engaged in a variety of verbal and nonverbal immediacy behaviors. The results revealed significant positive correlations between the frequency of positive types of humor observed in the lectures and the instructors’ overall verbal and nonverbal immediacy. More specifically, teachers with higher overall immediacy told proportionately more humorous anecdotes and stories and exhibited more physical/vocal comedy; however, they also used less tendentious (aggressive) and self-deprecating (likely self-defeating) humor. Interestingly, no differences were found in the degree to which the humor used by teachers with high versus low immediacy was related to the lecture topic or course content.

Melissa Wanzer and Ann Frymier (1999) also found that college students’ ratings of the degree to which particular professors engaged in humor were positively associated with measures of the instructors’ immediacy and responsiveness to students. In addition, analyses revealed that the significant associations found between instructors’ humor and students’ course evaluations and perceptions of learning were largely (but not entirely) accounted for by immediacy. Thus, humor seems to be one component of a broader set of teacher behaviors that contribute to a sense of immediacy in the classroom, which in turn results in more positive teacher and course evaluations and greater perceived learning in the students.

**Teachers’ Use of Humor and Students’ Learning**

Educators advocating the use of humor in teaching have claimed that humor not only promotes a positive, enjoyable atmosphere in the classroom but also helps students to learn and retain information better, leading to higher levels of academic performance. Several mechanisms have been proposed to explain why lecture material that is accompanied by humor might be learned and remembered better than information that is presented in a more serious manner (Oppliger, 2003; Teslow, 1995). First, the positive emotion accompanying humor (i.e., mirth) may become associated with the overall learning experience, giving students a more positive attitude toward education in general and increasing their motivation to learn, resulting in higher academic achievement. Second, the novelty and emotionally arousing properties of humor may help to attract and sustain students’ attention onto the lesson, thus facilitating acquisition of information. Third, the incongruous mental associations that are an inherent characteristic of humor may facilitate the process of cognitive elaboration, helping in the storage and retention of information in long-term memory. Finally, humorous memory cues associated with previously learned information may facilitate the retrieval of this information from long-term memory at a later date when students are answering questions on a test or examination.

Early studies investigating children’s attention to humorous educational television programs have provided some evidence of the hypothesized attention-drawing effects of humor, at least in young children. For example, one study found that, when given a choice of educational television programs to watch, first- and second-grade children were more likely to select those containing humor, especially if the humor was fast-paced (Wakshlag, Day, and Zillmann, 1981). Similar findings were obtained
by Dolf Zillmann and his colleagues (1980), who concluded that “the educator who deals with an audience whose attentiveness is below the level necessary for effective communication should indeed benefit from employing humor early on and in frequent short bursts” (p. 178).

Beyond the attention-grabbing effects of humor, a number of studies over the years have investigated the question of whether information that is taught in a humorous way is learned and remembered better than information that is presented in a more serious manner. The results of early educational research on this topic were quite disappointing. Charles Gruner (1976) reviewed nine such studies and concluded that all except one failed to show any influence of humor on learning. Outside of the educational context, early research on the effects of humor on memory for speeches also generally found no differences in learning between humorous and serious speeches (Gruner, 1967).

A few later educational studies showed more promising results, although the findings across studies continued to be mixed. For example, Ann Davies and Michael Apter (1980) randomly assigned children between the ages of 8 and 11 to view either humorous or nonhumorous versions of several 20-minute audio-visual educational programs on topics such as language, science, history, and geography. The humorous versions of the programs were identical to the nonhumorous versions except for the random insertion of a number of funny cartoons. In support of the hypothesis that humor enhances learning, testing revealed that the children in the humorous condition recalled a significantly greater amount of information from these presentations than did those in the nonhumorous condition, both immediately after the presentations and at one-month follow-up, although this difference in memory retention was no longer apparent nine months later.

The strongest evidence for beneficial effects of humor on learning in an educational context comes from two naturalistic experiments conducted by Avner Ziv (1988b). Criticizing earlier laboratory studies for their methodological flaws, artificiality, lack of ecological validity, and short duration, Ziv examined the effects of humorous lectures on student performance in an actual course over a whole semester. In the first experiment, students in an introductory statistics course were randomly assigned to receive the same 14-week course from the same instructor in either a humorous or a nonhumorous condition. In the humorous condition, the instructor, who had received training on the effective use of humor in education, inserted three or four funny anecdotes, jokes, or cartoons into each lecture to illustrate key concepts. Thus, humor was used as a sort of mnemonic device, or memory aid, to help students remember important points. The nonhumorous condition contained the same course material without the humorous illustrations. At the end of the semester, analyses of the students’ grades on the final exam revealed that those in the humor condition obtained significantly higher average grades, with a difference of nearly 10 percentage points being found between the two groups.

These remarkable findings were replicated by Ziv in a second experiment using two classes of female students taking an introductory psychology course in a teachers’ college. Once again, students in the humorous condition achieved an average...
grade that was about 10 percentage points higher than that obtained by those in the nonhumorous condition, using the same multiple-choice final exam. In his discussion of these results, Ziv argued that the stronger findings of these two experiments, compared with the generally disappointing earlier educational research on this topic, may have been due to the fact that the humor was directly relevant to the course material, it was limited to only a few instances per lecture hour, and the teachers were trained in its effective use.

