

# Giving From the Heart: The Emotion Management of Volunteering Employees

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## Abstract

This article traces the emotion management practices of a bank's community of volunteers as managerial control, based on an in-depth case study at a well-known veteran Israeli bank (from the late 1970s until recent years). Since the 1980s, the bank's employees have been required to take a part in volunteering initiatives considered part of the bank's CSR strategy. The article demonstrates that the courteous clerk, who was expected to display human and emphatic gestures toward the customers toward the end of the 1970s, was eventually required to redirect those acquired orientations and traits toward the entire community outside the bank branches and clientele.

The study challenges both the positivistic and critical managerial literature that avoids discussing emotion management as a mechanism of control regarding corporate volunteerism.

**Keywords:** emotion management, emotional labor, deep acting, marketing campaigns, organizational ceremonies, employee volunteering, organizational culture, banking

## 1. Introduction

The concept of businesses demonstrating their commitment to the public good as part of their business strategy rose to prominence in the United States during the 1950s. Prior to this, philanthropy had meant wealthy individuals donating their personal money rather than corporate capital (Heald, 1970; Ricks & Peters, 2013). Some attribute the turning point of the nature of corporate philanthropy to the new forms of corporate economic ownership in the aftermath of the Second World War. Meaning, the transition from family-owned businesses and oligopolies to corporate economic entities was based mainly on multiple investors and owners (Marinetti, 2008).

Others explain that by the 1960s most USA corporations were engaging in corporate philanthropy as a result of the public pressure for ethical behavior (Smith, 1994). It is argued in response that corporations chose to include philanthropic programs in their public relations and advertising strategies (Bakan 2004; Galaskiewicz, 1989; Marchand, 1998).

Some scholars argue that corporate giving for social reasons underwent a dramatic transformation during the twentieth century. Whereas the corporate philanthropy born in the Industrial Age was characterized by altruistic giving for charitable purposes aside from the utilitarian business considerations, since the 1980s businesses have begun to view philanthropy as strategic risk management and a business tool, while realizing social goals (Liu, Eng, & Ko, 2013; Ricks & Peters, 2013; Saia, Carroll, & Buchholtz, 2003; Seitanidi & Ryan, 2007; Smith, 1994).

Recently, the relationship between business and the community has been increasingly discussed and conceptualized among scholars and practitioners in terms of the business image formation now termed corporate social responsibility (CSR).

In its current form, CSR embodies a philosophy that benefiting society benefits businesses (Carroll, 1979; Carroll & Shabana, 2009), whereas irresponsible behavior is liable to harm a business's image, distance clients and investors, and even expose it to prosecution and public shaming. Therefore, in its most advanced version, corporate social responsibility has become an important instrument for risk management. Within this framework, many companies now invest in various kinds of self-regulation (such as codes of conduct, social and environmental accounts, joining international initiatives regarding environment and employment, and developing community relations departments) with the goal of minimizing possible damage from the nature and ramifications of its business activity (DeWinter, 2001;

Parker, 2007; Sethi, 2002; Westfield, 2002).

Over the past few years, classic corporate philanthropic activities have begun to be integrated into CSR strategy. Meaning, various gestures of giving to the community and employee volunteerism are viewed as how a business pays its dues to the community (Basil, Runte, Easwaramoorthy, & Barr, 2009; McCallum, Schmid, & Price, 2013) and a way of maintaining an image of “good citizenship” (Grant, 2012; Rodell, 2013). Recently, there has been increasing scholarly attention to employee volunteering, and it has primarily focused on the managerial literature that discusses the issue from an instrumental aspect and the commercial advantages of volunteering initiatives. These studies focus attention on what motivates human resources in the business to invest their time, energies, and talents on community volunteering (Caligiuri, Mencin, & Jiang, 2013; Grant, 2012; Rodell, 2013). According to studies on employee motivation and volunteering, the primary motive for volunteering is philanthropic – related to employee altruism and desire to help others. Philanthropic motives increase the volunteer employees’ experience of satisfaction (Do Paço & Nave, 2013; Pajo & Lee, 2011).

