



EMOTIONAL LABOUR IN A BUREAUCRATIC MEDIA CONTEXT ON HR

A study on emotional labour of academic and administrative employees at Greek universities about mobility scheme during the financial crisis

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Abstract

In recent years, emotions in the workplace have become a topic of interest in management; academics, researchers and authors are becoming interested in the topic of emotions in an organisation. One crucial topic of discussion among the HR community is the experience of unpleasant events which generates negative emotions. This paper will explore how the academic and the administrative staff of two Greek universities affected emotionally because of the mass lay-offs of administrative staff.

Eight questionnaires were answered by four members of the Foundation Board of National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (UOA) and four members of the Administrative Staff Department of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Moreover, the thesis analyses and describes how the media covered the topic. The study concentrated on three well-known Greek newspapers in their coverage of the lay-offs actions in Greece during the last four months in 2013. The author used a qualitative method to analyse the collected questionnaires.

The outcome is that the academic and administrative staff had negative emotions regarding their bureaucratic role in the organisations. Sadness, stress, and disappointment are the main emotions of the academic community. The news articles seemed to comprehend the governmental announcements in order to preserve the common good.

Key words: Academic and Administrative staff, Emotional Labour, Mobility scheme, Financial Crisis, Greek universities, Bureaucracy, Media

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1. Introduction

This study aims to investigate how the academic and the administrative staff at Greek universities manage a situation in which they are forced to submit lists of administrative staff that are to be given the notice to quit. This is something they do not agree to do, and the study is going to explore how the employees manage their emotions about having to take decisions about the list anyway. A crucial topic to, the study is the media pressure on the academic and administrative staff at the universities. The media during this difficult academic period, tried to present not only the government’s decisions but also the employees’ obligations which include among other their obedience to the government’s measures. Given the economic crisis in Greece, this is a situation that many public organisations face today, and there is a substantial number of articles about the upcoming lay-offs of administrative staff in various parts of the Greek public sector. According to Tsitsas (2013), public organisations are going to be eliminated or merged so a great amount of staff in public sector will go into mobility after the evaluation of structures, services and their skills. Tsitsas (2013) argues that employees who have a private contract of indefinite duration will be abolished from the public sector voluntarily or compulsorily. If the organisations do not find a place to transfer the employees, then they will be dismissed after over 12 months.

The topic remains vividly debated in media, and the author will scrutinise the interaction between journalists’ and public’s comments, opinions and analyses about the situation and the way public staff makes sense of their situation emotionally.

In many ways, these universities reflect a more general situation. Ioannis Kouzis, associate professor at Panteion University recently argued at private Skai television that “There are 470,000 households without anyone working” (Gatopoulos & Becatoros, 2013). Millions of people are out of work because of the financial crisis of 2008, which obviously also affects people’s emotions; they feel sadness, pessimism about the future and anger because they do not have the ability to make their debt payments (Economou et al., 2013). People who face a financial crisis may react in different ways; their reactions go from radical and even violent practices towards individual solutions and depression (Chrysochoou, Papastamou & Prodromitis, 2013).

Staff in public sector generally, and universities in particular, might be more affected than many other sectors of the labour market. The Greek government aimed to place 25,000 public sector workers in “mobility” by the end of 2013. By the end of 2014, the government aimed to have eliminated 150,000 positions in the public sector. The Greek government has produced a range of painful cuts, salaries, pensions and jobs for public workers over the last four years, supposing they were needed to meet the requirements of the international creditors that branded the state away (Kitsantonis, 2014).

The fact that university employees have attempted to disturb the cuts in education and the upcoming lay-offs of thousands of administrative staff further shows that they perceive this as an emotionally loaded situation (Clair & Dufresne, 2004). For instance, administrative staff have been on strike almost for several months in order to prevent the upcoming lay-offs, in connection to governmental announcements of dismissals of staff such as, guards, archivists, university staff who work in libraries, laboratories, clinics as well as professors.

In practice, the government wished to reduce the public payroll, by offering those who quite a mobility scheme in which they are encouraged to find other state jobs within eight months. If they cannot find a new position they will get fired. The European Commission, European Central Bank and International Monetary Fund have tried for a year to persuade the government to adopt the scheme, and even if they have started the scheme, they still face strong resistance from administrative staff, students, professors, doctors who have responded by protesting (The Economist, 2013). Private and public workers protested across the country, these protests are a

response to the severe austerity measures. The climate of uncertainty in Greece is wiping out any prospect of recovery, the negotiations between Greek officials and the administrative staff is not an easy task. Demonstrations are organised by private and public sector to clarify their opposing view.

Theodosis Pelegrinis, the rector of the University of Athens, showed his concern by stating that it was impossible for the university to operate without these employees, he stated

The National and Kapodistrian University of Athens is going through its greatest and most dangerous crisis since its foundation, due to its inability to operate in future as a teaching and research center; offer high-quality studies; complete research programmes; and [being] forced to curtail the provision of medical services and training to students in a number of university clinics (Marseilles, 2013).

According to Pelegrinis, these measures will effectively make Greece's universities dysfunctional. This is also the way many of the striking employees justify their protests. However, education Minister Konstantinos Arvanitopoulos has responded by threatening to place striking university staff under martial law if the employees did not return to work (Dreier, 2013). He has also threatened to give orders to the police to clear the university buildings that are occupied by students and staff. Thus, a rather tensed situation has emerged, which also catches medias' interest. As a matter of fact, media as a main arena for public debate about lay-offs in public sector broadly and universities in particular, can also be said to shape both government and individual approaches to the development. It is under these circumstances the university staff are expected to submit lists, containing the names on those who are supposed to be given the notice to quite.

Purpose and research questions

University staff may thus feel fear, frustration, stress, disappointment, and helplessness when they face the impact of governmental measures against the financial crisis (Chrysochoou, Papastamou & Prodromitis, 2013). In an attempt to investigate how staff in public bureaucracies, manage emotions that are nurtured by such measures, this study will examine the perception of dismissals of administrative staff at two universities in Greece while the employees at the universities need to face the media pressure which try to persuade for a compromise solution between government and administrative staff. The purpose of the study is not only to identify, explore, and analyse the Greek university employees' feelings regarding the dismissal of

administrative staff but also to examine the media pressure on the involved employees. The topic continues to be at the centre of interest as the media produce a lot of articles regarding the actions of the employees and Greek citizens as the universities were closed almost for three months.

Accordingly, the main research questions of this study are:

1. What emotions do the academic and the administrative staff relate to lay-offs at their universities?
2. How do the employees manage these emotions?
3. How do the academic and administrative staff perceive the media coverage related to these emotions?

2. Links to Previous Research

In this section the previous literature concerning the emotional labour regarding the management positions and the media pressure on the administrative and the academic staff will be discussed. Firstly, the term “emotional labour” will be presented and subsequently the role of emotional labour in management positions and the role of mass media coverage regarding the academic and the administrative staff emotional condition.

2.1.1. Emotional Labour

In recent decades, many more workers in a variety of occupational fields are expected to manage their emotions according to employer demands. Emotional sociologists argue that emotions play an important role in everyday life. The scholars recognised that emotions establish a central characteristic of the human and their study on how the emotions function is essential for the understanding of behaviour (Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000).

Although much has been written about the concept of emotional labour in service occupations (Hochschild 1983; Ashforth & Humphrey 1993), this study will argue that little attention has been given to the control of the feelings of managers in today's organisations, especially when managers have to control or even suppress their feelings so as to achieve the organisation's

goals. The study is going to investigate that the emotions challenge the manager's perception and they alter their personal values and relationships leading to negative feelings for their decisions and the function of the organisation.

Emotion management refers to people's efforts to change, suppress, or evince feelings or expressions in themselves (Hochschild, 1979). Emotion management represents people's effort to soften the collision between that which is essential to human nature and what which is essential to the social construction of reality (Flaherty, 1992, p.171).

Emotional labour is a concept that refers to the management of one's feelings and emotional displays for a wage (Hochschild, 1983). It refers to the control of a person's behaviour to display the appropriate emotions, meaning that a person evokes or suppresses certain emotions to conform to social norms. Hochschild (1983, p.7) defines emotional labour as "...The management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display. This labour requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others".

According to Hochschild (1983), employees are expected to follow organisational rules, meaning that employees are allowed to show only emotions that are considered to be appropriate to the organisation's values and climate. In order to conform to these display rules, employees often engage in one of two common methods of acting, surface acting or deep acting (Hochschild, 1983). The method of surface acting involves simulating emotions that are not actually felt, while the method of deep acting involves attempts to actually experience the emotions one is required to display. According to Hochschild (1983, p.33), "in surface acting we deceive others about what we really feel... In deep acting we make feigning easy by making it unnecessary".

Both of these forms of acting are used by employees to align their displayed emotions with organisational display rules/norms. Perhaps the most common form of emotional labour consists of "service with a smile" encounters during which waiters and other service workers act friendly toward customers and clients (Pugh, 2001). Emotional labour is also performed in health care, field where the employees are required to show a range of emotions such as sympathy. Hochschild (1983) argued that organisations established feeling rules that identified the emotions

that employees should feel when they perform their duties. Nonetheless, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) and other scholars who used the term display rules recognised that, in order to display the proper emotions, employees need to adjust their personal emotional situation.