Ziv’s conclusions appear to be generally supported by several more recent carefully-controlled laboratory studies on the effects of humor on memory (Derks, Gardner et al., 1998; Schmidt, 1994, 2002; Schmidt and Williams, 2001). As noted in the review of this research in Chapter 4, these experiments provide quite consistent evidence that humorous information is recalled better than nonhumorous information when both are presented in the same context. If only humorous material is presented, however, there is no apparent benefit for memory. Moreover, it is important to note that the enhanced recall of humorous material occurs at the expense of memory for any nonhumorous material that is presented at the same time. In other words, the inclusion of humorous illustrations in a lecture may enhance students’ memory for the humorous material, but it might also diminish their memory for other information in the same lecture that is not accompanied by humor.

These findings suggest that, if teachers wish to use humor to facilitate students’ learning of course material, they should ensure that the humor is closely tied to the course content. In addition, the constant use of humor throughout a lesson will have little effect on retention. Instead, humor should be used somewhat sparingly to illustrate important concepts and not peripheral material.

**Effects of Humor in Tests and Exams**

Do students perform better on examinations containing some humorous questions as compared to exams with no humor? Some authors have suggested that the inclusion of humorous questions in examinations may help to reduce test anxiety and consequently lead to improved performance. A number of studies have investigated this hypothesis by examining test scores when students are randomly assigned to receive either humorous or nonhumorous versions of the same multiple-choice tests (e.g., Deffenbacher, Deitz, and Hazaleus, 1981; McMorris, Urbach, and Connor, 1985; Townsend and Mahoney, 1981; Townsend, Mahoney, and Allen, 1983). In this research, humorous versions of the tests are typically created by modifying several of the questions so that they contain either a funny “stem” or an amusing response option. Several of these studies looked at tests in university psychology classes, while others used English grammar or mathematics tests with elementary school children ranging from third to eighth grade.

The results of this research have generally been quite disappointing. A review of 11 studies of this type concluded that there is no convincing evidence that humorous tests lead to better overall performance than do nonhumorous tests (McMorris, Boothroyd, and Pietrangelo, 1997). In fact, the only clearly significant main effect
indicated poorer performance among students receiving the humorous version of a test. Most of these studies also examined potential moderating effects of trait anxiety, hypothesizing that humorous tests may be most effective in increasing the performance of highly anxious students but less effective for students who were low on anxiety. However, these results were decidedly mixed. Only one study showed a significant interaction in the predicted direction, with a humorous version of an exam boosting the performance of highly anxious students but not those low on anxiety (R. E. Smith et al., 1971). In contrast, a few studies found the opposite pattern, with high-anxious students scoring better on the nonhumorous test and low-anxious students scoring better on the humorous one (e.g., Townsend and Mahoney, 1981). Yet other studies found no significant interaction at all between anxiety level and humor intervention in the prediction of test scores (e.g., Deffenbacher et al., 1981).

One important variable may be whether or not the students actually find the humorous items to be funny. Some students may not understand the humor, may not think it is particularly amusing, or may even find these items to be annoying, perhaps interfering with performance. Only one study asked students in the humorous exam condition to rate the funniness of the items. This study produced a significant interaction, with students who rated the test as funny having significantly higher scores on the test than did those who did not find it funny (McMorris et al., 1997). Although this finding needs to be replicated, it suggests that teachers wishing to use humorous exam items should be careful to ensure that the humor is understandable and enjoyable to the students.

Although there is little evidence that humorous test items improve students’ actual performance on a test, findings from these studies do suggest that students generally respond favorably to tests that include some humorous items. When asked about their reactions to the humorous versions of the tests, the vast majority of students perceived them to be enjoyable and helpful rather than detrimental to their performance. In their review of this literature, McMorris and colleagues (1997) concluded that, although there is no evidence that humor in tests either helps or hinders students’ performance, the judicious use of humor may be beneficial in making exams more enjoyable to the students. They noted, though, that it is important to ensure that the humor is positive, constructive, and appropriate for the students.

Effects of Humor in Textbooks

Many high school and college textbooks contain funny cartoons and other humorous materials to illustrate the information in the text. Does the inclusion of this sort of humor actually help students to learn the material better? In one study designed to investigate this question, students were randomly assigned to read different versions of a draft chapter of a college textbook containing either no humor, moderate amounts of humor, or extensive humor in the form of cartoons illustrating points in the text (Bryant et al., 1981). No differences were found across the three humor conditions on a subsequent test of recall of information from the chapter, suggesting that the presence of humorous cartoons had no effect on learning. However, the humor
did apparently have some influence on the participants’ enjoyment and perceptions of the chapters. In particular, humorous as compared to nonhumorous versions were rated as more enjoyable, but they were also rated as less persuasive and showing less author credibility. On the other hand, the amount of humor did not affect students’ ratings of interest, likelihood of reading more of the book, or likelihood of taking a course with this book as the text.

In another study, college students were asked to rate a randomly assigned chapter from an introductory psychology textbook on a number of dimensions such as level of interest, enjoyableness, persuasiveness, and so on (D. M. Klein, Bryant, and Zillmann, 1982). The chapters were then analyzed by the researchers for the amount of humor they contained. Correlational analyses revealed that textbooks containing more humor tended to be rated by the students as more enjoyable, but the amount of humor was unrelated to ratings of interest, persuasiveness, capacity for learning, or desire to read more on the topic. Although research on this topic is quite limited, the overall findings suggest that humor in textbooks may be useful for boosting student appeal (and perhaps increasing the likelihood of adoption by course instructors), but it does not seem to improve students’ ability to learn the information or their perceptions of the credibility of the book.