These studies also demonstrate that motivation, satisfaction, and identification with the organization are greater for volunteering than non-volunteering employees (Mozes, Josman, & Yaniv, 2011), and that supportive and positive perspectives of volunteering employees regarding corporate volunteering programs led to pride and satisfaction (Ferreira, Proença, & Proença, 2012; Jones, 2010). On the applied level – these studies show that volunteering requires nurturing and enrichment using a volunteer training system, and adapting it to volunteer needs, in order to reinforce employee self-worth and importance (Do Paço & Nave, 2013; Ferreira et al., 2012; Grant, 2012; Rodell, 2013).

If so, managerial studies demonstrate that even when interest exists in the effect of corporate volunteerism on the employee’s subjective experiences, such as meaning at the workplace, motivation, or satisfaction, volunteerism is examined in the context of these feelings for the organization’s commercial benefit (Basil et al., 2009; McCallum et al., 2013).

Conversely, the current study proposes a critical examination of employee volunteering as part of the organizational control mechanism managing and regulating the employee’s emotive behavior. Despite increasingly apparent recent theoretical and empirical activity concerning emotion management as organizational control, the critical literature has, meanwhile, still neglected the link between emotional management and corporate volunteerism.

With the aim of filling this lacuna in the literature, the current article seeks to trace the emotional labor process of corporate community volunteers based on a case study of a well-known, veteran Israeli bank (from 1970 onward). Since the 1980s, the bank’s employees have been expected to initiate and take part in corporate volunteering initiatives. The article shows that the courteous clerk who, toward the end of the 1970s, claimed to use human and emphatic gestures to tackle the customers’ varied needs and preoccupations, has gradually been required to redirect those acquired and internalized attitudes and demonstrations of solidarity and humanity (and even compassion) toward the entire community outside the bank’s branches and clientele.

### *1.1 Emotion Management and Organizational Control*

As yet, very little research has been conducted regarding the social construction of emotions in the workplace in terms of control (Fineman & Sturdy, 1999). The current paper focuses on one aspect of the social construction of emotions in workplace – emotional labor or management (Hochschild 1979; 1983). That is, “the display of expected emotions by service agents during service encounters. It is performed through surface acting, deep acting, or the expression of genuine emotions” (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p.88).

However, since the 1980s, with the spread of managerial discourse of organizational culture emphasizing managerial use of cultural symbols, there has been a revival of empirical and conceptual discussion regarding management and regulation of the service employees’ feelings as a result of organizational control (Kunda, 1995; Raz, 1997; Van Maanen, 1991; Van Maanen and Kunda, 1989).

Several ethnographic studies were published in this context, challenging the uniform and coherent image of organizations as reflected in the positivistic managerial discourse, by critically discussing the social repercussions of emotion management practices on the employee’s self.

In her seminal study on emotional labor, Hochschild (1983) researched how flight attendants on an American airline were instructed to address the passengers with courtesy and empathy as part of their job requirements. She argued that the emotional effort demonstrated by the flight attendants became a significant factor in the management’s attempts to increase profits. Hochschild (1983) uses the term “emotive dissonance” to refer to the affective state – one in which the service provider is expected to display emotion during his or her work, even when not actually experiencing such feelings. Hochschild (1983) argues that such expectations exert a heavy emotional toll on the employees.

Kunda (1995), in his remarkable study on organizational culture inspired by Hochschild’s work, investigated how a

hi-tech company management sought to bring the organization's engineers to define their self by their role, resulting in fierce loyalty to the organization and its goals. An additional comprehensive field study – focusing on reshaping organizational culture in the context of organizational control – was carried out by Casey (1995), who examined how the workplace in a multinational company was structured as a “family” and “team” to regulate the manner in which employees expressed emotional commitment and identification.

These studies' unique contribution lies in their critical discussion of managerial attempts to deliberately blur the distinction between employee and organizational identity, and how such attempts influenced the way employees experienced who they really are. While the flight attendants in Hochschild's study (1983) felt alienation and strangeness toward their own self, both the engineers in Kunda's study (1995) and the employees in that of Casey (1995) underwent a constant internal ambivalent struggle between their own genuine desires and those demanded by their professional role.