As it is mentioned, the phenomenon of emotional labour in management has already been observed and documented in some studies, showing that managers appear to feel pressure and experience negative emotions when they need to please senior management; the societal expectation that managers will remain in control of their emotions in the workplace; and the demands of their roles.

2.1.2. Emotional Labour in Management Positions

For decades, scholars recommended that employees should follow Weber's argument to keep emotions out of the work place and to practice "administrative rationality" (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995). When emotions were discussed it was in terms of how they interfered with rational decision-making or were part of interpersonal conflict. Primarily, emotional labour has been established as a duty of front line service employees (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). During the past few decades, the study of emotional labour has proven to be vital. It has demonstrated how employees are required to manage their emotions as well as their behaviours, at least in the workplace. Hopfl and Linstead (1993, p.91) stated "Organisations adopt styles of presentation, motivation and cultural manipulations which are thoughtful, calculated, strategically planned and executed and depend almost entirely upon effective agitation and channeling of emotion for their success".

Initially, studies of emotional labour focused on employees dealing with clients, customers, and the public outside the organisation. Various qualitative studies examine occupations in the service sector that deal with the public. Researchers and practitioners conceptualize primarily emotional labour as a duty of front line service employees. Occupations in service industry usually include low-paid service workers who must offer their help to customers, such as fast-food service workers at McDonald's (Leidner, 1991), waiters and waitresses (Hall, 1993; Paules, 1996), hair stylists (Parkinson, 1996). Leidner (1991) mentions in his study that employees at McDonald's are expected to adjust their behaviour and their interactions in order to behave to customers in a certain way that might differ from their ordinary style of interaction. Hall (1993)

concludes that servers who want to provide good service should be friendly and smiling and willing to avoid any conflict with the customers.

Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) included managers in their study of emotional labour; they concluded that managers' perform emotional labour more frequently than physical labourers and their emotional labour was matched that of sales-service workers and human service workers. Recently, studies have focused on emotional labour that is performed within organisations. Various situations are examined such as employee involvement in managing the emotions towards supervisors, subordinates, and coworkers. Humphrey et al. (2008) claim that every discussion about emotions in recent decades recognises the value of emotions in the workplace admitting that emotions strongly interfere with rational decisions.

Almost no research has been carried out for managers or other leaders. Leaders need to display a different emotions either friendliness, sympathy and support or anger. Bryant and Cox (2006) described how managers adopted hostile emotional displays when they had to inform the employees about demotions, displacements, and other negative organisational changes. In some cases, the managers had worked side-by-side for years with the employees until the company's change programmes forced the managers to distance themselves from the employees (Bryant & Cox, 2006, p.122). People do not make rational decisions without being affected by their emotions; they are involved emotionally as they need to communicate with their colleagues when they make the decisions.

Moreover, management journals often publish studies regarding the contribution of emotional labour to organisational goals. Rafaeli and Sutton (1989), Van Maanen and Kunda (1999) argue that the expression of emotion at work affects customer behaviour, job satisfaction, sales and labour productivity. Cultural norms can also influence the employees' performance (Steinberg & Figart, 1999). Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) focus on managers and workers in their study on emotional labour concluding that managers experience more frequent emotional labour than workers and equally frequent to employees working on the sales and service department. This conclusion seems to be justified when the managers have to make tough decisions in order to improve the working environment. However, these decisions affect them emotionally because they have to act according to the organisation's practices even if they do not totally agree.

Managers need to handle their emotions and control their behavioural display. In addition they have to set the rules and check on the other employees' emotional and behavioural display. Usually managers develop social defense systems in order to cope with anxiety, challenges in their work, and unexpected changes (Blackmore, 1996). Fineman (1993) discusses a few common strategies regarding the managerial management of emotions, including the reduction of familiarity by increasing space between themselves and their staff; depersonalization through the quantification of personal data; detachment and assigning tasks through task lists. The managers need to be as objective as they can in order to cope with the negative emotions when they have to make difficult decisions which affect their colleagues.

Humphrey (2005) introduces the phrase "leading with emotional labour" referring to managers or other leaders who use emotional labour to influence the emotions and the performance of their subordinates. Managers often need to display a variety of emotions; they may express friendliness, anger, support, or even sympathy in order to motivate or influence their subordinates. Managers should be able to use emotional labour during a crisis or while confronting negative events in the workplace. They have to adopt a face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with employees in order to manage effectively their duties and succeed in decision making. They have to contact people they know but mostly they have to express their emotions confronting a difficult situation. Humphrey (2005) concludes that managers leading with emotional labour are usually emotionally expressive and better communicators, characteristics that may influence more effectively their subordinates.

Fineman (2003) explores how emotions and decisions correlate to each other. In organisations, for example, decision making is often an unfolding, conflicting process. Managers are asked to make decisions and present them as the rational thing to do. Often they are asked to make choices in their job without revealing their emotions. Managers are sometimes concerned by the decisions they have to make and may feel disappointment and regret. However, they have to follow the organisation's rules avoiding any emotional involvement. They can use these experiences as a guide to make better decisions in the future, and to improve their decision-making ability. It is important to be devoted to their decisions and defend them even if they are not completely satisfied in order to ensure that employees will follow their rules. Managers are

expected to manage their emotions in a way that smoothens the emotional labour the employees may experience and set an example on the anticipated behavioural and emotional display the organisations employees are expected to show during the change. The change is considered unavoidable and absolutely necessary so the managers are asked to manage their emotions in order to avoid any irrational reaction. The managers need to manage their emotions so they make successful decisions even if they make these decisions under pressure.

2.2 Mass media coverage

All crisis situations demand from the managers not only a direct physical response against the threat but also managing the pressure groups (media, victims and stakeholders) especially, when the pressure groups publicly voice concerns over the morality of actions, or treatment of victims and families of victims. The outcomes from the interaction between crisis respondents and pressure groups help people to understand the crisis situation and crisis management. This is particularly true when media broadcasts and interviews are transmitted.

According to Perse (2001), the mass media fulfil an important “surveillance function” in growing, increasingly complex societies. McQuail (2005, p.4) defined the “mass media” as “the organised means of communicating openly, at a distance, and in a short space of time” and he refers to mass media as channels (e.g. newspapers, TV) that distribute messages rapidly to a large audience. Mass media’s role is to collect, summarise and report information by means of mass communication that is functional for various groups of people. The media’s functions in periods of crisis are significant since they try to warn the people against crisis’s affects (Perse, 2001). They also constitute powerful communication channels for interest groups and other stakeholders.

The public transmissions aid people to accept the crisis management and the crisis outcomes informing them about the potential measures and the government’s reactions. The mass media develop a picture or image of the situation and of the possible causes and apparent management of the situation in the minds of their audiences; therefore managers develop skills in managing the image of the crisis situation presented to media and pressure groups.

Managers or organisational representatives need to be open and honest when they present the facts of the crisis and its outcomes; it is particularly difficult when they need to confront the difficulties and the measures which they need to face because of the crisis. It is inevitable that organisations need to be prepared to handle media interest in the crisis situation; Meyers and Holusha (1986) note “even if all the details may not be right ... once a company has been identified as the bad guy, the beating is out of all proportion as the media, in their competitive battle, fight for new angles and scoops”.

Given that crisis situations by definition involve loss of control, threats to resources and people, damage from impacts and errors in judgment, interesting storylines will always tend to be what went wrong rather than what went right because of the greater dramatic values involved so the pressure groups tend to present their opinion strictly. Scanlon and Alldred (1982) find that the media tend to enter a disaster site and demand communication. Crisis managers consequently need to plan on how to cope with such media presence and to practice managing the resource demands which are likely to arise from such invasions. Poor media management can destroy an organisation.

The mass media try to present the negative news regarding organisations in a continuous state of potential crisis as objective as they can. The mass media choose to present and clarify the critical incidents which are selected by them because of their newsworthiness and the attention they attract, not only of people affected, but also of those who observe the incidents (Fearn-Banks, 2009).

According to Coombs (2007), a crisis is “a sudden and unexpected event that threatens to disrupt an organisation’s operations and poses both a financial and a reputational threat” (p.164). The mass media often begin the public discussion on a critical issue so people know and understand what happens during a crisis and how it affects an organisation and its employees. The mass media’s role is to serve as important source of information of a crisis which means that they can therefore expand the negative effects for any organisation (Pearson & Clair, 1998; Fearn-Banks, 2009). The public’s primary source of crisis information is the media; the mass media is a view of communication between the different parts of the crisis, therefore the public point of view can

be affected by the mass media coverage causing their negative reaction against the organisation. People nowadays, have the opportunity to learn fast and easy about a crisis, the facts and the different opinions about it because they have unlimited access to mass media information.

Journalists aim to satisfy peoples' interest to learn everything regarding the crisis and especially, when the crisis affects them; the media generates discussions among the public regarding the financial crisis. Printed volumes, radio and television broadcasts try to cover the financial crisis informing people about the measures and their effects on them. The mass media during a financial crisis play an important role in reporting, framing and representing the discourse on mobility scheme in the society. According to Anne O' Keeffe (2011), the media discourse refers to interactions that take place whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is focused onto a non – present reader, listener or viewer. Discourse is a group of sentences which link one proposition to another one and makes a coherent unit of sentences. An example of a written type of media discourse is the written texts include newspapers. Articles, in turn, provide the public with the news and information about events during a financial crisis, such as governmental measures regarding public organisations and how the measures affect a number of employees. The mass media focused on immediacy and drama presenting specific events of the financial crisis.