**Caveats in the Use of Humor in Education**

Most educators who advocate the use of humor in teaching are careful to note that aggressive forms of humor such as sarcasm, ridicule, and put-down humor have no place in the classroom. Nonetheless, as Jennings Bryant and Dolf Zillmann (1989) pointed out, research indicates that many teachers actually use hostile forms of humor with their students, including ridicule, sarcasm, and teasing. These types of humor may be perceived by some teachers as a potent method of correcting undesirable behavior in their students such as tardiness, inattention, failure to complete assignments, disruptive behavior, and so on. By teasing or ridiculing a student, teachers may feel that they can correct individual students as well as setting an example for the rest of the class. Indeed, research evidence suggests that these techniques may be quite effective as behavioral deterrents, since observing another person being ridiculed can have a powerful inhibiting effect on children’s behavior by the time they reach six years of age (Bryant et al., 1983).

However, there is also abundant evidence that ridicule and other forms of aggressive humor can have a detrimental effect on the overall emotional climate of a classroom. For example, in a study discussed in Chapter 5, college students who observed another person being ridiculed became more inhibited, more conforming and fearful of failure, and less willing to take risks (Janes and Olson, 2000). The research by Gorham and Christophel (1990) discussed earlier also indicates that teachers who use more aggressive forms of humor in the classroom are evaluated more negatively by their students. Clearly, the use of humor to poke fun at students for their ineptness, slowness to learn, ignorance, or inappropriate behavior can be damaging, creating an atmosphere of tension and anxiety, and stifling creativity.
Another potential risk of humor in education, particularly with younger children, is that it might be misunderstood and lead to confusion (Bryant and Zillmann, 1989). Humor often involves exaggeration, understatement, distortion, and even contradiction (e.g., in irony). These types of humor might inadvertently cause students to fail to understand the intended meaning and to learn inaccurate information. Because of the novelty of the images that such distorting humor can convey, such inaccuracies may also be particularly easy to remember and especially resistant to memory decay.

These potential risks of humor with primary school children are supported by two studies finding that educational television programs containing humorous exaggeration or irony led to distortions in children’s memory for the information being taught (J. Weaver, Zillmann, and Bryant, 1988; Zillmann et al., 1984). These memory-distorting effects of humor were found in children from kindergarten to grade four. Interestingly, even when the researchers added statements that identified and corrected the factual distortions introduced by the humor, this was not enough to overcome the distorting effects of humor on children’s recall. The authors of these studies concluded that the vividness of the humorous images was recalled and not the verbal corrections. Thus, teachers of young children who use humor need to be careful to ensure that their humorous statements are not misunderstood.

Conclusion

As with humor in psychotherapy and, indeed, in all types of social interactions, the role of humor in education turns out to be more complex than it might first appear. Consistent with our conclusions about humor in psychotherapy, humor seems to be best viewed as a form of interpersonal communication that can be used for a variety of purposes in teaching. Humor may be used by teachers in potentially beneficial ways to illustrate pedagogical points, to make lessons more vivid and memorable, and to make the learning environment generally more enjoyable and interesting for students. On the other hand, it may be used in more negative ways that are coercive or demeaning to students, and it can distract students’ attention away from more important points or distort their understanding of the information. As Bryant and Zillmann (1989) observed, success in teaching with humor “depends on employing the right type of humor, under the proper conditions, at the right time, and with properly motivated and receptive students” (p. 74).

Although empirical research on the effects of humor in education has been quite limited and the findings have been somewhat inconsistent, the existing research does suggest that appropriate uses of humor by teachers in the classroom are associated with more positive teacher evaluations, greater enjoyment of the course, and greater perceived learning by the students. However, the use of aggressive types of humor is associated with more negative student evaluations. The judicious use of humor seems to be particularly beneficial in increasing the level of immediacy in the classroom, reducing the psychological distance between teachers and students.
In addition, although the research results have been rather mixed, there is evidence from some naturalistic classroom studies, as well as some recent well-controlled laboratory experiments on humor and memory, indicating that information that is presented in a humorous manner is remembered better than information presented in a serious way when both occur in the same context. However, the enhanced learning of humorous material occurs at the expense of poorer learning for nonhumorous information. Teachers who wish to employ humor in their lessons to help students remember the material should therefore be careful to use humor sparingly and to associate it with key concepts rather than irrelevant information.

Finally, there is little evidence that the inclusion of humorous questions on tests reduces test anxiety and improves test performance or that funny cartoons and illustrations in textbooks enhance students’ ability to learn the information in the text, although these uses of humor do appear to make the tests and textbooks more enjoyable to the students.

**HUMOR IN THE WORKPLACE**

Work is typically viewed as “serious business” and it seems to be the very antithesis of play. In recent years, however, there has been considerable interest in the potential benefits of increasing the amount of humor that occurs in the workplace. A number of people have suggested that a more playful work environment in which humor is encouraged might produce a happier, healthier, less stressed, and more productive work force, engendering better social interactions among workers and managers, and fostering more creative thinking and problem solving (e.g., Morreall, 1991). Although research evidence for a link between worker happiness and productivity is controversial (Iaffaldano and Muchinsky, 1985; Judge, Thoresen, Bono, and Patton, 2001), the assumption seems to be that the improved rapport, teamwork, and creativity resulting from humorous interactions will not only make for a more enjoyable work environment but will also translate into greater productivity and a better bottom line for the company. Articles extolling the benefits of humor in the workplace have appeared in numerous business magazines and trade journals (e.g., W. J. Duncan and Feisal, 1989), and popular books have been written on the topic (e.g., Kushner, 1990).

