Love's Labours Redressed

Reconstructing emotional labour as an interactive process within service work

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Contents

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ABSTRACT

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Emotional labour was conceptualised by Hochschild in 1983 as a form of oppression on the service worker devised by a capitalist society; where not only were workers' physical actions managed, but their emotions as well. Research in the area developed this concept identifying the many occupational fields in which emotional labour exists, forming models of its effects, and examining ways in which workers try to resist the emotional strain. Taking a social constructionist approach, 44 service workers and 44 customers/emotional labour recipients were interviewed using the Critical Incident Technique to gain insight into their views of performing and receiving emotional labour, and what they believed enhanced or detracted from it. The results were divided into those discussing "professional" emotional labour jobs (eg. teaching) - where the emotional labourer needs to attain a professional status; and "occupational" (eg. sales assistants) – where the emotional labourer does not need a professional qualification. It was found that

- there were differences between the expectations, motivations and coping mechanisms displayed by professional and occupational emotional labourers; as well as in the expectations of the customer/recipient within a professional service and an occupational one

- that many recipients do not necessarily want to be treated as "sovereign" (ie. "king") and judge an emotional labour interaction more positively when their individual needs are acknowledged

- while display rules and targets were still a notable constraint on the labourer, nevertheless "occupational" emotional labourers (sometimes in collusion with their managers) found ways of resisting further strain from recipients through over-politeness, ironically in accordance with display rules which exposed recipient rudeness

- professional emotional labourers, however, found the display rules and targets a hindrance. This managerial misunderstanding or poor appreciation of "professional" emotional labour caused resentment among them

- unique and spontaneous kindness was evident in many emotional labour interactions with managers, colleagues and most commonly recipients. Moreover, this was acknowledged by giver and receiver as the most satisfying and memorable part of emotional labour – and something unique to emotional labour itself.

The recommendations of this thesis are therefore:

i) that emotional labour should be differentiated within services in order for more focussed findings and recommendations to be generated and applied

ii) that emotional labour be analysed as interactive process where emotional labourer, recipient and their organisational management contribute to a high level of enjoyment within the job. That is, it is not necessary to view emotional labour as the oppressive and intrusive management of personality by a capitalist organisation

iii) recognition be given to the importance of kindness within the emotional labour interaction, as it can be both a source of pleasure, and also pain, for the compassionate labourer. This has important implications for the selection, training and providing emotional support for workers.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Aims: Since Hochschild's ground breaking study "The Managed Heart" was first published in 1983, there has been a high level of interest in the concept of emotional labour within service professions. Research has focussed on defining its characteristics, the type of work that requires it, and its (often negative) effects on those that perform it. Firstly, within the literature there is under-developed evidence that emotional labour may instead offer a source of pleasure to workers, and instead of being an oppressive part of a job is something that many people may choose and train for because of the potential for emotional interaction with service recipients, but also like-minded colleagues and supervisors. This "lure" of emotional labour may have implications for service recruitment and training. Secondly, in examining emotional labour as an interaction it is seen that another important area that has been overlooked is the voice of the recipient. Current research largely accepts the "sovereignty" (ie. the "customer is king" position) of the emotional labour recipient and does not enquire further into their desires. Hearing the voice of the recipient may reveal useful information for services design. Finally, within the literature it was noted that most research still does not make comparison between the different types of emotional labour occupations, while intuitively there would be a huge difference between the nurse and the burger flipper; and this research questions the extent to which some differentiation should be made in imparting the results and findings of emotional labour research.

Key Standpoints and Rationale: The two standpoints within emotional labour to date are Hochschild's (1983) broadly Marxian view that emotional labour represents the oppression of a service worker imposed by a capitalist organisation – where the worker's personality, feelings and displays of emotion are subject to regulation and rule by the management. By "emotional labourer",

Hochschild also seems to exclude professional workers who she points out, enjoy greater autonomy than do the non-professional workers who are the focus of her attention in *The Managed Heart*. This definition of "professional" and non professional (termed "occupational" by Harris (2002)) emotional labourers is offered by Harris (2002) and is discussed in depth during the Literature Review. The second standpoint is that of Bolton (2000) who proposes that workers who performed emotional labour were not "organisational puppets", but emotional beings whose behaviours, even though subjected to emotional rules and regulations, transcended them.

Nevertheless the bulk of the literature stems from Hochschild's approach and focussed on identifying industrial occupations which are subjected to close regulation and direct control. This leads researchers to examine the effect that regulation places on the worker, and the causes of "strain". Research rooted in Bolton's approach has found that emotional labourers find ways of resisting strain, and identified sources of pleasure within the job. However, this is currently a relatively underdeveloped area. It is notable also that emotional labour research (from both standpoints) is largely centred on the performance of the worker. However, the process of emotional labour necessitates involvement from both worker and recipient. Due to the transient nature of emotions (eg. Theodosius, 2006; Hennig-Thurau et al, 2006; Rupp and Spencer, 2006) colleagues and managers may have an effect if they too are involved in the exchange, either directly or through being within the area at the time. As such investigation into the effect of the emotional labour *interactions* as they pertain to the worker and manager, worker and colleague, as well as the recipient would be pertinent to understanding emotional labour performance. If each contributes to the emotional labour interaction, each may also have an emotional effect on it.

Emotional labour research also seeks to advise service organisations with regards to the design of the service, as well as the training and support of the workers. However it is notable that whether

services are advised to allow workers "time out" from regulation (broadly Hochschild's approach), or "opportunities for spontaneity" (broadly Bolton's approach), the aim of the service largely centres on the sovereignty of the recipient. Limited research has sought to learn, through the voice of the recipient, what it is that, for them, constitutes excellence in service. Practically, research into this is important as services are still a source of disappointment and complaint.

Finally, in reviewing the literature, it is also evident that emotional labour research does not clearly differentiate between the services with findings either being applied to singular professions or generally across all emotional labour. This thesis examines the ways in which services may be differentiated (eg. Korcyniski, 2005; Harris 2002) and in its analysis of data makes such a distinction so that its recommendations may be better focussed. As such, this thesis aims to address these three under explored areas in the literature by firstly examining emotional labour as an interactive process and considers the effect of the manager, colleagues and recipient on the labourer. Secondly, it also draws from the voice of the recipient to see if services design based on the sovereign customer needs to be challenged. Thirdly, in discussion, it addresses the importance of differentiating between services when applying findings or making recommendations.

Epistemology: Primarily this thesis takes a social constructionist approach, analysing vignettes gathered through in-depth semi-structured interviews, in order to understand the participants' construct of their emotional labour experiences. Qualitative data collection is notably the most common method employed within this field of research as it preserves the richness of phenomenological understanding, offering a close approximation to the reality of the environment (Morgan & Morgan, 1957).

Data collection and analysis: Following ethical approval for this project, an opportunistic sample of 44 recipients, and 44 emotional labourers were interviewed according to the agenda. The interviews either took place in person, or over the telephone, or through a programme called "Survey Monkey" where the participants could answer the interview online at their leisure. Face to face or telephone interviews were conducted at a time that was convenient for the participant in an environment that was not related to where the experience occurred. It was hoped that the vignettes would be more edifying and allow for more objective reflection if they were conducted in a neutral setting. Prior to starting the process of thematic coding, the vignettes were divided into "professional" or "occupational" pursuant to Harris' (2002) categorisation of emotional labour. Professional labourers were those who needed a professional status qualification from an awarding body eg. teachers or lawyers; and occupational labourers were all other service workers.

A phenomenological analysis was conducted post transcription, using the structured coding/constant comparative method of Glaser and Strauss' (1967) Grounded Theory Methodology assigning Open, Axial and Selective and codes in NVIVO. (It is emphasised that the use of GTM was structural only – ie. to analyse the vignettes using a reliable, tried and tested manner.) The process of continued reviewing, memo-ing and categorisation of the themes being identified was conducted following each interview so that it would be possible to follow the evolution of the themes. Once the interviews had reached "theoretical saturation" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) - the point at which no new information was being found - the data gathering process was stopped.

Results: It was found that there were differences in the interactions between recipient and labourer, as well as labourer and colleagues and labourer and manager depending upon whether the labourer was professional or occupational. Professional labourers had a closer relationship to their colleagues who were a source of emotional support in the workplace, compare to occupational labourers who

saw them as a source of extra strain. Professional labourers perceived their "challenging" recipients as people they *wanted* to help and often continued a relationship with them after the working relationship had finished. In contrast, occupational labourers often perceived recipients as straining, but developed ways of resisting their demands, often through an ironic use of politeness and display rules to expose the poor behaviour of those they were dealing with. Occupational labourers' managers were often part of this resistance and there was a supportive relationship between labourer and manager. Professional labourers seemed to resent their managers whom they perceived as setting unreasonable targets or unnecessary display rules and not understanding what the labourers' job entailed.

The voice of the recipient was also illuminating. It was found that recipients did not perceive being treated as "sovereign" of high importance. There was a voiced preference to be treated as an individual and to have their specific needs attended to. It was notable that in the case of occupational labour, the recipient would praise a service where the emotional labourer had tried their best, even if the problem had not been solved. This contrasts with the professional service where recipient praise followed the completion of the task rather than being given for effort. Transcending the occupational and professional distinction was the display of kindness. Unique and spontaneous displays of kindness were shown from labourer to colleague, manager to labourer, labourer to manager, recipient to labourer and labourer to recipient. These displays went beyond the display rules and were unpredictable, yet highly memorable and moving for those involved.

Conclusions and recommendations: The recommendations of this thesis are:

1) That emotional labour is reconceptualised as a) differentiated within services; b) an interactive process where emotional labourer, recipient, colleagues and managers have an effect on the emotional labour transaction and c) instead of an oppressive behaviour by a

capitalist organisation – a potentially enjoyable job that many strive to work within due to its potential for interaction. Through viewing emotional labour as a process that can be affected by those that work within it in a way that may be specific to certain categories of service, it is likely that research recommendations, implementations, training and support can be better tailored to the service and workers and thus result in greater positive effect. Further, listening to the voice of the recipient has revealed that rather than wanting to be treated as "sovereign", recipients appreciate being treated as individuals with their needs being specifically heard and addressed. Further recipients also stated that they were sometimes riled into rudeness by a negative interaction precipitated by the labourer in the first instance. Again the complexity of the emotional labour interaction is emphasised and seeking to develop this understanding is of benefit to the field.

2) It is notable that because the emotional labour interaction has an emotional effect on some labourers – mainly professional labourers, many of whom continue a relationship with the recipients after the work relationship has come to an end – steps may need to be taken to support that labourer within the working relationship. If the labourer is trying to satiate their own psychological need, which drives them into a deeper interaction with the recipient, this can be damaging for both parties. While it is not a claim of this thesis that this is a frequent occurrence, the vignettes suggest that this is a possibility that may need to be addressed by support and training for the professional labourer in particular.

3) While display rules and targets are, arguably, part of any organisation, allowing the labourer the opportunity for spontaneity and a measure of autonomy is not only desired by professional emotional labourers, but helpful to occupational emotional labourers. For professional emotional labourers this helps build a more positive relationship between manager and worker – the latter already having had to pass a barrage of professional status qualifications (rules and targets) prior to employment. For the occupational emotional labourer, this provides a means of resisting some of the strain caused by

recipients, and may also play a part in forming a community of coping (Korcynski, 2005) with the manager increasing longevity within the job.

In conclusion, having considered the construction of emotional labour from Hochschild's original 1983 treatise, and through to date; and listened to the rich responses of the professional and occupational emotional labourers as well as the recipients of the services, it is clear that there is a need for an differentiated conceptualisation of emotional labour. Academically, this will enable specific research and recommendations to be conducted and applied, and practically this will assist more appropriately the many organisations, workers and service recipients requiring emotional labour.

It is clear that there is a difference in the behaviours, motivations, and perceptions of professional and occupational emotional labourers, as well as in the expectations (and behaviours) of their service recipients. While it is evident that facets of the original concept still exist – such as a dislike for display rules and targets from the worker, it is notable that the recipient, too, is not in favour of them as they inhibit a more spontaneous response from the worker. Instead of the sovereignty of the customer, the customer (or recipient) appears to prefer a spontaneous interaction with the emotional labourer. Further research into the motivation to undertake emotional labour careers is also important as this may reveal ways of supporting and training the worker so that they can manage and channel their compassion in a productive manner. Finally it is notable that despite display rules, targets, or other form of organisational direction, emotional labourers are still apt to behave spontaneously – which is both appreciated and praised by the recipient on the unique and unpredictable occasions it occurs. Such is the beauty of emotional interaction within a society that is becoming increasingly more automated. Emotional labour is no longer an organisational dictate to be reviled, but a complex opportunity to engage in kindness, compassion and social interaction to be honoured and preserved.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter 1: Constructing Emotional labour

Emotional labour was defined by Arlie Russell Hochschild in 1983 as a socially constructed behaviour where a service worker manages his or her "…feeling to create a publically observable facial and bodily display…This kind of labor calls for a coordination of mind and feeling, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honour as deep and integral to our individuality." (Hochschild, 2003:7). For Hochschild, emotional labour was constructed as the outward display of emotion that fits organisational norms. Sometimes, she proposed, those 'norms' are defined by display rules that performers of emotional labour might share (eg.. a nurse is supposed to present as an approachable and sympathetic person; or "feeling rules" by Hochschild, (2003) within the context of everyday life eg. a bride is supposed to feel happy on her wedding day (Hochschild, 2003:60)).

One of Hochschild's strongest claims is that emotional labour causes emotional strain for workers who perform it, because an organisation's display rules may be at variance with one's true feelings, for example, an educational behavioural unit demanding that the staff "…be warm and loving toward a child who kicks, screams, and insults you – a child whose problem is unlovability…" (Hochschild, 2003:52). In addition, this organisational demand may weigh heavy on top of the ordinary, everyday strain of obeying the taken-for-granted "feeling rules" that already govern our everyday behaviour, for example, that same staff member being expected to feel grateful because her colleagues remembered her birthday (Hochschild, 2003:83), as "Managing feeling is an art fundamental to civilised living." (Hochschild, 2003:21). However, for Hochschild, the demand from the organisation is greater than that from private life, "In private life," Hochschild warns, "…we are free to question the going rate of exchange and free to negotiate a new one. If we are not satisfied, we can leave…But in the public world of work, it is often part of the individual's job to accept uneven exchanges, to be treated with disrespect of anger by a client, all the while closeting into fantasy the anger one would like to respond with." (Hochschild, 2003:86)

Taking a Marxist standpoint, for Hochschild, this public, organisational, demand can lead to the worker feeling emotionally exhausted, or even (borrowing a Marxist term) "alienated" from their feelings. In the same way as "The factory boy's arm [functions] like a piece of machinery to produce wall-paper…we can become alienated from service [or "feeling"] in a service-producing society." (Hochschild, 2003:7). Hochschild's treatise made a damning statement on what she called the "Commercialization of human feeling" (Hochschild, 2003:title), and was an empirical and theoretical catalyst within sociological and organisational research.

From 1983, a wealth of literature on the subject of emotional labour emerged – as well as notable criticism, and, to date, there is still great variation within the pathways that research has taken within the field. Research is either directed towards identifying professions which may be classed as capitalistically demanding emotional labour and identifying the personal antecedents that make deep acting easier eg: gender or class, (Payne, 2006) or experience (Hochschild, 2003); or proposing organisational mediators which support the labourer eg. reciprocity (eg. Schuler and Sypher 2000; Bakker et al, 2002; Rowen, 2003); recognition (Callaghan and Thompson, 2002), or rapport with colleagues or management (Grandey, 2000), and notable gaps appear:

1. Although much research accepts that managers can be a source of stress (eg. Hochschild, 2003), or that customers can be a source of stress (eg. Bishop and Hoel, 2008), through this literature review it will be seen that there has been little investigation into understanding the *interactive* nature of emotional labour as an active concept. Ie. how the behaviour (and emotions) of the different parties to the interaction eg. the manager, colleagues and the recipient both interpret *and* affect the emotional labourer and their performance.

2. Almost as an automatic "follow on" from this, the voice of the recipient of the emotional labour has largely been ignored due to the passive presumption that "the customer is king". Although some writers (eg. Shuler and Sypher, 2000; Bolton and Boyd, 2003) acknowledge

that the recipient can have "an effect" on emotional labour performance, this presumption is not fully explored and may be a limiting factor to understanding the needs of a service recipient. If, for example, the customer (recipient) does not want "to be king" but merely wants to be acknowledged, then, this interpretation surely has different implications for emotional labour performance and design.

3. The third gap that will be noticeable is that research either generalises across all emotional labour services, or focusses on one – to the exclusion of others. However, applying a basic means of differentiating between, say, a teacher and a McDonalds worker, may allow for a greater coherence when examining any results within the field.

As such, the first chapter of this Literature Review is set out as follows:

Chapter Plan

Focussing first on the construction of emotional labour, section i) will concentrate on Hochschild's original conception of the emotional labour, including her development of the dramaturgical metaphor proposed by Goffman (1959) through her labelling of emotional labour concepts such as deep acting and surface acting. It will also examine an enduring claim to which many exponents of emotional labour adhere – that deep acting protects the worker from the negative effects of "emotional dissonance", and increases longevity in the profession. Section ii) will examine how researchers such as Ashforth and Humphrey 1993; and Morris and Feldman 1996 developed Hochschild's approach and tried to identify more specifically what made emotional labour so exhausting to the worker.

Section iii) considers the critics of Hochschild. Grandey (2000), Bolton (2000), and Bolton and Boyd (2003) drew attention to a personally empowering feature of emotional labour, stating that emotional

labourers were not in fact "emotionally crippled actors" (Bolton and Boyd, 2003:290), but had a level of autonomy over how they conformed to organisational display rules, and sometimes even *chose* to offer the recipient more than demanded by those organisational rules. This became a view substantiated by Payne (2006) and Korcynski (2005) amongst others who suggested that emotional labour was actually something that its performers wanted to give ie. carers wanted to care – and potentially sought out. They added, further, that service workers went into the job knowing they were going to have to display their feelings in a particular way - rather than being "forced" to by an organisation, ie. nurses knew that work might involve working on a terminal ward, and went into this accepting – and even welcoming – the opportunity to care (cf. Smith, 1992). The chapter concludes with the emergence of the first research question following a summary of the main pathways of emotional labour research.

1.i) Hochschild and the Commercialisation of Feeling

The most prominent argument throughout Hochschild's work is the negative consequences of emotional labour performance: "…the human cost of becoming an 'instrument of labor'" (Hochschild, 2003:3) which was alienating the worker from their own feelings. For example, as clinicians were "taught to feel *properly"* (Hochschild, 2003: 52); or flight attendants were told to "*Really* smile. Really *lay it on*." (Hochschild, 2003:4), this resulted in a difficulty to "…release [themselves] from an artificially created exhaustion…" (Hochschild, 2003:4). This, she related to the growing (capitalist) "…market for emotional labour" (Hochschild, 2003:91) where "…control over a worker's physical appearance [is] backed by continuous reference to the need to be "professional"" (Hochschild, 2003:103). Within the current capitalist labour market with a constant growth of the tertiary (services) sector of the economy, Hochschild impressed that even personality could be commoditised.

Hochschild arrived at this conclusion through the integration of three prominent discourses: "…one concerning labour, one concerning display, and one concerning emotion." (Hochschild, 2003:11).

Hochshild's negativity appears to stem from her socialist perspective that "Work is deskilled and the worker belittled." (Hochschild, 2003:10). She approaches emotional labour with the same premise – that in requiring the worker to conform to display rules, the organisation has assumed management of the worker's feelings. While industrialisation may require a person's body in physical labour to function as a machine, for Hochschild, this imposition is minor compared to asserting control over their personal feelings in service work. As such organisations in which emotional labour can be found are treated by Hochschild with suspicion, and even contempt.

The second discourse is that of Hochschild's own dissertation supervisor, Erving Goffman. Goffman's "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life" (1959) offered an influential new lens with which to explore social interactions – dramaturgy. For Goffman, people engage in personal impression management when they leave the "backstage" areas (Goffman 1959:32) of their own homes and step onto the "stage" (Goffman, 1959:117) of public interaction. Like an actor, their performances can be refined through "team collusion" (Goffman, 1959:166) where a person may subtly receive advice from others with regards to the performance that is expected (eg. a swift kick under the table before something is said that might upset another of a party); or "realighment" (Goffman, 1959:182) where a person may tell a white lie to cover up a potential faux pas by another – in order to diffuse tension within a social situation. Goffman's dramaturgical influence on the terminology applied by Hochschild eg. surface acting and deep acting to describe emotional labour performance is clear, and his proposition that we "act" in order to conform to the social rules we perceive (Goffman, 1959:211) forms the basis of Hochschild's explanation of "feeling rules" – the rules that society already imposes on our behaviour (and private feelings).

Finally, Hochschild takes a psychological perspective and draws from theories of emotion management "From Darwin to Goffman" (Hoochschild, 2003:211) to explain the processes involved in adhering to display rules. In particular she focusses on a "Social theory of emotion" (Hochschild, 2003: 228) where emotion may be elicited through our prior expectations (or knowledge) of social

rules (Hochschild, 2003:231). Hochschild gives the example of a woman who suddenly learns her life partner has been killed – her feelings will alter with what she expects. If she takes a defensive route, believing "He's still alive", she will not feel grief. Our interpretation of the event results in our feeling or displayed emotion (Hochschild, 2003:232). This approach is particularly significant when Hochschild explores the difference between what she terms surface acting and deep acting in emotional labour. In the former case, (using the above example), the woman may know her life partner is dead, but "act" as if she is not upset to protect her child. surface acting results in a high level of what Hochschild terms "emotional dissonance" (Hochschild, 2003:90). Because the difference between the emotion being displayed and the internal feeling is so great, this "…leads to strain." (Hochschild, 2003:90). The only way to alleviate this strain, according to Hochschild, is deep acting. If the woman in the example engaged in deep acting, she would either directly exhort her feelings [of grief] ie, deliberately suppress them, or make "…indirect use of a trained imagination." (Hochschild, 2003:38). In this case, the latter could result in the woman choosing to believe "This isn't happening to me" which may elicit feeling of sympathy (for the person it *is* happening to) rather than personal grief. In the former case (of surface acting), the woman does not change how she feels, rather she just tries to hide it; in the latter (deep acting) she actively changes her mind-set to induce a different emotional display (which still reflects how she feels). This is important as it is the only defence that Hochschild allows the worker who is strained by organisational display rules. She further suggests that with practice, any alienation from one's "true" emotions caused by constant deep acting; and responses contrived according to organisational contextual cues becomes alleviated, finding that many of the cabin crew she observed learn to "put on" and "take off" their Delta Airlines demeanour.

The intertwining of these three discourses resulted in the influential treatise "The Managed Heart" first published in 1983, and reprinted in 2003. For Hochschild, emotional labour was something that capitalism had imposed onto the services work force and it was not only amoral (as an intrusion on

personal and private feelings) but, for those who performed it, a source of strain until deep acting became the norm *and* could be turned on and off at will.

What followed was "…an immense range of studies into the world of work [which include] nurses, Disneyland workers, retail and childcare workers, schoolteachers, psychotherapists, call-centre workers…and many others" (Brook, 2009:1), which one of Hochschild's main critics describes as "The Emotional labour Bandwagon" (Bolton, 2005:53). It is to the findings of such studies which attempt to conceptualise components of emotional labour that this section now turns.

1.ii) "The Emotional labour bandwagon" (Bolton, 2000): Identifying the components of emotional labour

Due to the strain of emotional management – the constant *display* of one emotion, eg. happiness, in contrast to a different internal feeling, "There is a cost to emotion work" (Hochschild, 2003:21). We may hold a personal resentment in offering the *ungrateful* customer a smile and "withdraw" from emotional labour, or our performance becomes "phony or insincere" (Hochschild, 2003:21). Alternatively we may become "alienated" from our feelings and no longer be able to recognise how we really feel (Hochschild, 2003:7), or the performance itself becomes a "mechanism of exhaustion" (Martinez-Inigo et al, 2007:31).

Such consequences are made worse by Hochschild's view that emotional labour is not done for the personal benefit of positive personal impression management of the worker themselves (as Goffman, 1959 would propose we do as 'social actors'), but rather, for the commercial benefit of the organisation (eg, Morris and Feldman 1993; Hochschild, 2003; Edvardsson, 2005; Naring et al, 2006). According to these researchers, the organisation, often through their advertising eg: "We really move our tails for you to make your every wish come true" ('Continental Airlines' advertising slogan cited in Hochschild, 2003:93), sets down display rules (rules of behaviour eg: Diffendorf and Richard, 2003; Hochschild, 2003) and expects the worker to comply. Such compliance – and thus emotional

performance – was considered by the organisation as merely part of being "professional" (eg. Hochschild, 2003; Barrett, 2003; Naring et al, 2006).

As mentioned earlier, according to Hochschild (and developed by others eg: Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Morris and Feldman, 1993; Grandy, 2000), the performance of emotional labour" involves two acting techniques, surface acting, and deep acting. When surface acting, the actor "…operates countless muscles that make up an outward gesture. The body, not the soul, is the main tool of the trade…the actor is only *acting* as if he had feeling." (Hochschild, 2003:37). When deep acting, however, "…feigning [is] made easy by making it unnecessary." (Hochschild, 2003: 33). Instead of pretending to feel anger at a customer who insulted her, Hochschild goes on to speak of the Delta Airways stewardess instead imagines him as a young child which then enables her to respond with "genuine" sympathy. Through the alteration of the cognition, the emotional response is tempered. This is akin to the process model of emotion regulation proposed by Gross (1998). According to Gross (1998b) individuals are able to "…influence which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions" (Gross, 1998b: 275). He emphasises that the most successful form of regulation is when the individual is able to engage in "…cognitive reappraisal…before a full-blown emotional response is generated." (Gross, 1998b). However, it is noted that Gross' model of emotion is by no means the only one.

Since Hochschild's original treatise, research focussed on identifying the components that affected emotional labour which would then form recommendations for organisations to alleviate strain, and would address the negativity surrounding the demand for so called *service with a smile*. The first of these were Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), followed soon after by Morris and Feldman (1996).

Ashforth and Humphrey's (1993) paper reviewed literature surrounding Social Identity theory and organisational performance to expand Hochschild's work, and identified 10 propositions as to why the

topic of emotional labour was so worthy of study (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993:110). These are summarised below:

1) The more sincere the worker's performance, the more positively task performance will be judged.

2) If the worker is allowed an element of personal self-expression, the performance of emotional labour will in fact contribute positively to a personal sense of wellbeing.

3) If emotional labour is associated with a central positive identity (ie. Something that is similar to a norm of the cultural group in which the worker exists), again the more positive a contribution to personal wellbeing.

4) However, if not, emotional labour performance can lead to a loss of identity.

5) Positive compliance with display rules may be associated with a) the level of personal identification with the job role; b) the frequency of interaction of worker with recipient; c) the recipient's belief about what constitutes appropriate emotional display.

6) Constant compliance with display rules through either surface or deep acting results in a) a greater personal identification with the job role; b) an alignment between expressed emotion and personal feeling.

7) The process of deep acting achieves the goals of point 6 sooner.

8) Organisational demands for compliance will be better tolerated if they respect the worker's own sense of self identity and allow a level of personal freedom.

9) The goals of point 6 may the thwarted if the worker engages in cognitive defensiveness eg. "I'm only doing this because I get paid".

10) If emotional labour becomes central to the worker's identity, the success or failure of the organisation will be strongly associated with personal success or failure.

(Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993)

While, Ashforth and Humphrey do not provide empirical evidence – their propositions being derived from literature review and theoretical conjecture – they do raise salient points that further Hochschild's thesis:

a) That emotional labour may be affected positively or negatively by personal identity - ie. our immediate surroundings determine the development of our "staged" presentation of self (Goffman, 1959:117) and as such the feeling rules or emotional displays in which we engage are more significant than the display rules demanded by the workplace;

b) Organisations can bridge the gap by tailoring their demands to those of the immediate community (as this will also mean that the expectations of the organisational recipient are also more aligned with the display rules imposed);

c) AND organisations may be more successful if they acknowledge and allow the worker an element of personal autonomy.

However, they also challenged Hochschild's view that the capitalist organisation is alienating the service workforce, by suggesting that organisations are able to, and capable of, easing the strain of emotional labour – something which can be done by a better understanding of the macro business environment. Further, they acknowledge that the emotional labourer will "rebel" against the demand of display rules – and is not so alienated that s/he merely becomes a compliant "puppet" of the workplace.

While they recognise that constant performance of display rules may result in alignment of personal feeling and organisational emotional performance, this can still be confounded by a worker's cognitive defences aimed at protecting a challenge to his or her identity. That is, if a worker does eventually become a "product" of the organisation, it is not without a fight. This supports Hochschild's (2003) finding that novice cabin crew who found compliance to the display rules difficult, hoped "…they would get better with time…" when they enjoyed the job, or left when they

did not. However, they placed a greater emphasis on the role of personal autonomy to remain with an organisation than Hochschild did.