Every social role comes with social expectations; feeling rules define the emotions appropriate to role performed by the social actor at a particular time (Hochschild, 1983). Feeling rules shape the emotions and mirror the dominant interpretations of emotion, their significance, and the socially accepted perceptions of dealing with them. It is expected that feeling rules create an anxious relationship between socially expected emotions and actually experienced emotions. This relationship empowers “emotional dissonance” or “emotional deviance” (Hochschild, 1983). Hochschild argues that feeling rules are effective in two ways: as individual expectations of how people usually or “normally” feel in a specific situation (e.g. people expect to feel bored during the lecture of a certain colleague) or as social expectations of how people should feel in this situation (Hochschild, 1979).

Therefore, mass media plays a vital role in informing employees about the organisation's external image, which is relevant to the formation of organisational identity and identification. During a crisis, the media serve as informants and crisis intensifiers. When events are negative, employees of an organisation are also directly affected by what is happening to their employer.

In the eyes of employees, negative news articles may seem unfair and subjective, which fosters negative emotions, such as anger, annoyance and anxiety. According to Pincus and Acharya (1988, p.185), "a person during a crisis feel anxious because crises are situations which produce anxiety from the environment". Feelings such as powerlessness and helplessness also develop because mass media find difficult to tell the "precise" version of the events to everyone (Kepplinger, 2007).

Individuals have two options regarding the mass media coverage, either they hope that media attention will vanish quickly; or they can try to minimise the anticipated effects on others, for example the individuals can explain the situation to the public defending themselves for their decisions and actions (Kepplinger, 2007). It is obvious that most of the employees show a high interest in information and media content; they perceived media coverage as biased, discussed media content with colleagues, thought about media effects on others, showed highly emotional reactions, and sought to defend their organisation or explain the situation to outsiders.

3.1 Modern Bureaucracy and Bureaucratic managers

Given the purpose of the study - which is to investigate how the academic and the administrative staff at Greek universities manage their emotions relating to lay-offs of their colleagues and in what way the media coverage is related to these emotions – it is appropriate to assume a theoretical framework based on bureaucracy and emotional labour. Emotional labour has been defined as "the effort when a person needs to plan and control in order to express desired emotion during interpersonal contact (Morris & Feldman, 1996, p.987).

Bureaucracy

In order to comprehend the emotional labour of managers working in a bureaucratic environment it is essential to explore the concept of bureaucracy. Max Weber (1981, p.21), describes a bureaucratic working environment as dehumanized in the sense that all personal, irrational, and

emotional characteristics which cannot be calculated are disregarded. The bureaucratic principle of equal treatment according to formal rules eliminates traditional forms of governance based upon personal relationships, power and privilege (Weber, 1981, p.24-25). According to Weber bureaucracy is the most efficient and rational way in which human activity can be organised in order to maintain order and maximise efficiency (Ritzer, 2007).

The nature of bureaucracy (Weber, 1946) consists of six identifying characteristics. The first one is standard of fixed, official jurisdictional areas governed by a highly codified system of rules and regulations. In addition a bureaucratic organisation is characterised by a visible hierarchy, organised from the top down to the lowest gradations. Moreover, a bureaucratic system is based on the presence of written documents that the staff is expected to manage them. One more characteristic is a thorough and expert training of all specialised office management. Furthermore, bureaucracy demands complete working capability of the employees regardless of the required time in the office. Finally, the management of the office have rules which could be stable and extensive enough, and which an employee can learn.

Bureaucratic organisations and decision-making have often been approached by Weber's perspective, which emphasises the instrumental character of bureaucracy. On the basis of legal formalism, technical efficiency and specialised expert knowledge, the bureaucratic organisation is thought to secure the calculability of outcomes through rational objectivity. The instrumental rationality of such organisations is said to be "anti-emotional" or "affective neutral" in that bureaucrats perform their duties without self-interest by following impersonal rules (Parsons, 1951, p.60). This approach often implies that feelings and emotions oppose reason and rationality. However, feelings of duty, commitment to the task and pride in performance are legitimate, as are "emotionalised disapproval" of breaches of bureaucratic norms (Merton, 1940, p.566).

Weber (1946) argues that the rules and procedures are decided for every work it leads to, consistency in employee behaviour. Since employees are bound to follow the rules the management process becomes easy. Moreover, the duties and responsibilities of each job are clearly defined so there is no question of overlapping or conflicting job duties and the organisation does not face problems when an employee leaves; if one employee leaves then

another has the ability to perform the tasks and the organisation does not suffer. However, a bureaucrat has to consider the significance of a bureaucratic environment; when someone deals with people, an impersonal approach is not effective because people have feelings which would affect decision. Thus, people cannot work totally according to rules and prescriptions. According to Barbalet (2002), emotions guide decisions by creating a commitment to certain goals and values, and that emotions and rationality actually interact and support each other.

Bureaucrats are asked to perform certain roles and perform their duties entailing by certain feeling rules; they are affected by the social relations and the organisation while they imply rationality and reason. The bureaucrats need to secure the outcomes through rational objectivity without following impersonal rules (Parsons, 1951, p.60). They are dominated by feelings of duty, commitment to the task and pride in performance (Merton, 1940, p.566). According to Hochschild (1983), organisations tend to influence actors' identities and conceptions through their rules, norms and eventually, guide and shape the bureaucrats' emotions. The managers, in this study, must be professionals following the governments' measures. They must not feel sympathy and pity for the employees but they need to keep a neutral distance.

According to Newton, feeling rules in organisations fall into two categories: the explicit "deliberate, managerially contrived ways of serving the organisation's commercial or supposed strategic ends", and the implicit and informal, "procedures which help people to get by in everyday social interaction; they help, protect or save face" (1995, p.129).

Managers in today's organisations need to transmute their real feelings into a form that the actor judges acceptable for public consumption and, at the same time, they labour with their feelings in order to create the socially desired emotional expression and impression (Newton, 1995, p.128). Singh (2003) argues that bureaucrats focus on specialised knowledge, professionalism and rationality in order to apply good public policy. They need to perform their duties according to the feeling rules of each organisation. Every organisation is considered to have specific bureaucratic characteristics.

It is expected from the members of an organisation to be willing to adopt the culture of the organisation and modify their behaviour in order to fit in. In many occasions, the members in an

organisation have different goals and do not agree on how to solve problems and implement the organisation's strategy. A large organisation requires from its employees to cooperate effectively, follow the regulations and respect the organisation's hierarchy, since it offers an efficient distribution of information, exercise of power, evaluation of the employees (Downs, 1967). The academic and administrative staff were required to process their feelings and they were expected to think, behave and feel in order to produce an emotional state in another (Hochschild, 1983). In terms of feeling rules, the staff need to manage their emotions and serve the organisation and perform their duties according to the socially desired emotional expression and impression. The managers are required to take the responsibility and adjust their behaviour and actions to the organisation's rules. The cost of emotional labour to the managers is high, in terms of stress, anger.

Managers in a bureaucratic environment

Organisations guide emotions through rules shaping what employees feel and how they manage and display emotions (Hochschild, 1983). Bommer et al. (1987) identified environments that could affect managers' decisions; managers are required to make ethical decisions that are affected by their social environment, professional environment, work environment, government and legal environment, personal environment, and individual attributes. Ford and Richardson (1994) comment that individuals and situational factors affect any ethical decision-making process; life experiences, circumstances of birth (i.e. nationality, personality, etc.), and situational pressures (i.e. ethical values, organisational culture, industry norms, etc.) affect the process. Many managers often should make difficult decisions which may be not incorporated within their personal or social values. However, the environment forces the managers to follow the "proper" values when they need to make decisions regarding the organisation and its function.

Denhardt and Perkins (1976) quote Herbert Simon who states that "the theory of administration is concerned with how an organisation should be constructed and operated in order to accomplish its work efficiently". Managers become an instrument used under organisational rationality and they accept the organisation's goals as personal decisions. Denhardt and Perkins (1976) argue that the most significant characteristic of managers is the development of a behaviour promoting

cooperation between employees which encourages employees to do things about the organisation. The managers should follow the organisational rationality and they need to cooperate in order to achieve the promotion of the organisation.

3.2 Bureaucracy and emotional labour in a time of economic crisis

Studies of emotion management in bureaucratic organisations have been conducted in settings such as immigration administration (Sieben & Wettergren, 2010), health care (Obling, 2013), labour administration (Terpe & Paierl, 2010), legal work (Maroney, 2011), and other public organisations. Some of these studies emphasise on feeling rules or emotional characteristics describing how emotions should be managed, while others describe the emotion management and its consequences for each situation. Emotion management is the type of work it takes to cope with feeling rules. It seems however, that all of them refute the idea of the purely “rational” bureaucratic organisation in the Weberian sense (Sieben & Wettergren, 2010, p.2). All the studies show that emotions are important for bureaucratic employees and their relationships.