In the past two decades these ideas have also given rise to a new breed of business consultants who specialize in the promotion of humor at work (Gibson, 1994). Besides producing newsletters, websites, books, and audiotapes proclaiming the advantages of workplace humor, these “humor consultants” are frequently hired by organizations to conduct entertaining workshops and seminars in which they teach employees how to become more playful and humorous at work. While cautioning against the use of inappropriate and offensive types of humor, they advocate that workers engage in such playful activities as telling funny stories during breaks, making a collection of jokes and cartoons to look at during times of stress, and posting amusing baby pictures of fellow employees on a bulletin board.
Most of these presentations take the form of motivational sessions that involve humorous hands-on activities designed to loosen up the audience and overcome their seriousness and inhibitions, such as having them juggle scarves or balloons, wear red clown noses, balance pennies on their foreheads, or tell each other amusing personal anecdotes. As Gibson (1994) noted, these efforts to promote humor at work are appealing to management as well as employees, since they give both groups a greater feeling of control. At the level of the individual, humor is seen as a tool for gaining control over stress levels and relationships with fellow employees, while it gives organizations a sense of control over their employees, increasing their motivation, productivity, and efficiency.

Gibson pointed out that the view of humor taken by these humor consultants is a “rational/utilitarian” one. In other words, they see humor as a planned activity that can be controlled and used as a tool for success, rather than a spontaneous social behavior comprising emotional and unconscious elements that are often difficult to control and manage. In addition, the type of humor that they advocate is one that does not question the corporate status quo and is aimed at putting up with the system rather than challenging or trying to alter it. Unfortunately, there does not appear to be any empirical research on the effectiveness of these sorts of humor interventions in business, although their continued popularity suggests that they meet with a receptive audience among both workers and management.

Indeed, very little psychological research of any kind has been conducted on the general topic of humor in the workplace. This is a potentially fruitful domain for industrial-organizational psychologists to explore. Nonetheless, several largely descriptive qualitative studies of humor in the work environment have been conducted by sociologists and anthropologists. Many of these have been ethnographic studies in which the researchers acted as participant observers in various work settings, carefully observing the occurrence and effects of humor. These sorts of qualitative studies have investigated humor among staff members in a psychiatric hospital (Coser, 1960), a child care center (J. C. Meyer, 1997), and a hotel kitchen (R. B. Brown and Keegan, 1999); factory workers (Collinson, 1988; Ullian, 1976); members of a petroleum exploration party (Traylor, 1973); and managers in a large multinational computer company (Hatch and Ehrlich, 1993), a metropolitan zoo (D. M. Martin, 2004), and various private companies (Grugulis, 2002).

In the following sections, I will briefly review some of the findings of these investigations as they pertain to the social functions of humor in the workplace, humor and the corporate culture, the use of humor in negotiations and mediation, and the role of humor in leadership (see also W. J. Duncan, Smeltzer, and Leap, 1990).

Social Functions of Humor in the Workplace

As I have already noted, humor serves a number of important social functions in interpersonal communication. Besides being a form of play that enables individuals to release tension and increase enjoyment, humor is a mode of communication that is frequently used to convey certain types of information that would be more difficult
to express using a more serious mode (Mulkay, 1988). In particular, humor is often used to communicate a socially risky message in an ambiguous context in a way that allows both the speaker and the audience to “save face” if the message is not well received.

Since the work situation is often characterized by ambiguity and uncertainty, it is not surprising that humor is quite frequently used for these purposes at work. For example, a worker who disagrees with a decision made by a supervisor can make a joking comment about it in order to “test the water,” rather than openly opposing the superior. In this way, the worker can easily retract the criticism by saying it was “only a joke” if the supervisor takes offense. These sorts of humorous comments can often be quite funny and may generate a considerable amount of mirthful laughter, but they also have a more serious underlying communication function. Humor of this sort is a ubiquitous form of social communication that occurs frequently in interactions between people in the work environment just as in other social settings.

Although humor consultants frequently make the claim that most workplaces are much too serious, research indicates that humor and laughter actually occur quite frequently at work. Janet Holmes and Meredith Marra (2002a) analyzed tape recordings of a large number of team meetings of both blue-collar and white-collar workers in various government departments, nonprofit organizations, and private companies, and found that humorous comments and laughter among team members occurred an average of once every two to five minutes. Humor and laughter occurred most frequently in the meetings of factory workers and office workers in private companies, and somewhat less often (although still quite frequently) in government offices and nonprofit organizations. Although the frequency of humor and laughter in these work settings was considerably less (about one-eighth as often) than that observed in groups of close friends during casual interactions in the home (J. Holmes and Marra, 2002b), these findings indicate that humor is much more common in the workplace than is often assumed.

Some of the qualitative studies of humor at work have focused on potentially beneficial effects of humor for relieving stress, enhancing enjoyment, and facilitating cohesiveness among workers. For example, in a participant observation study of humor in a small family-owned business, Karen Vinton (1989) concluded that humor, in the form of telling humorous anecdotes, friendly teasing, and witty banter, served a variety of largely beneficial social functions. In particular, humor was used as a means of socializing new employees into the organizational culture, creating a more pleasant work environment, lessening status differentials between people and thereby making it easier for them to work cooperatively, and as a relatively nonconfrontational way of prodding people to get their work done.