Hochschild's study is the most relevant of the three as a conceptual base for this paper since, as previously mentioned, it focused explicitly on emotion management in the context of service providers.

However, since Hochschild's (1983) groundbreaking study of emotion management among American flight attendants, there has been a proliferation of studies of emotion management among service providers. Among scholars, Hochschild's key arguments have prompted ample controversy that I will briefly review. Some have rejected Hochschild's universal explanations, arguing that the concept of “emotion management” is culturally-dependent, to be understood in relation to aspects of socialization that shape employee personality prior to beginning the job (Raz, 1997). Others have argued that the (far from certain) effects of “emotional dissonance” rather depend to what extent employees have internalized the expected “display rules”, meaning the norms about the expected emotional modes for their job. For example, employees will experience “emotional dissonance” if they believe extroverted expression of insincere feelings is *not* a job requirement (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989). Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), who elucidate Hochschild's argument in the light of social identity theory, maintain that service providers robustly identifying with their roles may result in their not experiencing the negative effects of emotional labor on their identity in terms of burnout and job stress. Rather, in some cases they stress, “Identification may render emotional labor enjoyable and enhance well-being” (p. 107). Furthermore, in a similar vein, some have claimed that the mechanism that causes the negative results of emotional labor (such as job dissatisfaction and emotional exhaustion) was clarified neither by Hochschild, nor by the subsequent substantial research on emotional labor (Grandey, 2000).

Despite its contribution, the literature on emotion management has so far neglected the links between emotional labor as organizational control and corporate voluntarism issues. I will attempt to fill this gap in the literature by discussing these issues in the latter section of the article by presenting a brief ethnography of the magnificent ceremony held for the bank's volunteering employees to convey the bank management's deepest appreciation for their initiatives toward the community. The interpretative description of the appreciation ceremony demonstrates how both visual and vocal messages were conveyed to the volunteering employees, so as to mold, enhance, and sustain their feelings toward the bank's volunteering initiatives.

However, I will first demonstrate that emotion management practices were generated in the bank earlier, toward the end of the 1970s, when the management began to construct the “Discounter” – meaning the inclusive employee title – as a concept. This symbol serves the management in both strengthening employee identification with the bank's targets and dictating which emotional and behavioral rules are needed in their role as service providers. Later, the management expanded the meaning of the Discounter (making it not just an emphatic service provider for the bank's clients, but a human clerk serving the community at large).

## **2. Method**

The current study is based on data from a case study focusing on the philanthropic behavior of the bank's owners and employees, from its founding to the present day. The goal of the current article is to trace the emotion management practices and notions regarding volunteering employees from the late 1970s and onward. The need for much and varied data over several decades requires a thorough familiarity with the bank, its activities, and the various players, and necessitates the use of case study methodology to enable thorough research of the issue in a particular social context (Eisenhardt, 1989).

### *2.1 Participant Characteristics*

We conformed with the tradition of grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1998; Strauss, 1987) regarding design and analysis. Research data was gathered from 15 semi-structured interviews with bank employees, executives, and other key figures, both current and retired, such as the grandson of the bank's founder who served as VP Marketing and Publicity and a member of the board of directors from the late 1970s until the mid-1980s, and the current bank's CEO

and four director members (the interviews were held between 2006-2008). In addition, data was gathered by observation. In the last section, I will describe one of them – the bank’s 2008 ceremony held to honor its volunteering employees.

## 2.2 Research Materials

Archival materials, particularly the bank bulletins – published from the early 1960s onwards at the management’s behest – were analyzed methodologically, so as to improve the analysis and compare the information gathered from the interviews. The article is based on empirical data culled from around fifty bulletins.

The bulletins serve as a prism, through which it is possible to critically examine the emotional labor as part of the bank managerial course. Methodological analysis showed that the bulletins were used by the management as a tool for regulating employee feelings by publicizing management expectations regarding appropriate employee emotive behavior, displaying it first toward the customers and later the entire community.