Wriston (1979) argues that bureaucracy’s structures force bureaucrats into behaviours that may affect the psyche’s processes so eventually bureaucrats find difficult to judge what is right and wrong. Bureaucracy determines who people are; bureaucrats need to follow the organisational rules and identity. Eventually, bureaucrats do not follow their personal feelings and their conscience but they follow the demands of a role.

People believe that these actions will eventually affect those causing problems to organisations. Wagner (2013) argues that both fear and anger respond to the financial crisis, people seem to feel fear because of the possible effect of the economic downturn and anger because they do not agree with the actions which lead to the crisis. Barbalet (1998) argues that fear is caused by incapacity to deal with danger or threat. Fear contributes to individual motivation and behaviour leading either paralysis or anger. Fear functions when interests are threatened, when people are required to face a potential organisational development and change which may affects their life. Furthermore, employees may feel resentment because they believe that their established rights are violated; they have the right to preserve their jobs but the governmental measures violate this established right. According to Barbalet (1998, p.137), resentment is the emotional apprehension of advantage gained at the expense of what is desirable or acceptable from the perspective of

established rights. Employees are driven by their personal standards and values focused on gaining the desirable advantage.

Lerner and Tiedens (2006, p.117) wrote, “When people feel uncertain or unconfident about the reason of negative situations, they tend to feel fear and anxiety rather than anger.” On the one hand, people feel fear when they face a threat and they cannot recognise the external source of that threat. On the other hand, they feel anger when they realise that the actors do not care about citizens’ welfare.

On the one hand, bureaucracy demands people to follow rules without doubting about them, following hierarchy; on the other hand, people have feelings so they cannot be neutral when they have to follow orders which are against their personal values and opinions. They eventually, feel frustration violating their own personal thoughts especially when they are actors of an unpleasant situation.

Wriston (1979) argues that a HR manager could face tough situations when it is needed to fire an employee. It is difficult for any redundant employee to admit the reality of the firing or may have a breakdown. Regarding the managers, they have to press their emotions and they are adapted to the pressure of hierarchy finding themselves to leave personal opinions and beliefs at home. They experience more and more stress trying to cope with the situation, feelings of guilt and a general fear of retribution are the demonstrations of this situation. Many managers seem to be reluctant to do unpleasant things to others because it is a painful process; they feel that they are the main actors in a downsizing process.

4. Methodology

4.1. The cases - National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

The two universities, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, which were selected as cases for the purpose of this study share the fact that they are the largest and highly ranked universities for Greek students and academic staff. The two universities were selected not only because they share common values but also because the

employees, who were asked to submit the lists, are sharing different background, the employees at National and Kapodistrian University of Athens are professors at the same time but the employees at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki have only administrative role. The university authorities (academic and administrative staff) who were responsible for submitting the lists of administrative staff who are to go into mobility answered a questionnaire with open questions having the opportunity to express their own opinion regarding the topic. The academic and the administrative staff were to submit the lists after evaluating the administrative staff based on their professional knowledge, skills, and experience. Below, it is explained the role of the administration in the universities.

Administration in the universities

According to the existing legal framework, the administrative bodies of a higher education institution in Greece are the Senate, the Rector's Council and the Rector and vice-Rectors (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2009). The Administration of Higher Education Institutions in Greece consists of a number of individual and collective bodies, administrative service units and committees, which are regulated by the provisions of law, ordained by the Greek State, concentrating on their commission, that is, the reason they were put up (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2012). The Administration is organised vertically, based on the hierarchy of the bodies it consists of, and thus the body which is responsible for decision-making is at the top of the pyramid. It is also organised horizontally, based on the nature of the services offered to cover the needs of the university.

The university authorities who should submit the lists of staff that are to go into mobility are: The Foundation Board of National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and the Administrative Staff Department of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. The Foundation Board of National and Kapodistrian University of Athens consists of fifteen members. Eight members are tier professors or associate professors, one member is the student representative of the institution, and the remaining six members are external. Qualifications for election outer member are the widespread recognition of the candidate in science, in literature or the arts. The Administrative Staff Department of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki consists of five Administrative Staff members and the Head of the Department.

The Foundation Board of UOA and the Administrative Staff Department of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki play an important administrative role in daily function of the universities and in daily and future life of the staff and the students. Both of the university authorities manage, care, and direct affairs, institutions and people. Their scope is to meet the needs of society and is bound by law to benefit the public interest.

4.2. The data collection

The data of this study have been collected by two different routes; on the one hand, questionnaires with open questions sent via email to the members of the Foundation Board of National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and to the Administrative Staff Department of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. On the other hand, the author collected articles of dismissal of administrative staff at the universities from the newspapers' online version. The articles included news articles, editorials and columns by journalists in Greek, all the collected articles referred to the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and to the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. The keywords were used: lay-offs, mobility, administrative staff, University of Athens, University of Thessaloniki.

Data collection based on the questionnaires

The author decided to proceed in questionnaires when the respondents replied that they could not answer questions during an interview due to lack of time. The author emailed the Foundation Board of National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and members of the Administrative Staff Department of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki informing them the topic of the study and asking if they could help answering a few questions. The author received fourteen responses from the University of Athens and the University of Thessaloniki. All the respondents replied that they were not available for an interview either because of lack of time or lack of interest but four respondents of the University of Athens and four respondents of the University of Thessaloniki accepted to answer a questionnaire. The author via email sent the questionnaire in Greek and set a deadline of three weeks. The respondents sent their answers in word document via email and the author collected all the questionnaires in Greek in two weeks. The author proceeded to translate the questions of the questionnaire and the answers of the respondents in English; all the data were translated in English in twelve days.

The author believed that the questionnaires would be eventually, useful for the study because large amounts of information could be collected in a short period of time and the respondents could reply when they were available and without being distracted. The questionnaire was anonymous and all replies were held securely and confidentially. The author believed that the anonymous questionnaires were more likely to produce honest responses because the respondents could feel free to answer the questions. The respondents were asked to answer the questions in their own words; feeling confident to express their ideas about the topic.

The questionnaire was composed of fifteen open questions which helped the respondents to describe their own point of view about the topic. According to Burke and Christensen (2012), “The open questions allow participants to express their opinion more fully, and they provide valuable information for the research” (p.170). The open questions would help the author to get the picture of the topic. The researcher designed the questionnaire based on Dawson’s (2002) belief that it is important to ask questions which produce as much information about the study phenomenon as possible and also to address the aims and objectives of the research. In that open questionnaire, the researcher wanted to formulate questions in which required more than a yes/no answer, the questions were neutral, sensitive and understandable. The author started with questions that participants could answer easily and then proceeded to more difficult or sensitive topics. The respondents produced a diverse set of answers because they did not express the same opinions; they tried to be as more specific as they could avoiding any misunderstanding.

The questionnaire included four different groups of questions; the first one contained questions about the measures, the second one questions regarding how they received the measures, the third one questions about their emotions regarding the measures including their view on the media coverage of their situation, and the last one questions about the administrative staff emotions. The questionnaire was going to help the author to answer the research questions regarding the emotions of the academic and the administrative staff about the lay-offs and how they succeeded to manage their emotions. The author aimed to investigate those questions trying to understand the staff’s perception of this unpleasant topic.

Data collection based on news articles

The articles were being suggested by the author's supervisor as an alternative way of data collection because the amount of respondents was not enough to have a clear picture of the topic. All the articles were collected after the collection of the questionnaires responses. Moreover, the articles helped the author to answer the third research question about the media coverage related to the staff's emotions. The well-known newspapers were covering the topic daily; the journalists of each newspaper wanted to present the government's measures and their effects because the measures concerned a great amount of Greeks either directly – the administrators and the academic and administrative staff – or indirectly – the students and their families. The collected articles expressed public's, journalists', government members' and university representatives' opinion and view. The journalists seemed to cover the topic of the lay-offs without expressing actors' emotions but only cold facts. Most of them had believed that the measures are totally necessary even if they cause problems to a lot of people.

The author collected articles which talked about the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, reading three different Greek newspapers; "ETHNOS", "KATHIMERINI", and "TA NEA" during the period from 1st of September until 31st of December 2013. Regarding the articles, the author collected 90 news articles that were referred to the government's announcement and the actors' reactions. All the collected news articles were read and archived in files. The collected news articles were separated based on their significance and the insignificant news articles were deleted. In the end, there were 35 news articles which presented the whole situation, the reactions, and the thoughts of the actors; 10 articles were collected from "ETHNOS", 13 articles from "KATHIMERINI", and 12 from "TA NEA".

These newspapers were chosen because they are leading newspapers with great sales and loyal readers every day. Furthermore, their journalists seemed to cover the topic almost every day arguing about the specific governmental measures and their effects. Regarding the period, the author observed that it was the most fruitful period when people in Greece had to face the consequences of the financial crisis and the media argued about the measures; particularly when universities function was not proper. The author collected the news articles based on the keywords, creating an electronic folder for each newspaper and creating a file for each article.

The author, after reading all the articles carefully separated them based on the importance and the significance regarding the research questions. The articles were accurate and verifiable, broad in their coverage addressing the main aspects of the topic and staying focused on the topic. Moreover, the articles were based on reliable sources either they present the government point of view or the actors. Furthermore, the articles were neutral representing the viewpoints fairly without bias. Finally, the articles were well-written with clear meaning. The author tried to collect articles which present all the sides fairly and properly.