In a study of humor occurring in task-oriented managerial meetings, Carmine Consalvo (1989) observed that humor and laughter occurred most frequently during transition points, such as when group members moved from a problem-identification phase to a problem-solving phase in their discussions. She concluded that humor at these times signaled a willingness to work together to solve the problem and conveyed an open, accepting, and mutually supportive attitude among group members.
On the other hand, much of the research on humor in the workplace also reveals the paradoxical nature of humor, showing that although it can be used to increase cohesiveness and facilitate working relationships, it can also be used in subversive ways to express disagreement and create divisions among people. In a content analysis of the humor observed in tape recordings of a number of mixed-gender team meetings in two large business organizations, Holmes and Marra (2002b) distinguished between humor that serves to strengthen existing solidarity and power relationships (“reinforcing humor”) and humor that challenges existing power relationships (“subversive humor”). Reinforcing humor consisted of amusing anecdotes and joking comments that served to emphasize and maintain friendly and collegial relationships among participants.

These researchers found, however, that almost 40 percent of the humor in these organizational meetings could be characterized as subversive. Interestingly, the frequency of these more negative uses of humor in the workplace was about 10 times that observed in groups of friends in casual nonwork settings, likely because of the greater tensions and power differentials present in the workplace. Nearly half of this subversive humor targeted specific individuals who were present in the team meetings, often for the purpose of undermining their power or status. Another sizable proportion of subversive humor was aimed at the group as a whole or the larger organization, challenging or criticizing particular values, attitudes, or goals. Finally, a small proportion was directed at the societal level, questioning the ideology of the business community or broader institutional or societal values.

The subversive humor that was observed in this study took a variety of forms. The most frequent of these was the use of *quips*, defined as short witty or ironic comments about the ongoing action or topic under discussion, which occurred much more frequently in the work setting than in casual friendship groups. Other common forms of subversive humor included jocular abuse (a witty insult or put-down remark aimed at someone present), and role-play, in which one person parodied another person’s style of speaking.

Based on these qualitative analyses, the authors suggested that subversive humor in business meetings is a socially acceptable mechanism for subordinates to challenge or criticize superiors, disagree with others, or question group decisions. For managers and team leaders, it is an acceptable method of commenting on nonconformist or uncooperative behavior and generally controlling participants in an interaction. Thus, these uses of humor serve a purpose of furthering the goals of individual participants in team discussions, although they do not necessarily contribute to the overall cohesiveness of the team.

In a review of sociological studies of humor in the workplace, Tom Dwyer (1991) similarly concluded that humor occurs very frequently in most organizations and that it often reflects the tensions and power dynamics within the organization. According to Dwyer, humor can be used either to conserve and reinforce the status quo or to undermine the authority of particular individuals and change the equilibrium of power. For example, observational studies have shown that workers often use humor to joke about the inadequacies of managers, to complain about poor working
conditions, and to protest against seemingly arbitrary rules. For their part, managers use humor to mask the authoritarian nature of a message or to create divisions among subordinates so as to weaken their collective power.

Dwyer also noted that joking is often used as a way of enforcing norms and expectations, as well as a tool for constructing and defending group identity. The joking and playful banter that frequently goes on among workers helps to define the different social groupings, reinforces the ranking of group members within and between groups, and clarifies the status of groups in relation to each other. According to Dwyer, the relative power and goals of individuals in the work setting determine who tells jokes, who is the target of the jokes, and who laughs at them. Thus, an analysis of the humor and laughter that occurs in an organization could be a useful tool for exploring the power structures, tensions, and dynamics within the organization.

These varied social functions of humor are well illustrated in an observational study by David Collinson (1988) examining the humor of male shop-floor workers in the parts division of a lorry (truck) factory in England. Collinson observed that these workers engaged in nearly constant joking, humorous banter, witty repartee, and horseplay in their interactions with one another. While much of this humor could be viewed on one level as a way of finding fun and releasing tension in the monotony of tightly controlled, repetitious work tasks, on another level it could be seen as serving several important social functions. One of these functions was putting up resistance to the social organization of the company. For example, humor often involved making fun of managers and white-collar staff, emphasizing the workers' self-differentiation from, and antagonism toward, these groups.

Although the managers often tried to use humor to engage the workers and obscure the conflict and power differential inherent in their relationships, the workers tended to resist these overtures, excluding the managers from their joking relationships. In addition to expressing antagonism and resistance toward management, humor on the shop floor served to enforce conformity among the workers themselves. A good deal of humor, in the form of highly aggressive teasing, sarcastic put-downs, and practical jokes, seemed to be a way of communicating and enforcing group norms and expectations, particularly concerning behaviors associated with working-class masculinity. Anyone who deviated from these social norms would be subjected to constant teasing and practical jokes, providing a powerful incentive to conform.

In summary, this brief review of the existing observational research suggests that, although humor may be a way of releasing tension, having fun, and improving morale at work, it also often serves more “serious” social functions. Humor can be a way of increasing cohesiveness, facilitating communication, and reducing interpersonal tensions, but it can also be a method of communicating disagreement, enforcing norms, excluding individuals, and emphasizing divisions between groups.

In view of the complexity, subversiveness, uncontrollability, and paradoxical qualities of humor revealed by these analyses, it seems rather simplistic and naïve to suggest, as do some humor consultants, that simply increasing the level of humor and fun in an organization will result in many desirable changes and improved productivity. Since humor is already ubiquitous in the workplace, serving many different
functions and reflecting the social structures and power dynamics of the organization, the task for managers seems to be not so much to increase the level of fun and laughter, but to understand the meaning of the humor that already exists and to attempt to channel it in productive directions. This is likely easier said than done, however, and more carefully controlled empirical research on this topic is clearly needed before we can confidently provide useful guidance to business organizations about how best to promote positive humor in the workplace.