During the first decade of the twenty-first century, the one decisive step taken by the management of the bank in question to enhance its competitive advantage was the creation of a new business strategy which included the bank’s CSR strategy as one of its prominent components. The ethical infrastructure of the strategy was openly declared by the management to be “human banking”.

The case of the bank’s CSR is fertile ground for demonstrating emotional labor practices, since the management seeks to attribute “humanness” to the bank and its employees alike. However, as I will demonstrate in the next section, this concept was first constructed during the late 1970s.

## 3. Results

### 3.1 The Humanization of the Bank Clerk by Deep Acting

During the 1970s, the top management strived to enlist and mold feelings of identification among employees in the bank’s branches, to promote their behavior in accordance with the bank’s instrumental interests. This was done by constructing and disseminating a powerful image that was intended to represent varied traits and orientations of the ideal service provider, which the employees were expected to internalize and realize during their regular working days.

This was first implemented by inventing a nickname for the bank’s employee – The Discounter – followed by attempts to embed it into the corporate culture. The name Discounters as a term for the bank’s employees was first featured in the bank bulletin during the mid-1970s. It originated with a marketing campaign that sought to place the bank’s employees – the courteous service providers – at the forefront of the advertising.

The next step was to provide a deliberate interpretation to this nascent figure of the ideal employee in keeping with the bank’s interests of enhancing its sales and improving its services. Through managerial messages of empowerment, while employing the term Discounter, the management strived to instill a sense of pride and solidarity among its employees. A senior manager’s speech to new authorized signatories can be understood as the management’s interpretation of the Discounter:

[A Discounter is] a person who is responsible for his own actions, looks at the world around him through the eyes of an independent adult, weighs his words and shows consideration for those around him. It is a kind of mutual solidarity among everyone here, as well as with other Discounters.

If so, the publicity campaign for the Discounter was aimed not only at the clients, but also served the management as a tool for enlisting the employees’ sense of identification with the bank and their professional roles as service providers. In Hochschild’s (1983) conceptual terms it can be said that the management exerted methods of emotion management in order to reinforce the employees’ emotional orientation toward the new figure attributed to them, as depicted in the bank’s bulletin, “special efforts were made to increase the workers’ identification with the Discounters’ slogan.” Very well attended meetings were held to “explain the campaign’s objectives and implications.” Finally, employees had to attend training sessions “with emphasis on the behavioral aspects of banking services.”<sup>1</sup>

Eventually, in the bank’s management discourse, the Discounter was constructed not just as a courteous service provider but as empathic in his relationships with clients. By the late 1970s, the term “human” had become part of the bank’s advertising language. The new campaign which was entitled “human banking” was targeted at depicting the bank as a human finance entity. Alongside the publicity attempts, the congenial Discounter was expected to represent the bank’s human side by offering the clients personal service. Meaning, the bank clerk was required to grant empathic service to each client in accordance with his or her specific and unique financial needs and preferences.

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<sup>1</sup> Bank Bulletin, August 1975.

This was in keeping with Hochschild's (1983) conclusion the bank's management pursued practices of deep acting in order to prevent emotive exhaustion, by bridging the gap which might be generated between genuine feelings and the manifested or extrovert feelings toward the clients. In practical terms, the attempts of the management focused on strengthening the identification with the multifaceted Discounter. The son of the CEO who served as VP Marketing and Publicity explained how, by the use of repeated and unambiguous messages, the employees were made to identify with the human Discounter image:

When you say that the bank has a "human" face, you cause the workers to attribute the same [quality] to themselves. In the end, we all live in a world of propaganda [...] When you work for an organization and you keep hearing, "you [work for a] human bank"; when your clients keep telling you, "you say you're a human bank," in the end it rubs off on you.<sup>2</sup>

Another way to instill the management's expectations of the humane and emphatic Discounter was through their written and public Golden Rules regarding emotions, defining the emotional responses employees were expected to employ in all client interactions. However, the management also sought to embed these rules in the deepest layers of the organizational culture and basic assumptions, with all managers attending exciting workshops and circulating the rules to their subordinates.