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) also support Hochschild in their proposition that deep acting results in both a more sincere performance (as perceived by the recipient) (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993) and is the most effective way to protect the workers sense of personal wellbeing. In other words, it is better to lie to oneself cognitively, than it is to lie to the recipient emotionally (for both worker in terms of wellbeing, and recipient – with regards to their perception of the worker's sincerity). Despite broadening the scope of emotional labour to include the effect of personal identity, as well as highlighting that performance would not negatively affect wellbeing (if demand was aligned with said identity), the premise remained that the effects of emotional labour were modifiable, but still largely negative.

Similar to the theoretical approach of Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), Morris and Feldman (1996) also extended Hochschild's work, this time by presenting a more complex conceptualisation of emotional labour "…rather than as a generalized phenomenon which is either present or absent in service jobs[1]" (Morris and Feldman, 1996). Here they identified the antecedents affecting emotional labour performance and the consequences of this performance for the wellbeing of workers.

For Morris and Feldman (1996), emotional labour could be categorised into four dimensions:

1. *The frequency of emotional display.* ie. jobs which required a higher frequency of emotional performance. For example, a customer services position rather than a stock-room position within a retail store would result in a higher organisational demand for regulated display rules.

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[1] Morris and Feldman were referring specifically to papers from (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1995; Fineman, 1993; Mumby and Putnam, 1992; Rafaeli and Sutton, 1987, 1990)

2. *The level of attentiveness to display rules.* This refers to the *duration* of the emotional display, that is, the longer the worker needs to "perform", the greater the effort required; and the *intensity* demanded. This distinction of "intensity" from "frequency" is important in differentiating between jobs that require emotional labour: "For example, consider the difference in emotional labor demands between debt collectors, who are expected to convincingly display urgency and anger, and store clerks, who are expected to offer polite thank yous. If researchers simply count the frequency of expressed organizationally desired emotion, they might conclude these two jobs entail equivalent amounts of emotional labor. However, if researchers consider the level of effort required to display appropriate emotions, they will find that these two jobs are very different indeed." (Morris and Feldman, 1996:990)

3. *The variety of emotion to be expressed.* Similarly to intensity, variety is a differentiating factor between professions. A teacher who needs to display care and understanding to contain the anxiety of learning as well as anger and disappointment to maintain discipline (eg. Hargreaves, 1999) engages in more emotional labour than a salesperson dealing with many transactions over a lunchtime. This difference impacts on the psychological wellbeing of the worker.

4. *The amount of emotional dissonance.* Like Hochschild (1983) and Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), Morris and Feldman proposed "When mismatches between genuinely felt and organizationally required emotions exist, then, greater control, skill, and attentive action will be needed." (Morris and Feldman, 1993:992). The nurse who has to display emotional neutrality towards a terminal patient whom she likes, may work a lot harder than the nurse who has to display sympathy towards them.

Morris and Feldman went on to explain the relationship between these dimensions finding that some had a positive relationship to each other eg. frequency and emotional dissonance, because the more frequent the requirement to perform, the higher the likelihood of encountering a situation where the emotion being displayed conflicted with that being felt. Some were negatively related eg. frequency

and attentiveness to display rules because the more people there are for an emotional labourer to serve, the less time they can spend in engaging in an intense or individualised performance. Others had no relationship at all eg. frequency and variety of emotional display. Other factors, such as the characteristics of the job rather than the number of times a customer is interacted with, having more impact on variety of emotional display. (Morris and Feldman, 1996).

While this goes some way in differentiating between the jobs that required emotional labour in terms of the demand, they still adhere to Hochschild's viewpoint that organisations demand emotional labour, emotional labour has negative effects on the workers wellbeing and the organisation may be able to do something about it.

Morris and Feldman (1996) also discuss the antecedents that make emotional labour easier to perform. This develops Hochschild, and Ashforth and Humphrey's views that Deep Acting is preferable in terms of emotional labour performance and this may be achieved by a number of personal and organisational characteristics:

a) The explicitness of display rules. Referring to the work of Van Maanen and Kunda (1989) on Disneyland employees, Morris and Feldman (1996) proposed that deep acting was made easier by the number of "…classes, handbooks and billboards to each newcomers exactly which positive and esteem enhancing emotions they must convey…" (Morris and Feldman, 1996:996)

b) Close monitoring and supervision. Again citing Van Maanen and Kunda (1989) Morris and Feldman proposed that close supervision or even random testing such as "mystery shopping" ensured a high frequency of emotional labour being performed.

c) Gender. Morris and Feldman (1996) proposed that more emotional labour was *expected* of women and that it was potentially easier for women to perform. This was because of the view that women were society's nurturers (Hochschild, 1989:192, cited by Morris and Feldman,

1996:997). However, they do not develop this point further. Other researchers go on to say this expectation placed upon women is unfair and contributes to dissatisfaction of female emotional labourers as their efforts are dismissed because it is "natural" (eg. Larson, 2008).

d) Routineness or variety of the task. When a worker is expected to perform quickly and uniformly, there is not so great an emotional labour demand. Thus the fast-food vendor has fewer demands placed upon him or her than the clinician dealing with a wider variety of patients. However, Morris and Feldman (1996) do not develop this point further than it being another form of differentiation between emotional labour professions.

e) The power of the recipient. Reiterating Hochschild (1983), Morris and Feldman (1996) emphasised that if the worker perceived the person they were serving to be of high importance, they would be more likely to engage in a higher intensity of emotional labour. For Hochschild (1983), flight attendants serving first class would be more likely to spend more time interacting with their clients than those in economy.

f) Form of interaction. Somewhat obviously, Morris and Feldman (1996) point out that the employee who serves face-to-face has great emotional labour demands placed upon him or her than the one who serves voice-to-voice, or via letter. In the latter two cases, there is less personal judgment on the sincerity of the performance, and arguably less need to engage in any more than surface acting – if that is even required.

g) Job autonomy. Somewhat contradictory to their proposition that close supervision resulted in a higher frequency of emotional labour performance, Morris and Feldman (1996) proposed that if the worker had autonomy over their emotional performance would be more alert and positive – and thus would perform better. Again, this development of the original concept is more an implication for organisational practice.

h) Affectivity. Morris and Feldman (1996) furthered the idea that personality played a role in emotional labour performance. A sideways move perhaps from Ashforth and Humphrey's (1993) socially constructed personal identity affecting emotional labour performance, Morris and Feldman (1993) proposed that the more aligned a person's disposition to the display

rules, the better the performance and the lower the emotional dissonance and emotional harm. However, they do not explore this any further. Later research (eg. Bolton, 2000) will go on to examine the impact of disposition (and indeed the assertion of personal autonomy) using it to pull away from Hochschild's original view that emotional labour is something imposed by the workplace and rather claim that it is something chosen by the personally disposed worker.

Like Hochschild (1983), Morris and Feldman (1996) further confirm that emotional labour may be moderated by differences between the professions requiring it, but the consequences were still negative – job dissatisfaction and emotional exhaustion (Morris and Feldman, 1996:1000).

Emotional labour as part of an organisation's *service* has already been predominantly defined by Hochschild and others as oppressive and alienating for the worker, this chapter will now explore two ways in which the oppression exists: a) the perception of the labourer as a servant; b) the gender bias of service work, and its demands. This section will consider the lack of differentiation between the services within emotional labour research thus far. For example, when general claims are made about emotional labour eg "emotional labourers suffer hostile customers", they are made on all emotional labour services as a whole rather than considering whether the hostility of a retail customer to a sales assistant is the same as the hostility of a student to a teacher. Alternatively where research is on one specific service, the claims are specific only to that service. By introducing an element of differentiation, it may be possible to make some general claims, but tailor them to a smaller group of emotional labour services. This will be explored later.

1.ii.a)The perception of the emotional labourer as a "servant"

Andrew Sturdy (1998) wrote of the "'Consumer Society'…whereby we are all seen a sovereign customers – 'patients, parents, passengers and pupils are reimagined as 'customers.'" (du Gay and Salaman, 1992, cited by Sturdy, 1998:27). This in turn, he argues, prompts employers to develop

"customer orientated" services to compete within this construct, and as such, there are consequences for the employees whose performance of emotional labour is required to match the marketing. In such a world, the customer is "king", and employees are subjected to a process of "…surveillance and assessment. Customers' actions and feedback to the management can reinforce such control…the intention may be for employees not just to smile, but to 'smile and mean it'." (Sturdy, 1998: 29).

Whilst the management are asserting their demands, so too, are the customers exercising their "rights". "…servers framed the problem of customers who abuse their power as being treated like a servant…Servers cast the power imbalance as a master-slave relationship" (Hall, 1993:462). As such, Sturdy, continues, research focusses on "service recovery", "standards", "training" and "performance appraisal" – where not only product knowledge, but body language and interpersonal skills are assessed. (Sturdy, 1998:30).

In response to the growing demands of employer and service recipient, Sturdy – as indeed others (who will be discussed later), identified ways in which the emotional labourer strives to resist such demands – "smiling but not meaning it", utilising surface acting to portray an emotion that is different to that being felt internally; or "Smiling and sometimes meaning it" – engaging in deep acting to alter their cognitive interpretation of the interaction and allowing them to respond spontaneously, in a manner which the recipient and employer still interprets as appropriate. (Sturdy, 1998). Examples of deep acting – also employed as tactics to cope with the sovereign customer – such as a flight attendant choosing to perceive an angry customer as a vulnerable child to speak to him with kindness, were given in Chapter 1.

It is notable, however, that this is the predominant position with regards to the power distribution between emotional labourer and recipient ie. that the customer is the one afforded dominance. This may not necessarily be the case when the interaction between emotional labourer and recipient is examined more closely, as a social constructionist perspective allows. This thesis will consider the

interaction itself, as well as the opinion and lay analysis of the recipients – an approach that this review finds has been lacking in much of the research thus far.

1.ii.b) The gender bias in service work

Although gender is not a key concept of this thesis, acknowledgment of it can be made when situating service work in the context of it placing demands on the emotional labourer as the gender of the service worker often creates an expectation of performance in the mind of both recipient and employer.

"Most service jobs are considered an extension of women's roles in the home…Having defined…service jobs as needing stereotypical feminine characteristics, employers prefer to hire women who have been socialised by society to possess the social and domestic skills need to perform nurturing…" (Hall, 1993:456). Hall goes on to report her findings that in restaurants, waitresses are perceived as more "friendly" than waiters, and were also treated with less respect from customers than their male counterparts – ie. they were often "looked over" as if there for the pleasure of the customer (Hall, 1993:461). While the focus of this thesis is not to discuss the construction of service as gender-biased, this approach is significant when considering the effect of gender on the service interaction as a whole – in terms of demand on the worker.. As Hochschild discusses, a customer on a "Delta Airlines" flight expects to be waited on by "the girl next door". The employers will therefore hire (predominantly female) staff who fulfil the criteria, and provide training so that the performance matches the expectation. This will differ for the "Pan Am" girl who is required to be more "brassy" than her Delta counterpart. (Hochschild, 2003:97). Thus, the service worker is not only perceived as "lower" than the customer, but expected to perform a *prescribed* emotional labour – which is also dependent on the marketing of the service which also planted the seed of expectation in the customer.

Ulla Forseth (2005) writes "Due to gendered expectations and gender-appropriate behaviour (Acker, 1990), versions of femininity and masculinity are this constructed in service interactions…Research on interactive service work has found that there is a relationship between the content of a job, and gender and customer response." (Forseth, 2005:444). Forseth refers to Hochschild's original 1983 work where she "…illustrated how gender is written into the performance of the work that women and men are called on to do in different kinds of emotional labour. In short, women were expected to be 'nicer than natural' whereas men were more likely to be recruited to positions where they had to be 'nastier than natural'. (Forseth, 2005:444). This may cause emotional strain on the worker.

Hochschild (2003) discusses how gender expectations can also result in sexuality being 'for sale' in some professions, such as cabin crew, where "grooming regulations" and "girdle checks" are all part of presenting an appealing package for the (male) customer. "United wants to appeal to Ma and Pa Kettle. So it wants Caucasian girls – not so beautiful that Ma feels fat, and not so plain that Pa feels unsatisfied." (Hochschild, 2003: 97). Hochschild goes on to write that "The claim to control over a worker's physical appearance was backed by continuous references to the need to be "professional"" (Hochschild, 2003:105).

Men performing within a traditionally feminine-perceived role are assumed, by service recipients, to hold a position of seniority over their female counterparts. "This assumption of male authority allows ordinary twenty-year-old male flight attendants to be mistaken for "managers"…of older female flight attendants…In fact, because males were excluded from this job until after a long "discrimination" suit in the mid-1960's…more male flight attendants are younger and have less seniority than most female attendants." (Hochschild, 2003:177).

A stated at the beginning of this section, it is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss the gender bias of service work in depth. However, it is important to consider it with regard to the extra emotional

demands it places on the labourer due to the bias already present in the minds of the service provider and service recipient.

1.iii) "Moving on from The Managed Heart" (Bolton and Boyd, 2003) a new direction in Emotional labour research

A major influence on the (still limited) body of work which emphasises a potentially more positive side of Emotional labour comes, more recently, from Sherinne Shuler, and Sharon Bolton. While accepting that in some cases, as Hochschild identified in 1983, emotional labour is coerced by the organisation, Shuler and Sypher (2000) made the bold, and innovative claim that "…emotional labours enjoy and even seek out the very activity that potentially alienates and oppresses them" (Shuler and Sypher, 2000:52) and stated "The performance of emotional labour is also intrinsically connected with the best and most rewarding parts of the job" (Shuler and Sypher, 2000:title page).

Sharon Bolton recognised that emotional labour was more than just "emotionally crippled" actors (Bolton and Boyd, 2003:290) performing highly regulated occupational "display roles" that Hochschild and others had defined, stating that within certain emotional labour services (in her case, nursing) Hochschild's definition "…undervalued aspects of a nurse's caring role." (Bolton, 2000:582). For Bolton, instead of the conceptualisation of emotional labour as "…the 'degree of control which employers are able to exercise over employees' emotion management performances…" (Bolton, 2000: 582), the professional carer is able to "…move beyond these rules and at their own discretion choose to add something extra to the patient/carer relationship" (Bolton, 2000:582). In fact, Bolton asserts that professions which demand emotional labour *allow* the worker autonomy (identified as important to wellbeing by Morris and Feldman, 1996) in how it is performed as the essence of the worker's professionalism (Bolton, 2000).

Bolton further acknowledges that this choice to care beyond the display rules is akin to the capacity to "gift" emotion as considered by Hochschild, but states "…what the nurses offer to patients is 'special'

because, unlike the concept of 'gift exchange', it carries with it no explicit or implicit demand for a return gift. (Bolton, 2000: 582)

This section will first examine the work of Schuler and Sypher (2000), then Bolton (2000) as extended by Bolton and Boyd (2003). It will then conclude with Vincent's (2011) critique aimed at filling in the conceptual gaps within previous emotional labour research, thus presenting an overview of the concept at the present time.

Shuler and Sypher conducted a case study on the 911 dispatchers in a US call centre finding that "Although the 911 dispatchers featured…recognize the downside of their jobs, they seem to enjoy and even benefit from some of their emotional interaction with callers." (Schuler and Sypher, 2000:52). It is recognised that this study features a singular call centre which has implications for its generalisability to other call centres, let alone other emotional labour professions – ie. those requiring face-to-face interaction (as voice-to-voice would seem to demand less (eg. Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Morris and Feldman, 1996). However, the findings nonetheless throw down a bold challenge to the dominance of the previously negative approach to emotional labour that grew out of Hochschild's work, as well as precipitate a new claim that grew in prominence – emotional labour is sought out, and sometimes offered freely of display rules or other organisational demands. This is far removed from the original perspective of alienation and control.

One of Shuler and Sypher's opening arguments is a focus on (relatively isolated) research by Sass (1997). Through an ethnographic study of caretakers in a nursing home, Sass demonstrates how "…the performative nature of emotional labour…shows how caretakers can and do enjoy their work." (Shuler and Sypher, 2000:56). Over a nine month period, Shuler and Sypher observed 17 dispatchers for 2-3 hours for 34 visits. Tape recorded (semi-structured) interviews were also conducted with 16 of the dispatchers, and 25 of the calls between dispatcher and caller were also analysed for emotional labour content. The findings revealed that the dispatchers struggled with retaining the emotional

neutrality expected of them as part of the display rules, but also that emotional labour offered i) comic relief; ii) an adrenaline-pumping "fix"; and iii) the opportunity to offer altruism which was personally pleasing:

- Emotional Neutrality: Unlike Hochschild's findings that emotional labourers often had to actively convey a specific emotion, the dispatchers had to remain emotionally neutral, with (display) rules "…that [kept] dispatchers from expressing sorrow…strictly enforced." (Shuler and Sypher, 2000:65).   This suppression of emotion was difficult for dispatchers who found themselves frustrated with timewasting calls, or struggling with the personal desire (or feeling rule) to express sympathy when callers called for 911 to respond to a suicide, or when dealing with "…callers who often are in grave physical and emotional need." (Shuler and Sypher, 2000:65).

However, while those findings were familiar to Bolton's emotional labour "bandwagon", the following posed a challenge to the heretofore negative approach:

- Comic Relief: Citing Tolich (1993) that "…customers provide both the biggest source of stress and the biggest source of satisfaction" (Shuler and Sypher, 2000:66), Shuler and Sypher found that for the dispatchers some of the callers' predicaments injected a sense of mirth that would not be experienced in other jobs – such as the "…280-pound wife stuck between two beds…or the lady [who] was upset 'cuz…another dog comes up and proceeds to urinate on her dog." (Shuler and Sypher, 2000: 71) Without the ability to respond emotionally to the caller, on handing up the subject of the call is shared in the office and a laugh is shared. This bears similarity to Goffman's identification of "staging talk" (Goffman, 1969:168) – the conversation that is shared between those privy to a "private joke" often in front of the "audience" they are performing for, for example, an air steward saying "Far Queue" (insinuating its homophonic meaning) (flyertalk.net,

[2]2010). However, it was not until this point that researchers intimated that this was very positive and enjoyable aspect, unique to Service work that could certainly be a draw for the worker, and research developed from this finding has been limited.

- The Adrenaline "fix": Shuler and Sypher found that some dispatchers sought out the midnight shifts because "…that's when you really deal with your real criminals." (Shuler and Sypher, 2000:73). Unlike Hochschild's account of the desire of the flight attendant to "release" herself from the "elation" she had created to keep her "up" on the flight (Hochschild, 2003:4), the workers interviewed by Schuler and Sypher enjoyed the excitement of the adrenaline rush during an emergency, which stopped their job "…from getting mundane." (Shuler and Sypher, 2000:74). The "crash" following the "high" was, for the dispatchers just part of the bonus of the chance to experience such drama. As yet, research has declined to investigate the "opportunity" to experience an adrenaline high as a bonus to an emotional labour profession. Perhaps this is unsurprising given the dominance of Hochschild's ground-breaking work, but it is nonetheless something that is worth further examination; not least because it puts a different perspective onto emotional labour – that it is not alienating and exhausting, but rather an advantage over the more mundane professions.

- Altruism: This was found to be another "bouns" to the role. Dispatchers claimed ""It's exciting when I know I've helped somebody or helped an officer. Um, it helps me." This sense of gratification tends to make up for some of the negative repercussions of emotional labor." (Shuler and Sypher, 2000:75). This point is taken up by Bolton (2000), and Bolton and Boyd (2003) and while (again) being limited in investigation, is significant in implication. Altruism as a positive aspect of emotional labour would suggest that emotional labourers would find infinite pleasure in serving others (whether demanded by the organisation or not), however, although Bolton (2000)

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[2] While this is taken from an aviation forum rather than research, it was felt to be an appropriate, and realistic example of the point being made.

suggests that this may be the case of nurses, and sometimes flight attendants, there still remains a large body of research that not only claims that Organisational service performance demands impact negatively on the emotional labourer, but so too does the negativity of the recipient. Thus, it could be asked if it is really "Altruism" that results in pleasure, or if there is a *need* for reciprocity from the recipient? This is discussed further in Chapter 2, but for now, the concept of altruism in service will be defined by the work of Sharon Bolton.

Sharon Bolton opened her critique of the limitations of Hoschchild's approach with the statement "…the term 'emotional labour' fails to conceptualise the many occasions when nurses not only work hard on their emotions…but also…offer authentic caring behaviour to patients in their care." She argues that "…nursing work is emotionally complex and may be better understood…as a 'gift' in addition to 'emotional labour'" (Bolton, 2000:580). Two points must first be noted here, the first is that Bolton's work, while at least empirical (rather than theoretical), is conducted on nurses and as such may not easily be generalised to the many differing emotional labour professions; and the second is that while Bolton borrows the term 'gift' from Hochschild, she alters its meaning slightly. For Hochschild a 'gift' came with an expectation of return (eg. a "gift exchange" Titmus, 1970 cited by Bolton, 2000:582), for Bolton it does not – it is more akin to altruism.

Bolton used observation and semi-structured interviews within gynaecology wards and outpatient clinics over a period of time spanning 3 years. Her findings revealed that nurses were subject to feeling rules – there was a societal expectation that they be caring and nurturing; to display rules – similar to Schuler and Sypher (2000) the demand for emotional neutrality, which caused a level of strain, but also that they often engaged in "…extra emotion work as a gift to patients…and to each other." (Bolton, 2000:584).

Similarly to Shuler and Sypher (2000), Bolton's nurses reported "…desperately wanting to help [a] grieving woman" or having to "…'mask' feelings of abhorrence in order to help [a] mother come to

terms with the decision to terminate her pregnancy" (Bolton, 2000:584) which caused them emotional strain, but they too mentioned the value of "…having a laugh" with each other (Bolton, 2000:585), and enjoy offering "…extra emotion work as a gift in the form of authentic caring behaviour." (Bolton, 2000:586). The nurses were not choosing to *display* caring, they cared.

Limitations on the generalisabilty of the study excepted, Bolton nonetheless identified that emotional labour had a positive, and even motivational, draw for workers. This was a new pathway in emotional labour research. Bolton also highlighted, as had Shuler and Sypher, the importance of camaraderie within the profession and how this was particular to emotional labour compared to other professions. The effect of camaraderie has been taken up by other research which will be discussed in Chapter 2, furthering the perspective that emotional labour was something that had positive aspects lacking in other jobs, and in many ways was far from alienating. As stated earlier, Bolton and Boyd impressed that emotional labourers were not "emotionally crippled actors" (Bolton and Boyd, 2003:290), but rather autonomous professionals as keen to promote their own impression management as offer emotion work altruistically to the recipient of their service, whether authorised by their managers or not.

Bolton and Boyd conducted semi-structured and structured interviews with flight attendants and found that emotional labour could be framed within four distinct typologies:

1. Pecuniary emotion management – the management of feelings in conjunction to Display rules because they were paid to do so and this improved company profits – which in turn benefitted them.

2. Prescriptive emotion management – the management of feelings in conjunction to Display rules because they were told to do so as part of being the professional face of the company – which also could be related to an improvement in company profits due to customer loyalty.

3. Presentational emotion management – acting in the absence of prescribed rules in order to diffuse, or sometimes create personal entertainment within a situation. Again reaffirming the

dramaturgical foundation of emotional labour due to its similarity to Goffman's "Staging Talk" (Goffman, 1959:168) this relied on the ability of the worker to read an "unmanaged" situation and respond accordingly. This may be in the form of a "…fleeting moment, and exchanged smile or a small nudge" (Bolton and Boyd, 2000:297). Often responses were borne out of Feeling rules, but they were engaged in freely at the will of the performer.

4. Philanthropic emotional management – similar to Bolton's (2000) paper, this may be emotion work 'gifted' to colleagues, for example, not calling in sick when ill as the crew member would not want their colleague to have to do an extra shift; as well as going beyond the prescriptive and pecuniary rules in order to express their feelings of compassion or empathy.

While typology 1 and 2 fall within Hochschild's original approach, 3 and 4 clearly extend it, going some way to consolidate evidence that emotional labourers use personal emotional skills in their job (in the absence of display rules), and that there is an element of emotional work that is offered without request – or approval – from the organisation.

Implications from this research have indicated that emotional support provided for the emotional labourer has been found to mediate the negative effects of service work (Verbeke, 1997) and as such, managers have been encouraged to "…extend more fair treatment towards them [the workers]" (Rupp and Spencer, 2006:977); or support the physician through encouraging patients to "…provide clear information about symptoms and outcome expectations during office visits [which] can improve patient-physician reciprocity and lower physician burnout." (Halbesleben, 2006: 220).

Most recently, taking a "labour process theory (LPT) approach to the subject, Steve Vincent (2011) once more reviewed the work done to date stressing that by this stage in the lifetime of emotional labour "Further work is required to connect the local with the global in order to accommodate the strengths of both positions." (Vincent, 2011:1371).

Vincent recognised that there were two defined approaches "Brook (2009a, 2009b) [like Hochschild] offers a broadly Marxian approach to LPT to argue that the material and commodity status of labour is ubiquitous and pervasive across the economy of feelings…In contrast…for Bolton, people's emotions at work are multi-dimensional and often transcend labour processes." (Vincent, 2011:1371). Indeed, using LPT and drawing from Ackroyd and Thompson's "Misbehaviour Thesis" (Ackroyd and Thompson, 1999 cited by Vincent, 2011:1371), this is something Vincent attempts to do and succeeds in presenting a conceptual framework embedding emotional displays within the political economy.

Trying to tie these opposing views together, Vincent conceptualises emotional labour as follows:

	Autonomous	Regulated
Conforming	*1. Voluntary emotional labour* **Definition:** Presentational and philanthropic activities that maintain the wellbeing of social relationships within work while also developing or extending capital interests. **Example:** Providing clients emotional 'gifts' and professional service that strengthen the relationship or increase the transacting between the employer and the client (see Jenkins et al., 2010).	*2. Conforming emotional labour* **Definition:** Conformity to pecuniary and prescriptive feeling rules **Example:** The 'surface acting' and 'deep acting' required to reproduce the display rules demanded (Hoschild, 1983).
Non-conforming	*3. Resistant emotional misbehaviour* **Definition:** Presentational and philanthropic activities undertaken to (re)establish the wellbeing of social relationships at work where these undermine or counteract capital interests. **Example:** From skilfully putting the customer 'in their place' (Taylor and Bain, 1999) to collective emotional sentiments that generate solidaristic opposition and counter-narratives to capital (see Taylor and Bain, 2003).	*4. Alienated emotional misbehaviour* **Definition:** Non-conformity to pecuniary and prescriptive feeling rules through withdrawing labour of the type demanded. **Example:** Employees' 'conscious or unconscious attempts to unburden and detoxify themselves by returning … unbearable toxic experiences back into the customer' (Stein, 2008: 1235).

Figure 1: A labour process perspective on the economy of feelings (reprinted from Vincent, 2011:1376)

He is adamant that this categorisation does not amalgamate the opposing viewpoints, but instead makes suggestions which could lead to a positive change in the way emotional labour professions function and how future research could be conducted. He suggests that research should "…pay more systematic attention to the emotional intelligence of different worker groups", as he believes that this may enable organisations to better adapt their demands in setting display rules. He recommends that the workers with a higher level of emotional intelligence, or emotional "skill", may be trusted to be more autonomous in their emotional displays, but those with a lower level should be encouraged to conform to more prescriptive regulation (Vincent, 2011:1388).

Chapter Summary

In summary research within the field has taken 3 main directions from Hochschild's original work – the first is identification of emotional labour within other professions; the second, an examination of the effect of display rules on the worker and if these can be mediated; the third and more recent, a consideration of the potential for personal growth, enjoyment and wellbeing due to the interactive nature of the job and its opportunity for altruism. The third, by far, being the most under-developed.

This is summarised over the page:

Identification of emotional labour in services	Effect of display rules	Potential for Personal enjoyment
Hochschild (1983, 2003) – Cabin Crew and Bailiffs Van Maanen and Kunda (1989) – Disneyland employees		
Hargreaves (1998, 2000) - Teachers Bolton (2000) – Nurses Smith (2000) – Nurses Shuler and Sypher (2000) – Emergency response Call Centre	Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) - effect of emotional dissonance Morris and Feldman (1996) – 4 levels of emotional labour Grandey (2000) – demands of organisational emotional regulation Brotheridge and Lee (2000) – conservation of resources model to protect from emotional strain	Bolton (2000) – altruism of nursing Shuler and Sypher (2000) – enjoyment in a Call Centre
Colley (2003) – Nursery Teachers Rowan (2003) - Retail Clerks Bolton and Boyd (2003) – Cabin Crew	Diefendorff and Richard (2003) – mediation of display rules eg. support from supervisor	Bolton and Boyd (2003) - 4 states of Emotional labour (including philanthropic)
Holman (2008) – Call centres	Martinez-Inigo et al (2007) – identifying the mechanisms of exhaustion	

Table1: *Timeline identifying the key pieces of research in the three areas that have been discussed.*

This list is not exhaustive.