4.3. The analysis

The author chose to use qualitative approach; the advantage of qualitative research is that it can provide complex textual description of how people experience a given research issue. Also, it can offer data of “human” perception of an issue that is often conflicting behaviours, beliefs, views, feelings, and relationships of individuals. The method is also effective in how to identify intangible factors, such as; social norms, social status, gender roles, ethnicity and religion, whose role in research issue may not be readily apparent (Mack et al., 2005). According to Tracy (2013), qualitative data provide perception into cultural characteristics that might otherwise could not be detected in structured surveys or experiments. Moreover, qualitative research is a method which uncovers salient issues that can later be studied. One more characteristic of the qualitative method is the effort to understand the groups and organisations. Families, work groups, clubs, support circles are some of the topics of qualitative method. The author chose to use qualitative approach as the academic and the administrative staff consist a work group. The qualitative method would help the author to approach the topic and answer the research questions. The author would have the opportunity to identify and analyse the emotions based on theories of emotional labour, feeling rules and emotion management. The collected data provided the emotions into bureaucratic culture from the perception of the academic and administrative staff.

The purpose of the study was to describe a situation – how the academic and the administrative staff of two universities were forced to submit lists of administrative staff that are to be given the notice to quit. The study investigated three research questions which were broader and contextual while the expected outcome was not predefined and the produced results give meaning,

experience and views of the respondents. The researcher in order to achieve the study's goal tried to relate conceptions, views, values and behaviours of different people. The author based on qualitative data analysis examined the collected data in order to explain, understand, and describe the people and situations which were being studied. The scope was with the help of the research questions to collect the data and then search for relationships.

The analysis of the questionnaires

The author used specific tools in order to investigate the research questions; the researcher summarised initially, the responses of the questionnaires creating different groups of answers; the groups contained the key points that would help the author to answer the questions. Moreover, the author during the investigation and writing used self-memos which allowed the researcher to make a record of the ideas which occur about any aspect of the research. The researcher organised the data by structuring and familiarising them, secondly, the researcher identified the framework by guiding the research questions and the data. The researcher adopted a content analysis which is an approach which identifies repeated and consistent themes within the responses (Mayring, 2000). With the data coded and summarised the researcher was ready to look across the various summaries and synthesize the findings across multiple data sources – questionnaires and news articles. During the organisation of the data, researcher read the data and got a sense of the whole, the researcher selected to categorise the data into sub-categories (Morse & Field 1996, p.117).

The analysis of the data proceeded in stages; firstly, all the collected questionnaires were read by the author carefully noting similarities and differences in the responses. The researcher created four different categories, the first one included the first thoughts and reactions regarding the upcoming measures, the second one included the emotions that the academic and administrative staff felt in relation to the lay-offs, and the third one how the employees tried to manage their emotions and the fourth one, how they perceived mass media coverage. Later the author categorised the second group of answers into two different groups, the first one included emotions such as anxiety and sadness, and the second one included emotions such as anger and aggression. The author after the categorisation of the responses proceeded to the analysis based upon the responses to the different questions.

The analysis of the news articles

The author secondly, sorted out the news articles by putting those articles that talk about the lay-off events in the two universities in one word document. The collected articles firstly, were filed based on the newspaper and secondly, on the date. Key words such as lay-offs, administrators, academic staff, administrative staff, University of Athens, University of Thessaloniki were highlighted in order to the author to focus on the most important parts of the articles – meaning the parts which presented the topic clearly offering every different opinion. The author read the articles a number of times to make a deep understanding of the events. Critical discourse analysis is used to analyse the news articles. According to Phillips et al. (2008), critical discourse analysis has become a popular methodology in organisation and management studies. This analysis provides a theoretical and methodological framework for investigating the social production of organisational phenomena (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Analysing the articles it would be identified the actors who influenced the events, the emotions that were dominant during these events and how the actors succeeded to manage all these emotions. The analysis of the articles would help to understand how this topic was emerged to people.

4.4 Ethical considerations

Regarding the ethical considerations, the author was available to sign an agreement with the respondents in order to maintain confidentiality. The questionnaires would be anonymous and they would be sent via email to the participants. All participants had the opportunity to refuse participation either because of lack of time or lack of interest. In the beginning of the study, the author informed the Foundation Board of National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and members of the Administrative Staff Department of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki participants about the purpose of this study and how the outcomes would be used.

5. Results and Analysis

In this chapter, the results are going to be presented. The chapter is divided in two parts; the reader has the opportunity to read the collected data from the questionnaires at the University of Athens and the University of Thessaloniki, and the collected data from the news articles during the period from September to December.

5.1. The emotions of the academic and administrative staff at University of Athens and University of Thessaloniki

As it is mentioned, the academic staff at the University of Athens is responsible for the submission of the name list while the administrative staff at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki should be forward with the submission. All of the respondents have agreed that the government's decision was pretty difficult, tough and quite unacceptable. On the one hand, they know that this measure was inevitable due to the financial crisis. On the other hand, they believe that it is totally unfair for so many employees to lose their jobs after so many years of hard work.

Inevitable governmental measures cause lay-offs

The respondents clarified that the governmental measures were necessary when Greece has to face the financial crisis and its consequences. The government was forced to proceed into measures which were tough and in some cases unacceptable. However, the academic and the administrative staff recognised the significance of the measures. They tried to notify the difficult situation describing the measures and the situation. Moreover, they expressed their opinion about these measures and two of the respondents argued how the government could react when they are requested to proceed to measures. The employees wished to talk about government and the measures believing that government should try to avoid the measures. The administrator 1 stated

The government's decision was inevitable because there is a specific provision in the memorandum provided availability and mobility of public employees. However, the minister did not make any decision on time so his decision was rather rough and superficial. He made a bad decision regarding the availability of administrative employees without thinking the consequences upon the universities function.

At the same time, the administrator 6 stated

The government's decision on the availability of administrative staff in universities is part of many general decisions of this government. The measures are incomprehensible, hasty, ineffective and inhumane. In general, this decision of government policy is not surprising. In this case the decision does not only jeopardize the life and mental health of about 1,160 administrators but also the lives of thousands of students and families in all cities. Current education in Greece downgraded by many reasons, but in this case diminishes with disorganisation which treated the people who meant to support it. Also on the deterioration of already very high unemployment in Greece, I believe that this measure is characterised by absurdity; the government's decision could be characterised unorganised and unfair.

At first, the staff wished to resist but eventually, they followed the bureaucratic rules. Bureaucracy demands people to follow rules without doubting about them so the staff followed

the rules even if they considered the measures tough enough. They needed to follow the hierarchy and the general rules so the academic and the administrative staff seemed to adhere to the bureaucratic rules and regulations submitting to Greek government the requested list. The staff was obliged to obey the rules and the regulations of a bureaucratic organisation which is constituted by written documents and instructions.

Non-transparent employment process and governmental policies affects all the employees

It should be mentioned that two respondents from the University of Athens and three respondents from the University of Thessaloniki agreed that a great amount of administrative staff should have to be removed from their duties because their employment was not based on transparent process. Though, this measure affected not only inefficient employees but also efficient and capable employees who are useful to the proper function of the universities. The administrator 3 specified “The measures were tough but we have to consider that the initial recruitment of a great amount of administrators had to follow transparent criteria. Of course, we should not blame the administrators but the government as well, sharing responsibility in the consequences”.

They knew that they could not avoid the measures even if they tried. As it is mentioned, the bureaucratic organisations do not allow the employees to act according their own emotions but they need to follow the rules and act based on bureaucratic structure. The respondents at both universities expressed their disappointment and their anger when they realised how different the academic community reacted when they learned the measures. They accused the Rectors and the majority of the professors because they did not support their colleagues. According to their responses, the administrative staff should be evaluated more carefully by esteeming the typical requirements and their skills ignoring any political view. The administrator 5 argued

No, I do not trust the government and the university authorities. I believe that they are interested in their personal needs trying to find ways to exploit the decision and measures in their favour. It is true that a great amount of people went on strike so to support the administrators but unfortunately, a plethora of employees were against the strike because their jobs were not directly related (for now) to the measures. This picture reminds the rules of the jungle where anyone is interested in surviving without considering anyone else. We are colleagues; we have the same needs and the same obligations though we do not support each other. It is the ugly truth; we could be more supportive and helpful. Maybe we should be more organised and decisive but we were not.

The administrator 8 described the current situation as unbelievable accusing the government and the universities authorities as ineffective and totally responsible for the measures and their consequences. The administrator argued

The government and the universities authorities should be more active; they promised that they protect all the employees but at the end of the day, they did not. They 'sacrificed' the employees protecting their personal interests gaining the political scheme. The government and the universities authorities promised that they protect all the employees but they didn't; they protected their own interests. We were asked to follow their practices and policies without acting according our beliefs or personal opinion.