The Golden Rules included several directives which instructed the employees how to manage their emotions to treat different types of clients with varying character traits and temperaments, each calling for a different mode of communication. Thus the challenge was to see things through the eyes of very different sorts of client.

For instance, "hesitant clients" can be emotionally manipulated without their noticing:

In such cases, we can narrow down the possibilities, almost to the point of making their decisions in their place. Yet we never impose our own choices. They are the ones to choose — at least they should be shown to feel that.<sup>3</sup>

"Irritable clients" should be dealt with as follows:

First, find out why they are nervous. We will try to earn their trust, allow them to relax. But do not speak on their behalf; we are their friends, we won't be pushy. The clients must be sure we have the experience. They can rest at ease, because we're at ease, we are on their side.<sup>4</sup>

The irritable client's bursts of anger must be met with understanding. The client must be allowed to vent, without dragging the employee into an emotional whirlpool:

We have effective ammunition to counter their anger: knowledge, understanding, close familiarity with their affairs, tact, patience, and courtesy (anyone can be courteous with a calm person; we know how to be courteous with the irritable ones). [...] The client may, but we must, exercise emotional self-control.<sup>5</sup>

Hochschild (1983) uses the term "emotive dissonance" to refer to the affective state — one in which the service provider is expected to display emotion during his or her work, even when not actually experiencing such feelings. To minimize such emotive dissonance, the bank's management recommended certain behavioral strategies, manifested as the Golden Rules, intended to provide the employees with empathic tools for use with their relationship with customers.

In accordance with Hochschild's (1983) study on flight attendants who were expected to feel empathy toward the passengers by guided imagery tactics aimed at making the attendants display deep acting, the bank's employees were asked to imagine the clients as human beings. "Our clients," states one rule, "are not just dry statistics."<sup>6</sup> The clients depend on the employees, turning to them for support and assistance; the latter must therefore "remember that behind every note from a client stands a man with a family and with difficulties; in their distress, they turn to you."<sup>7</sup>

Another way to harness the employees' emotion toward the firm is by symbolic construction of the workplace as a familial and domestic setting (Casey, 1995; Hochschild, 1983; Kunda, 1995). One rule stated: "The bank is your home. The client is your guest. Show the client hospitality as if he were a guest in your own home."<sup>8</sup> Meaning, the employees

<sup>2</sup>Bank Bulletin, September 1983.

<sup>3</sup>Bank Bulletin, August 1975.

<sup>4</sup>Bank Bulletin, August 1975.

<sup>5</sup>Bank Bulletin, August 1975.

<sup>6</sup>Bank Bulletin, February 1976.

<sup>7</sup>Bank Bulletin, December 1975.

<sup>8</sup>Bank Bulletin, February 1976.

were expected to imagine that their environment (the workplace) was harmonious, congenial, and even familial.

The next section will depict how emotion management practices which were needed to mold the ideal human service provider were expanded over the years to the sphere of employee volunteerism sphere not directly related to the realm of customer service.

### *3.2 The Human Clerk Community Volunteer*

The Discounter (with all its layers of meanings) became a prominent cultural icon integral to the bank culture. I argue that the image of the Discounter has gradually been transformed, and has become multifaceted and broader, resulting in it now including several forms of what are considered appropriate feelings, perceptions, and behavior in the employees' routine and daily interactions, with both clients and the wider community. Since the 1980s, the bank's employees have been expected to initiate and participate in corporate volunteering initiatives. In its current CSR reports the bank notes that over 1000 employees take part in the bank's corporate volunteerism programs.