The development of the concept of emotional labour through its original, negative, Marxist foundations to being recognised as a component of service work that offers an opportunity for heartfelt enjoyment not available to less interactive pursuits, has been presented. It was noted that although emotional labour and interaction are concepts that have been linked within research findings, the nature of the interactive elements of emotional labour and their effect on the worker has not been fully explored and that findings on this pathway might offer helpful insights to the managers and designers of services. In particular, research has remained largely one-sided in its investigation – not considering the voice of the recipient in any depth, and with that viewing emotional labour as a largely one-sided action that a service worker performs, at the request of their organisation, onto the passive receiver. Emotional labour may be more complex than it currently appears in research, and

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taking a social constructionist approach to the interactions involved within an emotional labour performance may uncover some of these complexities. Emotional labour concerns not just the organisation and the worker in form of capitalist oppression, but may instead be affected (positively as well as negatively) by the recipient, colleagues and managers. As such the first research question being asked is: "What can we learn through exploring emotional labour as an interactive process affected by manager, colleague and recipient behaviour?", and Chapter 2 will develop this point further.

Chapter 2: The effects of emotional interaction

Chapter Plan

This chapter starts by reviewing the research which investigates the mediators to the emotionally exhausting effects of emotional labour – which, in turn, considers the effect of interaction. Bolton (2000), Grandey (2000) and others found emotional labourers not to be exhausted professionals who were alienated from their feelings. This was not because they had learned to "deep act" (see Chapter 1), but because emotional labour offered the potential for reciprocity from the recipient (eg. Wuthnow, 1995; Halbesleben, 2006). This was emotionally rewarding, unlike recognition from the management for something that the worker enjoyed doing anyway (eg. Callaghan and Thompson, 2002), and was enhanced by a high level of colleague/organisational rapport with others of the same "caring" disposition (eg. Grandey, 2000). However, despite this, emotional labourers still reported feelings of emotional strain due to a lack of reciprocity (eg. Bakker et al, 2002) and a lack of recognition from the organisation (eg. Larson, 2008).

Section ii) then considers the literature surrounding the recipient response to emotional labour. Hochschild recognises that some reactions from the recipient of a service may make emotional labour performance easier for the worker eg "[An] attendant said she sometimes switched aisles in order to avoid passengers who would not receive what…she herself had to offer…Like so many others, she wanted a human response so she could be sincerely friendly herself." (Hochschild, 2003: 108). However, Hochschild does not explore the potential impact of the recipient's response on the worker. A lack of reciprocity has been found to be a contributor to emotional exhaustion in emotional labour performance (eg. Bakker et al 2002; Brotheridge and Lee, 2002). A limited selection of more recent literature has suggested that emotional labour involved emotional transference (eg. Theodosius, 2006; Hennig-Thurau et al, 2006; Rupp and Spencer, 2006) and that a better lens with which to view emotional labour was as a two-way process of "social exchange" (Schuler and Sypher 2000; Rowen, 2003). This suggests that Bolton's (2000) identification that emotional labourers "gift care" to the

recipient completely altruistically is incomplete. Emotional labour may not be performed in isolation, and if it is not, then is the response of the recipient (ie. in gratitude or reciprocation) significant?

Section iii) looks more closely at the emotional labourer response to customer hostility, and finally section iv) examines the potential lure of this "thankless" and "straining" profession. As intimated at the end of Chapter 1, by the end of this chapter, two gaps will be identified which will form the basis for the following questions:

1. What can we learn through exploring emotional labour as an interactive process – affected by manager, colleague and recipient behaviour?

2. What is the nature of the recipient response?

2.i) Mediators to emotional labour performance

While it would not be possible (nor relevant) to review every single piece of research on the topic of emotional labour, some of the key findings are now summarised in the following subsections. Research can largely be divided into:

- Other categories of work that include emotional labour where any recommendations to support the worker may be of use

- Findings which may help organisations moderate the negative effects of emotional labour on their workers

Who is performing emotional labour?

According to Lois (2006); Ray and Street (2007); Stern (2007); and Medved (2007) – emotional labour is not just restricted to the workplace. Families, too, engage in it in ways that go beyond

"Feeling rules". Lois (2006) studied mothers who were home-schooling their children, finding they were subject to the same emotional labour as teachers. Similarly Ray and Street (2007) interviewed carers finding their emotional labour as akin to that of nurses; and Stern studied families engaged in "The Family Business" and found that workers were more troubled by performing emotional labour with each other (ie. within the family) than with clients. Medved (2007) in a review paper hypothesised that the role of "mother" was an emotional labour one, and this idea that our private behaviours could even be classed emotional labour – rather than adherence to "feeling rules" (which we can choose to remove ourselves from), was taken up by Hogg (2008) in "The Emotional labour of Ordinary People" where family carers were interviewed and observed.

According to a report from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD[3]) "The services sector now accounts for over 70% of total employment and value added in OECD economies. It also accounts for almost all employment growth in the OECD area." (OECD, 2005:2). As considered within Chapter 1, emotional labour has always had a particular relevance to service encounters as it is the foundation of the service interaction. Steinberg and Fighart (1999) identified the following services as having been the subject of emotional labour research:

Fast Food workers	Bar staff
Disneyland workers	Waiters
Retail	Flight attendants
Childcare	Debt collectors
Schoolteachers	Paralegals
Psychotherapists	Engineers
Holiday reps	Detectives or criminal interrogators
Call centre workers	Door to door insurance

(Steinberg and Fighart, 1999:15)

2.i.i.) Differentiation within service work: "Levels" of Emotional labour; or Professional versus Occupational emotional labour

Although there is a lot of literature on emotional labour as evident within service, little has been said with regard to distinguishing *between* the services that require emotional labour. This distinction is

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[3] The OECD area covers 34 countries including the UK, the US and much of Europe.

arguably important when it comes to understanding the resulting emotional strain that may be evident; the effect of the display rules; and even the recipient expectations of the labourer.

For example, for a checkout worker, the job may entail processing the goods and taking payment, so display rules such as 'Say "have a nice day!"' would arguably "dress up" the emotional labour interaction rather than be a part of the job itself. While Hochschild recognises that we would not want to be greeted by a surly checkout worker, it still has little bearing on whether one gets one's groceries. For a checkout "service" to be performed, an organisation may decide to set out display rules – but they are more efficient training their workers on the checkout system…and with online purchases, there is no need for display rules at all – merely a working purchasing method.

In comparison, the emotional labour performance of a teacher may be different – as a caring persona may be an actual part of their job. According to Hargreaves (1998), emotion is what helps the teacher teach as it enables them to engage better with their students in order to progress learning. In this case display rules may be more important.

However, one may also argue that display rules are less necessary for the teacher, as their professional status (or "professionalism" (Bolton, 2000)) requires a certain standard of emotional performance (Qualified Teacher Standards, 2012). This means that the teacher may have more freedom in their emotional expression. However, professional status does not mean that organisations will not impose further display rules, at the micro-level, and this could cause more emotional strain because teachers may feel that their professional status is being "micro managed".

The results of the effect of display rules on the checkout worker versus the teacher are significant in offering service organisations some insight into how to manage their emotional labourers, and will be discussed after the ways in which service organisations may be differentiated are identified. Morris and Feldman (1996) offer one means of differentiating within emotional labour professions, and

together with Marek Korcynski's (2002) review on the categories of service work, clear distinctions may be made.

Korcynski's (2002) book "Human Resource Management in Service work" devotes a chapter to identifying types service work performed. This is an extensive field of study, however his discussion provides a useful summary. Korcynski (2002) cites three categorisations of service as defined by Leidner (1993); Mills (1986); Fitzgeral et al (1991) and Lashley (1997) (Korcynski 2002:11). As organised by Korcynski, these four researchers divide service work into three key areas thus:

Table a. Different labels for similar types of service work

Level	*Leidner (1993)*	*Mills (1986)*	*Fitzgeral et al (1991)*	*Lashley (1997)*
Level 1	Service where there is weak inseparability	Maintenance-interactive service work	Mass service	Service factory
Level 2	Particular type of experience is part of the product	Task-interactive service work	Service shops	Mass service/Service shops
Level 3	Interaction inseparable from product	Personal interactive service work	Professional services	Professional services

(reprinted from Korcynski, 2002:11)

While each author uses significantly different bases for classification, when tabulated in this way, useful distinctions emerge. For our purposes, these typologies will be referred to as "Level 1", "Level 2" and "Level 3" reading from the top of the table downwards.

According to Korcynski (2002:11), Level 1 services are "...the lowest level of service work ...typified by the fast food worker where the product (the burger) represents an important buffer between production and consumption, between the producer and the consumer, and where there is an

organisational focus on the product being delivered, rather than on the service process of the delivery..."

Level 2 services are "...the middle level...Here the service process is an important part of the 'product' being delivered; the organisation has a back office [which furnishes the product] and a front office [interactive][4] focus; there is an important degree of intangibility." (Korcynski, 2002:11). Examples of this sort of service may be customer service desks in shops.

Level 3 services are "...the upper end...An archetypical example is the work of the psychiatrist in which the service interaction is the product, where the focus is on the process of the interaction rather than on the back office producing a separate product." (Korcynski, 2002:11). Potentially, the work of the teacher, cabin crew, and perhaps waiter or receptionist may feature somewhere between level 2 and level 3 as interaction is as key an element of the product as the knowledge, safety instructions, food, or information being presented.

The "levels of service" typologies especially if combined with distinctions drawn by emotional labour researchers such as Morris and Feldman (1996) categorise emotional labour professions. For Morris and Feldman (1996), emotional labour demands are differentiated into four categories: (i) "The frequency of the interaction; (ii) the intensity (ie: how highly emotionally charged the interaction is); (iii) the variety of emotion required; and (iv) the amount of emotional dissonance experienced between the worker's own mood and that which is needed to be displayed." (Morris and Feldman, 1996:989). It is the first 3 categories that are the most valuable. (Category 4 is deemed not to be relevant as the Chapter has already discussed findings where emotional dissonance can be mediated or managed whether in a shop or on an oncology ward.)

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[4] Square brackets added by the author.

It may therefore be arguable that the higher the emotional labour requirement within the first three categories defined by Morris and Feldman (1996), the higher "level" of service that may be applied. For Morris and Feldman (1996), the emotional "performance" of a teacher is more frequent, than that of a flight attendant, although it may be similar in terms of intensity, the variety of emotion required and the amount of dissonance experienced and so may fall slightly higher within the Level 3 classification. But both types of service undoubtedly require a higher level of emotional labour compared to a retail assistant whose interaction with a service recipient may be fleeting at best[5]. "Lower" level service may also rely more heavily on components relating to the product for customer satisfaction. eg. a worker in a wallpaper factory can tell when his job will satisfy the customer done by counting the number of rolls produced, while the flight attendant needs to check more intangibly whether the customer seems content. "Loving or hating wallpaper is not part of producing wallpaper", Hochschild, (2003:6). It is noted that the components of emotional labour, and the consequences (and antecedents and mediators of its performance) are currently applied on a very general basis. There is a very limited amount of research focussing on differentiating the theoretical findings from emotional labour research within the different types of service work The intensity of a face-to face interaction of a retail assistant may differ from that of a voice-to-voice interaction of a cold-call (Kinman, 2009), yet both are termed "emotional labour" for the purposes of generalising findings. Later research by Kinman (2011) found that mode of delivery (eg. voice-to-voice versus face-to-face) did not affect the amount of strain felt by the labourer, although it affected the way they responded. This notable difference is significant in terms of implications for service managers, and as such a clearer distinction between the emotional labour professions being researched may result in more specific implications and recommendations for organisations.

Robert Leidner (1999) also makes a distinction between the demands on the "…middle frontline workers who are part of what Macdonald and Sirianni (1996) call "the emotional proletariat". In

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[5] However, it will be seen later that this is not necessarily the most accurate form of classification or differentiation.

contrast to professionals involved in interactive service work, the emotional labor of these frontline service workers is likely to be guided by employers rather than by professional norms. Employers are more likely to intervene in and supervise the emotional labor of these interactive service workers, who deal primarily with the public." (Leidner, 1999:92).

The determination of the emotional labour "level" that should be applied to each service profession is a complex task needing a full thesis to unpick, but the distinction is identified at this point, because it may prove useful when distinguishing findings as relating to the effect of employer demands, recipient demands, or findings relating to reciprocity or "gifting" on the part of the emotional labourer. At Level 1, there is likely, as Leidner (1999) points out, to be a higher level of display rules placed on the worker, based on a perceived asymmetry in respect to the relationship between worker and recipient, which in turn may result in greater emotional strain or perhaps resistance. At Level 1, the customer may perceive the relationship as one of "Master-Slave" as identified by Hall (1993) because of the nature of the interaction. The customer at Level 1 is unlikely to be requiring the labourer to possess any "skill", and the organisation may hold a similar point of view. At Level 2 and above, the relationship may differ because the nature of the service differs. A pupil goes to a teacher to be taught (ie. the teacher has the "skill" of knowledge) and the interaction is secondary to that. Also, at Level 1, if the emotional labourer chooses to "gift" something over and above what is required by the display rule demands, this is more likely to be altruistic as the duration of the relationship is fleeting, and the balance of power in the favour of the customer; whereas findings relating to "reciprocity" may better relate to emotional labour at levels 2 and 3 where there is a greater degree of equality and thus a greater likelihood of a "gift exchange".

With regards to reciprocity, in a follow up to his Levels of Service Korcynski (2005), by making explicit the relationship between emotional labour (the offering of emotional display) and service (within a two way interaction), emphasised that reciprocity (or lack thereof) may certainly be a source of pain for the worker. "…it is the pleasurable emotional labour that occurs in service interactions that

service workers regard as one of the most significant and satisfying aspects of their job…The pain occasioned by irate customers is made sharper because customers are also a key source of meaning and pleasure in service jobs…Service workers who are positively disposed to customers and who seek meaning and pleasure from helping [them], but who are confronted with abuse…are, therefore, likely to feel pain from this abuse." (Korcynski, 2005:57). Korcynski continues to suggest that because of this, emotional labourers seek solace in their colleagues and form "communities of coping" (Korcynski, 2005:55) rather than delve deeper into the effect of recipient response. However, Korcynski also does not distinguish between the levels of emotional labour professions in his findings.

Some form of categorisation is needed, in order to generate more meaningful results, and as such, the distinction, that will be used in this thesis, comes from Harris (2002). Harris (2002) speaks of the difference between the emotional labour of "professionals" and "occupations". For Harris a "professional" is defined by someone whose status is defined by a code of practice "…particularly the case in the legal, medical and theological so called 'status professions'" (Harris, 2002:554). He contrasts such professions with "occupations", finding the latter to have "…emotional labour governed by hierarchical bureaucracies [while] professions are typically self-regulating." (Harris, 2002:555). For Harris, the distinction is significant because "…much professional work is distinguished by a reliance on the ingenuity, reflexivity and innovativeness of the individual professional." (Harris, 2002:555), in other words, the emotional intelligence to support the emotional demands is likely to be present in the person trained in the profession and does not necessarily need to be imposed further by the specific organisation.

This is a more visible distinction to make. When grouping emotional labour services, a professional status is objective as it is conferred or it is not. While there is mileage in exploring whether "levels" of emotional labour provide a better means of distinguishing between the services, this thesis' significant contribution is concerned with the other under-researched area namely that emotional

labour is interactive, and the effects of that interaction – and as such a distinction needs to be made for the purposes of analysis.

2.i.ii.) The construction of Emotional labour in different services

Looking at Steinberg and Fighart's (1999) list at the start of this chapter, it would not be possible to review every piece of services research that identified emotional labour. As such, this exploration has been limited to five categories: Call centres, Retail, Flight Attendants, Teaching, and Health Care. These are chosen because they have sustained a large amount of interest in the field of emotional labour, and because they occupy different areas along the "levels of service" continuum (Korcynski, 2005). They also often have both males and females working within the profession – at the same status. Each category will be discussed, first, in line with the level of service (and emotional labour) required. They will also be distinguished as a "professional" service or an "occupation", and then the key findings of how emotional labour is performed will be discussed.

2.i.ii.a) Call Centres

Although call centres present voice-to-voice emotional labour, rather than face-to-face, Kinman (2008, 2009, 2011) found that there was little difference between the emotional strain felt by a call centre worker compared to take of a face to face emotional labourer. As such, it might be that face-to-face versus voice-to-voice is not the clearest form of differentiation when asserting a categorisation on emotional labour "type".

A call centre would fall within the lowest levels of service and be classified "occupational labour" (Harris, 2002). There is no professional code of conduct offering the call centre operator a professional status. Interaction is often fleeting, and the call centre worker is often the worker of, or "gateway" to the service rather than being the service itself.

Holman (2008) found a high level of emotional strain in call centre workers due to the nature of the display rules and organisation of the service. Studying call centre workers in a bank, Holman found that they were subjected to numerous targets, and constantly assessed (eg. with 'recorded calls') for the quality of their service. This was sometimes exacerbated because the people who called may present with problems that they were unable to solve. The results from call centre research (eg. Rose and Wright, 2005) has also found that a restructuring of service design – eg. offering more incentives to workers, may improve job satisfaction.

This relates closely to Hochschild's original Marxist conceptualisation of emotional labour – if changes are made within the service design, there will be less strain. However, little is said about altering or affecting the nature of the interactions with callers.

Shuler and Sypher (2000) suggest that there may be pleasure to be found within a call centre – through being able to laugh with colleagues at the nature of some of the calls (something made easier because the caller is not present and so is easier to exclude), however, they do not pursue the significance of this any further.

2.i.ii.b) Retail

This would fall within the lowest of the levels of service (Korcynski, 2005), and be "occupational" (Harris, 2002) as there is no professional code of conduct applied to become a retail worker. Interaction is often fleeting, and little more is required of the emotional labourer than common courtesy, unless charged with resolving a problem. However, this is also the level at which Macdonald and Sirianni (1996) would claim the highest level of display rules are impressed upon the worker.

Brotheridge and Lee (2002) whose findings were discussed earlier found that a common response to the demands of display rules was emotional exhaustion. However, their sample included retail clerks

as only one of the many professions interviewed. Gabbot et al (2010) found a similar occurrence. However, they related it to the extra pressure often placed on a retail clerk to rectify (or "recover") a service that had previously gone wrong. An interesting finding was that service recipients with a higher level of emotional intelligence, were more able to take a part in how the service encounter was enacted and "…high EI customers are in a better position to achieve their desired service outcomes by managing their emotions and participating in adaptive coping behaviour" (Gabbot et al, 2010: 243). Unfortunately, Boyd (2002); Bishop and Hoel (2008); and Hopp et al (2012) found that a more common response (rather than the use of emotional intelligence and coping strategies on the part of the recipient) is violence and bullying of retail staff, adding to the emotional strain already present through the performance of display rules.

Retail is probably the most basic (Level 1, Korcynski (2005)) of emotional labour performance but its simplicity may also be its strain. The retail clerk is the human mediator between the recipient and the resolution of their problem – which is sometimes neither in the control nor the abilities of the clerk to resolve. As such the retail clerk is there to either give the recipient what they want, or sustain the frustration of the recipient should the environment grow hostile (Hopp et al, 2012).

2.i.ii.c) Flight Attendants

Cabin crew are slightly higher on the level of service continuum, but similarly, an "occupational" profession (Harris, 2002) as while they have training, there is no professional awarding body conferring status, nor professional registration required. Interaction with the service recipient lasts the duration of the flight – which can vary from 45 minutes to 13 hours, but it is not necessarily constant, and nor does it regularly progress from a safety check to serving food. Already, Hochschild (1983, 2003) has identified the demands placed on the flight attendant – a "bubbly personality" as well as specific aesthetic requirements – and these may also be extra to those needed from a retail clerk.

Hoschschild's findings emphasised the high level of training required for the "Delta personality", or being the "Pan Am type" (Hochschild, 2003:98). She found that cabin crew engaged in both surface and deep acting in performing emotional labour. She also found that the more experienced the worker, the more deep acting was used, and further, with experience, the worker was able to "switch" in and out of their performance so the effects (eg. the adrenaline rush of performance) did not affect the seasoned worker as much as the novice.

Hochschild discussed how the service of Delta Airlines, Pan Am, and United Airlines was often constructed to emphasise comfort, and that flight attendants were told to welcome the customers on board as if they were being welcomed into their own homes (Hochschild, 2003). A high level of emphasis was placed on adopting "…the passengers point of view…and relations based on getting and giving money [were] to be seen *as if* they were relations free of money." (Hochschild, 2003:106). Further, "As at home, the guest is protected from ridicule. A flight attendant must suppress laughter, for example, at seeing a passenger try to climb over the overhead storage rack…Nor will she exhibit any idiosyncratic habits…which might make the guest feel uncomfortable." (Hochschild, 2003:106).

Bolton and Boyd (2003) developed Hochschild's research further, finding that while the display rule demands were present, flight attendants were not oppressed "puppets", but individuals who had quite an enjoyable time with their colleagues whether faced with hostility or not. "One respondent provides an example of a fake review: '…I have suggested that crew member X refrains from picking her nose and scratching her arse when walking through the cabin.'" (Bolton and Boyd, 2003:298). Humour was invariably present in the daily lives of the flight attendants as a means of "…relieving boredom…'letting off steam'… and offering support and friendship." (Bolton and Boyd, 2003:298). Further the support generated within the crew included not calling in sick in order to protect a colleague from having to do "standby".

Of course, unpleasant instances within the job were also reported, such as having to deal with sick passengers, or encountering verbal abuse such as being held personally responsible for delays or lost baggage. Workers from this study, too, reported a high emphasis on training – although for Bolton and Boyd, respect for safety as part of the professional standards was seen as more important than passenger demand…although only slightly. Further, Bolton and Boyd found that sometimes flight attendants were willing to accept beyond what was asked as one flight attendant reported "As I walked past the toilet an elderly passenger fainted. I crouched down to assist and she immediately vomited over both of us. I had to help her to clean her clothes and try to calm and reassure her. It was very traumatic for both of us but I did not mind." (Bolton and Boyd, 2003:299).

Bolton and Boyd's key contribution was the recognition of the enjoyment that a service profession could provide; where emotional labour could be a source of fun, or even conspiracy within colleagues, or something that might even make the performer feel good about themselves. Within this service too, emotional labour is again the key requirement.

2.i.ii.d) Teaching

Teachers may fall within the Level 2 or services – they would also fall within the status of "professional" (Harris, 2002) as recognition needs to be gained from the General Teaching Council and training requires teachers to meet a minimum of 33 professional standards before the qualification is awarded. The duration of the interaction can range between one hour and 6 hours (depending on type of educational organisation), and is often regular – daily, one or twice a week, or more for at least a term, or an academic year. The intensity of the interaction is arguably higher than that of retail or flight attending as the nature of the subject (learning) can be anxiety provoking. French (1997), drawing from psychoanalytic research, highlighted a further area of emotional distress for the teacher – their role as a "container" of learning anxiety. Thus, instead of the grateful pupil thanking the teacher and continuing independently, the teacher whose emotional labour and aptitude for care has built a level of trust within the classroom, is instead "bearing the pain" of the feelings the pupil

wishes to unload (French, 1997:491). Further, the variety of emotion expected is heightened because in order to impart knowledge, Hargreaves (1998, 2000) finds that not only do teachers need to manage their emotional displays to deal with the issues arising within the classroom (such as a sick pupil, forgotten homework, a poor work ethic) but actually use them to deliver an engaging lesson. This finding that emotions enhance teaching delivery is supported by Naring et al (2011).

For Hargreaves, "Good teaching is charged with positive emotion. It is not just a matter of knowing one's subject, being efficient, having the correct competencies, or learning all the right techniques. Good teachers are not just well-oiled machines. They are emotional, passionate beings who connect with their students and fill their work and their classes with pleasure, creativity, challenge and joy." (Hargreaves, 1998:835). Naring et al (2011) also emphasised that emotion was central to a teacher's job. The teacher is not just there to nurture and support their pupils, but also to discipline and chastise when necessary as well. This sentiment was echoed by Salisbury et al (2006) who found emotion to be central to teaching. How, otherwise, could enthusiasm for a subject be displayed, alongside disappointment or anger to curtail poor attendance (Salisbury et al, 2006:18).

Thus, another difference between teaching and retail (and cabin crew) is that teachers themselves are the product that the "customer" wishes to "consume". The teacher is the giver of knowledge for the student to pass their exam and as such they form the product as well as the "server". Thus a complaint about the teacher may encompass a slur on the product (their ability to teach) as well as the service (their ability to interact).

Certainly display rules, and unpleasant service recipients (pupils) are sources of strain on the emotional labourer (Colley, 2003; Brouwers and Tomic, 2000; and Kinman 2011). Barrett (2003) identified extra pressures on the profession such as an increased recipient demand to tailor the "product" (eg. the education they themselves are constructing and providing) to each and every

individual. Research into emotional labour does not yet investigate the effects of this distinction in full.

2.i.ii.e) Health Care

The emotional labour of Health Care professionals tends to be divided into nurses, physicians and therapists. As such the level of service also varies. Nurses, like teachers, will spend a regular amount of time with their patients. They too are a part of the service as they have professional knowledge as well as giving "care" – although it may arguably be less than that needed for the teacher. Physicians, depending on the medical need are also a regular person in the life of the patient – but the emotional labour of the oncology specialist will differ from that of the heart surgeon. However, they are of professional status bound by training standards, and, as Harris reminds – the Hippocratic Oath (Harris, 2002:554). Finally, the Therapist will also see clients on a regular basis, and they too form a highly skilled part of the service – and are bound by the rules of the Register of Counselling Professionals and the British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy.

Bakker et al (2002) found that nurses were often exhausted due to a lack of professional recognition from the organisation, as well as the emotional demands of the job. Bolton (2000) too, found that display rules – often gender biased were placed upon nurses by the employers, and reflected in the expectation of the recipient. Smith (2011) in her reworking of "The Emotional labour of Nursing", echoed these sentiments, but further discussed the effect of emotional strain from working on a terminal ward, finding that nurses preferred to offer genuine care and compassion than prescribed professional distance. This approach reflects a finding by Bolton (2000) that some nurses chose to gift compassion or sympathy freely to patients – beyond that which was demanded by display rules. This has formed the basis of David Sheard's (2008) training for nurses of Alzheimer sufferers who are encouraged to be "themselves" rather than "distant medical professional".   One of the notable changes to emotional labour in the late 2000's perhaps being a move in some organisations from "care" to "professional emotional neutrality."

Physicians too, were found to suffer from emotional exhaustion (eg. Martinez-Inigo et al, 2007), as were Therapists (Kress-Shull, 2000), but this was more often ascribed to other elements of the job, rather than solely emotional labour performance. Physicians were often let down by the service itself, resulting in the recipient-patient already being angered by the time of the interaction (Martinez-Inigo, et al, 2007). Kress-Shull (2000) found the difficulty for the counsellor to be because of an inability to train for the role appropriately. The Counsellor *knew* what was required, but felt unprepared as to how to go about performing it. It should be noted that there have not been many studies on Therapists, and as Kress-Shull's, those in existence tend to be single-subject and are thus less generalisable. What is also noticeable in all these studies, is that regardless of the "status" of "professional" (Harris, 2002), organisations are still placing emotional demands in the form of display rules on their employees, and this too may be a cause of extra negativity.

This short exploration of emotional labour performance in service has helped to understand emotional labour as a complex construct. Its demands are shaped by the status of the job role, by employers as well as recipients, and they are, in turn, affected by cultural norms. Leidner's (1996) analysis of McDonalds as a service, not only demonstrates how far a hamburger server is prescribed to by display rules, but also how these will change according to the cultural expectations. The "have a nice day" approach working better in the United States and United Kingdom compared to Russia where it was treated with suspicion (Leidner, 1996). It is also noted, that although an emotional labourer has a "professional" status, they may still be subject to the same display rule demands as an occupational emotional labourer at the micro level of organisation – and this may be a further source of emotional strain.

Finally, research which tries to differentiate between emotional labour services has not been widespread, and yet being able to apply certain findings on a more general basis – but one that is not as general as "all jobs involving emotional labour" is pertinent. The shop assistant is not the same as

the teacher for a multitude of reasons, and as such, in terms of the performance expectations, the display rules, and managerial support there will be differences. Therefore, to gain a better understanding of how to support the emotional labourer, or understand their perceptions of their job – and even those of the recipient, some form of differentiation is essential.

Emotional labour is an extremely complex topic, and its complexity must be maintained to some extent. However, this does not mean that each piece of research on a specific service cannot apply to others, it is just important to decide how discerning one needs to be. Previously, research has either included "all types" of emotional labourers and formed general conclusions, or focussed on highly specific groups and formed specific ones. There is, perhaps, a need to "focus" the direction of future research within this field. While there is value in expanding the remit of professions that perform emotional labour, in that any recommendations for alleviating emotional strain may be of benefit, it does not necessarily progress the topic any further.