Humor as a Reflection of Organizational Culture

The concept of corporate or organizational culture refers to the sense of shared values, norms, and behavior patterns that bind members of an organization together and give it a distinctive identity (Deal and Kennedy, 1982). Organizational researchers view corporate culture as an important factor in determining the degree to which an organization is able to remain productive and competitive. Some research indicates that part of what makes for a successful organizational culture is a sense of camaraderie among employees and feeling good about what they do. Some authors have suggested that the sharing of humor among members of an organization is an important aspect of a successful corporate culture (e.g., Clouse and Spurgeon, 1995).

In their study of humor in work team meetings described earlier, Holmes and Marra (2002a) examined the way in which the frequency, type, and style of humor that arises in a particular workplace reflects the broader culture of the organization. For example, they found that blue-collar employees in a fairly cohesive and mutually dependent factory work team tended to produce high-frequency humor in the form of brief single quips using a competitive humor style (i.e., each trying to outdo the other in witiness), but in a socially supportive manner (i.e., using humor to agree with, add to, elaborate, or strengthen the argument of a previous speaker). On the other hand, during meetings of white-collar staff in a private commercial organization, there was also a good deal of humor, but it took the form of more extended, somewhat competitive humor sequences, and tended to be much more contestive than supportive (i.e., using humor to challenge, disagree with, or undermine the authority of previous speakers), reflecting the individualistic and competitive culture of this private business.

Yet another pattern of humor was observed during staff meetings in government departments and nonprofit organizations, where humor took the form of extended sequences, a collaborative humor style (i.e., building on and extending one another’s humorous comments rather than trying to outdo one another with humor), and a more supportive than contestive use of humor, reflecting a generally collegial, focused, and cooperative style of interactions in these organizations as a whole. Thus, the overall culture, goals, and emphases of a given organization seem to be reflected in the ways individuals in the organization use humor in their interpersonal communication. As suggested earlier, analysis of the humor occurring in an organization might be a useful method of evaluating its overall corporate culture. This is another topic that may yield interesting findings in future research.
Humor in Negotiation and Mediation

Some authors have suggested that humor may be an important tool for facilitating negotiations and mediation, particularly during times of conflict and tension between parties. John Forester (2004) emphasized that the use of humor in mediation is not simply a matter of telling jokes, but involves the expression of spontaneous humor in the flow of conversation to alter perspectives, change disabling expectations, reframe relationships, and provide multiple points of view on topics. The use of humor to “test the water” and to communicate potentially risky or threatening messages in a face-saving way, as discussed earlier, seems to be particularly relevant in this context, where interpersonal tensions and conflicting points of view are an inevitable part of the process.

These communication functions of humor were illustrated in a qualitative study of humor observed in a video recording of sales negotiations between a salesman from a parts supply company and a potential buyer who was a proprietor of a photographic equipment shop (Mulkay, Clark, and Pinch, 1993). This study suggested that humor is used to deal with difficulties arising in these types of interactions in a way that avoids confrontation and enables both parties to save face while still furthering their own goals. For example, the prospective buyer used a great deal of humor as a way of refusing to buy the salesman’s products, requesting concessions, halting a persistent sales pitch, suggesting that the prices were too high, and hinting that the goods were of inferior quality. For his part, the salesman made use of humor to try to overcome the buyer’s resistance, to make fun of his various excuses for not buying the products, and to forestall further criticism. Thus, humor seems to be a commonly used method for dealing with problems and tensions that are inherent in these types of business transactions, enabling individuals to express their views without appearing overly confrontational.

Viveka Adelsward and Britt-Marie Oberg (1998) also conducted qualitative research on the role of humor in business negotiations by analyzing all utterances that were followed by laughter in tape recordings of a number of business meetings and telephone conversations between buyers and sellers. As in the study by Consalvo (1989) mentioned earlier, they found that during negotiation sessions, humor frequently occurred around topic transitions, such as when a group was moving from initial introductions to the discussion of a problem, or from the presentation of a problem to a negotiation phase. They suggested that this use of humor served as a way of structuring the ongoing process by signaling a desire of some participants to move on to a different topic without appearing to be too abrupt or controlling. In addition, humor often appeared to be used to smooth tensions between participants and to find common ground.

The researchers noted that the occurrence of laughter during negotiations was often a sign that the participants were dealing with particularly difficult or sensitive topics, such as haggling over a price. They also found that whether or not others laughed at a humorous comment made by a speaker depended on the relative status or power advantage of the speaker. In particular, joint laughter was much more likely
to occur when the speaker had higher status (e.g., the team leader) or had some other advantage (e.g., being the buyer rather than the seller). In contrast, when a humorous comment was made by a speaker with lower status or one who was at some sort of disadvantage, he or she was often the only one who laughed. This research suggests that the ability to use humor effectively may be an important social skill for individuals involved in sensitive negotiations.