In this section I seek to support my argument using a brief ethnographic description of one of the typical ceremonies targeted at honoring the bank's volunteering employees. The bank holds such ceremonies very occasionally. The latest ceremony I describe here was held in 2008. At the managerial rhetorical level, these kinds of fancy, heavily-attended ceremonies are intended to convey the bank management's deep appreciation for the employee community volunteering initiatives. On a practical level, their aim is to mold, enhance, and sustain the employee volunteering feelings toward the bank's CSR initiatives. The interpretative description of the appreciation ceremony enables us to show what expectations are being conveyed to the volunteering employees regarding the bank's current CSR activities. Furthermore, it enables me to trace the symbols and artifacts that were transmitted to the employees during these ceremonies regarding the emotive displays they would be expected to demonstrate towards the objects of the bank's CSR activities.

### *3.3 Appreciation Ceremony for Employee Volunteering: A Managerial Tool for Emotive Enlistment*

The appreciation ceremony is held in the evening. The lawns of the Kochav Hayam Events Garden slowly fill up with elegantly dressed men and women. The guests are hundreds of the bank's employees who participate in the bank's community initiatives.

Just before eight-thirty, the participants go into the area where the show will take place. There is a large stage in the middle, and three gigantic panoramic screens are located on each side and in the center, raised to a height that enables a good view for the entire audience. Within a few minutes, the hundreds of seats are occupied. All this time, slogans about the bank's activities within the community flicker across the giant screens. The lights dim, signaling the beginning of the show. The audience instantly falls silent, and they direct their gaze to the center of the stage.

A beam of light focuses on a group of singing children. The lyrics dance along the three screens, "... When children sing, love washes over us like a spring... The warmth melts all the icebergs around, heavenly voices, angels' voices, children's voices like flowers unfolding..." When the song ends, a few little children burst out from the corners to center stage, and release balloons into the air.

The children leave the stage. Changing subtitles run along all three raised screens. "For the bank employees who give to the community," alternates with "The bank that takes you personally". The captions are interspersed with stunning photographs of nature. There are shouts of "Wow!" from the audience. The photographs of nature end with a subtitle, "Thank you to the bank employees who give to the community". The audience responds with applause. Dancers come onto the stage, and dance to world music, creating a dreamlike atmosphere. There are still subtitles flashing on the screens: "Some people give a little from the large amount they own... And some give the entire small amount they own. They believe in life. Some people give with joy..." The audience reacts with applause. Throughout the evening, the music, bodily gestures, and the written but silent words that dance along the screens blend into the great quantity of talk from the speeches of the representatives of the communal activity, and the entertainment performed by the actors. These non-verbal communication components are capable of greatly arousing people's emotions, and it would seem that the organizers of the events were aware of this.

Background music plays until Idan, a member of the management, reaches the podium. "Good evening and welcome to the appreciation assembly for the Discounters who volunteer in the community," he begins. "The bank CEO and its management are here today to honor and express our appreciation for you, the bank's community volunteers. Your presence this evening demonstrates the importance with which the bank views your ongoing contribution." He looks into the audience and declares, "and good evening to you, the Discounter volunteers, who altruistically contribute to the community year round." Enthusiastic applause is heard from the audience. He says,

This evening was arranged to tell you, bank community volunteers, that we appreciate what you do, admire how you invest your time, and hope that many more bank employees and management will harness themselves to this

important task. Unlike other organizations, where their contribution to the community is expressed in financial terms, with part unfortunately being devoted to investing money in media, publicity, and extolling the organization, we at the bank, together with the substantial financial investment, have over one thousand male and female employees, pensioners, and managers who are constantly working voluntarily and with love, contributing their time to the community” [several seconds of applause are heard from the audience].

He continues by describing several major activities that the bank held for the community. Finally, he lifts his eyes from the page, looks at the audience, and says with a smile:

I would like to thank you all for coming this evening. This is very emotional. To see this giant force in front of me gives us the feeling that the sky's the limit, that we can make a difference and change in Israeli society.

Applause is heard from the audience. He ends by reading several linking sentences, “What is daily life like in a bank unit that volunteers for the community? We wanted to document the activity of one bank employee group that volunteers in a multi-purpose afternoon club in Jaffa. So let's begin.” A film is shown on the screens. A woman in the audience (one of the volunteering bank employees) says disappointedly, “not us”.