What emotions the academic and the administrative staff felt

According to the respondents when they learnt the government's decision they felt anxious, depressed, weak and angry; they did not agree with the measures therefore, their emotions were negative against this policy. They felt helpless because they could not support their colleagues; people who they worked with for many years in the universities. However, the financial crisis affects any kind of relationship when the government requires tough decisions to be made. The academic and administrative staff believed that the measures were extremely tough and unfair. It is believed that no one evaluated the academic staff, their skills, their experience and their offer to the university's function. According to the administrator 2,

It is very difficult to realise that your colleagues are going to lose their job, it is more difficult when you realise that all of these people have families, children and they cannot afford the monthly bills. It is unacceptable for me employees who were working for years to be forced into mobility. Government and the university authorities did not evaluate their job; they did not examine alternative solutions.

While the administrator 7 stated "We obviously felt anger, pain, anxiety, uncertainty, a sense of injustice. We realised that we cannot trust the government and we cannot rely on the university authorities or the union representatives to protect our interests". The respondents expressed their emotions vividly when they answered the questions. According to the responses, some of the respondents were depressed, sad, and afraid while others were angry and disappointed with the government about the measures. According to Wagner (2013), fear and anger are typical emotions of a financial crisis; people tend to feel fear because of the potential economic and social change, and anger because they need to face any difficult action regarding the crisis. The respondents admit that they feel fear, depression, and stress because they had to face an organisation change which was going to cause the loss of many jobs. The administrator 4 argued

I felt frustration, worry and disappointment but mostly, I felt anger because I was weakness to react and support my colleagues. I was upset thinking how and why my colleagues are going to lose their jobs... I was so close with many of them...we were a family...I felt that I disappointed them and betrayed them...

One more response from the administrator 5 was

I felt depressed when I realised that my colleagues will consider that their professional work will be measured 'useless', especially for people at ages 50 and above when a new beginning is always difficult. The administrators need to be courageous not to collapse psychologically when they face such a major upset in their professional life, especially when they feel that they are not responsible for it and not the cause, especially at a time when the crisis only closes doors and not let escape vents.

The respondents believed that they tried to support their colleagues either by taking part in the strikes or by discussing the issue with the government trying to find a fairer solution. All of them expressed their worries about the downsizing of the universities which they characterised as unacceptable, unethical, ineffective, and destructive. All the respondents agreed that the downsizing of the universities not only affected their colleagues but also the students and their parents. The consequences would be tough and unacceptable upsetting the whole academic community either directly or indirectly. The administrator 3 stated

The measures are unfair, immoral and eventually, inefficient. They could neither reduce the function cost of the government nor contribute to the proper function of the university. We must think the students and their parents who believe in us. The students are going to lose their academic semester...we are responsible for them.

At the same time, the administrator 6 argued

I was thinking all the people who will suffer the consequences of the measures and the impact of the measures to the universities and their community. Moreover, I was thinking what I can do to help the administrators who were sufficient and hardworking employees. For example, I asked repeatedly as a Council member to be submitted lists which show the overstaffed positions at the universities so to be protected the administrators who conscientiously work. I tried to support and participate in the Council's meetings in order to be found one fair solution.

The employees wanted to support their colleagues; they felt a range of emotions which caused frustration. Sadness, anxiety, anger were some of the negative emotions when the administrative and the academic staff were required to perform their tasks, when they had to “obey”, and mostly when they had to act against their colleagues.

Emotion management

The respondents claimed that they could not act in a different way. They were forced to proceed in the process even if they did not agree. They believed that they were not responsible for any decision but, they should follow the government's decision at any cost. They did not have the opportunity to react or at least to think of a better solution. It is mentioned above that the bureaucrats need to perform their roles based on certain feeling rules which are affected by the social relations and the organisation. They needed to adjust their emotions in order to achieve the common goal; the success of the measures. The respondents knew that their role is to achieve the organisation's tasks but their emotions were strong even if the bureaucratic environment required emotion management. It was clear for them that they could not ignore the government's decision therefore; they tried to manage their emotions. Emotion management is a difficult process especially, when the actors need to face so many difficulties. Their emotions were strong mirroring the conflict between their personal beliefs and their duty to their organisation. Their emotions were real and all the respondents knew that they had to deal with the negative feelings. According to the administrator 3,

I was worried when I was discussing the measures with my colleagues, we have tried to face the academic crisis but eventually, we realised that it was impossible. We understood that the measures are inevitable; many employees will not have a job tomorrow and this fact have a great impact on their families, as well. The measures cause despair not only to administrators but also to Greek people who realise how destructive all the measures are.

The academic and the administrative staff not only had to make tough decisions but also they had to cope with any negative emotion; they needed to manage their strong emotions avoiding outbursts, preventing any emotional explosion and controlling their feelings. According to the respondents, the emotional management was not an easy case; they had to cope with many negative emotions doubting for their actions. The administrator 5 argued

In your private life, your reaction to situations like these might be to start yelling, or to feel sorry for yourself. But at work, these kinds of behaviour could damage your professional status, as well as your efficiency. It may be hard to manage your emotions under these circumstances, but it's even more important for you to do so.

It is obvious that the respondents needed to protect their professional reputation while they had to follow the governmental measures and perform their duties. According to them, it was a difficult task but they needed to "obey" to the rules. The administrator 7 argued

The difficult economic situation brings up accumulated problems, pushing many times employees to express solutions and artificial strength, sedatives and antidepressants or unforeseen effects.

Personally, I discussed my thoughts with my colleagues trying to make our self-evaluation keeping our self-esteem. It was really difficult... We were not responsible for the measures... however, we were feeling unconfident. The academic and the administrative staff had to face anxiety, panic attacks, and even psychoses under the pressure for high efficiency and performance when we needed to be indirectly responsible for the lay-offs. We tried to focus on how to improve the situation, to find a productive solution... we tried to communicate with the employees... Strike seemed a great solution; we were determined to support our colleagues, at least, the majority of us...

The employees tried to communicate with their colleagues, they tried to exchange opinions and might find a fairer solution. They knew that their colleagues had to face the same situation therefore, they believed that communication could help them and support them during this difficult situation. They thought that the common experience could help them to manage their negative emotions and may soothe the situation. One more practice was to try to improve the existing situation. They tried to offer other solutions to the government trying to avoid the tough measures. They hoped that they could provide helpful and useful ideas which could lead to a different perspective. According to the administrator 1,

I was thinking my colleagues and the impact of the measures to their life... I felt responsible of this but I knew that the measures were inevitable. We tried to avoid the measures or at least to postpone them but we failed. Probably we could have tried harder... if the mass media would present our beliefs and emotions could be better for us... we felt helpless and stressed because we could not react different...

Administrators' opinion regarding the media coverage

All the respondents clarified that the media coverage related to their emotions was nonexistent; the journalists did not make any reference about the academic and the administrative staff emotions' or the administrators'. The employees wanted to express their own opinions, thoughts and considerations but the media did not report their emotions. The staff's opinions were often given but they believed that the media coverage could and should undoubtedly support the administrators' rights. The administrator 1 stated

It is a tricky topic ... even the strike could be considered abusive and prohibited. The employees who decided to go on strike need to face a salary deduction meaning personal sacrifices which they are not able to confront. It would be ideal if we had reacted earlier, in this phase, we could not react. We expected the media coverage to be more supportive and positive... instead, the journalists were presenting the cold facts avoiding referring how difficult the situation was, how we may feel about the measures...

The media coverage was definitely vast; every day, the newspapers had articles referring to the topic presenting the government's decisions and the staff's obligations to government. The media pressure on the academic and administrative staff increased when the universities closed

because of the strike; the staff had to face not only the measures but also the media coverage. Given the economic crisis in Greece it was thoughtful the students to be supported but the employees needed the support of the media as well. The administrator 4 stated

We wished to address administrators issue as well as we could...we needed to convey positive emotions...but we were expecting the media coverage to be more emotional. In Greece, we do not suppress our emotions; we want to express them making clear what we feel. However, the media did not refer to our emotions, all the journalists asked our opinion about the measures but not even once they asked how we feel about them.

The academic and the administrative staff argue that they felt pressure from the media coverage when the journalists presented the facts. In the beginning, the journalists wanted to support the employees' actions and decisions but in the meantime the situation was getting worse; the universities were closed, the students could not have exams and the most important, the lists were submitted. The journalists argue that the administrative and the academic staff should have reacted in a different way; more efficiently. The administrators 6 and 8 argued

The mass media try to describe the situation...however, I feel stressed...I feel that I need to explain myself, my thoughts, my opinion to everyone...I am not sure if they [the journalists] realise how we feel...we are talking about our colleagues, our working environment, our friends...every day I read a new article regarding the measures and I watch the journalists to cover the topic regularly...I don't know how to react, what to say...

...sometimes I believe that the journalists cannot understand why we need to act that way...they think that we could act differently, that we may make different decisions...at the end of the day, I believe that we couldn't do anything more...we fought for our colleagues, our universities, our students...we need to understand that we couldn't win...

To conclude, all the respondents seem to feel disappointment, anger, fear and frustration because they felt helpless to react and support their colleagues. Both the academic and the administrative staff believe that the government's policy is not fair because the cuts in education and the upcoming lay-offs will lead to the dysfunctional universities since the measure of mobility could affect not only any inefficient employee but also any skillful and useful employee. All the respondents argue that the measures were inevitable, rough and hard for the employees. Studying the responses, it seems that the respondents of the University of Athens argue about the universities' function regarding the measures, and how they could support their colleagues while the respondents of the University of Thessaloniki argue about the government and its policies.