Mediating the negative effects of emotional labour

Emotion in the workplace has always been an important topic as it has been related to job satisfaction and burnout. In 1998, Felton drew America's attention to the high level of emotional exhaustion in health care workers. He found that workers in Oncology departments, Emergency Services, Mental Health, Speech and Language Therapy, Nursing Homes and Neonatal wards had a higher incidence of "burnout" than those in other professions (Felton, 1998:245). While this chapter does not propose to discuss "burnout" or "emotional exhaustion", these findings are highlighted in order to demonstrate that emotions in the workplace have a prominent place in literature prior to (and now alongside) emotional labour, and that the findings and recommendations are not dissimilar. Manuela Kress-Shull wrote a case study on a rehabilitation counsellor's journey finding that the labourer in question felt "Well trained but unprepared." (Kress-Shull, 2000:11).

This sentiment was taken up by Morris and Stuart (2002) who, in their review of mental health policy and administration set out training advice for supervisors. Workers were to be taught using experiential techniques which would enable the opportunity to practice (and reflect on) their jobs within a 'safe' (ie. simulated) context. Further, recognising the value of peer support, "Learning should not take place in any vacuum." Supervisors and colleagues needed to be on hand for workers to consult when needed. (Morris and Stuart, 2002:398). Already it was evident that the worker performing work in the medical field needed to rely on more than just academic knowledge for longevity within the profession.

Bakker et al echoed this sentiment when they recommended that emotional exhaustion amongst nurses would be avoided if managers increased nurses "esteem reward", or took the time to differentiate between the demands of a nurse's daily tasks – rescheduling some as necessary. (Bakker et al, 2000:890). In particular, Bakker et al stressed the importance of recognising that nursing was emotionally draining, and that leaving the profession was largely motivated by negative emotional wellbeing than any other factor.

Supervisor and Colleague Support

Drawing upon such findings – particularly those of Morris and Stuart (2002), and Bakker et al (2000), Alice Grandey emphasised the importance of understanding individual differences of workers performing emotional labour, as well as the value of supervisor support. Grandey (2000) reviewed the literature on the negative effects of emotional labour and proposed that the worker's affectivity played a role in emotional labour success – in particular, someone who had a positive disposition often performed emotional labour better than one without. She felt that the worker's own baseline of emotional intelligence, and sometimes their gender (ie. being female) made adherence to display rules easier, and, with the finding that autonomy also mediated performance, urged organisations to encourage a higher level of autonomy over display. She also reiterated the importance of supervisor and co-worker support finding that similarly to Morris and Stuart(2002), and Bakker et al's (2000)

research into burnout, that this could be applied as well to emotional labour, encouraging further research into this application "The stress literature shows fairly clearly that disclosure of emotional events helps individuals cope with stress and buffer against health risks…Social support in service settings seems to help protect individuals from stress…Only one known study has tested support as a moderator of emotional labour and outcomes" (Grandey, 2000:107).

Likewise, Brotheridge and Lee found through cross sectional survey responses from 236 working adults that "co-workers must be provided with the opportunity to interact with each other…Managers who are staffing services should pay particular attention to the interaction competencies possessed by the candidates…Finally, given the potentially pernicious outcomes of surface acting, managers should provide workers with the opportunity to perform their roles in a manner that allows reasonable latitude for self expression." (Brotheridge and Lee, 2002:66). What is interesting about Brotheridge and Lee's findings is that while they make reference to Shuler and Sypher (2000) in their literature review, their claim is for co-workers to interact to alleviate emotional strain, as opposed to Shuler and Sypher's claim that the interaction is a pleasurable element of the job – a bonus to emotional labour.

Brennan (2006) who studied mediators to the emotional labour of teachers found that the opportunity to "vent" was important. Brennan too referred to Shuler and Sypher's (2000) discussion on the importance of co-workers, but again, like Brotheridge and Lee saw them to be a source of support rather than pleasure. Brennan (2006) proposed further that, in their absence venting to an "artificial intelligence" programme called a "chatbot" was just as effective "…for many teachers, emotional labour is a daily problem [and] intelligent agents represent a possible antidote. A chatbot..is capable of satisfying the emotional desires of the user…it is an inexhaustible, devoted companion…" (Brennan, 2006:11). Clearly the use of artificial intelligence is not realistic for every emotional labour profession, but Brennan raises an interesting point about colleagues – they are exhaustible. This has implications for Grandey's (2000), and Brotheridge and Lee's (2002) approach that colleagues may be a support system mediator to emotional labour, and indirectly supports Shuler and Sypher (2000) who

see colleagues as a source of fun and in that way a mediator to strain. Arguably in Shuler and Sypher's view, colleague interaction may include "venting", but more often they form an opportunity for the worker to enjoy an emotional escape – for one may question how supportive is a colleague who is themselves emotionally strained.

Effective Training

Being practised at their job often mediates emotional labour demands (eg. Kruml and Geddes, 2000; Hochschild, 2003). Developing findings by Kress-Shull (2000) and Morris and Stuart (2002) on the effect of training, Goldberg and Grandey (2007) simulated a call centre with display rules and asked the 'workers', 89 university students, to complete a survey following their experience. Workers were given training and adherence to the display rules was further motivated by the offer of an incentive, and threat of punishment if they did not conform. However, some were told that they must offer "service with a smile", others to "be yourself". Goldberg and Grandey (2007) found that both the threat and the incentive meant that all participants felt more inclined to follow the display rules but that this resulted in a drain on their attentional resources, which resulted in making task errors, as well as a drain on their emotional resources, resulting in a high level of exhaustion being reported. However, those told to "Be Yourself" coped better when a caller deviated from the training demands, and reported a lower level of exhaustion compared to the other group. Goldberg and Grandey (2007) recommended that organisations could better support their workers through giving opportunities for breaks as well as strategies for swift engagement in deep acting during the training process.

Work by Smith et al (2007) emphasised the importance of "experiential learning" (Kolb, 1984) techniques in order to practise and reflect on the ability to engage in deep acting. The process is similar to Boal's (1979) application of "forum theatre" which enables participants to explore a difficult workplace situation and generate new coping strategies to use in future. Participants identify, then perform, a scenario they have experienced at work. Other staff members take the parts of the protagonists and the service worker acts out his or her response. The facilitator or trainer freezes the

action at various points and invites different solutions and courses of action from the floor (the forum). This continues until a satisfactory resolution is found, and the strategy is then discussed and reflected on by the 'actor' and the rest of the group. Smith et al (2007) successfully used actors to perform the role of detained persons so that custody sergeants had the opportunity to practise their techniques in dealing with the vulnerable adults whom they routinely faced. This opportunity for experiential learning through performance, and later watching themselves on video and reflecting on their practice in conversation with other officers was welcomed by Kent Constabulary.

Within a staged "forum", real feelings may nevertheless be generated. Recording the interaction allows workers to consider their 'performance'. The environment is risk free in that the 'public' are represented by experienced actors, and the trainer is on hand to stop the task. Scope for trying out changes of behaviour can be given by re-running encounters, and workers have that chance to 'practise', or even be surprised by their own actions and reactions before facing the service situations in real life. This sort of training often boosts self-confidence, highlighting the positive qualities of performance. It may also identify areas for development, ideally reducing the fear of making mistakes and of asking for help. This can also be an enjoyable group experience which in turn promotes mutual understanding, exchange of knowledge and informed support. Daly et al (2009) also used improvisation to train flight attendants, finding similar results in terms of the process building self-confidence in emotional performance.

Autonomy

The importance of autonomy is a finding established by Morris and Feldman (1996), Bolton and Boyd (2003) and which has also been reflected in the above research. Allowing the emotional labourer autonomy in their emotional display, is likely to result in better performance (Goldberg and Grandey, 2007), and lower emotional strain (Wharton, 1993; Brotheridge and Lee, 2002). Goldberg and Grandey (2007) even go so far to say that sometimes the insistence on display rules can (without performance) lead to a negative emotional response. They cite the case of "…a grocery store worker

after a legal suit to decrease the display requirements to customers: "I don't really have a problem with the policy, but I really don't think it should be required. I'm going to treat people nice regardless." (Cabanatuan, 1998 cited by Goldberg and Grandey, 2007:316).

The importance of autonomy is interesting in that the reasons why it is sometimes *not* offered may be considered relevant. Vincent (2011) suggests that the reason may be the some workers – perhaps those with lower levels of emotional intelligence - are just not capable of being trusted. This leads into a discussion on the affective disposition of the worker. Payne suggests that emotional skill may be more evident in the middle class as they have greater exposure to feeling rules (Payne, 2006), and previous research (including Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 2003; Payne 2006) has long suggested that gender (ie. being female) results in less emotional strain[6].

Johnson and Spector (2007) investigated the effect of gender, emotional intelligence and autonomy as moderators to the emotional labour performance of 176 participants in customer service organisations. Contrary to their own hypotheses, and the findings discussed above, they found that neither emotional intelligence nor gender had a significantly moderating effect on emotional strain[7]. However, when workers were afforded autonomy, they were more likely to engage in deep acting (rather than offering a surface performance of display rules), which in turn resulted in less strain. Those with less autonomy tended to view their job as "…a challenge." (Johnson and Spector, 2007:15)

Of course, Vincent (2011) warns, that too much autonomy can result in "misbehaviour" by emotional labourers, although it is expected that they will also be bound by their own feelings of professionalism. Further, autonomy is perhaps the only way to allow for the next recommendation – empathy.

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[6] It is recognised that it can also add strain in that the stereotype of women being nurturers can be frustrating for the worker (eg. Morris and Feldman, 1996), but this was discussed earlier, and is not considered important in this particular section o the chapter.

[7] They did not investigate the effect of these factors on performance strength

Empathy

Challenging Hochschild's approach where emotional labour was the performance of organisational display rules, was Bolton's (2000) view that emotional labourers wished to offer a "gift" of caring. This would involve demonstrating compassion that went beyond what was prescribed by the organisation, and what Bolton and Boyd (2003) termed "philanthropic" emotional labour. The importance of compassion was discussed by Larson and Yao (2005) who found that "…physicians are more effective healers – and enjoy more professional satisfaction – when they engage in the process of empathy." (Larson and Yao, 2005:1100). They went on to suggest that "…physicians first recognise that their work has an element of emotional labour and…consciously practice deep and surface acting to empathise with their patients." (Larson and Yao, 2005:1100). They too emphasise the importance of training for strategies to engage empathy.

In a departure from the majority of research findings in this area, for Larson and Yao (2005), deep and surface acting could happen simultaneously. Surface acting could be employed as physicians learn to deliver bad news or disclose medical errors, but deep acting takes place as physicians begin to know their patients a little better (ie. it becomes easier to view an angry patient as an emotionally vulnerable child, if the physician is aware that this is the patient's history). Related to this, Larson and Yao (2005) suggest that as the relationship develops, empathy enables the physician to tailor their emotional responses on a more individualised basis, and as such give a higher standard of patient care than standard display rules would afford. As an explicit exemplar of Bolton and Boyd's (2003) findings, this study is an important contribution to emotional labour as it not only challenges the approach that constructs emotional labour almost as "organisational puppetry", but also emphasises the value of the person performing emotional labour. In some way it supports the importance of having some emotional intelligence in order to be able to empathise, and it also impresses the need for training for these skills. It also introduces a focus on the patient – although it does not pursue this

angle any further than stressing the positive effect of differentiating emotional performance from patient to patient.

However, despite research finding that colleague support or management training may mediate the effects of emotional strain through, for example, Korcynski's (2005) "Communities of Coping", what is missing from the literature is a deeper examination of how coping occurs. Research identifies that such communities are present, but do not identify how they are formed, and maintained. It is not clear if they are temporary, purely work-related or personal. Understanding how coping occurs in the workplace is valuable in informing colleagues and mangers supporting emotional labourers.

Emotional labour as Interactive - and affected by the emotions of others

The very nature of the phrase "emotional labour *performance*" implies that emotional labour is also not done in isolation. "No… performance functions detached from its audience." (Schechner, 1985:10). However, the nature of the interaction ie. who interacts with whom, and what the effect of that interaction is on the emotional labourer is not clearly defined.

In an under-developed section of their findings Diefendorff and Richard (2003) mention that contrary to Hochschild's view (and justification of deep acting) that cognitive perception could drive emotion (a model of emotion formalised by Gross in 1998), emotional affect could precipitate a change in cognition. For Diefendorff and Richard (2003), a job which made positive display rule demands of their workers could bring about a change in dispositional affect "Demands for positive displays may be beneficial for the person, whereas demands to suppress negative emotions may be detrimental." (Diefendorff and Richard, 2003:292). This would suggest that exposure to positive emotion (albeit "put on") could result in feelings of happiness.

Martinez-Inigo et al (2007) take up this finding in their investigation into the emotional satisfaction of GPs. They refer to Cote's (2005) Social Interaction Model and as well as hypothesising over the

(highly researched) relationship between emotional regulation and exhaustion, they asked what the effect of a positive interaction with their client would have on the worker. Their results report "…[emotional] resources are gained from rewarding relationships, thereby leading to an improvement in wellbeing" (Martinez-Inigo et al, 2007:42). As such it would seem that the interaction with the client (especially a positive one) might result in a positive emotional display regardless of whether the "rules" required this. This is a perspective that has been explored by relatively few academics, yet has the potential to form the foundation of a more substantial (interactive) model of emotional labour

Hennig-Thurau et al (2006) used a simulated customer service experience to examine the effect of "emotional contagion" on employees. ""Emotional Contagion" is defined as the flow of emotions from one person to another with the receiver "catching" the emotions that the sender displays." (Schoenewolf, 1990 cited by Hennig-Thurau et al 2006:58). As applied to emotional labour, they hypothesised that the labourer's emotion could be "caught" by the recipient, but that the process could work both ways – the recipient's emotional display could be "caught" by the emotional labourer. Not unlike the previous findings in the earlier sections, they found that training in deep acting strategies resulted in a more "authentic" display – as perceived by the recipient (Hennig-Thurau et al, 2006:70), but that this was the display that was "contagious".

In a departure from both emotional labour and customer service research (eg. Hochschild, 2003:89 "…where workers have weaker rights to courtesy than customers do.", and the customer is "king"), where customer satisfaction was seen to be under the remit of the employee alone, they stated that "…our results confirm that the emotions customers experience during service encounters play crucial roles and directly affect the success of service relationships. Because customer emotions appear to be key drivers of rapport with employees…" (Hennig-Thurau et al, 2006:70), and recommend it as an area worthy of further investigation.

Rupp and Spencer (2006) found that angry customers did much to affect the positive emotions of the employee, which in turn affected their performance of display rules. Participants exposed to customers who had been trained to be "…impolite, disrespectful, inarticulate and informationally unclear…found it more difficult to obey the emotional requirements of their job" because they perceived that they had been treated unfairly. Although their original intention would be to conform to display rules, they found they were less willing to do so. This resistance resulted in their display also being judged more "inauthentic" by the confederate customer. They concluded that "Although organizations cannot control the behaviour of their customers, managers can take steps to mitigate…effects on employees' reactions by extending more fair treatment towards them…" (Rupp and Spencer, 2006:977) This adds further weight to the findings of Grandey (2000), and Brotheridge and Lee (2002) who reported the need for a supportive supervisor. It also reiterates that a factor that must be considered in future emotional labour research is the recipient of the labour and how they may affect, and be affected by, the process.

Theodosius (2006) drew attention to Hochschild's lack of recognition of the interactive process of the emotional labour encounter. Applying psychodynamic terminology and citing Bion (1979) Theodosius remind readers that in an emotional labour encounter is a relational social action "…when two characters or personalities meet, an emotional storm is created. If they make a sufficient contact to be aware of each other, an emotional state is produced by the conjunction of these two individuals" (Bion, 1979 cited by Theodosuis, 2006). While it is not the aim of this thesis to pursue a psychoanalytical approach to emotional labour, Theodosius nonetheless contributes to thinking about the effect of the recipient on the emotional labour *interaction*. In her study of healthcare professionals Theodosius (2006) also finds that they are often frustrated by the display rules imposed on them, but also that "hidden" emotional processes affected emotional labour, especially in a long term relationship as on a ward – notably "transference". "Klein, who substantially develops Freud's notion of transference as an interactive process of exchange between two people suggests that…transference involved one person unconsciously getting rid of parts of the self, such as destructive emotions like

anger and hate, into others" (Theodosius, 2006:905). This may offer an explanation for the importance of support from supervisors or colleagues – so employees can "get rid" of their negative emotions onto them, but also an explanation of why rapport with colleagues can be so helpful to the labourer (ie. because good humour can also be transferred), and once again repeat the notion that the recipient may also have some influence within emotional labour.

Smith (2007) takes up this mantle of interaction in emotional labour in his review paper "Emotional Labor and the Pursuit of Happiness". Smith considers that emotional labour is often a product of common interest between Client and Provider (or recipient and labourer). As such, it is not the sole responsibility of the emotional labourer to make the customer happy for the sake of company profitability (as Hochschild originally perceived emotional labour to be in 1983), but more akin to Shuler and Sypher (2000), emotional labour provides a unique opportunity for labourer and recipient to encourage organisational change together through a dialogue which would, in other professions, not exist. Smith states, "The reform of the conditions of emotional labour calls for comparative surveys of both sides to each encounter and figuring what 'common decency' suggests for any front line... Student criticism about their personal tutor often teaches what needs to be put right for tutor and student; likewise what the tutor has to say about the student" (Smith, 2007:12). But research concerned with emotional labour as a two way interaction – whether to bring about change, apply a psychoanalytical lens, or even advise managers – remains extremely thin.

It is therefore the purpose of this thesis to further research in this under-investigated, yet highly significant area, and the first research question asked is:

1. What can we learn through exploring emotional labour as an interactive process – affected by manager, colleague and recipient behaviour?

If emotional labour is understood as an interactive process, what then is the effect of that interaction – with the managers, with the recipients, or with colleagues?

For Bolton (2000), Shuler and Sypher (2000) and Bolton and Boyd (2003), the emotional labourer may enjoy interaction with colleagues and with recipients, so much so that they seek the opportunity to engage in altruistic practice – gifting emotion! For all of these authors, the altruism offered is even given philanthropically ie. without expectation of reward. For Hochschild who also considers this topic in 2003, this sort of "gift" is something we save for those with whom we may have a "gift exchange" eg. we may put on a smile for a family occasion as it will please our family, knowing that we will have the same "bow" offered in return later on in our relationship…and if we do not, that we can terminate that relationship or negotiate a new going rate of exchange (Hochschild, 2003:85). But, are workers gifting something to their recipients or colleagues at the *expense* of the manager? Are workers gifting because they want to have something returned? These are questions that can only be answered by speaking with emotional labourers.

Further, if emotional labour is to be affected by interaction, then for completeness, it is sensible that the recipient voice is heard too. Thus far, although recipients are considered, they are done so in a passive way. Bolton and Boyd (2003) and Shuler and Sypher (2000) both speak of "reciprocity" and "gift giving" as a positive behaviour between emotional labour colleagues. Bolton (2000) and Shuler and Sypher (2000) propose that helping the recipient also gives the labourer the opportunity to feel good about themselves. Riley (2010) even suggests that interaction with a recipient – especially as positive one, may fulfil a psychological need of the emotional labourer – the need to feel appreciated. But, if these unspoken demands exist within an emotional labour interaction, one may ask – does the recipient even know they have an active part to play? If they do not – then research may well find that emotional labourers are angry because of the "ingratitude" of the recipient – for example – but a "customer who is king" – has no need to be grateful…and would not realise this is required. Taking the time to hear the views of the recipient may, therefore offer deeper insight into understanding emotional labour performance – if nothing else – at least what is wanted, and what is enjoyed by the recipient, which may, in turn, advise service providers in shaping their service – and display rules.

Hence the research second question is:

2. What is the nature of the recipient response to emotional labour?

Recipient response has been considered by Hochschild and others who have described emotional labour as a "gifting" process. Section ii) of this chapter, therefore reviews in more depth than in Chapter 1, the literature surrounding gift giving and reciprocity as it relates to organisational, emotional labour performance, transference, and social exchange in service work, as this may offer some insight into the perceptions both the recipient and labourer make.

2.ii) Recipient Perceptions of Emotional labour

A review of the literature surrounding emotional labour as an interactive process includes an overview of service design research. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) said "First, front-line personnel are situated at the organisational customer interface and thus, represent the organisation to customers" (making display rules all the more important); "Second, service transactions often involve face-to-face interactions between service agents and customers. Third, given the uncertainty created by customer participation in the service encounter, such encounters often have a dynamic and emergent quality." (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993:90).

Research into customer satisfaction with service encounters has begun to recognise the importance of emotional labour performance as a component to customer satisfaction (eg. Liljander and Strandvik, 1995; Gabbot et al, 2010; Gazor et al, 2012), and research in this area has begun to call for a new conceptual model of service satisfaction that considers "…emotional labour as a discriminating customer variable in circumstances where emotions and emotional management are prevalent." (Gabbot et al, 2010:234).

Unfortunately, it would seem that recipient response is growing in hostility with emotional labourers having to 'put up with it' as "part of the job" (Bishop and Hoel, 2008:342). Hochschild's original work concentrated on the demands of the organisation, but did not consider that the recipient too would have just as great a negative effect.

Recipient hostility may, as Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) considered (stated above), be a result of the expectations of the recipient as shaped by cultural norms not being met by the performance of the emotional labourer. Boyd (2002) agrees stating "As Ritzer (1993) notes, society has come to expect McDonald's style courtesy and friendliness in service workers." (Boyd, 2002:153). If that "norm" is not experienced in a service, it may result in a negative reaction from the recipient. (This is not to say that service recipients may sometimes need to tailor their "over-expectations", for example a student demanding a degree because he is a consumer (eg. Molesworth, 2003), but that is a subject for a different Thesis). Boyd (2002) goes on to recognise that there has been a higher level of violence performed by customers against emotional labourers (in the Airline and Railway industries), which in turn has led to burnout within the profession. She discusses Paules' (1996) study of behaviour of Waitresses who, when faced with customer hostility matched or even surpassed it, and in this way, the Waitresses were able to "…maintain a sense of self-worth and deflected assaults on their dignity and adulthood." (Paules, 1996; cited by Boyd, 2002:154). She goes on to say, however, that "…this coping mechanism may not be available to many other service workers. Instead, many service workers are encouraged to diffuse customer hostility…meaning that…abuse may have to be absorbed." (Boyd, 2002:154). She goes on to say that this can lead to "acceptance" (a sort of "Learned Helplessness" eg, Seligman and Maier, 1967) on the part of the labourers, but does not discuss this effect any further. Bishop and Hoel (2008) echo this sentiment in their study of "bullying"[8] within service interactions, finding that service providers tended to put the negative

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[8] They do not propose to use the term "bullying" to mean anything other than an easily understood generic phrase for customer hostility.

behaviour of their service recipients as something to take in their stride. Kinman (2011) found no difference between face to face workers and voice to voice workers in feeling the strain of unreasonable customers, but suggested that unreasonableness would be expressed differently depending on mode of communication. With many services recognising "…the power of rapport…" on customer retention and loyalty (Callaghan and Thompson, 2002:251), the demand for display rule adherence in the face of such a response grows ever greater (eg. Yi and Gong, 2009).

2. iii) Emotional labourer response to hostility – interaction with colleagues

Research by Sandiford and Seymour (2011) found that emotional labourers (bar workers) engaged in four key ways of resisting to customer hostility: i) Distancing; ii) "Veiled Authenticity"; iii) Humour; and iv) "Coping", but this was because they were "…resisting customer emotional demands not management prescription…" (Sandiford and Seymour; 2011:1211). Thus, this study is of note as it suggests that customer response is significant to emotional labour performance (and effect) more so than adherence to management display rules:

- Distancing. Sandiford and Seymour found that bar staff were more likely to avoid customers with whom they knew there would be confrontation. Alternatively they would leave the room to find somewhere to "calm down", or choose not to socialise in the vicinity of their work. This behaviour is reminiscent of Goffman's (1959) "Backstage area" where one can relax and be oneself. Karolina Wagnar (2007) touched on the importance of a "protective" area by arguing that improvements in services rest on ensuring that the *backstage* elements *support* the *frontstage* performance (Wagnar, 2007:635) and recommending that managers include the views from their staff when designing the frontstage elements.

- Veiled Authenticity. "…when customers were being unnecessarily unpleasant, [the worker] felt the need to make it clear to them that they behaviour and attitude were not acceptable, but she could not do so openly, and so endeavoured to veil her anger and/or disgust, but not quite enough to hide them fully." (Sandiford and Seymour, 2011:1205). For staff, this allowed them to remain

in line with display rules, but did not mean they had to 'put up' with being treated with disrespect.

- Humour. The use of sarcasm or self-deprecation eg. "Yes, thank you very much. I am a complete arse-hole, I know that. But would you like anything else to drink other than that?" (Sandiford and Seymour, 2011:1208). Similar to findings from Shuler and Sypher (2000), there was an understanding between the workers that there would be unreasonable customers, and much of the enjoyment of the job was also found to come from the ability to have a joke between colleagues at the expense of the customer "…you can laugh and joke about a customer…and it's like a little secret. And then you invent little 'Oh here comes, you know, "floppy arse"…So it's a little release because this big, pompous, fat fuck comes in the door…And…he's fat and pompous for the whole time he's there, and everybody is treating him nicely, but a little glance between the staff and they've broken the ice. They've won." (Sandiford and Seymour, 2011;1208). Again, this approach is reminiscent of Goffman's (1959) "Staging Talk" where one shares an "in joke" at the expense of an "Other", and as Shuler and Sypher (2000) found, not just "resistance", but a *pleasure* in emotional labour performance.

- Coping. This, Sandiford and Seymour liken to Korcynski's (2005) "Communities of Coping", where the worker sought solace in the understanding of colleagues who had been through the same, or similar, experiences. This, as seen in Chapter 1, is quite commonly recognised as a mediator to the effects of emotional labour performance (eg. Grandey, 2000; Bolton, 2000; Shuler and Sypher, 2000; Korcynski, 2005; Theodosius, 2006 and others)

Sandiford and Seymour's work serves to enlighten the reader as to the emotional labourer's immediate response to customer hostility and again, the importance of the interaction with colleagues is highlighted as the emotional labour turns to them in order to "cope". It is interesting to note that the labourer's negativity in Sandiford and Seymour's findings is directed more towards the customer than

the management's display rules which undermines the earlier findings relating to the reasons why labourers feel emotional strain.

As stated in Chapter 1 – although interaction and recipient behaviour have been considered previously, they have not been so done in great depth in terms of its emotional affect. It seems strange for a social constructionist phenomenon, such as emotional labour, (eg. Hoschchild, 2003; Bolton and Boyd, 2002; Vincent, 2011), to not scrutinise the emotional interpretations of the parties to the interaction further.

However, if one is to approach Emotional labour as an interactive construct, then it is also surprising that the voice of the customer is not fully considered. It is unclear if customers are just naturally hostile, or if are they responding to behaviour on the part of the emotional labourer. Findings would have implications for service design and management.

Research that has taken the customer (or recipient – as not all emotional labourer service recipients can be called "customers" – eg. a pupil) point of view is limited. Phipps (2001) emphasised the importance of improving service quality only through "…truly listening to the customer voice…" (Phipps, 2001:638), but her argument came within a piece advocating the importance of building libraries of customer and employee response to advise service design – rather than through speaking with the service recipient and analysing their responses. Further (as mentioned in Chapter 1), it is arguable that research that considers the service recipient at all does so in a passive manner – asking for the recipient opinion on emotional labour performance rather than investigating what the recipient really wants.

Groth et al (2009) found that customer loyalty was related to the success of emotional labour performance – but if the customer detected that the emotional labourer was "performing" this would have the opposite effect. Lemmink and Mattsson (2002) found that "Warmth correlated highly with

post-experience measures, had a dual impact on customer loyalty and increased intention to stay and willingness to pay more for the same service." and proposed that "Service firms should train employees to deal with emotions and to learn empathic behaviors." (Lemmink and Mattsson (2002:abstract). Rupp et al (2008) also considered the role of the customer in emotional labour, but approach it in terms of their effect on the emotional labour performance. Rupp et al (2008) found that emotional labours perceived customers as a source of "injustice" – and as such felt more emotional strain in performing emotional labour in the face of this perceived hostility.

What all these papers have in common is a presumption of sovereignty of the recipient. It is a similar mind set to that of organisations who construct a service around the premise that "The Customer is King". Perhaps this question has not seemed relevant to previous emotional labour research. After all, as a ground-breaking phenomenon, the focus has been directed foremostly at the performer as it has sought to identify the various strains that emotional labour imposes; or how the labourer may learn to cope. The sovereignty of the customer has been embedded within the very definition of emotional labour – as the public display of an appropriate emotion for the recipient. The presumption is further reinforced as research findings reveal that the labourer complains of customer hostility (eg. Korcynski, 2005; and Sandiford and Seymour (2011) or customer bullying (eg. Bishop and Hoel, 2008).

However, this negative response contradicts findings of Bolton and Boyd (2000) and Shuler and Sypher (2000), for example, who find that the emotional labourer sometimes "gifts" a little extra to their recipients. If the recipient were so great a source of strain, this would appear a strange behaviour. Bolton and Boyd, and Shuler and Sypher put it down to the caring nature of the labourer, or to the labourer getting something out of the interaction – eg. feeling good that they had helped. However, it is possible that if the customer can have a negative effect, they can have a positive one too – which may precipitate the "gift". Further rather than a *presumption* that pleasing the recipient is the ultimate goal of emotional labour – asking what the recipient thinks of their emotional labour

experiences and perhaps what they want from it may better advise organisational practice. While there has been a lot of emotional labour and services research advising organisations, there is, notably, a large amount of research into customer dissatisfaction with service.