“My name is Betty and I am the club manager,” a woman addresses the audience from the screens, “the day care center is defined as being for at-risk children. Many of them are children who lack positive interaction with adults. The Discounters come here, happy and cheerful, the children are waiting for them. The Discounters create a celebration, monthly workshops, and that creates a different atmosphere, something else.” Another woman introduces herself and says she works at the bank, and immediately adds, “... my romance with young people began around two years ago, when the bank announced a quota for volunteering for the community.”

Another bank employee speaks from the screens, “I am filled with hope that we will be able to continue and give our very best, and all thanks to bank. I don't think I would have ever got to the afternoon clubs if the bank hadn't come and encouraged us to go and do this kind of activity.” The brief film ends with the words of the club manager, “I would like to say that if our motto is to give to the children, and give them cake in their lives, so the Discounters are the cherry on the cake, and for that – I salute you”. The audience responds with wild applause.

The stage goes dark. Immediately there is utter silence. A thin girl goes up on stage and sits on a high chair.

Good evening, everyone. My name is Victoria, and it is very emotional for me to speak on behalf of 4,500 pupils from all over Israel. The bank saves children. It gives them hope for a better future and helps them realize their dreams. ... And I would like to tell you a little about my world. The bank's community project has accompanied me during my three years studying in high school, and it has helped me achieve excellent grades in the matriculation examination.

A short pause. There is quiet music in the background. The audience silently waits for her to talk. She continues:

When they called to tell me I had won a scholarship for my studies from the bank foundation, I began to cry from emotion. I was given the gift of my life. And I want to say that the word ‘thank you’ cannot convey what I feel. Perhaps someone needs to invent a new word that is more intense in Hebrew, a word that we could say to someone who changes your life, who gives you the opportunity to do what you have always dreamed of, who gives you hope, the opportunity to go far, and does all of this when they barely know you. I don't have another word. So I will simply say ‘thank you’ to all of you.

Many in the audience clap. The girl continues, now more confidently:

You taught me what is true giving, responsibility, concern for others. I promise you that I will remember this all my life, and I will continue to pass on what I received from you. When I grow up, I want to be exactly like you. I want to be a person with eyes that see who needs me, with ears that hear other people's difficulties, and arms to stretch out to help with a big heart, with a loving heart.

The girl's admission is the high point of the evening. Emotions are kindled, and many of those in the audience express this with wild and long applause. Voices are heard from the audience, “Wow, I have goosebumps,” “It was so touching”. One bank employee seated near me, has tears in her eyes. And murmurs, “she really moved me.”

The performance continues and includes more and more dancing, singing, and even stand-up comedy, that help diminish the emotional baggage that this evening carries. Short comic breaks during the performance serve to preserve a high level of emotional awakening for a long time, and prevent burnout. Burnout likely to be created by the large number of times emotive terms are repeated, such as, “giving with your heart”, and due to the expectations that are part of the performance, turning to the audience to express their emotions.

After the comic break, we return to what the heart feels. The bank CEO goes up to the podium. After several opening sentences, he says:

There is nothing like this in Israel. With a thousand volunteers standing at this event, who do all these tasks, who do it for the sake of the community and society, like the bank employees do in the present and past [wild applause]. We saw a sample of the activity, and anyone who isn't joyful in his heart and hasn't shed a tear this evening, perhaps isn't sitting here, because the people here are those who devote their time, but especially their heart, to others.

At this stage he speaks about the strategic vision and its link to the bank employees' volunteering activity:

We didn't come here to speak about banking, and we didn't come to speak about business tonight. We promised a different kind of banking. And we are doing it. Professional and human banking. And that is the vision that guides the bank... The vision that is integrated into veteran and young bank employees, fitting like a glove.

...We all know about the tremendous investment by the bank employees, who continue to do this activity far beyond their working hours, with heartwarming activity. Thanks to the fact that someone volunteers to be given this smile, be given the thanks in the eyes of a child who is helped, in the eyes of the old man who has someone to eat his Sabbath meal with in a Tel Aviv club, from those young people who attain their matriculation certificate or higher certificates in the future. Thanks to those people with disabilities that the bank has employed, who enjoy self-respect thanks to your volunteering. The sick children who are given help, and other sectors in the community, not to speak of the artists, soldiers, and the list goes on and on.