Humor in Leadership

It has often been suggested that a good sense of humor is an important characteristic for effective leadership, along with other abilities such as intelligence, creativity, persuasiveness, good speaking ability, and social skills. Research on leadership behavior indicates that effective leadership requires skills in the general areas of (1) giving and seeking information, (2) making decisions, (3) influencing people, and (4) building relationships (Yukl and Lepsinger, 1990). These broad skill areas have been further divided into a variety of component behaviors, many of which have to do with interpersonal relations and communication, such as the ability to communicate and get along well with subordinates, peers, and superiors, to manage conflict, motivate others, and enhance group cohesion and cooperation. As an important communication skill, humor can be seen as potentially useful to leaders and managers in many of these areas. For example, the use of humor could be beneficial for teaching and clarifying work tasks, helping to motivate and change behavior, promoting creativity, coping with stress, and generally making the interactions between the manager and subordinates more positive and less tense (Decker and Rotondo, 2001).

A few survey studies have examined the correlation between sense of humor and perceived leadership qualities by asking workers to rate their supervisors on these dimensions. In a survey of 290 workers, Wayne Decker (1987) found that those who rated their supervisors as being high in sense of humor also reported greater job satisfaction and rated these supervisors as having generally more positive leadership characteristics as compared to participants who rated their supervisors as low in sense of humor.

Similarly, in two survey studies in which military cadets were asked about the personality traits of particularly good and bad leaders that they had worked with, Robert Priest and Jordan Swain (2002) found that good leaders were rated as having a significantly more warm, competent, and benign humorous style, whereas bad leaders were rated as having a more cold, inept, and mean-spirited humorous style. On the other hand, the two types of leaders did not differ in the degree to which they were perceived to display boorish (versus reflective) or earthy (versus repressed) styles of humor.

Wayne Decker and Denise Rotondo (2001) conducted a study to determine whether the importance of a sense of humor for effective leadership differs for male versus female leaders. These researchers asked a large number of men and women employed in a variety of organizations and geographic areas to evaluate their managers’ use of positive and negative humor, task behaviors, relationship behaviors, and
overall leadership effectiveness. Positive humor referred to the managers’ use of humor to communicate, enjoyment of jokes, and use of nonoffensive humor, whereas negative humor was their use of sexual and insulting humor.

Regression analyses showed that greater perceived use of positive humor by managers was associated with more successful task and relationship behaviors and greater overall effectiveness, whereas greater use of negative humor was related to lower ratings on these measures of managerial competence. With regard to sex differences, although male managers were rated as using both more positive and more negative humor than female managers, the associations between humor and leadership competence measures were found to be stronger for women than for men. Thus, the use of benign humor by female as compared to male managers was more strongly positively associated with workers’ perceptions of their leadership skills, and by the same token the use of sexual or offensive humor was more negatively related to perceived leadership in women than in men.

Overall, these studies provide evidence that supervisors who are perceived by their subordinates to have a positive sense of humor also tend to be viewed as being effective leaders, although leaders who use humor inappropriately tend to receive more negative evaluations of their leadership skills. Of course, the correlational and rather subjective nature of this research makes it difficult to determine the direction of causality. A greater sense of humor may cause a leader to be more effective, but these findings may also simply be due to a “halo effect,” whereby greater overall liking of a supervisor may cause subordinates to perceive him or her as having a better sense of humor as well as better leadership skills. Future research should employ more objective assessments of humor and leadership instead of relying solely on employee ratings. Further research is also needed to investigate the ways in which effective leaders actually express humor and how this humor might contribute to their leadership competence.

**Conclusion**

Humor consultants and others who advocate the promotion of humor in the workplace often claim that increased levels of humor at work will result in a variety of benefits, including greater teamwork and cooperation, improved social interactions among workers and managers, better worker morale and health, reduced stress, and greater creativity, problem solving, and productivity. Although most of the studies of humor in the workplace are qualitative and descriptive, the existing research suggests that these sorts of enthusiastic claims are somewhat simplistic. Although the workplace is often viewed as excessively serious and devoid of humor, the research indicates that humor and laughter actually occur quite frequently in most organizations.

In addition, this research suggests that humor in the workplace serves a variety of functions, including ones that could be detrimental to worker morale and a productive work environment, as well as ones that contribute to teamwork and cooperation. Besides being a form of play that is useful for relieving tension and making
work more enjoyable, humor serves important functions as a mode of communication that is useful for expressing potentially risky messages in the ambiguous context of work. As such, humor can be used to convey many different types of messages and to achieve many different goals. It may be used to lessen or to reinforce status differences, to express agreement or disagreement, to facilitate cooperation or resistance, to include others in a group or to exclude them, to strengthen solidarity and relationships, or to undermine power and status.

Thus, simply increasing the level of humor at work is not likely to have purely positive consequences. Although most humor consultants would agree that certain types of humor are inappropriate and detrimental in the workplace, it is not a simple matter to distinguish between detrimental and facilitative forms of humor, or to promote one type of humor and not the other. For example, it is often difficult to know where friendly teasing and playful banter end and where ridicule and unwanted joking begin.

As in psychotherapy and education, there are potential risks as well as benefits associated with humor in the workplace. One particularly negative type of humor that has received considerable attention in recent decades is the use of derogatory humor as a form of harassment. Duncan, Smeltzer, and Leap (1990) noted that work-related sexual and racial harassment and discrimination cases are often precipitated by jokes, teasing, and pranks of a sexual or racial nature. In a survey of 13,000 federal employees, the most prevalent form of sexual harassment was unwanted sexual teasing and joking. Humor that involves horseplay and practical jokes can also create a stressful work environment, cause disruptions or safety hazards, or result in property damage.