Some evidence suggests that dissatisfied customers have somehow become aware that organisations have poor understanding of them. For example, half of dissatisfied customers are fatalistic, doubting that it is worth complaining. Gursoy et al (2007:358)'s paper "Propensity to Complain" reviewed literature in which "50% of dissatisfied customers choose not to complain directly to the service provider (Day, 1977; Day, 1980b; Day and Bodur 1978; Day and Laird Landon, 1977; Gursoy et al 2007) because…a) it is not worth the time and effort, b) they do not know where or how to complain and c) they believe that nothing will be done even if they do complain (Lewis and Morris, 1987)." Thus evidence that organisations are succeeding is not challenged by evidence that they are failing. This reluctance to complain, along with management acceptance that short, quantitative surveys are enough goes some way to explaining why organisations which have passed every inspection are confounded by dreadful occurrences and service user dissatisfaction.

Epistemologically, this may also be because satisfaction surveys may be unreliable, loaded, and misrepresentative, but easy to complete (Coolican, 1992), and as stated earlier, the service recipient is not offered any other voice. Further, if complaints are embedded in "grievance culture" (Baggini, 2008:7), where complaining is more a necessary psychological well-being activity, and mere venting to friends or colleagues is enough to restore a sense of satisfaction without taking the sometimes painstaking route to formal complaint (eg. Alike et al, 1992; Baggini, 2008), formal complaints are few (Gursoy et al 2007:358).

2.iv) The lure of emotional labour

Another area that a deeper insight into the voices of those party to the emotional labour interaction may support is what motivates the emotional labourer to do what so many academics reveal to be

"thankless" or emotionally straining. The motivation towards any particular job has not yet been linked with emotional labour, although some insights within this field of motivation may be of use. Webb and Carpenter (2011), who studied the motivation of Public Sector Workers, found they had an "attraction" to public service or public sector/not for profit jobs. This is not unlike the finding from Bolton (2000) where nurses were attracted to a caring profession because of a desire to care; and Shuler and Sypher (2000) who found that emotional labourers enjoyed the rapport that they built with colleagues of a similar disposition.

Returning to a point that was raised by Riley (2009) in Chapter 1 (section iii), people may also be drawn to service work because of a desire to help others (Wuthnow, 1995), and as such, an examination of the interactive nature of emotional labour is significant. Harou Sakiyama agrees that "…people are motivated to promote good human relationships, So, emotional labour is considered one of the tools to achieve this." (Sakiyama, 2009:180), not only does the emotional labourer foster a positive interaction with the recipient, but is also able to "feel good" about it.

The term "calling", while originally having a religious implication (Mather, 1701) has also been used by people to describe jobs that they love. Wrzesniewski et al, (1997:21) found that people were happy to categorise their job as either a "Job" (which was performed purely for financial remuneration), a "Career" (characterised by the wish to improve and progress), and a "Calling" (where they loved their job regardless of the above). There has been little research with regards to whether emotional labourers professionals explicitly categorise their job as a "job", "career" or a "calling", but arguably, it is known that service work is of low pay (eg. Bolton, 2000; Hochschild, 2003) so this component is less likely to be the attraction.

Personal recognition from the management (eg. Callaghan and Thompson, 2002; Larson, 2008), or a good relationship with colleagues (eg. Bolton and Boyd, 2003; Shuler and Sypher, 2000) may serve to retain the labourer in the profession after a hard day (NB: Shuler and Syper of course also say it is an

enticement too). This is also an area where understanding the recipient reaction may too have implications for services.

Certainly the negative effects of recipient hostility permeate customer service research with the result often being "burnout", or a form of "Learned Helplessness" (Seligman and Maier, 1967) – where the emotional labourer learns to live with recipient abuse without resorting to "resistance" strategies. Yet, still the emotional labourer can be drawn to the profession.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature on interaction within emotional labour in greater detail and considered how the emotional labourer reacts in order to protect themselves from recipient hostility, as well as how they may find enjoyment at the expense of the customer, *as well as* through offering the recipient more than expected and asks why this may be the case. It has also posited the view that because emotion may be "transferrable" the recipient, colleagues and managers too, contribute to the success of emotional performance.

Therefore, this thesis seeks first to investigate the *interactive* nature of emotional labour – *who* does the labourer interact with and *what* is the effect of those interactions, *how* do they choose to interact (eg. "gift give"?), and what might be done to support someone who has chosen emotional labour as a profession. Further, because the emotional labour performance is being considered as *interactive*, for completeness in understanding and instead of a passive acceptance of the sovereignty of the customer, the voice of the recipient must also be heard.

Literature Review Summary

In this Literature Review, it has been considered that emotional labour is best understood from a social constructionist perspective. Its demands are often shaped by the cultural norms and expectations of the society, and its success or failure may, too, depend on how these expectations are

met. Sometimes the expectation is created on the micro (organisational) level, through the marketing of the organisation (eg. Hochschild, 2003), sometimes it is set by over-arching (or traditional) professional standards, sometimes both. To date, research into emotional labour has been within three main areas – the services that include it; the effect of the demands; and the potential pleasure of performance interactions.

The interactive nature of emotional labour, although considered, is not formalised, and yet may offer an insight into the complexity of the emotional labour interaction. Because of the transient nature of emotions, managers, colleagues and service recipients themselves can affect the performance and emotions of those performing. In general, previous research suggests that interactions can be largely negative – eg. customer hostility, or a lack of management support or recognition; but three key pieces of research say otherwise – Bolton (2000); Shuler and Sypher (2000) and Bolton and Boyd (2003). These indicate that both colleagues and customers can be a source of enjoyment within emotional labour and is a finding worth investigating further – as, one may argue, people are not forced to work in an emotional labour job role. For those experiencing more negative feelings, an identification of *how* they resist strain may have implications for training as well as service design. Further, if, as these three pieces of research suggest that emotional labourers even go beyond the display requested by the rules, and offer the recipient something extra, this two has implications for the design of the service and support for the worker. One piece of research from Riley (2010) studied teachers' attachments in the workplace and suggests that this may be a way of satiating an attachment need sustained in childhood, which has implications for supporting the emotional labourer so that this need does not negatively affect the recipient. While this research is not looking specifically for an attachment need, it is interested in investigating what drives the emotional labourer to go the extra mile.

It is the standpoint of this thesis to agree with Hoschschild that emotional labour is foremostly a *social construct*. It is shaped by the organisational demand, and recipient expectation – which in turn has

been shaped by the culture common to both, and any model of emotional labour, must be understood in the same manner, and by virtue of the nature of "performance", as discussed in Chapter 1 this also means that emotional labour is an *interactive* one.

As such, it is hoped that the research findings will help develop a deeper understanding of the complexity of emotional labour interactions, and the outcomes of these interactions, such as "gift giving" or "resistance" to demand. The research questions allow an investigation of the interactive nature of emotional labour – in particular focussing on the emotional exchanges between manager, the colleagues and the recipients within an emotional labour interaction. The questions also look at the effect of that interaction on emotional labour performance – both in terms of emotional labourer behaviour that exists beyond the display rules as well as the general effect of interaction on performance. Further, through listening to the voice of the recipient, it may be found that services which focus on "customer sovereignty" need to re-direct their services design. An understanding of recipient requirement within the emotional labour interaction may pose a challenge to the current position of the sovereignty of the customer and have implications for the focus of service design, display rules and targets.

Further, all emotional labour services have tended to be "lumped" together, yet Morris and Feldman (1996) and Harris (2002) suggest that emotional labour performances need to be differentiated either by the components that make up the service, or by the professional status afforded the service. It is Harris' approach that will guide the categorisation of results in this research as his categories are more objectively defined. The same questions will be asked of all participants in this research, but the analysis will be further divided into responses from and about "occupational emotional labour" (eg. retail assistants, flight attendants etc.) and "professional emotional labour" (eg. teachers, barristers, doctors) as this distinction may be significant as the interactions with and from an occupational emotional labourer may differ from a professional one.

Findings will further understanding of how the different interactions within emotional labour are perceived by the worker, as well as how they may affect the worker's behaviour, offering insights "from the shop floor" as to the problems, and positive elements within emotional labour jobs, as well as the ways in which the labourer addresses these elements. The findings will, in turn be categorised into "professional" emotional labour and "occupational" emotional labour roles as the differentiation between the services requiring emotional labour is heavily under researched. It might be that the recipients who have longer term relationship with the emotional labourer may respond differently towards them; or perhaps a professional emotional labourer has more freedom in their emotional performance and is less constrained. This differentiation is important because it is unlikely that with a subject as individualistic as emotion, findings can no longer be produced in a "one size fits all" manner.

It is also hoped that unpicking these interactions will reveal more about the complexities of emotional labour allowing it to be understood as something beyond its original conception. Results may enable a better structure for service design, considering the view of the customer, as well as have implications for service organisations (professional and occupational) in the construction of display rules; the management and support and the training of emotional labourers in occupational and professional roles, and offer more specifically directed implications than research has previously produced.

METHODOLOGY

METHODOOLOGY

The epistemological basis of this thesis is, as emotional labour was conceived, social constructionism, and within that, the methodology takes an interpretivist ontological perspective. That is to say, emotional labour perceived as a negative or a positive part of service work is not inevitable, rather it is a matter of interpretation. This in turn, rests on the individuals' own interpretation of their interaction with the experience – which has been shaped and determined by their previous similar experiences. This approach is taken because of the highly personal nature of emotions. One is unable to report objectively on how another is feeling, and so any research on this topic must rely on the subjective interpretation of the storyteller. (An interpretation which also cannot help but be shaped by the storyteller's environment and experiences.)

Through an analysis of what participants say of their experiences ie. how they interpret them, it is possible to form an understanding of the subject being discussed. This construct is different from the understanding that might be directly observed or tabulated through experimentation where only the final result is considered. Within social constructionism, 'reality' is created through those involved by their interactions, actions and perceptions. Being an interactive phenomenon, it would seem counter-intuitive to explore emotional labour in any other way, thus the complexity of emotional labour is explored through a focus on the interactions that occur within those party to the experience (ie. the customer/recipient, the labourer and – at times – the manager or colleague) as well as their interpretations.

Flyvbjerg (2008) acknowledges that on the scientific paradigm, this approach is often criticised as being vague and unreliable due to its subjectivity. This chapter will first deal with the justification of this epistemology when researching emotions, it will consider the specific method chosen above the others that also exist in this field and will also consider the importance of self-reflection within a social constructionist method.

Epistemology

Since its inception, social science has always been met with criticism from natural science. "'Social science can only engender the scorn of natural scientists.' Other social science critics participating in the debate talked of "dumbed down" sociology and social scientists "physics envy"." (Flyvbjerg, 2008:2). However, despite the continuous disagreements it is certainly recognised, and accepted that social science has much to contribute – especially within topics that do not lend themselves to such reductionist rigour. In this case the topic is emotions, which has both a "natural" element, and a constructive one. "…love can be seen as having *interconnected* visceral, discursive, social interactional, ideological/structural and other (for example, subconscious) qualities (Jackson, 1993). Discourses, chemicals or structures, on their own, are insufficient." (Sturdy and Grey, 2002:82)

For this particular area of study, there is a need for a method which transcends the "tick box", quantitative nature of questionnaires. It needs to explore the experiences of the individuals involved in the emotional labour interaction in order to consider the meanings of what has been perceived, yet have procedure enough so that results may be both reliable and valid. As such social science, and in particular, social constructionism, offers an appropriate lens. A study of interactions will not produce objective facts – most simply because no two interactions will be the same, and thus "reality" must be understood through thematic analysis. This is furthered through viewing the participants as having a valid opinion and interpretation of their experience and including it in analysis. Fuelling the argument of social and natural sciences, Gergen (2003) states "We do not lose the old traditions of study, but rather, through constructionism, we add significantly to the potentials of human enquiry." (Gergen, 2003:5). Taking a positivist approach would be too restrictive.

"Constructivism is a perspective that arose in developmental and cognitive psychology, and its central figures include Bruner (1990), Kelly (1955), Piaget, (1969), von Glaserfield (1993) and Vygotsky (1978). Constructivism proposes that each individual mentally constructs the world of experience through cognitive processes…the world cannot be known directly, but rather by the construction

imposed upon it by the mind." (Young and Collin, 2003:375). This, for constructionists, is the only reality that is important to examine.

Social constructionism, has the same foundation as Constructivism, but takes a social rather than an individual approach. The social context significantly influences the understanding of the individual as "…human knowledge is developed, transmitted and maintained in social situations…In other words, *the sociology of knowledge is concerned with the analysis of the social construction of reality.*" (Berger and Luckman, 1966:Introduction). Epistemologically, there is no singular set method of collecting data, as any method that enables access to human thought and interpretation (ie: the constructs being formed within the individual) is valid (Young and Collin, 2003).

In recognising the value of a social science – particularly a social constructionist – approach, Flyvbjerg puts it best when discussing Bourdieu's critique of the difference between scientific practice, and social science investigation as centred on Strauss' theory of "gift exchange" – also a tenet of this thesis. For the purposes of this quote "theory" is given its natural science meaning. "Theoretical researchers do not need to worry about how the exchange is perceived, or whether the exchange must be misperceived in order to take place. They are concerned only with explaining and predicting exchange." However, Flyvbjerg warns "Context, sequence, tempo, and rubato in the gift exchange determine what counts as a gift at all." (Flyvbjerg, 2008:41). "…[it] is all a question of style, which means in this case timing and choice of occasion for the same act – giving, giving in return, offering one's services, paying a visit, etc. – can have completely different meanings are different times." (Bourdieu cited by Flyvbjerg, 2008:42). An examination of the exchange itself allows social constructionists to understand how the participants view their reality. Reality is, for social constructionists, how the world is perceived and constructed by those experiencing it. (Flyvbjerg, 2008). In support of the importance of context, Burr (2003) says of social constructionism "If our knowledge of the world, our common ways of understanding it, is not derived from the nature of the world as it is. Where does it come from? …people construct it between them. It is through the

daily interactions of people within the course of social life that our versions of all knowledge become fabricated." (Burr, 2003:4).

Hochschild (1983, 2003) is viewed as taking a social constructionist approach to emotional labour because of her constructionist view of emotion. That emotion can be changed by an alteration of cognition. Further, she proses emotional labour to be the construction of organisations who use service to "get ahead" in their marketing. While the view that emotional labour is purely a Marxist work construction has been criticised (eg. Glucksmann, 1995; Bolton, 2000), emotional labour – and certainly its' success is still accepted as a social construction, as the perception of success will be influenced by expectation. (Chong, 2009:177). Social constructionism may be the most appropriate method to understand the *complexity* of emotional labour, especially as an *interactive* process.

Interpretivism

Emotional labour was conceived as a social construct, it should therefore be appropriately researched as one, and the ontological approach to research is interpretivism. This research will collate, transcribe and analyse responses of emotional labourers and recipients in order to uncover themes or patterns which may offer insights into the interactive nature of emotional labour, as well as the effect of that interaction on emotional labour performance.

Such a qualitative approach will be affected by the understanding and interpretation of the speaker, and stands firmly against positivist quantitative methods. However, this is not a bad thing. Weber (1922); and Simmel (1950) would argue that interpretivism allows for understanding of the meaning of the social action, enabling us to understand both the reason why it occurred and the effect it produces (Weber, 1922). Of interpretivist construction, Study and Grey (2002) write "Such accounts are not only illustrative, but partly constitutive of how life is thought about, felt and presented to others…these and other texts…might provide an important route to the contemporary, cultural and/or historical study of organizations and emotions as discursively produced…For example…Hochschild

(1998) uses metaphors of emotional 'dictionaries'…which we draw from according to our cultural and situational contexts in order to know what we feel…and how we should…behave emotionally." (Sturdy and Grey, 2002:89). The vast majority of the research into emotional labour has included a qualitative component, necessary as emotions are internally felt and not always accurately displayed. By its nature emotional labour encompasses the outward display of something that may not necessarily be internally felt – through deep and surface *acting* – the only way one can understand the reality of what that feeling is through asking (rather than observing or "experimenting on") the participant.

Interpretivism may, of course, be biased as a person's interpretation is shaped by their own understanding of the world, and individual perception of what occurred. However, there is no escaping this within an emotional labour interaction, and an interpretivist approach may be the best reflection of the actual internal processes experienced within emotional labour.

To take a positivist approach to the three questions might find that emotional labour is interactive – but will not explain why, not uncover the effect of that interpretation. Similarly, it might find that emotional labourers do give gifts, but again will not give reasons. It could also reveal that emotional labourers score highly as having attachment needs – but would not necessarily reveal if this is relevant causally, to job motivation or emotional labour performance. Only the words and intepretations of the participants will inform that.

While the process of thematic coding analysis is both long and repetitive, it allows for a structure to be imposed on the data. Although it is not as rigorous as the experimental method, it will nonetheless enable conclusions to be drawn while retaining the richness of the participant voice.

Chosen Method – Semi Structured Interview and the Critical Incident Technique

Very early on in the research process, it became clear that whenever the research topic of service interactions was mentioned, people would want to offer stories of their service experiences, taking care to detail their opinions on what was good or bad. Many such stories included much analytical thought, and firm judgments as to whether the person would return and why, and thus supported the methodological perspective - allowing the respondent to speak relatively freely, and seeing if a pattern in the responses would ensue.

Flanagan (1954) devised a "set of procedures for collecting direct observations of human behaviour in such a way as to facilitate their potential usefulness in solving practical problems and developing broad psychological principles." He called this the Critical Incident Technique. "Critical Incident Technique" (CIT) is a qualitative interview procedure which facilitates the investigation of significant occurrences (events, incidents, processes, or issues) identified by the respondent, the way they are managed, and the outcome in terms of perceived effects. The objective is to gain understanding of the incident from the perspective of the individual, taking into account cognitive, affective and behavioural elements" (Chell, 1998). Commonly used in healthcare (FitzGerald et al, 2008), since Flanagan's application of CIT to occupational research in 1954, it has become increasingly popular in the services literature (eg. Bitner et al, 1990; Tripp, 1997; Gremler, 2004).

A "critical incident" is defined by Bitner et al (1990) (cited by Gremler, 2004) as "an observable human activity that is complete enough to allow inferences and predictions to be made about the person performing the act...Critical incidents can be gathered in various ways, but in service research, the approach generally asks respondents to tell a story about an experience they have had." (Gremler, 2004).

Cassell and Symon (2004) write in detail of the advantages of using the CIT method over other qualitative methods: once confidentiality is assured, the overtness of the CIT interview often results

in the respondent offering not only more detail in their account, but also their own analysis. While stories are often retrospective, due to the significant (criticality) of the incidents being recalled, the response is often detailed and well remembered. Further the "context rich" content of CIT data enables comparisons to be made across multiple sites allowing for greater generalisability of findings. With the respondent immersed within the context of their "incident", their own, and later, the researcher's, analysis of the incident enables *practical*, *relevant* and *appropriate* strategies and solutions to be proposed (Cassell and Symon, 2004).

There are, of course, criticisms of the use of CIT. Singh and Wilkes (1996) raise concerns about the possible bias of respondents' reports, and the possibility of memory lapse. In reply it can be claimed that the emotional charge that usually surrounds such reported incidents tends to mean they are remembered more fully (Cassell and Symon, 2004). Further, the potential for respondent bias in a CIT report is arguably no worse than that present in any qualitative methodology. Edvardsson (1992) in fact argues that the respondent's perspective is important because the incident they choose to report is significant to them and is not influenced by any researcher preconceptions. It also avoids the constraining effects placed on respondents by structured questionnaires which contain categorical or conceptual mismatches with the respondent's world. This is a view further supported by Strauss and Weinlich (1993). With CIT not having been changed a great deal since Flanagan's (1954) application, it is arguable that this is a methodology that has stood the test of time. It is a methodology whose benefits such as those outlined above outweigh its critiques, and one which is culturally neutral (de Ruyeter et al, 1995) and open to all possible findings and practicable outcomes by virtue of its respondent (rather than researcher) directed approach (Kolememeijer, 1995). Thus it is the methodology that has been chosen for this study.

Other methods, suitable to a social constructivist perspective and interpretive ontology were also considered – although subsequently rejected. These included Phronetics (Flyvbjerg, 2001), Grounded

Theory Methodology (GTM[9]) (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), and Narrative (Sims, 2003). Phronetic Social Science seeks to bridge the gap between theory and practical application focussing on four main questions:

1. Where are we going?

2. Is this development desirable?

3. Who gains and who loses, and by which mechanisms of power?

4. What, if anything, should we do about it?

(Flyberg, 2001)

However, the reservation of taking this approach rests with the highly political bent of question three. Already it is clear that emotional labour is not a straightforward Marxist approach to the "service proletariat", but rather a set of rules which may underpin professional standards within the service industry that individuals choose to adhere to, bend or break. The individual reasoning and the subjective interpretation of reciprocity and the other facets of emotional labour that will be studied transcend an approach firmly rooted in politics.

Narrative is a method which is highly interpretivist, and, again, falls within social constructionism as the individuals seek to make sense of their world and their experiences in their own way. The richness of the data that this would be of great support for developing theory within this social sciences topic, but the time it would take to generate in-depth narratives, when set against the amount that would need to be taken as the service field of emotional labour is so wide, could not be justified.

Regarding taking a Grounded Theory Approach, elements of Grounded Theory Methodology have been employed in the analysis, however, it is necessarily a "theory" that is currently being sought.

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[9] GTM will hereafter be referred to as GTA - Grounded Theory Approach, as the term "methodology" is likely to cause confusion. This thesis is not applying Grounded Theory as a methodology, merely using the comprehensive structure of analysis to theme and code the data.

Grounded Theory Methodology is seen as "…an approach to doing Qualitative Research." (Haig,1995). It differs from standard qualitative investigation because, although it utilises questionnaires, observations, case study, interview and other qualitative methods of data gathering, it does not seek to verify already established theories, but rather subjects the data gathered to rigorous inferential and deductive analyses, finally generating a "Formal Theory". Its purpose is not to "…eek out small gains of knowledge from existing theories…[but to]…explore new areas that are not yet covered." (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The result is that a landscape is shaped by the data which may offer new starting points for further research based on an authentic representation of 'what's out there *now'*. With regards to emotional labour, much is already known, and this thesis is more intent on forming connections between the literature already present, but analysing the opinions of service workers and recipients, rather than creating anything from scratch. Grounded Theory Methodology – or taking a Grounded Theory Approach does, however, offer a helpful structure to analyse data which will be both explained and utilised.

Thus the decision of use CIT supported by semi-structured interviews was made. Not only did it seem to be the most common to research in services, it was also the method employed by the prominent authors in the literature review, eg. Bolton and Boyd (2003) and Hochschild (2003). CIT has the practical potential of phronetics (Flyvbjerg, 2001) without too great a focus on policy and politics. It allows for some researcher guidance in identifying a starting point compared to GTM (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) – while also offering a prescriptive approach to a rigorous method of data analysis. While retaining the richness of the narrative, the author also believes that CIT enables a greater focus on *what* was being said rather than the *how* of "Narration" as a methodology. However, it will be noted that while CIT is used as that starting point, the author also follows the structure of GTM in interpreting the data.

Flanagan (1954) set out 9 steps for planning CIT research condensed into five key stages by FitzGerald et al (2008) and it is these five stages that guide the method of this research:

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(i) Identification of the general aims

(ii) Planning (eg. Which situations are to be observed? What questions are to be asked?)

(iii) Collecting the data to the point to theoretical saturation

(iv) Analyzing the data (developing categories as the incidents are reviewed and continuous re-organisation of those categories into themes and key findings)

(v) Interpreting and Reporting the data (continuous checking for potential bias in data collection and reporting and retaining transparency in both data collection and analysis for the report)

<div align="right">(FitzGerald et al, 2008)</div>

The 5 steps are applied to this research as follows:

1. Identification of the general aims

The pertinent research questions that were identified prior to undertaking this research were:

1. What can we learn through exploring emotional labour as an interactive process – affected by manager, colleague and recipient behaviour?

2. What is the nature of the recipient response?

A such, semi structured interview questions were designed to elicit this information – and prompts were used if this was not forthcoming, as well as opportunities being provided to enable the respondents to talk freely so that further themes could be identified.

2. Planning (eg. Which situations are to be observed? What questions are to be asked?)

Ethical approval for the study was obtained from the author's research institution, and participants were able to give informed consent to be interviewed. Edvardsson and Roos (2001) concede that sometimes the lack of time available may hinder the collection of critical incidents, but within the study most respondents had time to talk at length and in any case all were able to relate at least one critical incident. It was anticipated that time constraints would be no more of a problem than in-depth interviewing and questionnaires. In this particular research, respondents were made aware of the time each interview would take and all were happy to participate. If in the event they did not have time in person, respondents were emailed the same questions and could respond in their own time.

Every face-to-face interview was recorded with the permission of the respondent and then transcribed. The stage of transcribing enabled the author a second opportunity to consider the data prior to coding the themes.

The interviews took place in a neutral environment, away from the respondent's place of work in order to encourage a more open response (Nightingale and Cromby, 1999).

Each interview took approximately 30 minutes – 1.5 hours. They allowed for the respondent to i) recall as well as ii) discuss and iii) analyse their chosen incidents. All respondents answered points 1), 2) and 3) then, if they had time, 4) and 5) (see below).

The verbatim questions are included in Appendix I, and the CIT questions, verbatim were:
Please can you give me an example from your experience that was particularly significant to you in some way?

1. "Describe the **context** of the incident."

2. "Describe the **actual incident** in detail."

3. "Explain why the incident was **critical or significant for you**."

4. "Explain **your concerns** at the time."

5. "Describe what you were **thinking and feeling** as it was taking place, and afterwards."

3. Collecting the data to the point to theoretical saturation

One important premise among grounded approaches of which Critical Incident is one is that the researcher should continue gathering and analysing evidence until a "point of theoretical saturation" is attained. In practice the saturation point was easy to identify. The point was reached at which transcribed evidence yielded no new categories and the 'nth' case bore strong similarities with previous ones.

4. Analyzing the data

This entailed a process of developing categories as the incidents are reviewed and continuous re-organisation of those categories into themes and key findings. Coding the evidence followed Glaser and Strauss' (1967) Grounded Theory structure of analysis. As each interview was transcribed, as many codes were applied as thought necessary to contain it. In this process, many codes were applied initially, only to be discarded later, particularly if they overlapped with other codes and if fewer codes were adequate to the task of containing the evidence without doing violence to it. Several rounds of review were necessary. However, as the coding solidified it became possible to count the number of times a code is invoked by evidence. Judgment is required, for there is a trade-off between the number of codes employed and the number of occasions that evidence fitting the code is found - the fewer the codes, the higher the count. Grounded analysis of this kind improves with practice and it can be both repetitive and laborious.

The GTA (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) procedure may be presented as 8 steps:

Step 1: The originating theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967)
The originating questions were formulated through identification of gaps within research in emotional labour – is emotional labour an interactive process? (ie. does recipient response matter?); what drives

the emotional labourer to "go the extra mile" (and does this differ depending on type of service eg. altruism is expected to be the reason if the emotional labourer will not see the recipient again; but if there is an ongoing relationship, reciprocity may be the motivator); and what draws the emotional labourer to the profession – and what effect might recipient response have on this? All this goes towards a fuller, dynamic model of emotional labour which may be differentiated towards different services.

Step 2: Theoretical sampling, and the "theoretically sensitive" researcher

Interviews with both emotional labourers and recipients were deemed necessary. A range of emotional labour professions was sought. Any service worker willing to speak about their experiences as a recipient of a service was also deemed theoretically appropriate, although recipients were also approached separately about their service experiences. Again, a wide range of recipient experiences were sought, although the opportunistic nature of the sampling meant that there was an imbalance of responses for both recipients and emotional labourers across the professions. Nonetheless, the responses were so rich that they were all used and categorised using Harris' division of occupational and professional emotional labour. The limitations of the imbalance of services are discussed in the chapter on limitations.

The theoretical sensitivity of the researcher has already been discussed at the start of this chapter.

Step 3: Data analysis: Open, Axial and Selective coding (Glaser and Strauss, 1967)

An example of the GTA coding and analysis approach as used in this research follows:

The Critical Incident is treated as a vignette is from an emotional labourer discussing his significant service experiences. This is only an exemplar taken from part of a longer transcript, and for these purposes looks only at the themes of "difficult customers" and "management demands".