Finally, the moment of confession arrives:

I have been at the bank for over six years, and I can't remember many events or topics that moved me like an event of this type moves me. I think that the values we were all taught are expressed here in the strongest possible manner. And this event is a modest appreciation for those people who do things for others. Not because there is an event every year, but because of this incredible satisfaction and because of this foundation on which we grew up, that we help others if we possibly can.

His words inspire the audience, and are accompanied by wild applause. He invites the entire board of directors to stand alongside him and honor the ceremony for the award of distinguished volunteer service with their presence.

One after another, groups of employees go onstage to receive the certificate of distinguished service. Most of the volunteers work in social frameworks for abused or at-risk children; some have adopted soldiers or senior citizen clubs. The appreciation ceremony and awarding the certificates continues for several minutes.

The board of directors vacates the stage. The evening draws to its end. Dalit the community relations department manager:

The most thanks of all goes to you, dear Discount volunteers, in whose honor this evening was arranged. You volunteers give your love to others, who need warmth and light, and that flame ignites others, who join our ever-growing circle of light. My wish to all of us is that we will always be in the light, and that we will always have enough to take some and give over to others, and we will all pray that our wishes will be fulfilled.

There is wild applause. The appreciation ceremony for the bank's volunteers has ended.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The image of the bank employee as a Discounter which was initiated during the bank's publicity campaign during the 1970s was targeted to represent the unique traits and orientation of congenial bank clerks toward their customers. The concept of the Discounter representing the "ideal worker" was also intended to enlist employees' emotions identifying with the bank's goals and their roles as service providers.

Since the 1980s, the bank's employees have been expected to initiate and participate in corporate volunteering initiatives. The article demonstrates that the image of the Discounter has gradually been transformed, becoming multifaceted and broader, so that it now includes several versions of what are considered appropriate feelings, perceptions, and behavior in the employees' routine interactions with clients. Meaning that the courteous clerk who, during the 1970s, was asked to use human and emphatic gestures to tackle the customers' varied needs and preoccupations, was eventually required to redirect those acquired and internalized attitudes and demonstrations of solidarity and humanity (and even compassion) toward the entire community outside the bank's branches and clientele.

The critical literature on emotion management serves the current article as a conceptual framing, by explaining the attempts of the bank's management to reinforce the employees' engagement by regulating their emotions when working, by using practices intended to make the employees display deep acting (Hochschild, 1983). Using managerial notions and practices associated with emotional labor in particular (Hochschild, 1983; Raz, 1998; Van Maanen, 1991; Van Maanen and Kunda, 1989) and organizational culture in general (Casey, 1995; Kunda, 1995) the employees were conveyed written (such as the Golden Rules) and unwritten (such as repeated managerial messages, session trainings or



ceremonies) emotive rules, meaning directives instructing them to behave empathetically in their relationships with the customers.

Nevertheless, the myriad studies on emotional management and organizational culture have neglected managerial use of emotional labor to construct the “humane employee” – the type of employee who identifies not only with the client’s needs but also channels the same empathic skills toward the entire community.

In describing and analyzing a typical volunteering bank employees’ ceremony this article demonstrates the ways in which the bank management disseminated cultural symbols with the aim of molding, strengthening and preserving the volunteering employees’ feelings of empathy and humanness concerning the bank’s community initiatives. These kinds of ceremonies also served in generating an atmosphere of dynamism and enthusiasm in order to preserve the volunteers’ motivation and enlist additional bank employees. Furthermore, through these sorts of ceremonies the management seeks to manage and regulate the employees’ emotive behavior in favor of promoting the bank’s SCR activities. Generating conscious connections between feelings of happiness, self-realization, and spiritual elevation and the community initiatives, is aimed at gaining the bank’s instrumental interests to enhance both sales and its image as a moral entity.

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