As in other areas, humor in the context of work seems to be best viewed as a type of social skill or interpersonal competence (Yip and Martin, in press) that can be used for negative as well as positive purposes. Thus, the task of managers and business consultants is not simply to increase the levels of humor among employees, but to attempt to understand the ways in which the humor that already exists reflects the power dynamics and general culture within the organization. Improving the quality of humor in the workplace may require efforts to change the overall organizational culture and power structures rather than simply having workers attend a workshop where they learn to tell funny stories and engage in silly activities.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

A number of practitioners in the fields of psychotherapy and counseling, education, and business consulting have touted the supposed benefits of humor and laughter in each of these domains, claiming that greater uses of humor might improve the effectiveness of therapy and counseling, increase student enjoyment and learning in education, and enhance health, morale, and productivity in the workplace. Most of these claims are based on anecdotes and the personal experiences of practitioners. Although empirical work in these areas is quite limited, our review of the relevant
research literature suggests a gap between many of the enthusiastic claims of practitioners and the evidence of science.

Interestingly, although in some respects these advocates of humor applications may be seen as going too far in their claims about the potential benefits of humor, in other respects it can also be argued that they do not go far enough in recognizing the prevalence and importance of humor in all types of social interaction. Although humor promoters often claim that there is not enough humor in psychotherapy, education, and the workplace, studies indicate that humor and laughter actually occur quite frequently in all of these domains. Since humor is a ubiquitous aspect of nearly all interpersonal relationships, we should not be surprised to discover that it is frequently encountered in the interactions between therapists and clients, between teachers and students, and among individuals working in the same organizations.

Although practitioners who actively promote humor in these fields tend to view it as generally positive and beneficial to mental and physical health, educational achievement, and cooperative relationships at work, research indicates that humor can be used for a wide range of purposes and to achieve many different goals, some of which may be detrimental to the broader goals of therapists, educators, and business organizations. In each of these fields, humor advocates tend to take a “rational/utilitarian” approach to humor (Gibson, 1994), seeing it as something that can be manipulated, planned, and controlled in a rational way. However, a more complex view of humor has emerged in the research that we have explored throughout this book, portraying it as a phenomenon that often occurs spontaneously and has unconscious (as well as conscious) emotional and cognitive determinants that are not so easily managed or controlled. Indeed, humor that is consciously created by therapists, teachers, or managers with the goal of having a particular effect on others is likely to come across as stilted, forced, and artificial.

A more realistic view of humor seems to be that it is an inevitable and important aspect of human social interaction in all areas of our lives, including therapy, education, and the workplace. As such, it can serve many different social functions, depending on the goals, status, motives, and needs of the individual. Rather than simply trying to increase the level of humor in each of the fields that we have discussed, we need to try to gain a more thorough understanding of the ways humor is already being used and the many functions served by different types of humor in these contexts. In this way, we can begin to identify appropriate and beneficial types of humor that further the goals of therapists, educators, and business leaders, as well as inappropriate and detrimental forms of humor.

One research question that also requires further attention is the degree to which it is even possible to modify people’s sense of humor. Many of the applications of humor that we have discussed involve helping people to increase the amount of humor that they engage in or to change their predominant styles of humor (cf. McGhee, 1999). However, it is still not clear whether this is even possible. As noted in Chapter 9, the only published study addressing this question was one conducted by Ofra Nevo and her colleagues (1998). In this study, 101 female high school teachers were randomly assigned to either an active-production humor training program (which
provided training in a variety of humor creation techniques), a passive-appreciation humor program (focusing on ways to increase opportunities for enjoying humor in one's daily life), a nonhumorous activity control group, or a waiting list control group. All but the waiting list group met for seven weekly three-hour sessions.

At the end of the program, testing revealed that the two humor training groups were only partially successful in improving participants’ sense of humor. On the positive side, the participants in the humor groups, compared to those in the control groups, reported significantly more positive attitude towards humor and were rated by their peers as having higher levels of humor production and appreciation. On the negative side, however, they did not show any improvements on objective measures of their ability to actually produce humor, and there were no changes in their scores on self-report humor scales. There is clearly a need for further research to determine the degree to which it is possible to increase the quantity or improve the quality of people’s habitual uses of humor and, if so, what training methods may be most effective. This sort of program evaluation research should be carried out by practitioners before they attempt to promote the widespread implementation of unproven humor interventions.

The general topic of humor applications presents many interesting questions and potentially fertile topics for future research in the applied areas of clinical/counseling, educational, and industrial-organizational psychology. In each of these fields, further research is needed to investigate the role and functions of humor, the ways people use it to achieve their personal goals, and the types of humor that are potentially beneficial as well as detrimental to broader professional goals.

Although practitioners who advocate humor applications in health care, psychotherapy, education, and business have drawn attention to potentially interesting research questions, there is also a risk that their excessive claims and simplistic, pop-psychology writings may drive away some basic and applied researchers in psychology, who may perceive these ideas as trivial and unimportant or may not wish to be seen as promoting overly simplistic and unscientific agendas. However, this would be unfortunate.

As I have tried to show throughout this book, humor is a ubiquitous aspect of human behavior that touches on every area of psychology. It is an interesting phenomenon in its own right that merits further investigation to understand more fully how it works and what functions it serves in human cognition, emotion, and social behavior. Basic research of this kind may lead to interesting new insights about potential applications in various domains. Whether the focus is on basic processes or practical applications, the psychology of humor continues to be a fascinating topic of research that promises many more interesting and useful discoveries.


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