OPEN CODING

Demographic data:

Male, 33

Automotive Engineer

(Respondent #31, Table 1)

Question: *Please can you relate an example of "bad" service experience that was significant to you*

Response: *It's a lot better than it used to be.* **We worked it out that on a 12 hour shift, you can spend about 9 hours of it driving**. *I prefer it when you get in at 6am and then have to go straight out on a job, because if you don't and you have the chance to fall asleep and then it's hard to get going.* **It's a bit better now because they've just revised the areas we can travel to, and it's now more within a smaller circle.**

But you meet some veeery [sic]**strange people**. **Interesting is probably the polite way of putting it.** *You have to send a text to people just to say "I'm on my way, I'm about 25 minutes from you" and one guy I called to tell him* this **he was like "oh, that's not good is it?"** *and I said "I'm sorry sir, but I'm located about 25 miles from you so it'll take me that time to get to you" and he was* **"oh, *pah*, well, it'll have to do then".** **We aren't positioned on every road!** *Another guy called me out to change his tyre. It was a really wet day and his car was in the drive. I was wearing my wet weather gear and I was still soaked afterwards, and then he said* **"oh thanks – I was going to do it myself, but as it's raining I thought I'd call you out – I'm staying in today anyway – I don't need it until tomorrow."** *The most common one is the flat battery –you get there, ask them what the problem is, they don't tell you that they haven't used the car for ages,* **you do all these tests and then find out it's the battery, jump start it** and **they are like "oh, is that all**." *And when* **you tell them you need to run the car they say "oh, can't I just switch it off then? I don't need to use the car today".** *It's better that they call you on a day that they can run the car afterwards!*

The thing is, we've just been taken over by [a management group] and they've just given us this [gives leaflet]. I'm not being funny but I don't understand the language they use, I'm a simple person. They say stuff like "agility" and "reflection" all related to doing your job. I showed my wife this and she's more up with all the HR speak, and she sort of got it, but I think it's ridiculous. We're told off for being short staffed anyway, but they'll haul us off for half a day to attend one of these courses. And you have to do role plays – the last time I did that I was in school. It's to try and sell membership to people – but the thing is, I only come out to people who HAVE membership anyway, and if their friends don't it's cheaper online and they know that too – so I don't know what you're supposed to be doing!

We're targeted for everything. I missed a 2 minute text today with your call – we get these texts and we're supposed to respond within two minutes – I was filling up the van with petrol and couldn't confirm my response – that's a black mark against me. Then your car's terminal, but because I couldn't fix it that's another black mark because I had to call Greenmeadow to get you home. They used to have a list of faults that were terminal ones – and it didn't count against you when you couldn't fix it. But they got wise to that and took it all off. Now it goes down as a "couldn't fix" which affects my targets and then my bonus. It's silly because I could fix a light bulb and that would count as 3 faults that I'd fixed (identifying, removing and replacing) and I'd get nearer my targets on that – and you could have done that yourself!

OPEN CODES (forming general categories with regards to "what is being mentioned here?"):

Aspects of the job

Eg. Difficult customers:

- Customers misunderstanding the service being provided
- Customers asking the impossible
- Customers being very self involved

Management demands:

- HR does not seem to understand what the workers need, nor how to communicate with them effectively

- Lack of support and understanding from the organisation

- Problems with management procedures

- Dislike of targets/"black mark" – harsh description

AXIAL CODING (relating codes by means of inductive or deductive thinking)

Axial Coding Memo: **"Management demands"** *- The respondent seems more upset about the way he is TREATED BY THE MANAGEMENT rather than the UNPLEASANT BEHAVIOUR OF THE CUSTOMERS. He doesn't understand, nor approve of the MANAGEMENT PROCEDURES, nor the HR PROCEDURES. He does not like ROLE PLAY – or sees no point to it ("Service Theatre" element). He also does not seem to blame the management for their inability to communicate with him "I'm a simple person" – in fact he seems to take his lack of understanding as more of a criticism of himself. In terms of the SUPPORT from the management, he says that some of the PRACTICAL ELEMENTS have been made better. NO MENTION OF EMOTIONAL SUPPORT. He ACCEPTS the TARGETS, despite disliking them and finding them UNFAIR. He also POINTS OUT THE RIDICULOUSNESS of some of the management TARGETS and DEMANDS.*

SELECTIVE CODING (selecting one category to be the core category)

Although this is better done through a comparison with a few vignettes, at least with regard to this example, for the sake of illustration, the overarching theme that appears to permeate through this particular vignette is **a bemusement at the management misunderstanding** (and exacerbation) of the real issues that he is facing in doing his job.

Step 4: Memo-ing and "constant comparison" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967)

As the author transcribed the interviews she was able to make connections with previous data. All her thoughts on these connections were written up in the form of memos. The connections that were most important, or highly numerous were then re-examined, the others were filed in case of the need to refer to them later:

For example, the memo in the above was connected with the following coded vignettes with regards to management misunderstanding or mishandling of the job:

"We get graded on whether we acknowledge customers. ***In one session we are supposed to smile and say hello to every single customer,*** *but sometimes customers don't like that – and I can tell, and if they have hired me because I am good at talking to people, then* ***I don't see why they are telling me how I should act****. We can get really shot down if they see you arranging clothes on the line [display stand] and not talking to customers." (Respondent #2, Table 1)*

Male, 18

Retail Assistant

This was also linked thematically to:

"The latest initiative is a 'no touch' policy. We have to tell students to 'Step away'. It's something to combat boisterous behaviour that apparently worked at the Deputy Head's old school, ***but the thing is the Head herself is so tactile, that I don't know how she will be able to follow it herself****. I think she will have some problems there - it's probably why she didn't want to use the words 'no touch'."* *(Respondent #16, Table 1)*

Male,54

Teacher

However, because both the retail assistant and the automotive engineer are classed as "occupational" emotional labourers, and the teacher as a "professional", the memos were later separated so the effect of the Display Rule on the staff could be considered in the context of its emotional labour category.

Step 5: Forming Connections/"Indicators of phenomenon" (Haig, 1995)

As connections were formed, these were highlighted as "indicators of phenomenon", and later interview questions were tailored with prompts to find out more about specific areas for example, it was clear that the "behaviour" of the emotional labourer made an impact on the recipient's behaviour in return, so service recipients were later asked to be more specific with the type of behaviours that influenced their judgment, and encouraged to give examples:

"I was very cross because it was an unsatisfactory answer to what would have been a straightforward quick - and he could have had the common sense to actually put me through to the woman who deals with the enquiries who could have taken the details over the phone and be done with it." (Respondent #10, Table2)

Female, 34

Experience: Nursery receptionist

and

"...they don't know how to [perform the service the organisation offers]...and they call someone and they call someone and they haven't been trained and no-one knows...and they offer this service! " (Respondent #9, Table 2)

Female, 60

Experience: Supermarket

and

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"...my argument to them was if you are sending everything out via the post, some things are going to get lost and you need to expect that will happen and so the systems need to be in place and you can just cancel that reference and give a new one and that [possibility] wasn't there." (Respondent #2, Table 2)

Male,20

Experience: Customer services

These experiences seemed to imply that an inability to "do the job" was a key problem in angering the recipient in an occupational emotional labour experience.

This was investigated further through asking recipients why this was the problem and responses such as the following were found:

"...he might have been inexperienced...he might have had a training need..." (Respondent #10, Table 2)

Female, 34

Experience: Nursery receptionist

and

"Their training was probably the problem...if you are going to do a job KNOW what you have to do!" (Respondent #11, Table 2)

Male, 40

Experience: Supermarket

It is recognised that these are interpretive responses from the participants. It is not possible to know that this is definitely the cause of the problem being outlined, but the finding is still significant – if

service recipients presume staff are not being trained properly this is not going to give a positive impression of the organisation – no matter what the real reason.

Again, these responses were also separated into whether they were about "occupational" and "professional" emotional labour interactions.

Step 6: Repeating steps 2-4 until "theoretical saturation" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967)

Steps 2-4 were then repeated with different participants until there was no new information to be found.

When the codes were only being "added to" rather than any new codes being found, the interview process stopped.

5. Interpreting and Reporting the data

A continuous checking for potential bias in data collection and reporting and retaining transparency in both data collection and analysis for the report ensues. Constant referral to the responses of the service workers, and recipients enabled the author to minimise her reliance on her own assumptions. These samples allowed for unexpected commonalities as well as for differences which might be presupposed among service work contexts.

Direct quotations are included on the basis of the insights which they suggest. The author was also able to discuss her interpretations of respondents' testimony in order to gain a third opinion.

Responses, as indicated earlier were divided into whether the service professional was from an "occupational" or a "professional" emotional labour job role; and similarly the recipient responses were divided into which category they were about.

As the sample was random, it was difficult to predict what the balance would be. It turned out that there were:

26 Professional Emotional labourers interviewed (comprising Teachers/Lecturers, Solicitors, a counsellor and a priest)

19 Occupational Emotional labourers interviewed

18 Responses about positive occupational emotional labour experiences

5 Responses about positive professional emotional labour experiences (Education)

23 Responses about negative occupational emotional labour experiences

21 Responses about negative professional emotional labour experiences (Education)

The recipient respondents were not told which category to talk about, merely asked to recount a good, and/or bad service experience and asked to discuss their impression of the event. It is noted that one of the limitations of the data is that the labourer and recipient, while in the same category, may not be talking about the same incident as finding both the recipient and the labourer who were party to the same incident would have been difficult, if not impossible to attain using a random sampling technique. However, random sampling was the most efficient means of conducting a lengthy process of interviews and is not dissimilar to the methods used in previous general emotional labour research (eg. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993); Morris and Feldman (1996); Grandey (2000); Brotheridge and Lee (2002).

This process was time-consuming, each Critical Incident receiving an average of 30 minutes in study time (further to interviewing and transcribing).

The need for self-reflection

While an extremely large topic, "reflexivity" at this point is being considered in only its simplest terms - "…self-reflection and self-referral." (Woolgar, 1988:introduction). A social constructionist approach means that reflexivity (or reflection) is as important to consider as a means of maintaining reliability of the research. As a service worker, the author has spent 4 years teaching in a secondary school 3 years in higher education, 3 years in Higher Education, 2 years in Further Education (where she has trained Teaching Assistants), as well as freelance tutoring for 8 years in dance and drama, concurrent with her "mainstream" jobs. She is about to start teaching in the Primary Sector. Before that she was an events organiser and advertising account executive. Diaries were kept for her formal teacher training - Graduate Teacher Training and Teaching in Higher Education. This means that her interpretations will be informed by her experiences, and care must be taken to retain objectivity. The formal structure of GTM analysis assisted in this.

Sampling and Participant Information

P	M0/F1	Age	Ethnicity	Data collection	Service Category
1	0	39	Australian/Malaysian	Interview	Coach (O)
2	0	18	British	Interview	Retail assistant (O)
3	0	27	Pakistani	Interview	Call Centre (O)
4	0	27	Greek/Israeli	Interview	Teacher (P)
5	1	37	British	Interview	Teacher (P)
6	0	32	British	Interview	Teacher (P)
7	0	32	German	Interview	Teacher (P)
8	0	36	Arabic	Vignette in passing	Retail Manager (O)
9	0	26	Malaysian/British/Portuguese/Indian	Vignette in passing	Teacher (P)
10	1	39	British	Interview	Teaching Assistant (O)
11	1	44	British	Interview	Teaching Assistant (O)
12	1	35	Malaysian	Interview(via email)	Editor (O)
13	1	23	Malaysian	Vignette in passing	Receptionist (O)
14	0	68	Malaysian	Vignette in passing	Social Club President (O)
15	1	40	British	Vignette in passing	Solicitor (P)
16	0	54	British	Interview	Hotelier (O)
17	0	19	British	Interview	Retail Assistant (O)
18	1	53	Australian	Vignette in passing	Teacher (P)
19	0	30	British/Australian	Interview	Teaching Assistant (O)
20	1	33	British	Interview	Teacher (P)
21	0	30	British	Focus Group	Teacher (P)
22	0	29	British	Focus Group	Teacher (P)
23	0	28	British	Focus Group	Teacher (P)
24	1	54	Australian	Interview	Teacher (P)
25	0	50	Welsh	Interview	Lecturer (P)
26	0	39	British	Interview	Welfare Advisor/Teacher (P)
27	0	60	British	Vignette in passing	Solicitor (P)
28	1	30	British	Interview	Teacher (P)
29	0	23	British	Interview	Retail Assistant (O)
30	1	50	British	Interview	Cabin Crew (O)
31	0	33	British	Interview	Teacher (P)
32	0	36	British	Interview	Teaching Assistant (O)
33	0	40	British	Interview	Welfare Officer/Teacher (P)
34	1	34	British	Interview	Education Officer/Teacher (P)
35	1	60	Australian	Interview	Priest (P)
36	1	60	British	Interview	Counsellor (P)
37	0	20	British	Interview	Retail Assistant (O)
38	0	35	British	Interview	Call Centre Worker (O)
39	0	30	Irish	Interview	Quality Assurance Manager (O)
40	1	27	British	Interview	Teacher (P)
41	0	27	British	Interview	Teacher (P)
42	0	25	British	Interview	Teacher (P)
43	1	26	British	Interview	Teacher (P)
44	1	31	British	Interview	Teacher (P)

Table 1: Demographic information – emotional labourers

O – Occupational emotional labourer

P – Professional emotional labourer (ie. holds professional qualification)

Of the 44 respondents, 17 were female which may be considered a small or moderate under-representation of their participation rates in these industries. The average age of the respondents was 36 years – sufficiently experienced to have Incidents worth relating, and sufficiently junior still to be fully immersed in service work directly with recipients. Most of the respondents worked within Education. All worked within the UK service sector and considered their Nationality as British, although their ethnic origins varied.

There were 26 professional emotional labourers interviewed (comprising teachers/lecturers, solicitors, a counsellor and a priest), and 19 occupational emotional labourers interviewed

(see over page)

Table 2: Demographic breakdown - Service recipients

P	M0/F1	Age	Ethnicity	Data collection	Service experience category
1	1	31	British/Chinese	Interview	G: Education (P) B: Airport (O)
2	0	20	British	Interview	G: Hotel (O) B:Customer Services (O)
3	0	40	Australian/Malaysian	Interview	G: Restaurant (O) B: Phone company and restaurant (O/O)
4	1	32	British	Interview	G: Restaurant (O) B: Theatre (O)
5	0	30	British	Interview	G: Supermarket (O) B: Supermarket (O)
6	0	27	British	Interview	G: Hotel (O) B: Supermarket (O)
7	0	24	British	Interview	G: Massage (O) B: Train station (O)
8	1	24	British	Interview	G: Taxi (O) B: Phone company (O)
9	1	60	British	Interview	G: Doctor's office (O) B: Supermarket (O)
10	1	34	British	Interview	G: Pet Store (O) B: Nursery Receptionist (O)
11	0	40	British	Interview	G: Pet Store (O) B: Supermarket (O)
12	1	60	British	Interview	G: Customer Service (O) B: Airline counter (O)
13	0	68	Irish	Vignette in passing	G:Tourist Attraction (O) B: Retail (O)
14	1	28	Greek	Interview	G: Education (P) B: Education (P)
15	0	29	Greek	Interview	G: Education (P) B: Education (P)
16	0	35	British	Interview	G: Customer Service (O) B: Customer Service (O)
17	0	32	Irish/British	Interview	G: Customer Service (O) B: Customer Service (O)
18	1	22	British	Interview (survey monkey)	G: Retail (O) B: Education (P)
19	0	26	British	Interview	G: Education (P) B: Supermarket (O)
20	0	39	British	Interview	G: - B: Supermarket (O)
21	1	31	British	Interview	G: Restaurant (O) B: Education (P)
22	1	24	British	Interview	G: - B: Education (P)
23	0	19	British	Interview	G: - B: Theatre (O)
24	0	50	British	Interview	G: Train Journey and Airport (O) B: -
25	1	19	British	Interview	G: - B: Education (P)
26	0	59	British	Interview	G: Education (P) B: Supermarket (O)
27	1	22	British	Interview (survey monkey)	G: - B: Education (P)
28	0	35	British	Interview (survey monkey)	G: Hotel (O) B: Supermarket (O)
29	1	17	British	Interview (survey monkey)	G: - B: Education (P)
30	1	26	British	Interview	G: Restaurant (O) B: Education (P)
31	1	28	European	Interview (survey monkey)	G: Restaurant (O) B: Education (P)
32	0	33	British	Interview (survey monkey)	G: - B: Education (P)
33	1	27	Greek	Interview	G: Education (P) B: Education (P)
34	0	26	British	Interview	G: Supermarket (O) B: Education (P)
35	0	15	British	Interview (survey monkey)	G: - B: Education and Restaurant (P/O)
36	0	35	Middle Eastern	Interview (survey monkey)	G: - B: Education (P)
37	0	37	Afro-Caribbean	Interview (survey monkey)	G: - B: Education (P)
38	1	23	British/Afro-Caribbean	Interview (survey monkey)	G: - B: Education (P)
39	1	34	Middle Eastern	Interview (survey monkey)	G: Education (P) B: Supermarket (O)
40	0	24	Middle Eastern	Interview (survey monkey)	G: Retail (O) B: Education (P)
41	0	22	British	Interview (survey monkey)	G: - B: Education (P)
42	1	16	British	Interview (survey monkey)	G: - B: Education (P)
43	1	15	British	Interview (survey monkey)	G: - B: Education (P)
44	1	17	British	Interview (survey monkey)	G: - B: Education (P)

O – Occupational Emotional labour Service

P – Professional Emotional labour Service

A convenience sample of service recipients was obtained that matched the worker sample in industries.

Of the 44 respondents, 21 were female, and the average age of the respondents was 31. Although some of the respondents were from different ethnic backgrounds, all the Critical Incidents (except one – denoted with *) occurred in the UK with UK services. These 44 show a similar overall profile to the workers.

The critical incidents are tabulated as "good or bad" according the respondents' categorisation rather than the author's.

G denotes "Good experience"

B denotes "Bad experience"

- denotes that this question was not answered. In the interests of not over-complicating, it was decided by the author not to impose category restrictions beyond broad terms such as "good" or "bad".

It is of note that while not everyone had a "good experience", some had more than one bad one that they wished to discuss, a tendency which was commented on earlier. It is not necessarily that bad experiences predominate, it may be that they dwell in the mind for longer and that good work goes unnoticed.

17 of the responses from the recipients were collected through a programme called "Survey Monkey" where respondents were invited to write their responses down instead of speak. This enabled them to

complete the same interview, but in their own time. They all wrote at length, providing similar levels of detail to interview respondents.

With regards to interactions, some of the specific questions that were asked to both groups of labourers included:

GENERAL OCCUPATION QUESTIONS

9. How many hours a week do you spend interacting with clients/customers?

10. What sorts of people are they?

RELATIONSHIPS AT WORK

17. Have you made friends with any of your customers/clients – is there anyone you will be keeping in touch with?

RECOGNITION

18. Have you received any rewards or recognition for your work?

19. What are the support systems like where you work? *(Probe: What happens if you are faced with a situation where you feel out of your depth? Is there any level of support missing? How do you cope? How do you feel about that omission?)*

AFFECTIVE QUESTIONS WERE ALSO ASKED:

AFFECTIVE RESPONSE a

11. Tell me a story that would illustrate some particular experience at work that has been particularly significant or moving to you. Please add why it was so significant.

12. What would you say your most memorable experience has been so far? *(Probe: why was this memorable? Why did you act in that way? Would you do it again?)*

13. What do you get out of being in this profession?

14. People often say that they enter the service profession because they get a good feeling from helping people. Do you experience this and if so, can you describe those feelings? If you don't experience this, what feelings motivate you to do your job?

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15. Has the way you feel about yourself changed as a result of being in this profession?

16. Do you expect to be doing this job a while longer?

AFFECTIVE RESPONSE b

33. Can you tell me about any occasion when you have had to suppress your personal emotions to deal with something professionally? *(Probe: How did you feel about it? What were the emotions you had to "cover up", is it a common occurrence?)*

34. Are there any elements of your job that you would change? *(Probe: Is there anything you feel that management/the organisation can do better?)*

35. Would you perform your job for less pay? *(Probe – why/why not? How important is money to you?)*

36. Is there any job you would perform for "free" *(Clarify: assuming you had enough to live)*

Occupational emotional labourers were those performing emotional labour in jobs that did not require specific recognition from a professional body eg. the "General Teaching Council", the "British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy" or the "Bar Council". This includes retail assistants, teaching assistants, cabin crew and so on. Professional emotional labours attained specific recognition from a professional body as part of their training.

RESULTS

RESULTS

As a reminder, the 2 research questions were:

1. What can we learn through exploring emotional labour as an interactive process – affected by manager, colleague and recipient behaviour?

2. What is the nature of the recipient response?

The findings from the research questions as they pertain to occupational and professional labourers will be discussed in turn.

RQ1 What can we learn through exploring emotional labour as an interactive process – affected by manager, colleague and recipient behaviour?

The nature of the interaction for occupational emotional labourers

Occupational emotional labourers spent between 6 – 8 hours of their working day interacting with service recipients at work. They did not claim to "make friends" with their customers, and did not claim to "keep in touch" with them. The responses about the types of people that they met with were often disparaging.

Occupational emotional labourers also stated that the sort of rewards they received were target driven, but also that they felt these targets were not always appropriate to the job. They also felt constrained by display rules, and that these were sometimes perceived as an insult to their own abilities to communicate. However, through this, occupational labourers found ways of resisting the strain of these demands through using politeness to expose the rudeness of the customer/recipient. Further, occupational labourers and their managers would often collude in this behaviour.

Thematically, the 3 key findings with regards to interactions within occupational labourers were:

O.i)[10] Although constrained by targets and display rules, occupational labourers use methods to resist the emotional strain of organisational demand and rudeness of customers, in order to retain dignity and respect

O.ii) Occupational emotional labourers are often supported by their *managers* and there is a positive relationship between them

O.iii) Occupational emotional labourers find their *colleagues* predominantly a source of stress

Each section will be discussed using illustrative vignettes and quoting from other relevant responses as applicable. The occupational findings and the professional findings will then be compared with each other.

O.i) Although constrained by targets and display rules, occupational labourers use methods to resist the emotional strain of organisational demand and rudeness of customers, in order to retain dignity and respect
16 sources, 55 references

Constraints, such as targets, were evident:

"My manager says 'These are the targets - do it', and then she just badgers you. She's awful – the only communication we have are emails she sends out that are derogatory. She never sends anything out to congratulate us. We have reports on our call times, which is one of our targets, but if we've hit them, she'll just say something like 'There's still too many of you not doing loan referrals – it's disgusting...!' It's blanket. The job is analysed and automated so you can tell at the touch of a button how you are meeting your targets. It's all about the targets." (Respondent #26, Table 2:Call Centre)

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[10] Please note that in order to make it clear whether the author is discussing a finding from the occupational data or the professional data, an "O" or a "P" is placed before the finding number.

Although common in its response to targets that are placed by the management, this was one of only two vignettes describing the behaviour of the management as "badgering" or responsive only to targets. The other responses spoke of much more supportive and protecting management behaviour of occupational emotional labourers. Part of the job of occupational emotional labourers is to meet targets – make x number of sales, get out to x number of customers, speak to x number of people. Often these targets are set from somewhere above the immediate micro environment – for example, one respondent spoke about how their targets (in the UK) are set and managed by the American parent company – right down to the level of air conditioning. These targets were understood by the emotional labourer to be outside the direction of the micro-environment, but they still found them a strain to meet.

Display rule demands were, too, common:

"We get graded on whether we acknowledge customers. In one session we are supposed to smile and say hello to every single customer, but sometimes customers don't like that – and I can tell, and if they have hired me because I am good at talking to people, then I don't see why they are telling me how I should act. We can get really shot down if they see you arranging clothes on the line [display stand] and not talking to customers." (Respondent #2, Table 1:Retail assistant)

Occupational emotional labourers felt that sometimes the display rules not only insult their own emotional intelligence, but sticking rigidly to them cause further problems in their interactions with people. It was a common response from respondents to acknowledge that "sometimes customers don't like that", and arguably, the emotional labourer on the "shop floor" is the person best placed to make that judgment. It will be seen that service recipients too (in the results of Q2) prefer a service when it meets their emotional needs ie. they are acknowledged by staff who are not too imposing.

However, a common way of dealing with these potential sources of aggravation was Sandiford and Seymour's (2011) 'communities of coping' - to "Have a laugh…we all just used to hang out together and gripe, and it was nice" said one cabin crew member who had very stringent time deadlines to meet; or "Go out after work and have a vent" said one retail assistant.

But, as well as targets and display rules, occupational emotional labourers had to deal with hostile – and, notably, were able to find other methods of resisting their demands:

"I was working in [Book Shop] and we have this huge display right in front of the door of "The Da Vinci Code", and some woman just walked straight up to the desk and asked did we have "The Da Vinci Code"?I mean, for God's sake – she had to walk straight past the display – and it's not small. It is seriously right in the middle of the doorway with a huge sign saying "The Da Vinci Code"). (Respondent #29, Table 1, Retail assistant)

In this case, the emotional labourer decided to "misbehave": *"I shouted to my friend and said "Da Vinci Code? Have you seen anything like this?" He said "No…no I haven't seen anything like it at all." and I said to the customer, no – no I don't think we've seen it." (Respondent #29, Table 1: Retail assistant)*

In this particular case the behaviour resulted in a "dressing down" from the management, but the retail assistant was told that he would not be fired because they were short staffed. However, this is was the only such instance. Shuler and Sypher (2000) have mentioned "stupidity" as a customer trait – and one precipitating the emotional labour to be allowed to laugh at the expense of the customer. However, they do not discuss it further than a means of joke sharing between colleagues – without the knowledge of the customer. This response differs from Shuler and Sypher's findings (2000) of sharing a private joke with a colleague as a form of resistance. Instead, the emotional labourer

showed his resistance publically. Notably, though, this is the only instance where (occupational) emotional labourer was reprimanded by the management – and it might have been because a sale was not made because of the feigned ignorance about the book rather than any resistance to demands – and the other vignettes demonstrate that often the manager is party to the resistance process.

"Some people come out of London and they are used to having everything at any time. If I charged £400 per night then maybe I could afford a night porter and someone to be at their beck and call 24 hours a day. But the thing is I don't like that. I expect common courtesy. I was in the restaurant the other day and someone was clicking their fingers and calling 'Boy! Boy!' I took the waiter's arm and I said don't answer to that. I spoke to the guests and said 'I'm sorry sir, but I don't see any dogs in here, who are you trying to call?' … I said 'I'm just the owner'…and finally they accepted that it probably wasn't right…we are very careful who we accept now." (Respondent #16, Table 1, a waiter)

Again, this is not unlike the findings of Sandiford and Seymour (2011) who found that customers were not necessarily rude to bar staff in *response* to receiving poor treatment, but sometimes just presented as rude in the first instance. However, again, unlike their eventual conclusions in this case the emotional labourer's manager showed resistance to the customer demand through a form of ironic response which exposed the rudeness of the customer *"I spoke to the guest and said 'I'm sorry sir, but I don't see any dogs in here, who are you trying to call?',* and offered support to the labourer. The manager also made the conscious decision avoid trouble in the future by being "careful who we accept".

Another example of such resistance to demands, and collusion with the management follows:

 "But you get all sorts. One woman was South African and she asked if I could tell her who she was sitting next to. I said…well due to data protection, of course you can't do that, I said I'm sorry I can't do that. She said 'Well I won't sit next to anyone who is black'. I said, right, erm, perhaps you would

like to discuss this with my manager…Her face when she turned round…but give her her due she still said 'I won't sit next to anybody who is black', he said 'What, like me you mean?' well, perhaps we can get you transferred onto South African Airlines." (Respondent #30, Table 1:Cabin Crew).

In this example, again politeness was used to resist and expose the rudeness of the customer. Norms of politeness and professional conduct "…discuss this with my manager" were used to expose the recipient. The emotional labourer went specifically to a manager who she knew was black. The vignette continues *"When she had gone, he turned to me and said 'There were three managers on duty – and you came straight to me.'…and I said 'Yes…because you are black [imitating customer's accent]'".* In this case, the manager was brought into an emotive situation and immediately picked up on what the labourer was doing. In supporting her actions, the manager demonstrated the positive relationship that existed between them, and offered support in resisting recipient business. Again, the emotional labourer's manager was again willing to lose the business of the customer.

In all three cases, in support of Shuler and Sypher (2000) to an extent - it is the recipient who initiated the negativity within the interaction, however, instead of the resistance being in the form of a private joke between colleagues, emotional labourers used the norms of politeness to resist the rudeness of the customer and retain their dignity in a public manner. Emotional labourers, despite asymmetry of exchange of respect, behave in a manner that retains their dignity and self-worth, and in the latter two examples it is noticeable that it was the manager themself who protected the emotional labourer by using politeness to deal with the situation, and further expose the customer's rudeness. It is through an examination of the *interaction* that such complexities within emotional labour become evident. Occupational manager, recipient and labourer may be party to, and affect, the same interaction. In considering the reason for such an exchange, it is also perhaps relevant to consider that, in terms of Morris and Feldman's (1996) categories, occupational emotional labour is not often of a long duration with the same customer. The brevity of the duration of the interaction may also explain why customers are more likely to present as rude or unpleasant – they are unlikely to see the

same person again, so perhaps do not care how they behave. Nonetheless, these responses demonstrate that instead of passive acceptance, occupational emotional labourers present different forms of resistance involving a level of "exposure" of poor recipient behaviour. Apart from the Da Vinci Code vignette, this is done in ways that draw heavily on the norms of politeness and sometimes irony.

