suppression. An additional theoretical insight from our study stems from the finding that emotion suppression had detrimental effects for risk-taking behavior and health only when participants experienced high work–family conflict. It appears that the combination of emotion suppression and high work–family conflict prevented firefighters from recovering from stress. Our findings indicate that this strain may come out in other ways, such as alcohol consumption and other types of risky activities. These findings contribute to research on emotion suppression by elucidating the circumstances under which emotion suppression is harmful to employees in stressful jobs. Despite the fact that firefighters in nearly half of the units we interviewed viewed suppression as functional for dealing with negative work emotions, research is clear about the negative effects of emotion suppression on cognition, behavior, and interpersonal relationships, all of which are directly relevant to the job domain.

One relevant factor for understanding the discrepancy between a view of suppression as always negative and our finding that suppression is not always detrimental may be the research context. The focus of many emotion suppression studies is individual differences independent of context or experiments conducted in a laboratory context, with only minimal consideration of relevant situational factors. Our research begins to answer the call for more work examining the extent to which laboratory studies generalize to applied contexts (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). Our findings suggest that a much more nuanced approach is necessary for understanding the implications of emotion suppression in work environments.

Work–family conflict. Our work also contributes to a more nuanced view of work–family conflict as experienced by men, adding to the small but growing body of literature on this topic (Humberd et al., 2014; Ladge et al., 2015). In particular, the multilevel perspective we adopt is a fresh contribution to the work–family conflict literature, which has tended to focus on work–family conflict and employee health from an individual-level perspective (Eby et al., 2005). The emergence of work–family conflict as a primary theme in prototypically masculine work contexts is noteworthy, not only because it is rarely discussed in mainstream masculinity discourse (see Ely & Meyerson, 2010, for an exception), but because it provides a crucial link in understanding the relationship between emotional culture and employee health and well-being. Particularly compelling are the findings for health problems. The emotional

culture of the work unit was a crucial factor in determining whether the strain from high work–family conflict bled over into participants' physical health. Our finding that the effects of work–family conflict depend on emotion suppression and whether there is a culture of joviality or companionate love further underscores the importance of an emotional culture perspective on masculinity.

Positive organizational scholarship. Our findings contribute to positive organizational scholarship research as an example of how scholars can theorize about and measure positive emotions in relation to organizations, and how this pairing contributes to individual well-being (Spreitzer & Cameron, 2012). The empirical relationships found between positive emotions and health contribute to this research, which until now has chiefly only theorized about such relationships (Heaphy & Dutton, 2008). Addressing joviality, companionate love, and their relation to work life and non-work life using a methodologically rigorous, combined qualitative and quantitative approach spanning multiple levels of analysis is a significant contribution as called for by Spreitzer and Cameron (2012). Our findings on companionate love dovetail with research on compassion and compassion organizing—topics that have been explored in previous research (e.g., Dutton, Worline, Frost, & Lilius, 2006; Lilius, Worline, Maitlis, Kanov, Dutton, & Frost, 2008)—but go beyond the study of responsiveness to others' suffering (the core focus of compassion research) to include affection, caring, tenderness, and fondness.

Limitations

This study is not without limitations. First, because we examined a single occupation, our study may have limited generalizability. However, our study builds on previous research that has demonstrated similarity on theoretically relevant dimensions of masculinity across a wide variety of industries (see Ely & Meyerson, 2010, for a detailed description). Second, there are methodological limitations to each of the two studies we conducted. Because we conducted group interviews, it could be less likely that we would hear about controversial or politically sensitive topics. We used a group interview technique deliberately because we wanted to witness group dynamics as a part of our observations of culture. We sought to offset these limitations by conducting a follow-up quantitative study that tested the relationships we observed in the field.

The quantitative study has limitations as well. Although we had supervisors as culture informants, we had single-source data for the individual-level variables, which may have inflated some relationships. Single-source bias is less of a concern because our hypotheses specified moderated relationships, and research suggests that common-method variance may only serve to attenuate true interactions (Evans, 1985). One concern with supervisor ratings of culture is that, under some circumstances, they could be less reliable and valid than the aggregation of the employee ratings (see James, 1982). In choosing this method, we sought to avoid the "fish in water" effect of culture ratings (see Hofstede, 1984). Moreover, part of a supervisor's job is to evaluate units as a whole, consistent with multilevel theories of aggregation (Chan, 1998). Despite the limitations, the findings are consistent across the two studies, and the methodologies are complementary. These considerations somewhat offset the limitations.

Managerial Implications

As some organizational scholars have hinted in their work on organizational culture (e.g., Martin, Knopoff, & Beckman, 1998; Schein, 2010), underlying cultural assumptions are inextricably tied to deeply felt emotions. Our results suggest that work units that balance the more prototypical aspects of masculine emotional culture—joviality or humor—with the lesser-known but no less important emotion of companionate love create cultures that are particularly well-functioning with respect to health and risk-taking, relative to cultures that are lacking in one or both emotions. Leaders would do well to cultivate rituals, practices, and policies that make companionate love a desirable and normal practice, particularly in prototypically masculine occupations or workplaces where compassion is not embedded in the work processes or work functions, as it is with emergency service workers. For example, the policy some stations adopted in which critical incident counselors were notified automatically following a major incident circumvented the traditional "masculine" ethos of not wanting to ask for help because it makes a person look vulnerable or weak (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Rosette et al., 2015).

It is also important to consider the dark side of masculine emotional culture. Our results suggest that, when work units lack a strong culture of companionate love, there is a danger that a strong culture of joviality could exacerbate negative tendencies associated with masculinity. In our study, this included health

problems and stereotypically "macho" behavior leading to objectively negative outcomes, such as increased vehicle collisions while on call. In some corporate contexts, the types of jokes and pranks we observed that were associated with a strong culture of joviality might be considered "harassment" or "bullying." This possibility underscores the importance of the tempering effect of companionate love for harnessing the positive aspects of an organization's emotional culture.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that group emotions are a crucial component of the organizational landscape (Barsade & Knight, 2015), yet research on the intersection of emotions and organizational culture has been slow to come to fruition. Our theoretical perspective—that of "masculine emotional culture"—indicates that emotional culture provides both a buffer and a boost to risk-taking and health problems, two syndromes that are often associated with prototypical masculinity. To fully explicate these relationships, however, it is necessary to challenge some basic assumptions about emotion suppression and work–family conflict in masculine organizational cultures, as our studies have done. Doing so sheds new light on the intersection of culture, emotions, and gender within the field of organizational behavior.

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