Those respondents seem to be angry and disappointed with the government while the respondents in Athens emphasise their anxiety and fear.

5.2. Media – News articles

A significant topic to this study is the media coverage and especially, the media pressure on the academic and administrative staff at the universities. The media presented the government's measures regarding the administrators and at the same time, they covered how the university community reacted to these measures. When the government's announcements about the upcoming lay-offs were stated, the news articles argued about the effect on a great amount of administrative staff sooner or later.

The initial coverage of the mass media

It is highly important to be mentioned that the journalists in the beginning supported the administrators and the academic staff. The journalists presented how difficult the situation would be if the staff would go in the mobility scheme because the universities' function would be affected. However, the journalists after the shutdown argued that the measures were the only viable solution not only for the universities but also for the employees themselves. According to them, people in Greece should sacrifice their own good in favour of the public good.

It seems that the journalists change their opinion during the period of universities' shutdown. As it is mentioned, the journalists had tried to cover all the different aspects of the topic – they presented not only the government's point of view but also the employees'. The mass media coverage was trying to explain why the measures were necessary even if they were tough and in some cases unfair; the journalists were familiar with the Greeks "sacrifices" because of the financial crisis therefore, in the beginning supported the staff's fight against the measures and in favour of their colleagues.

The first articles were talking about the typical requirements (bachelor degree, master degree, PhD, and knowledge of foreign languages) which an employee should or would have in order not to be pushed into mobility scheme. Moreover, any previous experience and how they had been employed would be extremely important.

Government is going to give great attention to the way the current employee was employed, giving preference to those who had given written exams through ASEP. Moreover, those with Master and/or PHD degree will be preferred. In general, the younger employees have a great opportunity not to lose their job. However, the "gap" between the two generations of employees is bridged by the points which are awarded to those who have served long in their position (Kathimerini, 2013).

On the contrary, employees who have been involved in disciplinary matters will be dismissed. Specifically, the evaluation is based on four characteristics: administrators' employment should be based on meritocracy, personal and professional development, positive and polite behaviour, and the confidence in the new generation of public employees (Kathimerini, 2013).

Later the journalists presented how the academic and the administrative staff reacted against the measures. The journalists every day were covering the shutdown presenting interviews from different involved parts. The news articles were talking about the professors' strikes in the beginning which won mass support from students, who fear the impact of the cuts being imposed, as well as the government's overall assault on education. The students had considered that the measures would affect them; the universities' function could not be effective when a large number of employees would not be employed anymore. However, the shutdown of the universities caused the loss of the academic semester. The students were confused and some professors as well. The consequences of the shutdown were obvious when the students had to start the new academic semester.

New undergraduates could not register for courses, or attend classes. Striking administrators have locked lecture halls, libraries and laboratories and kept the keys. "We've effectively lost the first semester of this academic year...so dozens of my students won't be able to take their degrees on time," says a frustrated law professor. Middle-class parents, cannot afford high taxes as a result they can no longer have their children at university (The Economist, 2013).

Even if the administrators end the strike and move into the mobility scheme, universities cannot work normally. Yannis Zabetakis, a professor at University of Athens, says "Greek universities already have a low ratio of administrators to students, with one non-teaching staff member to 78 students, against one non-teaching staffer for 13 students in Britain. With fewer lab technicians, students will be unable to carry out experiments. Library opening hours will be shorter" (The Economist, 2013).

The mass media coverage during universities' shutdown

The journalists tried to clarify that it was obvious that the Greek universities did not have the ability to operate properly as many employees have participated in the strike; any administrative function was delayed due to the strike so a librarian at Athens University claimed that "They [administrative staff] should all be rehired. We need more –not fewer- university administrators.

We don't have a permanent security staff for example or nearly enough laboratory technicians” (Hope, 2014).

According to the government's announcement the administrative staff would be redeployed. The news articles emphasised that the universities authorities had refused to submit the lists and rectors have launched a legal challenge. The academic community believed that the abolition of all positions in every university will open the door to private security companies. The symbolic shutdown of the universities by the rectors and the academic community was a way to apply pressure on the government. The academic and the administrative staff tried to support their colleagues making an effort to persuade the government to change the measures. According to an article on Ethnos (2013), “In a letter to the Prime Minister, Antonis Samaras, the president of the Federation of University Teachers, Stathis Efstathopoulos, expressed his concern about the downsizing of the universities clarifying that universities are at risk of collapse due to mobility of the administrators”.

The news articles had presented a lot of interviews; the journalists had interviewed either academic staff (professors, faculty members) or students and their parents who were affected as well. Most of them claimed that even though the universities in Greece are free, they have long suffered from poor funding and political rivalries that have hurt teaching standards. It is common knowledge that a great amount of faculty members and students are forced to live, study and work abroad because of the problematic situation in the universities. Aristides Hatzis, professor at Athens University, claims “We have talented students but they face real problems learning in such a difficult environment” (Hope, 2014).

As it is mentioned the Greek universities are public which means that the universities and their academic and administrative staff should offer their services to the students who would be able to study without any distraction. The administrator 6 argued

Education is degraded...it is considered a public good, however, the last years education is accepted an attack... now we have to face the lay-offs of a large number of administrators; it's the final drop to the Greek public education. The Constitution stipulates that "Education is a fundamental mission of the State". Education is degraded when people do not react to disorganisation. The universities should not only offer knowledge to their students but also form students' conscience. We need to understand that is our role; to support our students, the future of Greece.

The journalists, among them many academic professors, claimed that the budget cuts and the upcoming lay-offs should not prevent the scope of a university which is the proper education of future scientists. Moreover, the readers have the opportunity to get informed about the negative consequences to students and their families. The media emphasised that the universities should be open educating the students; the journalists presented how significant is the academic environment to be healthy and supportive not only for the administrators but also for the students who are the real actors.

The Ministry of Education claimed that the implementation of its plan will aid the universities to operate effectively without the current excessive number of administrative staff. This strategy is going to change the bad habits of nepotism and clientelism that characterised the Greek state for the last 30 years. However, the majority of the Deans of these institutions admitted that the universities will face problems to operate normally because of the lack of administrative employees. The Deans claimed that the new measures do not follow any strategic plan for preserving the public good at stake, exacerbates the widespread disappointment that prevails nowadays in Greek society. As a matter of fact, no trust exists that the services offered by these institutions will remain of a high standard. As a result, the academic community supported the strike especially when the Deans failed to condemn the strikes despite the clear danger for thousands of students facing a disruption to their studies.

Administrative employees are on strike for their fifth consecutive week. The strikers are protesting government plans to eliminate 1,349 administration positions by placing the staff in a so-called mobility pool, which will see them fired if no other job is found for them in the public sector or other higher education institutions. The measures will effectively render Greece's universities dysfunctional. In the last four weeks, the university authorities proceeded to protests because their senates voted to shut down universities function. As a result, the Minister of Education filed a suit with Areios Pagos, Greece's Supreme Court, charging rectors of those universities with misconduct. The ministry has also filed suits with local prosecutors to force university authorities to obey to government policy by submitting the lists (Vassilopoulos, 2013).

To conclude, the journalists have tried to present the situation describing the facts and explaining the possible consequences either because of the measures or because of the shutdown and the consistent employees' actions against the measures. The journalists were trying to be as objective as they could saying on the one hand, how harmful the downsizing would be, on the other hand, claiming that the government should find a more effective solution instead of pushing people into the mobility scheme. One of the journalists' role is to inform the public for the operational

of their country; the topic of the universities affected a lot of people so the journalists wanted to describe the situation in detail. However, the situation was difficult; the journalists should present any consequence and the actors had to face their responsibilities.

The news articles have highlighted how the politicians, the academic and administrative staff of the universities, the students, and their families have taken the decision of lay-offs and what is going to happen later on. It is important to be mentioned that the voices of different actors have been heard; the news articles often write the opinion of the Greek politicians, academic staff even the students but the voice of the administrative staff was quite absent. The news articles focus on the disadvantages of the strike and the potential danger of the university's shutdown. The articles reflected that the Greek universities have already serious problems regarding the staff, the financial issues, the structure etc., any possible delay or additional problem would be unacceptable. The topic was vividly debated in media covering all the perspectives; the mass media cover the strike of administrative and academic staff who wanted to support their colleagues showing that they have negative emotions about the measures and the consequences. The media covered the topic presenting it the government's, the administrators' and the students' perspective. The academic and the administrative staff felt pressure on them because the mass media coverage was daily. The journalists wanted to present the whole process to the public when the academic and administrative staff needed to manage their emotions and proceed to action.

6. Discussion

In this chapter, the results will be discussed under the theories of emotional labour and bureaucracy.

According to Hochschild (1983), the employees have to perform their duties based on certain feeling rules. The academic and administrative staff of the Greek universities should act based on feeling rules and eventually, they have to manage their emotions as their duties should be accomplished. The respondents clarified that they did not agree with the government's measures however, they were forced to proceed to the submission of the list as their organisations should develop one more efficient and productive model. According to Greek government the measures were essential because of the financial crisis. It is supposed that these measures would help the

government to meet the requirements of the international creditors. The government notified that the measures were necessary for a fair evaluation of the public education and the consistency with the requirements of troika.