O.ii) Occupational emotional labourers are often supported by their *managers* and there is a positive relationship between them

14 sources, 24 references

The positive relationship between labourer and their manager was also discussed, with the labourer speaking of being moved by the compassion of their manager:

"A manager I worked for [on British Airways] was like 'Pat Butcher'...big earrings...she was infamous, the one who refused to let Joan Collins fly because she was late. It was at the time that Joan Collins was advertising British Airways as well. She [the manager] was an amazing woman, immaculate – silver hair scarped into a bun with a clip. Never chipped nail polish, rod of iron, sort of - but she had a heart." (Respondent #12, Table 2: Cabin Crew)

Although there were two examples of a poor relationship with managers who focussed only on hitting targets, the relationships expressed with regards to the occupational emotional labourer and their managers were predominantly positive. There was a sense of respect evident "…an amazing woman" as well as the knowledge that the manager would be supportive of the labourer. The manager was perceived to be "hands on" and "available" with a good sense of humour "…we still laugh about stories together". Of those interviewed, the occupational manager seemed to spend time 'in the front line' alongside the worker and so may have had the same understanding of the issues being faced as the worker. They were not "distant". This contrasts with the opinion of the professional emotional

labourers who say things such as "…I spent a year there and I never saw her once!" Professional services that have a manager who does not experience work within the "front line" may learn from the occupational services where such shared experiences are a source of support for the emotional labourer.

O.iii) Occupational emotional labourers find their *colleagues* predominantly a source of stress
6 sources, 15 references

 "We had one guy who you knew if he was on the shift before you, you just knew that you'd have a load more work to do than if you were following any of the others. At another place we had two teams and one was younger people who were straight out of university, who were very good but a bit naive, and didn't really understand work…the other team were more mature but they would make more mistakes but then try and backtrack and cover up…that ruins it for everyone else." (Respondent #17, Table 2: Quality Control Manager)

This finding challenges the Korcynski (2005) and Sandiford and Seymour's (2011) "communities of coping" where colleagues were identified as the source of support. It would seem instead that managers may offer the community of coping, whereas colleagues may provide a further source of stress. Thus it would seem that shared experiences may not always contribute to emotional support, but instead a "likeminded approach" is more pertinent. Certainly, in terms of colleagues – it may not be possible to find the 'correct' staff. Previous research has found that the (occupational) service profession is not highly paid, and therefore may not attract those with a high level of emotional intelligence (eg. Vincent, 2011), and perhaps there are implications for service managers in terms of recruiting, training and deploying their staff appropriately. It may be that for a cohesive and supportive emotional labour community the recruitment of likeminded staff, or staff who are similarly emotionally intelligent is important.

The nature of the interaction for professional emotional labourers

Professional emotional labourers also spent between 6 – 8 hours of their day interacting with service recipients at work. However, although they also did not claim to "make friends" with their service recipients during the working relationship, many did stay in touch when the work relationship had come to an end, for example, when the student had left the school. The responses they gave about their service recipients were noticeably compassionate – whether it can be ascribed to deep acting, the relationships were of a more "understanding" nature – for example, a difficult student was not dismissed as "unpleasant", but considered in the light of a tough home life.

Professional emotional labourers also claimed to be guided by display rules – or management demands, which they too, felt were sometimes not appropriate to the job, and an insult to their professional status. They felt that their efforts were often not recognised by the management, but were sometimes by the service recipients, and also claimed that their colleagues were a source of emotional support. The 3 key findings were:

P.i) Professional emotional labourers perceive their difficult service recipients as people they can help or support and often continue some of their relationships with their service recipients after the work relationship has ended

P.ii) Professional emotional labourers find their colleagues predominantly a source of emotional support

P.iii) Professional emotional labourers have predominantly negative relationships with their managers due to a lack of recognition and a lack of respect

P.i) Professional emotional labourers perceive their difficult service recipients as people they can help or support and often continue some of their relationships with their service recipients after the work relationship has ended

20 sources, 81 references

"I'd been having so much trouble with this student. He wouldn't behave, he wouldn't do what he was asked and for a good half of term he was the bane of my life. But suddenly he began to take an interest, so I encouraged it, and his work started improving. He even was able to get into a bit of banter with me – he kept saying that I was always picking on him to answer questions, so one day I did just that, and by the third or fourth question he waited until he was sure no-one was looking and mouthed 'fuck off' at me with a big smile on his face. I knew he'd got it – he knew where I was coming from – he finally saw me as a human being!" (Respondent #24, Table 1: Teacher)

This teacher is still "friends" with the student in question and they often share banter on the social networking site "Facebook".

"I had worked with a student from year 7 – right up to year 10 who had an eating disorder and she was supposed to go on[a school trip] with us. I spoke to her parents who assured me that they would pick her up should there be any problems. She refused to eat [there] and fainted twice and I had to call her parents to bring her home. They were very very angry and wrote a letter to the head accusing me of unprofessional behaviour...I felt really hurt by the amount of work that I had done being pretty much spat in my face...I got an email from her the other day – four years on – she apologised for everything!" (Respondent #20, Table 1: Teacher)

These two vignettes reveal long term work performed by the professional emotional labourer with their service recipients. They suggest that the relationship was not easy, but perseverance was an important part of the job. The long-term nature of the emotional labour interaction of a professional

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emotional labourer and their service recipient may be the basis for the understanding and patient approach that is taken…or, perhaps as Hargreaves (1998) says – it is just part of the job.

The professional emotional labourer may expect a variety of emotional labour struggles with their service recipients. This may be because the very nature of their position means that they are personally offering the service that is required (eg. Hargreaves, 1998 – teachers). Unlike the shop assistant who may work the till for the customer to purchase the item they require, the teacher, doctor or lawyer *is themselves* also the service that the recipient requires. The teacher needs to impart knowledge, the doctor needs to heal, and the lawyer needs to stand up in court. As such to impart their service, the professional emotional labourer needs the co-operation of the service recipient, and striving to build a relationship is a known part of the job.

"...some of these children, you see more of them than their parents do and have more of an impact than their parents in developing their character than some of their closest relatives, and I'd been with them for all five years...I still see them down at the gym now, and that's nice. We go out, do the pub quiz…that sort of thing." (Respondent #41, Table 1:Teacher)

Although there were clashes and difficulties, and unpleasant behaviours reported by the emotional labourers, the vignettes emphasised very pleasant and heart-warming, positive outcomes and a continuance of the relationship after the service had ended. It is unclear whether this is common across all professional emotional labour relationships of whether this was specific to this sample, but 20 sources reported a continuation of the relationship with at least some service recipients after the service relationship had come to an end.

It is not clear whether the emotional labourer is driven to do this, as Bolton (2000) suggests, because they are caring people who merely wish to care, nor is it clear that the resulting continuation of a relationship is because of an attachment need as Riley (2010) suggests. It might be because of

something individual to each labourer; it might also be because if one is to be forced into a long-term relationship with a recipient – as is the case with many of the professional emotional labour jobs, it is best to try and get along where you can. However, there was also a "longing" identified on the part of some professional labourers:

"There is no nicer feeling than being the sole person that that person needs. I should have been a wet nurse" (Respondent #10, Table 1: Teaching Assistant)

"...I feel sorry for them. I grew up without a father myself, and I sort of want to be a father figure to them..." (Respondent #4, Table 1:Teacher)

"It's like because she doesn't see her own child anymore, she's trying to save souls. She has these little projects and those students never get punished – they can do ANYTHING!" (Respondent #11, Table 1:Teacher)

As identified above, there is often an "ongoing" relationship between the professional emotional labourer and the recipient, in comparison to the fleeting interaction of the occupational emotional labourer. If, as discussed in the Literature Review some service workers, are in pursuit of an emotionally "corrective" experience (Riley, 2010) they may transfer the emotion of that relationship to their recipient into something beyond the professional. In applying Bowlby's (1969) attachment theory principles to service work (Popper 2002; Riley 2010), if the service worker has an emotional need and the organisation is unable to provide a secure environment, he or she may be "seduced" by the needs of the recipient. This is made worse if there is a grey area around what constitutes a 'professional relationship' eg. Ofsted suggests that male teachers become "father figures" for male students (2008) and this is imposed at the micro level of display rules. For professional emotional labourer and the recipient, repercussions of an ill-defined emotional relationship have a potential to be

detrimental to both parties' emotional wellbeing, and potentially the career of the professional emotional labourer, and this is definitely an area that requires further consideration.

P.ii) Professional emotional labourers find their colleagues predominantly a source of emotional support

17 sources, 34 references

"I think everybody has a sort of a crutch, whether it be a relationship, or their religion, or a sport or their hobbies and stuff. I would probably say that my job is 80% of my life. Not necessarily because of the money but because of the relationships." (Respondent #41, Table 1: Teacher)

It seems that Shuler and Sypher (2002) and Bolton and Boyd (2002)'s findings were also found to be the case for professional emotional labourers, but not at all for occupational ones. The difference in experience between occupational and professional emotional labour may be explained by the need for professional status to be attained in the latter case so that the majority of people one meets as colleagues in a professional emotional labour job are of similar emotional intelligence and ability. This may not be the case in the occupational emotional labour jobs and the variation can lead to negativity from the workers who are able to work on initiative. Certainly investigation into whether there is a difference in emotional intelligence between professional and occupational labourers has been examined by Harris (2002) and was not found to be the case, however, it may be that because professional emotional labourers have to undertake the same standards training, they are more likeminded whereas there is a greater diversity within occupational emotional labourers. In this example, it is also of some concern that work for this teacher is seen as "an emotional crutch" as such dependence may not be conducive to psychological wellbeing (Theodosius, 2006). This may, once again, relate to an attachment need (Riley, 2010), and be something that service managers need to acknowledge and address within their staff.

Within this research also, it was the professionals who spoke of a difference between people they thought were good at their jobs and people they thought were not:

"...there is such a massive massive personal factor in there that everyone comes through the same theoretical training, everyone comes through the same practical training but every teacher is different and it's a personal thing. " (Respondent #28, Table 1:Teacher)

"..there is the professional qualification and there's a legal understanding that needs to go on ... but a significant part of that is having to work with young people, to relate to them, to communicate with them and to enable them to make a change in their behaviour and I don't think that you can have that skill mix without...with only the formal training." (Respondent #34, Table 1:Teacher)

"Anyone can do the job – it just depends on how well they do it. There are plenty of people who have received all the training – they've gone through their PGCE or done their BA and they are terrible, and there are people who haven't done any formal training being a teacher and they're great. Again it's to do with personality and the relationships they build with their students." (Respondent #41, Table 1:Teacher)

However, despite acknowledging that colleagues varied in their abilities, they still maintained a positive relationship with them, offering to help them where they could. It may be that having the professional status conferred engenders a shared respect. Alternatively, it may be that in conditions of heightened emotion, there is a feeling of being "in it together". One professional respondent also remarked *"There is a reason why teachers all have affairs – it's such an emotionally intense environment, and you spend all day talking to children. The only people who really understand exactly how you feel – are other teachers." (Respondent #9, Table 1: Teacher)*.

However, perhaps with an occupational job where emotional labour is often performed as "extra" to doing the job (rather than an integral part of being a teacher cf; Hargreaves, 1998), a judgment is more easily formed on whether someone is capable or not. What may also be happening is that because part of the teacher's job (for example) is empathy and understanding of those that are struggling, those in this profession will be more charitable to colleagues who are struggling professionally. It is noted, however, that this charitable response is not afforded to the management:

"I sent him to the Head and the next thing I know he's come out of her office eating a Mars bar." (Respondent #20, Table 1:Teacher)

"The inconsistency is the worst part because you don't know if you can ask for it [help] or not. I don't think you are particularly valued – sometimes I think I'm not valued and therefore sometimes if I can have a pop at them or if I can undermine them in some way, then that doesn't go amiss. It's not the best working environment, and particularly in our institution, there's unrest." (Respondent #43, Table 1:Teacher)

where an inability to do their job is a source of complaint. It appears that in terms of emotional support, in an occupational emotional labour profession managers and workers form a "community of coping" while judging their colleagues on ability; but in the professional emotional labour organisation it is the worker and their colleagues judging the manager on ability, and is a contrast of interest which may provoke further investigation.

P.iii) Professional emotional labourers have predominantly negative relationships with their managers due to a lack of recognition and a lack of respect

17 sources, 61 references

"Long service awards are a sore point. The person supposed to be in charge of administrating that isn't very good at administrating things. And when we reminded her she sort of went 'Oh bugger oh bugger!!' [impression], and still didn't do it. I think there's a bit of a culture in our school that you do things without reward..." (Respondent #41, Table 1:Teacher)

Healthcare is another area in which a lack of recognition is resented by the emotional labourer (eg Bakker et al, 2002). This may be because of the amount of training that is needed to achieve professional status in the first instance, or perhaps because if recognition comes only through targets, much of the skill of the professional emotional labourer goes unacknowledged. Further, professional emotional labourers interviewed spoke of how they would even teach things such as "using a knife and fork" – something they believed a parent should have done, and this was something they were doing that was not always recognised. Further, of the seventeen sources, all the respondents mentioned that sometimes they felt like "clocking in and clocking out and not doing any extra work if there is no time", not just because they felt a lack of recognition for what they did, but sometimes they felt they were not trusted to do the bare basics of their job. However all seventeen also conceded that a "jobsworth" attitude was not appropriate because they cared about their profession. This is an interesting comment, and develops Callaghan and Thompson's (2002) recommendation – hire the "correct attitude" of the worker. If the professional is appropriately qualified and suitable enough to recruit them, then an element of autonomy and trust is required. This may enhance both their performance, and emotional wellbeing. The following is an example of the negativity that exists within the worker for whom this autonomy and trust is lacking:

"We felt like kids in the Headmistress' office just being told off – there was no communication, it was like 'You are all wrong and I need to punish you all if you won't say who did it.' It wasn't even as if she asked us if it was true. The worst thing was straight after that the Deputy Head went into an NQT training session where she went on about not giving blanket punishments as it makes the class dislike you as it is unfair. I couldn't believe it..." (Respondent #9, Table 1: Teacher)

It is possible that the "communities of coping" identified by Korcynski (2005) and later Sandiford and Seymour (2011) may, for the occupational emotional labourer, include the manager, but for some reason this does not seem to be the case in the professional occupations. However, this finding of a lack of respect or lack of recognition within the professional group is not dissimilar to findings from Bakker et al (2002). One possible explanation for this is that within occupational professions the manager may be part of the floor team and has a first-hand understanding of what the emotional labourer is experiencing. In a professional organisation, the manager, eg. the Head, does not spend as much time in front of the students as the role is largely administrative, therefore the pressures the professional emotional labourer and the Manager are subjected to while similarly intense are different in their nature, often calling for a different skills set to best address them. Alternatively, it may just be that in the sample interviewed that the professional emotional labourers were in organisations where the management was perceived as hostile: *"I don't always feel like I want to succeed because it will give them the credit!" (Respondent #42, Table 1:Teacher)*

"I was actually accused of losing work…They didn't even give me a chance to explain anything – they just said 'I've had this complaint' and wrote me a bad reference." (Respondent #44, Table 1:Teacher)

"I'm not praised here… I mean one of them didn't even know I worked at the school. Yeah – one of them thought…well, kept getting my subject wrong as well." (Respondent #29, Table 1:Teacher)

Although these teachers worked at different schools, their experiences with the management were similarly negative.

Complaints about display rules and inappropriate targets being imposed on them by managers were also commonplace: *"We have to have a certain number of students otherwise the course won't run. So, we have to accept everyone onto the course – even the ones who can't do it. Then we need to get results – but we can't get those if we don't have the students to work with. It's all about league tables and targets now, not education…I think the kids are more stressed than we are!"*
(Respondent #16, Table 1: Teacher)

The occupational and professional respondents both complained of having to meet "targets" imposed by the management which they felt, foremostly, were impossible to meet. This furthered the resentment of the management whom professional emotional labourers perceived to misunderstand the job. Within the occupational responses this was potentially related to targets being easily measurable "key performance indicators", and with the professional responses, sometimes, the targets were due to previously non-competitive organisations now being subject to competition. A school, for example, used to be a privilege, now the sustainability of the school as an organisation is dependent on funding, which, in turn is dependent on pupils, who are, in turn, dependent on league tables of examination results. The insistence on targets has not been researched fully within emotional labour, and this may be because targets are indicative of a change in what society deems important to measuring achievement within organisations. Researchers in the field of teaching have found that recently there has been a shift towards a more target-orientated educational field (eg. Barrett, 2003; Mahoney et al, 2011). Similarly to the targets of the occupational emotional labourer sometimes being imposed by a higher office than the microenvironment, this is often also the case – especially with teaching. It is the Government who sets specific targets that schools need to meet, and with competition between schools getting greater, perhaps Headteachers are feeling the pressure.

What is noticeable, with the professional emotional labourers, is that they feel that the targets are reinforced by the management who are then perceived as a source of strain rather than support. Perhaps a reason for this resentment is that within the teaching profession at least, the Headteacher is

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themselves a teacher, who perhaps is perceived by the emotional labourers as knowing what it is like. Therefore seeing "one of their own" seemingly turn against them, can result in resentment. Two respondents did mention a source of stress was when a colleague they formerly enjoyed working with got promoted and suddenly behaved *"...like the Senior Leadership Team, rather than a teacher."*

Display rule demands were also a source of strain, and were interpreted by the professional emotional labourer as another example of the management's lack of support, and were again demonstrative a perceived misunderstanding from the management of the job the labourer was doing. *"I think there are a lot of things we do because we're told to – because it needs to be done in a certain way – the Head's way...not because it's best for the Students. Even the way we have to write the Title and Aim, and yeah it'll help. But traffic lighting their aim at the end of the lesson – not necessarily the best thing to do –or at least there are other ways of doing it that you might like...there are certain ways you have to do things." (Respondent #43, Table 1: Teacher)*

Again, in both cases (occupational and professional), it is clear that the display rules imposed on the worker are disliked, and in both cases are found to be insulting. In an earlier example where an occupational labourer felt that he was hired because he was good at communication, and yet being forced to speak to customers who did not want to be spoken to (in his perception) was a compromise on his judgment, the professional emotional labourers may feel this more deeply. Display rules are embedded within the training and the standards that the need to reach in the first instance and if, despite this, each organisation may choose to impose their own "rules" which suit the individual image that they wish to project, these may be felt as insulting to the professional labourer. One teacher interviewed commented that this may be because of the "Ofsted" targets imposed on the Headteacher, but maintained that although certain lesson elements are conducive to learning, the Head should not be telling staff to do them in only one specific way.Unlike Harris' (2002) findings, professional status does not necessarily afford the emotional labourer more freedom to perform in the way they deem appropriate.

Summary of RQ1:

	Interactions with Recipients	Interactions with Managers	Interactions with Colleagues
Occupational Emotional Labourers	Politeness is used to resist the strain of recipient emotional demands and expose their rudeness	The manager is seen as a source of support and is often part of the displays of resistance towards the recipient	Colleagues are viewed as a source of strain due to a perceived lack of ability/competence
Professional Emotional Labourers	Emotionally demanding recipients are seen as a challenge Relationships between labourer and recipient may continue after the work relationship has ended – but this may reveal a psychological need on the part of the labourer	The manager is seen as an antagonist who has a different agenda to the labourer	Colleagues are seen as a source of support to mediate the strain from challenging recipients as well as antagonistic managers

As much of the previous findings indicate, recipients can be hostile and unpleasant in both professional and occupational emotional labour, but while occupational emotional labours find ways of coping, professional emotional labourers find ways of dealing with, and repairing or rebuilding a relationship. This may be because they have the time to do so in a longer-term relationship. Furthering the positive findings of Bolton (2000) and Bolton and Boyd (2002), that customers could be a source of pleasure for emotional labourers, it was found that the relationship between professional labourers and their recipients may become so positive that it endures long after the work relationship has concluded.

Unlike Harris's (2002) findings where it was occupational emotional labourers who were found to be more constrained by display rules, such constraints were found to affect *both* occupational and professional emotional labourers, and both groups found these to be insulting to their natural emotional abilities. The findings from the occupational emotional labourers with regards to relationships with their managers echoed the findings that positive and negative relationships may occur – but found that the positive relationships were more common in occupational emotional labour jobs, and negative in professional emotional labour jobs. This may be because of the difference in the jobs that the managers in each case perform – and again would be worthy of further investigation.

Finally, unlike Shuler and Sypher (2000), Bolton and Boyd (2002), and Sandiford and Seymour (2011), occupational emotional labourers found their colleagues to be a source of stress rather than support or a "community of coping". In support of those findings, professional emotional labourers saw their colleagues as a source of emotional support. This may be because of a difference in the emotional abilities of people performing an occupational emotional labour position, or a difference in how colleagues are perceived. In an occupational job, if you cannot do the job itself, it perhaps does not matter if you are a nice person – you are still deemed incompetent and extra stress for others on the shift; however, because emotion is integral to a professional emotional labour job those who are struggling are not seen as a hindrance, and more as people to be helped. Again, this may be worth investigating further.

Through examining the interactions (as interpreted by the participants in this study), the complexity of dealing with heightened emotion in a working environment is highlighted. There are implications for the management of both occupational and professional emotional labourers in terms of recruitment, deployment and support of the emotional labourers. With regards to recruitment, because there is no "minimum standard" set for occupational service workers, the service organisation needs to be very sure of their own ability to support their employees and embed the additional skills that may be lacking initially. As colleagues potentially present a positive source of support in an emotionally

strained environment, consideration of how well a staff member will fit into a cohesive group is important – and the judgement of their peers is made not just on personality, but (from the findings) on perceived competence.

Within a professional service, it is perhaps for the management to remain aware of the grassroots position of the emotional labourer. It would seem that professional managers tend to progress to administrative capacities rather than service performance ones, and as such may lose touch with changes within the everyday working environment. Whether the professional service manager is able to challenge any targets imposed from a higher body that are perceived as inappropriate or impossible to attain, is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is clear that the manager of a service has the potential to be a source of support but is often, within the professional service, a source of antagonism.

It seems, within an occupational service, that there is a shift from the sovereignty of the customer, towards exposing the intolerable behaviour of the customer. This is perhaps made easier due to the nature and duration of the interaction, compared to professional services where the working relationship with the recipient is longer. However, this has implications for the management of occupational services in that emotional labourers may find ways of resisting emotional demands despite the imposition of targets and display rules; and for professional services as emotional labourers run the risk of a deeper emotional involvement with their recipient than intended. However, this complexity is deepened when the results of the second research question are considered, and this will now be examined.

Service interaction from the "recipient" perspective: RQ2: How do recipients perceive/interpret the interactions?

The responses were again gathered on a "critical incident" basis, where respondents were asked to talk about a memorable service incident of their choosing – both good and/or bad, in a service also of their choosing. The themes in this section will be discussed in relationship to each other eg. a theme that has come through from the recipients about occupational emotional labour that is similar to one within professional emotional labour will be discussed together.

Findings from recipients of an occupational service

The key findings were:

Occupational recipients:

RO.i)[11] Recipients were hostile as a *reaction* to the emotional labour's behaviour

RO.ii) Recipients do not need the job to be done to deem an experience positive

RO.iii) Recipients acknowledge the emotional labourer "going the extra mile"

RO.i) Recipients were hostile as a reaction to the emotional labourer's behaviour

23 sources, 99 references

"Utter incompetence, people leave you on hold for hours." (Respondent #7, ref[12]: train station worker)

"...it just took ages and they kept saying that they were doing it and just never did." (Respondent #3, ref: mobile company worker)

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[11] As footnote 10, "RO" denotes "recipient" of an "occupational" service.

[12] "ref" denotes that the recipient is referring to a specific emotional labourer

The main reason for the hostility from a customer point of view was that the occupational emotional labourer was not doing his or her job. This differed from the perception of the emotional labourer – as discussed in the previous chapter, where it would seem that some customers came into the organisation already hostile in their attitude. The customer's perception seems to be that they start off neutral, and then are angered by a critical incident.

As identified earlier, previous research does not often call upon the customer voice, so there is little by means of comparison. Yet, from a social constructionist perspective, hearing from all parties to the interaction is significant. Previous research has stated that customers are hostile, or can bully the emotional labourer (eg. Bishop and Hoel, 2008; and Hopp et al, 2012), but no-one discusses why this is so. It seems, from the responses in this study, that recipients perceive a failure in the delivery of the service that then translates into hostility or anger, which is sometimes evident in their initiation of an interaction: *"I was in [a restaurant] the other day, and we were having a pleasant meal…and the waitress came over and she literally reached over us [demonstrates pushing past me to pick up something], I mean...literally...reached over to pick up the sauces and just said 'You've finished with these right?'. The man near us then said 'I haven't finished' and the waitress said 'Oh, but I asked you and you didn't say anything. Oh never mind, I'll sort something else out.' I couldn't believe it, it was SO rude…I took her aside and really had a go at her." (Respondent #3, ref: waitress)*

These responses suggested that customers of occupational emotional labour have an expectation of a level of emotional courtesy – and are angered when this does not occur. Little deep acting occurs on the part of the recipient to excuse, nor to understand, the behaviour, and the response is to treat like with like. This suggests that although the occupational emotional labourer may be a "gateway" to the service ie. in the case of a restaurant the waitress was there to serve the food (the actual service) yet (despite the quality of the service – the food) there is an expectation that when there is a personal interaction it will be courteous.

There is also the implication that not all occupational emotional labourers are performing in accordance with the display rules set out. While it is impossible to say what the rules were in the above example, one can assume that it would not have been to "push past customers". Unfortunately the reasons for the non-conformity are not available, but it would seem that while emotional labourers need to deal professionally and politely to hostility, customers do not.

"If someone has the wrong ticket you might send them over to the ticket desk and call ahead and say that you have a customer going there and what the problem is...now they just say "It's not my job"." (*Respondent #12, ref: cabin crew*)

Customers were very angry at any "jobsworth" attitudes they came across. The respondents were keen, as in the example, to talk about what they would have done. It seems that a lot of the anger comes from the customer being able to see a solution that the emotional labourer is not willing or able to follow. This highlights another difference between occupational and professional emotional labour. In the former case, it is perhaps more possible to see a solution – as stated earlier, the labourer is the "gateway" to the job being done, rather than an essential part of the job. This may be contrasted with teaching or with law where the emotional labourer has specific skills that they themselves bring to the job. As a customer it is more difficult to say to a lawyer "I know better than you" unless you are, yourself, a trained lawyer. The recipient of an occupational service may have a good idea of what needs to be done, but the recipient of a professional service needs to rely on the professional who has a greater level of knowledge. Thus the recipient of a professional service is more "at the mercy" of the labourer in comparison to the recipient of an occupational service who can easily go elsewhere.

This sentiment is considered in the following vignette which, although is about an occupational service, the server had training and ability that the recipient did not: *"We'd hired a set and it came with a technician – but he was just useless. He watched as we all unloaded it, when we were asking for help he would say things like 'Oh, you could do that' and then not offer any further assistance*

except for laughter. He's properly trained, but I was the one going up the ladder to do stuff and instead of explaining exactly what he wanted he'd just give orders like '...that one...no there...ha ha ha...' – it was no help at all – and I was up this really high ladder. Then later when he said 'Oh I'll do it, it's faster!' – and I wondered why he couldn't have just done it in the first place – he was trained!!" (Respondent #23, ref: theatre technician)

Although an isolated response, there is a perceived perverse withholding of information on the part of the service provider. In this instance the customer felt angry, but also trapped in that he needed the service and could not go elsewhere. In such an instance hostility or anger may be suppressed as losing the service because of an angry response can result in a worse situation than before.

It would seem that "the job not being done" when there is an option of going elsewhere, or when the customer can "do it themselves", generates a great deal of vocalised anger, but in cases where there is nowhere else to go – or the customer relies on the skills of the emotional labour, hostility and anger is suppressed. The latter is more applicable within the professional emotional labour relationship.

RO.ii) Recipients do not need the job to be done to deem an experience positive
17 sources, 34 references

"They had lost my son's luggage and I'd spoken to the fifth person to talk about it and I was really angry. However, she said she'd follow it up and she checked up on it personally and although she couldn't get it back herself, she called to let me know what had happened and how we could get it." *(Respondent #24, ref: cabin crew)*

Related to the findings above – the hard work of the occupational emotional labourer goes a long way to compensate for an inability to get the job done. Respondents were still happy to talk about a

service as positive just because of the behaviour of the person performing, regardless if the service itself was performed. This is an interesting separation of the server from the service itself that appears to apply to occupational emotional labour. One response highlighted this difference as follows:

"I prefer a competent and rude service - you can always be rude back and still get what you wanted - with incompetent and polite you are banging your head against a brick wall with a smile." *(Respondent #5, ref: retail assistant)*

Although a singular comment, it is interesting to note that customers may be able to separate the service getting "what you wanted" with the server. While in the majority of cases, an excellent emotional labour performance can compensate for not achieving the service goal, it can also frustrate the customer because they have not got what they wanted, nor can they vent their anger! It is interesting to note, however, that in all the vignettes that spoke about a positive experience even though the service goal was not achieved, that the occupational emotional labourer offered alternatives to what was required – eg. constant communication through the process in the above example, or an alternative brand/food/action in the other examples. The freedom to offer an alternative may be an important element for the occupational emotional labourer, and an implication that service organisations may want to bear in mind to try to ensure smooth interactions.