The public bureaucracy compelled the staff to manage their emotions, especially their negative emotions regarding the measures and their effects. The employees are expected to manage their emotions according to employer demands however; the employees are not always capable to display the appropriate emotions. The employees were requested to suppress their emotions so as to achieve to fulfil the organisation's goals. They needed to handle their emotions and control them even if their values do not agree with their actions. The respondents argued that it was difficult for them to cope with the negative feelings of a financial crisis especially, when they were required to be responsible for the mobility of their colleagues. The staff notified that it was difficult for them to know that their colleagues were going to lose their job and their families would be affected as well. Reading the responses, one could see that the respondents felt anxious, sad, depressed because of the government's demands. Moreover, many of them felt disappointment, and anger against the government. One more topic was that they felt weak because they could not react according their own values and they believed that they betrayed their colleagues.

All the respondents knew that they were expected to follow the organisational rules meaning that they had to manage their emotions suppressing any negative emotion and performing their job. They needed to control their behavioural display in order to achieve the organisation's goal which in that case is the reduction of the public payroll. The respondents should adjust their interpersonal relationships to the organisation's regulations; they need to handle their emotions and control them.

According to Bommer et al. (1987), the managers make ethical decisions which are affected by their professional, personal or social environment. The employees were forced to submit the lists because their professional environment asked them to agree with the government's decision. Moreover, the social environment was suffering as well from the financial crisis when people had to face difficulties in their daily lives because of the measures.

The journalists reported the dilemma of the academic community – they should contribute to their colleagues' dismissal while they do not completely agree with this tactic – however, the journalists attempt to clarify that this is the only way to support the Greek universities and Greece during the financial crisis. The journalists, in the beginning, supported the employees, they presented the facts explaining how difficult it would be for the staff and their own families if they would lose their jobs. The mass media revealed that both the universities will be affected in a bad way if the government insisted on mobility scheme; however in the end they argued that there was only one solution; the administrative and the academic staff had to submit the list. The mass media gradually presented different affected areas; the administrative and the academic staff, the administrators, the government and eventually, the students and their families who were going to be affected because of the universities' shutdown. They insisted on presenting the facts, and the views of the involved parties (students, academic staff, administrative staff, and members of political parties). It is obvious that the journalists did not want to talk about emotions.

The academic and the administrative staff according to their own responses felt anxious, worried and concerned about their colleagues but the situation was really demanding so they could not react based on their emotions but based on the facts. The articles showed that the upcoming lay-offs of administrative staff was preoccupied and worried the citizens, either they were inside the crisis in universities or outside. The news articles did not describe employees' emotions; the journalists described the facts, the consequences of employees' actions and the universities' future. The collected data showed that the journalists avoided commenting or mentioning about academic and administrative staff emotions. Even though they have interviewed the Foundation Board of Athens University and the Administrative Staff of Thessaloniki University they did not ask about their emotions, they insisted on presenting the facts and how the staff is going to act.

It is obvious that people would feel sadness, pessimism, about the future and anger because they cannot avoid the inevitable facts. They had to face a difficult situation when their actions were not in agreement with their emotions; they felt anxious because the painful cuts and jobs affected their colleagues. However, the most important fact was that they had a significant role in this practice. The university employees had decided to disturb the cuts in any possible way but the requirements of the international creditors were strict and austere dictating a rigid attitude.

Evidence indicates that the respondents had to submit the lists even if they disagreed with the measures and felt sorry for their colleagues. As it has been mentioned, employees are required to manage their emotions and their behaviours, they needed to develop social defense systems in order to avoid any negative emotions when they have to face the upcoming changes. They felt depressed because they needed to proceed with a process which affects their colleagues. As it is mentioned, the academic community was against this process but the bureaucratic structure forced them to submit the lists. The academic and administrative staff having the bureaucratic role should follow the organisational rules following not their personal emotions but the demands of their role. Even if they believe that the government's policy is not in accordance with their ethics perception they have to trust government's hierarchy.

In line with evidence, the news articles mention the bureaucratic policy of the government; the journalists are interested in presenting the "orders" which the academic and administrative staff are called to follow. When the journalists claim that this process will help to survive – the Greek universities – the community; they try to persuade all the people involved (academic community, members of political parts, and students) that this is the ideal solution or at least the only one, pointing out the financial benefits that this measure will bring to the government given the Greek crisis as well as troika's requirements, they conclude that the suggested solution is inevitable.

It is known how tough the situation is especially when the academic community has to face a group of people who are not against the measure and they want an open university where the education is promoting and the students are not in danger of losing the academic semester. The academic staff and the administrative staff feel pressure as they want to be fair and support not only their colleagues but also the students. Preston (1987) claims that everyone who has government and bureaucracy control believe that citizens cannot understand the tactics which leaders have to follow so as to make rational decisions. Observing this specific situation it is clear that the academic community has to adopt the culture – the rules – of the government modifying their behaviour and their personal thoughts in order to fit in.

7. Conclusion

To conclude, the purpose of this study was to investigate how the academic and the administrative staff at Greek universities manage their emotions when they forced to submit lists

of administrative staff that are to go into mobility. This study investigates the topic from two different perceptions; the first one is the collected data from the questionnaires and the second one is the collected data from the news articles.

The respondents admit that they feel negative emotions related to lay-offs at their universities. They feel anger, worry, sadness, pressure because they should proceed to a process which is not in accordance with their ethics and personal ideas. However, they manage all their negative emotions by deciding to follow the rules and governmental measures persuading themselves that it was the only solution. Being a bureaucrat is a hard process as the employees feel doubt about their decisions but the bureaucratic system does not allow any repentance. The employees have to follow the rules even if they do not agree; eventually they will be adjusted to the system.

A comment should be made about the media coverage related to these emotions, the media focused on describing the government plans to place a large amount of the administrative staff of the Greek universities into the labour mobility scheme. The headlines are dramatically emotional unlike the text; the journalists want to catch the public's attention but they do not spend time on investigating any kind of emotions. The news articles try to manipulate the academic and the administrative staff describing the negative consequences if they do not "obey" to the government authorities.

In line with the expectations, the results of the study showed that the academic and administrative staff feels fear, frustration, and disappointment when they have to face the impact of measures against the financial crisis. The symbolic shutdown of the universities is covered by the media pressing the academic and the administrative staff to make a tough decision.

In the further research, the focus can be moved to specific organisations which proceed to lay-offs during the financial crisis. Future researchers may investigate how the HR managers deal with their emotions when they are required to fire employees and their role in this decision investigating how vital is their role. Moreover, it could be investigated the specific practice of termination comparing how HR managers deal with this practice in different organisations, how they solve these unexpected problems and how different they manage their emotions.

8. Limitations and strengths

Although this study broadens our understanding of emotions because of dismissals and their management, it has several potential limitations. First, the somewhat low response rate might have influenced findings as the respondents might have different opinion from the non-respondents. The non-respondents refused to answer the questions either because of lack of time or because they did not want to express their opinion. One more problematic aspect is that the project is also limited with the complexity of investigating and interpreting people's feelings as general and in this particular area.

The study is to explore how the members of the Foundation Board of National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and to the Administrative Staff Department of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki are affected emotionally by the dismissals of administrative staff. However, it would be interesting to explore how the administrative staff is affected by their dismissals.

The present study's strength lies in its focus on employees in the two Greek universities examining a sample of Greek citizens who are affected by the financial crisis and how they face any adversity. Improvements can be done in further studies by using larger sample sizes in order to investigate the topic or similar topics in more detail. Future studies could build on the study and validate the current results.

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Appendix A

This appendix contains the questionnaire

Questionnaire

Author's intention is to question the members of the Foundation Board of National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and the Administrative Staff Department of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki who will describe the situation and their feelings caused by the dismissals of administrative staff from their own side.

Group A: Questions about the measures

1. How would you describe the measures, could you describe the situation?
2. What is your opinion about the measures and the upcoming lay-offs?
3. What did you feel about them?
4. Do you believe that the government could avoid the measures?

Group B: How they received the measures

1. How did you receive the measures?
2. What were the first thoughts and reactions?
3. Do you believe that all the employees received the measures in the same way?
4. Could the employees react in a different way?

Group C: How they felt

1. Did you become concerned when you realised that the downsizing measures were coming up? Did you perceive this task as your responsibility?
2. What did you believe would be most difficult regarding the acceptance of the measures?
3. How did you initially believe that you had to proceed in order to manage the task?
4. Was it something you did not dare to do even if you should or something that you could have done better?

5. What is your opinion about the media coverage? How do you receive the media coverage?

Group D: How the staff reacted

1. What do you believe that the administrative staff experienced and why?
2. How the staff reacted to the measures?
3. Do you believe that they could react in a different way?

Appendix B

This appendix contains the number of questionnaires, administrators, and pages of the questionnaires.

List of questionnaires

Questionnaire 1 – Administrator 1 – No of pages 12

Questionnaire 2 – Administrator 2 – No of pages 10

Questionnaire 3 – Administrator 3 – No of pages 11

Questionnaire 4 – Administrator 4 – No of pages 12

Questionnaire 5 – Administrator 5 – No of pages 11

Questionnaire 6 – Administrator 6 – No of pages 11

Questionnaire 7 – Administrator 7 – No of pages 12

Questionnaire 8 – Administrator 8 – No of pages 13