If the recipient's specific needs were acknowledged, this was also found to be satisfactory.

"Any time someone shares an interest in – a genuine interest in you or a bit of their own personality, like, even if they're helping you, no matter what they are doing, that makes the difference." *(Respondent #6, ref: call centre operator)*

"I think good service happens when people care about what they do and people have respect for what they do and respect for others – and I think that's important." *(Respondent #11, ref: retail assistants)*

"Being noticed, being listened to, being taken notice of and if you have a problem someone taking the trouble to try and sort it out – no matter whether the outcome was good or bad, but do it with...with a degree of politeness and respect – as a person not a number or anything else." (Respondent #9, ref: retail assistants)

This was a strange finding which arose when service recipients were asked to explain what they thought made for "good service". In essence they talk about the emotional labour performance for the interaction itself, rather than whether the job gets done, and in particular they emphasise the importance of some sort of genuine acknowledgment. This is, indeed, something that emotional labour research has previously found – or rather, it forms the foundation of why emotional labour takes place in the first instance. As Hochschild (2003) discusses, it is important that the service recipient feels special, and hence training, display rules and performance is focussed on achieving that aim.

What these vignettes suggest, however, is that despite display rules, politeness and courtesy does not occur in all cases of emotional labour – which reinforces Callaghan and Thompson's (2002) and Harris' (2002) findings that care must be taken in the recruitment of occupational emotional labourers so that they are, personally, up to the performance. They also suggests that the recipient does not necessarily perceive him or herself as sovereign – but rather an individual who has come into contact with the service. It further suggests that in terms of targets or display rules that do address interaction, a blanket "smile at all customers" is not going to suffice, because recipients (as found in previous research eg. Lemmink and Mattsson (2002)) can recognise when this is not a natural or spontaneous response.

Perhaps this is not so important for professional emotional labourers because it is either already trained for (in meeting the initial standards) – as Harris (2002) proposes, or because they themselves

are part of the service – eg. a gruff heart surgeon may not be criticised for his cantankerousness, if he performs excellent heart surgery.

RO.iii) Recipients acknowledge the emotional labourer "going the extra mile"

17 sources, 31 references

"When I went home the taxi driver was really nice, his son put the bags in the car for me and then they drove and backed up on the driveway so I could go straight in and it was really nice." (Respondent #8, ref: taxi driver)

All of the responses that talked about a good service experience included an example of how the occupational emotional labourer in question – in this case the taxi driver – went "the extra mile". It was as if this, at least for customers of an occupational service, was what encapsulated for them a "positive experience". They did not elaborate on success being 'getting the job done', it was a much greater focus on their perception that their server had gone beyond the call of duty.

Customers predominantly describe it as "kindness", with all of the respondents adding that it was unexpected. The reasons for altruistic behaviour would form a whole other thesis, but it is interesting to note that within the display rules that there is room for spontaneous performance – which, for the customer is what makes the service a good one. It was noticeably not the completion of the job – in half the examples given the task was in fact *not* completed, but the actions of the emotional labourer were still highly appreciated.

Kindness, of an unexpected and unprecedented nature was recognised in the responses of both customers and emotional labourers: *"I was so upset because I had to leave so soon after I'd got married, and I was at the airport crying my eyes out. One of the cabin crew asked me if I was*

ok and I explained that I'd just got married and I had to go back to the UK. She walked off and a few minutes later I was called to the desk and they offered me an upgrade to first class – I know it was this woman. She never said anything, but I knew it was her. It was so kind of her."
(Respondent #11, ref: cabin crew)

This unexpected act was memorable for the recipient, but also one that would not be able to be planned or predicted. It would involve a combination of too many variables – such as space on the aeroplane, and an emotional labourer willing to make the offer, and a manager willing to agree. In this case, it is arguable that staff were trained to offer upgrades under certain circumstances and this was just a means of the airline boosting their commercial profile, but the following example suggests that the emotional labourer made a decision against company policy: *"I was in China for the Olympics, and while I was doing some sightseeing I was in the market and some girls came up to me and said (in English) do you want some help. I said to them, I want to go to the Forbidden City, and if any of you come tomorrow, then you can be my guide and I will pay you. The next day, only one of them turned up, so we went to the Forbidden City. But, she wasn't allowed in. European Chinese can go in, American Chinese can go in, Koreans, Thais...just not Chinese Nationals. So I was taken in, but she was not allowed, and she waved me "Bye bye" at the gates. I said "No. If you are not coming in, then I am not coming in either." The guards in the city said "Oh you don't need her, you don't need her, and they gave me an English translation of the tour." But I said to them, "Look, she is worth more to me than 1000 Forbidden Cities and if she cannot come in, then I do not want to be here either." The guards looked at each other and they spoke for some time and eventually they let her in." She had never seen the Forbidden City before, can you imagine?" (Respondent #13, ref: city guard)*

This is something that was clearly against Governmental policy, yet an exception was made. Perhaps it was to "save face" in front of a tourist, but it is a shame to pepper such acts with cynicism without further investigation.

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Emotional labourers too spoke of the kindness of their service recipients: *"I had to deliver some fish for a customer because it was an emergency and I took it round in my car. I didn't think it was a big deal – I lived near anyway, and my car smelled of fish for about a week after, but it wasn't a hassle. Anyway, the customer was so grateful that they bought me a case of wine!" (respondent #29, ref: customer)*

Similar to Shuler and Sypher's findings – emotional labourers also spoke of how they enjoyed offering (altruistic) kindness: *"There's a guy who comes in who used to be in the Navy and so he has a lot of fishing stories and navy stories. He does tend to venture them without being asked, and sometimes when you've got a queue of people it's not the most helpful thing but he's just a very funny guy." (Respondent #17, ref: customer)*

Further, in these examples there is kindness expressed from both the labourer and the recipient in both occupational and professional services. Save for a relatively under-developed finding of "altruism" from Shuler and Sypher (2000) and Bolton (2000), kindness as part of the emotional labour interaction has not been considered, and its' non-isolated occurrence is another interesting and original finding worthy of discussion.

A sense of humour was also considered as additional to a positive service interaction:
"...one of my friends had ordered the pork, but it was down in the menu as 'pig'. All through the evening the Maitre-d had been adding to our conversation – one of the guests had joked he wanted to be called 'madam', so the Maitre-d called him that all night. But when he brought the gravy he gave it to my friend and said 'Sauce for the pig' looking straight at her – it was so funny. It could have gone so wrong, but I think he knew she could take the joke." (Respondent #3, ref: waiter)

"It was such a long train journey and we had been delayed, and then delayed again. All the way home though, the driver was singing and telling jokes through the door between his cab and the passenger component it was the best train journey I had ever been on." (Respondent #24, ref: train driver)

Like the kindness discussed above, the spontaneous humour of the occupational emotional labourer also goes some way to making a service memorable and pleasurable. In both these examples, the emotional labourer was taking a risk – in the former case, referring to the customer as "a pig", and in the latter "singing and telling jokes" instead of concentrating on driving the train. In both these cases it seems that occupational emotional labourers need to judge situations to ensure that their comments are taken in the way they are meant and do not cause offence "It could have gone so wrong, but I think he knew she could take the joke." This implies a high level of emotional intelligence on the part of the occupational labourer – going against the findings by Harris (2002). However, it is also possible that experience may have contributed to the occupational emotional labourer being able to tell which customers are able to "take it" and which will not.

Findings from recipients of professional services

RP.i) Recipients of professional services complain of hostility from the emotional labourer in the first instance

RP.ii) Recipients of professional services are satisfied when the job is done (and do not seem to acknowledge how hard the emotional labourer "tries" if the job is not done)

RP. iii) Kindness is recognised in comparison to other professional labourer behaviour rather than for its own sake

RP.i) Recipients of professional services complain of hostility from the emotional labourer in the first instance

21 sources, 38 references

"...I tried to complain and they didn't let me complain – they just patronised me." (Respondent #4, ref: teacher)

"The lecturer/s were talking to themselves; they did not engage well with students; they only wanted to teach in the way they thought best even if students got bored of them." (Respondent #18, ref: lecturer)

In the case of professional emotional labour, recipients complain more about the attitude of the labourer. They seem to be aware that the labourer is part of the service itself – rather than a "gateway" as in the case of occupational emotional labour; and criticise the way that the service is being delivered. "…they did not engage"…engagement implies a deeper emotional connection being sought. The recipients in a professional service may not be expecting politeness alone, but a deeper form of emotional interaction. The recipient response comes across as more hurt and resentment rather than anger and hostility. In the responses studied, this seems to be because there is an "acceptance" that little can be done – that the relationship is to be on-going and if the service is bad, well "that's your lot". There seems to be a greater feeling that little will change.

What is interesting is that this feeling of inability to affect the organisation or change things permeates through occupational customers as well:

"With the big companies it's 'We're so big you don't matter – you're almost insignificant, the little amount of money you spend with us'." (Respondent #19, ref: phone company manager)

"...I even spoke to the manager who flatly said '...well if I wasn't happy with their service I could go elsewhere' ... that was quite ridiculous." (Respondent #3, ref: phone company manager)

However, in these cases, the recipient seems to prefer to vent their feelings – perhaps because they know the problem will not have a lasting effect. For the recipient of a professional service, there are limited options to addressing the problem – and those that are present – such as moving schools – require a great deal of upheaval. Moving telephone companies may be less difficult. This may account for a more "learned helplessness" response (eg. Seligman and Maier, 1967) from a recipient experiencing a negative professional service compared to the anger of the customer receiving a negative occupational one.

Acknowledging earlier findings, the initial behaviour of the professional labourer may be because professional emotional labourers may feel strain from their managers which may result in a negative effect on their performance. It is arguable that if one feels untrusted or unrecognised, there is less motivation to perform with a positive air. As such, it would suggest that instead of more display rules and targets, professional services may benefit from offering emotional labourers more autonomy and recognition. This may also explain why gratitude from the recipient may come to mean more to the professional labourer: *"One boy in particular – he was the son of a GP…this boy when I saw him he was about 13, the younger brother was about nine and the other about 6 and mum had left – she was a teacher in the school and she had left with the PE master and left dad who also had his own problems. The first time he came to me he picked up a stone – I have a tray of stones and shells – and he picked up this stone and it was a grey mottled stone and he said 'This is what I am, I feel all horrible and grey and clammy', and we talked and I saw him for about a year – which is quite a long time for a 13 year old to come, and then we were finishing and he picked up a shiny green emeralds sort of stone and he said 'I'm leaving here and I'm holding this because I feel all shiny and new again.' and I was so moved…"* (Respondent #36, ref: client)

"This girl, she was so shy and quiet but I put her in a dance routine. After the show she came up to me, hugged me and said "Thank you for noticing me". I'll never forget it!" (Respondent #44, Table 1:Teacher)

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"In China, I used to go to my students houses all the time and have dinner with their parents. They really appreciated what I was doing, and in the end it was only a little football club. It was wonderful. You don't do that here." *(Respondent #29, Table 1, Teacher)*

Without recognition from the management, it is possible that professional emotional labourers are moved by gratitude from their recipients or their colleagues – whomsoever is willing to offer it. This is not necessarily harmful unless the labourer is seeking it, as this may result in an expectation on the part of the labourer, which, if it is unfulfilled may too result in resentment of the very person they are there to support. Further, it is clear that such an expectation being placed on the recipient is inappropriate, and arguably it is important that support is in place within a professional service to avoid this.

RP.ii) Recipients of professional services are satisfied when the job is done (and do not seem to acknowledge how hard the emotional labourer "tries" if the job is not done)
5 sources, 18 references

"A week ago our lecturer offered us to check our draft for the upcoming assignment. He took enough time to check each of our drafts and gave good feedback. I felt extremely encouraged to work harder and rectify my mistakes as I felt there was someone who was monitoring my progress and seeing that I was on the right path." *(Respondent#32, ref: lecturer).* It was much more common in the case of professional emotional labour experiences to be praised as positive if the desired outcome was achieved. However, what is notable is that the desired outcome in a professional service is not as immediate as in an occupational one. In the above example the lecturer is praised for "checking drafts", giving "feedback" and "encouragement" in an *on-going* process where the outcome would only occur after time had elapsed. This means that there is potential for the recipient to change their

mind about the service along the way – another reason to consider emotional labour as a dynamic process that needs an interpretive approach.

Perhaps a link could be made with "service recovery" research where a poor experience can be changed, in the mind of the recipient, to a positive one depending on how the service is recovered following the error. Service recovery (eg. Sturdy, 1998; Magnini et al, 2007) generally focusses on occupational emotional labour, but due to the already present relationship in a professional service, perhaps it is even more applicable.

RP.iii) **Kindness is recognised in comparison to other professional labourer behaviour rather than for its own sake**

5 sources, 9 references

"When a seminar leader gave some advice and pointers on an assignment unrelated to the module that they were tutoring. I, and many others with the same assignment, believed that it was a badly presented assignment and appreciated the guidance given by this tutor." (Respondent #38, ref: lecturer)

"She was the only one who took the time to sit with us and explain anything – and it wasn't even her job!" (Respondent #40, ref: lecturer)

"They can't be bothered – they don't even look at your work, and there was this one lecturer who wrote feedback which was really helpful. I only needed that one bit and it helped me turn my essay around." (Respondent #41, ref: lecturer)

Again, the responses mentioned "going the extra mile", and revealed an appreciation when emotional labourer performance went beyond what was expected. However, all examples in this section also compared the "going the extra mile" with the lack of performance they had experienced in other areas. This suggests that with the professional service acknowledgement of "special" performance many occur within the context of the other experiences the recipient has been through. The examples of recipient acknowledgment of kindness may also be driven in comparison to what the recipient had previously experienced, especially the little girl who thanked her teacher for noticing her when others had not. This may suggest that a certain standard of emotional labour is expected of professionals, and establishing and encouraging this is important to the success of professional services.

Summary of RQ2

Recipients of Occupational Emotional Labour	Recipients of Professional Emotional Labour
i) Recipients were hostile as a reaction to the emotional labour's behaviour	i) Recipients of professional services complain of hostility from the emotional labourer in the first instance
ii) Recipients do not need the job to be done to deem an experience positive	ii) Recipients of professional services are satisfied when the job is done (and do not seem to acknowledge how hard the emotional labourer "tries" if the job is not done)
iii) Recipients acknowledge the emotional labourer "going the extra mile"	iii) Kindness is recognised in comparison to other professional labourer behaviour rather than for its own sake

There are clear differences in the perceptions and the expectations of recipients when interacting within an Occupational service and a Professional one. They exemplify the need for some sort of distinction, between professional and occupational emotional labour is necessary in terms of findings and implications. These differences, along with those in RQ1 are now discussed:

Going beyond Harris' (2002) findings, this is not just important because there may be differences in the level of emotional intelligence of the workers in the two categories; or because of Morris and Feldman's (1996) approach that there are levels of performance intensity and duration (and so on). Rather, the distinction is important because there are also key differences in:

i) The way that occupational and professional emotional labourers view their "difficult" service recipients

ii) The relationships of the occupational emotional labourer and the customer compared to the professional emotional labourer and their recipients

iii) The relationships between occupational emotional labourers and their managers compared to professional emotional labourers and theirs – indeed there may be a difference in the type of work the managers in an occupational service do compared to a professional one

iv) The relationships between occupational emotional labourers and their colleagues which differ from those of professional emotional labourers

v) The recipient expectations of occupational emotional labour performance which differ from those of professional emotional labour performance

vi) The recipient response to the behaviour of the occupational emotional labourer compared with that to the behaviour of the professional emotional labourer

…and one similarity:

vii) The presence of kindness as a unique, spontaneous and unexpected act that can be performed by any party to the emotional labour interaction.

i) The way that occupational and professional emotional labourers view their "difficult" service recipients differs

Occupational emotional labours may be more disparaging of their service recipients compared to professional ones. Reasons for this could be that an occupational service is more likely to attract a variety of recipients on a regular basis. In a professional service, there is more of a "closed shop". While there will be many different individuals to deal with, once the term is started, or once the patients or legal clients are registered, there are few surprises. Under ordinary circumstances, the professional emotional labour may also be trained to expect that the service recipient may be

"difficult" and to persevere in order to progress within the service. This is something that forms part of initial teacher training as well as legal training.[13]

Further in a professional service, the recipient is more likely to need the emotional labourer's skill in some way ie. they need the knowledge of the teacher; the medical skill of the doctor; or the legal skill of the lawyer – but in an occupational service the recipient is there mainly because they have to pass through the emotional labourer before they can get what they want – ie. they need the cabin crew in order to reach their destination; they need to pass through a checkout before they can take home their item. Therefore, even if neither labourer can choose who their recipients are going to be, the professional is aware that they will generally be the one with the greater knowledge or ability at the start of the relationship, and also that the duration of their relationship will be longer than in an occupational service. Thus the professional may view their difficult recipient as the challenging element of their job, whereas the occupational labourer may just view theirs as a challenge extra to their job.

ii) The relationships of the occupational emotional labourer and the customer differ in comparison to the professional emotional labourer and their recipients

related to point i), the occupational emotional labourer does not often continue any form of relationship with their recipient beyond the service interaction. However, the professional emotional labourer might. This may be because it is a "natural" follow on from the "long term" nature of the professional emotional labour interaction. It is also possible that in the long term interaction, both parties may undergo further emotional change as they learn to "get along" and this change may be enduring. It might, alternatively, be, as Riley (2010) suggests that this is one way that the professional emotional labourer can fulfil their need for attachment as the recipient provides the

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[13] The author has undergone both.

"corrective experience" sought. In this case this is potentially a problem for both the professional labourer and the recipient as the fulfilment of the need is something that may be inappropriately imposed upon the service recipient – particularly problematic if they are a child or a vulnerable adult. Thus if this is the case, there is the indication that emotional support – perhaps in the form of counselling and certainly self-reflection (eg. Riley, 2010) is needed to assist the professional emotional labourer – and may even be beneficial as part of their initial (pre professional status) training.

iii) The relationships between occupational emotional labourers and their managers differ compared to professional emotional labourers and theirs, and there may be a difference in the type of work the managers in an occupational service do compared to a professional one

Occupational respondents often see their managers as a source of support, where professional respondents see theirs as a source of conflict. It has been discussed earlier that this may be because for an occupational service the managers and the emotional labourer may be "in the same boat" and therefore can complain together. For a professional service, it may be that the managers have different needs pressing on them. To add to the conflict – and again an area that could be investigated further – is the perceived change in the person when a colleague becomes promoted to manager. This is not as prevalent in the occupational service, perhaps because even as manager, the duties may remain similar, and the amount of recipient-facing work remains relatively constant.

iv) The relationships between occupational emotional labourers and their colleagues, differ from that between the professional emotional labourers

Notably occupational respondents saw their colleagues as a source of stress – often because they were not "pulling their weight", in comparison to professional respondents who saw theirs as a great source of support. This may be because, as with the variety of recipient the occupational labourer is exposed

to, there may be more variety in those hired to perform occupational emotional labour – as there is no form of unified training prior to the job (eg. Harris, 2002). As such, the occupational emotional labourer may suffer if the recruitment process or deployment of staff is at fault. While there can still be faults in the deployment of professional labourers, having a standard basic training may reduce that variety somewhat.

v) The recipient expectations of occupational emotional labour performance and those of a professional emotional labour performance differ

It is notable that for a recipient to deem an occupational service "successful" they need to have had a positive interactive experience – the job need not be done. For a professional service to be deemed successful, the job does need to be done. Perhaps the expectations are different because of the cost of the services – although this may not hold true for a school or NHS hospital where the (professional) service is "free."

Perhaps, also, in an occupational service, because the emotional labourer is only part of the eventual goal, it matters less if the performance is faulty. However, if the professional performance is faulty, the eventual goal may not be achieved.

vi) The recipient response to the behaviour of the occupational emotional labourer differs to the behaviour of the professional emotional labourer

Where Bishop and Hoel (2008) identified that emotional labourers may "suppress" their anger towards service recipients in the form of "learned helplessness" or acceptance of hostility, this was not found to be the case. Occupational emotional labourers in this sample were more likely to express

their feelings – even if it meant losing the customer, and it was professional emotional labourers who suppressed their feelings.

This may mean that occupational emotional labourers are just getting fed up with display rules and beginning to freely exercise their distaste – "to hell with the consequences", and such "misbehaviour" (eg. Vincent, 2011) may be something that occupational service managers will need to get a handle on in the near future. This is certainly a large leap forward from the oppression written about by Hochschild in 1983 and again in 2003. It may also mean that professional emotional labourers may need to be taught strategies to not let their "suppressed anger" affect their performance, nor their emotional lives. Perhaps it also indicates that the recipients of professional emotional labour are getting more demanding, and something should be done to address this.

vii) The presence of kindness as a unique, spontaneous and unexpected act that can be performed by any party to the emotional labour interaction

This was an unexpected, yet highly significant, finding permeating both occupational and professional services, offered by both labourers and recipients. The most revered experiences (critical incidents) recalled by recipients and emotional labourers entailed a high level of kindness. Such behaviour was "unique", "of the moment" and, "totally unexpected". Display rules cannot hope to script, direct, nor even plan for such instances, instead greater trust should be placed in the staff to 'do the right thing', and appreciation – or recognition - when this happens, may clear the path for more such occurrences. This suggestion is not so foolhardy as to allow service workers to do as they please (or "misbehave" (Vincent, 2011)), but suggests that offering them freedom to act within the boundaries of the organisation, will enable emotional labourers to independently exercise initiative which is memorable and within company policy.

However, if "kindness" goes too far, it can result in a psychological issue for both labourer and recipient. Applying Bowlby's (1969) attachment theory principles to service work (eg. Popper 2002; Riley 2010), if the service worker has an emotional need , he or she may be "seduced" by the needs of the recipient. This is made worse if there is a grey area around what constitutes a 'professional relationship' eg. Ofsted suggests that male teachers become "father figures" for male students (2008). (This example is pertinent, because "Ofsted" would impose demands sometimes outside the control of the management). For service worker and the recipient, repercussions of an ill-defined emotional relationship have a potential to be detrimental to both parties' emotional wellbeing, and potentially the career of the service worker, and this is definitely an area that requires further consideration. Kindness is sought to be gifted and received, and it is appreciated when this happens, but care should be taken to not give too much. One means of "protecting" the worker is the imposition of checklists of duties or constant rotation schedules to avoid long term meetings with the same people – as evidenced by Smith (1992), but this is unsuccessful. The nurses subjected to this sort of organisational practice were resentful of the organisation and often chose to leave.

In conclusion to this section, there are clearly differences in the way that professional emotional labour and occupational emotional labour is perceived, performed and managed, and as such this differentiation must be considered in future emotional labour research. It may not be possible to generalise results from one investigation on a singular type of emotional labour onto all emotional labour services as the experience is likely to be extremely different.

However, it may be possible to generalise findings within the categories of "professional" services and "occupational" services, and this difference may have implications for the future training in professional standards, and even the quality of the emotional labour performers accepted into the profession – or occupation. Not all emotional labourers are the same, neither are all recipients…and certainly, neither are all services.

DISCUSSION

DISCUSSION

The empirical contribution of this research

A reminder of the key findings is re-presented prior to each discussion, and it is acknowledged that

this section is a *development* of the discussions that have already been raised in the results section:

Research Question 1

	Interactions with Recipients	**Interactions with Managers**	**Interactions with Colleagues**
Occupational Emotional Labourers	Politeness is used to resist the strain of recipient emotional demands and expose their rudeness	The manager is seen as a source of support and is often part of the displays of resistance towards the recipient	Colleagues are viewed as a source of strain due to a perceived lack of ability/competence
Professional Emotional Labourers	Emotionally demanding recipients are seen as a challenge Relationships between labourer and recipient may continue after the work relationship has ended – but this may reveal a psychological need on the part of the labourer	The manager is seen as an antagonist who has a different agenda to the labourer	Colleagues are seen as a source of support to mediate the strain from challenging recipients as well as antagonistic managers

Sandiford and Seymour (2011) found that emotional labourers displayed resistance to recipient

demands through humour. However, where Sandiford and Seymour (2011) stated that resistance was

displayed as a reaction to the customer rather than the management demands, what is more defined in

this study is that the managers of occupational emotional labourers also collude in taking such action.

A parallel may be drawn with Goffman (1959) who discussed "team alignment actions" in order to

present a united front to an "audience" – with both occupational labourers and their managers being

united rather than on opposing sides.

Professional emotional labourers, however, have a far less cohesive relationship with their managers – and findings are more akin to those from the original emotional labour research – that management demands are a source of strain. As discussed in the Results section, this may be because occupational emotional labourers and their managers share similar experiences, whereas there may be some variation in those who are hired within the service team; in contrast professional emotional labourers may be subject to different – and perhaps conflicting – targets to their managers, but share their experiences with their colleagues – who have all previously been judged as "professional" by an outside awarding body eg. the Bar Council, or the Department of Education. This would again suggest that there is merit in distinguishing emotional labour research into "occupational" and "professional" as different findings may be generated allowing for more specific recommendations to be made.

This finding also contradicts that found by Korcynski (2005) who found that colleagues in occupational emotional labour form "communities of coping", and Bolton's (2000) finding that occupational emotional labourers show emotional labour to each other by not calling in sick so that a colleague may have to work an extra shift. It is arguable, however, that the findings in this study are specific to the occupations being discussed, and Korcynski's findings only generalisable to retail or bar workers, and Bolton's to cabin crew.

Another significant finding is that recipients of professional emotional labour are seen as a "challenge" rather than a form of strain. Notably, professional labourers seemed to perceive "needy", and even "difficult", recipients positively - as people that they could try and help – people that even made their job "worthwhile". Related to this came the finding that professional emotional labourers often continued a relationship with the recipient after the labour interaction had ended eg. a teacher continuing to be friends with their (ex) students.

The former perception may relate to Riley's (2010) view that professional emotional labourers (in Riley's case, teachers) entered the profession with a desire to help others – even, or especially, difficult cases. This was reflected in findings by Smith (2008), who found that nurses entered the profession knowing, and accepting, that they would face very difficult or unpleasant situations. To date there has not been a lot of research into the motivation to undertake an emotional labour profession – perhaps because the dominant view has been that of Hochschild – the job roles exist, and emotional labour is something that the organisation oppresses onto its workers. This perhaps makes sense in considering the industry that Hochschild studied – flight attendants within tourism. However, this does not fit so well with professions where emotional labour is the fundamental component, rather than an "added extra" for competitive advantage. In the former example, eg. teaching (Hargreaves, 1998, 2000) or nursing (Smith, 2008) workers appear to *choose* emotional labour knowing and accepting whatever emotional demands prevail.

As such, these findings suggest two possible developments of the research into emotional labour: 1) That emotional labour research be categorised into professional services and occupational services; and 2) that further research be conducted into the motivation for entering the emotional labour professions – especially those in the "professional" category. This may also give further insight into Riley's (2010) premise that professional emotional labours may have an attachment need. If this is the case, then such an attitude must be contained and addressed by the organisation to stop any negative effect on the recipient.

Complaints about display rules and targets from both occupational and professional emotional labourers also featured, although within the results overall, these themes held a lower rank. Professional emotional labourers felt that display rules were insulting to their professional status, and targets were inappropriate to their job (eg. being set a target of recruiting a certain number of students for a course regardless of ability, and then being set a target pass rate.) This affected their enjoyment of the job, relationship with their managers, and potentially their job performance. Occupational

emotional labourers also complained about display rules – for similar reasons as the professionals – they too felt such demands were an "insult" to their abilities, feeling, for example, that if they were hired because of their gregariousness, they should be trusted to respond to customers accordingly. However, in the case of occupational labourers, this did not necessarily result in resentment of the management, and labourers – and their managers – found ways of resisting the strain and retaining their dignity before their recipients. This may have implications for the training and management of service workers. Instead of imposing more display rules and targets, offering a level of autonomy may be successful. It is clear that labourers will need some guidance, but a focus on training rather than dictates may be a more supportive and successful means of developing service work. Daly et al (2009) and Smith et al (2007) found much success with training programmes that enabled emotional labourers to practice, improvise and reflect on their responses to negative situations rather than positive ones. It is also possible that someone with an aptitude for emotional labour will tend to respond well to a positive situation but needs support with a negative one – and this should be where display rule demands may be of greater effect.

Occupational emotional labours also felt overwhelmed by targets. Similarly to the professional emotional labourers, targets were perceived as "inappropriate", for example a roadside recovery worker's target to sell a membership package to people who would clearly already have it; however, occupational emotional labourers also disliked the linking of targets to their pay structure – especially if the target was perceived as unattainable. This is something that was not as evident from the responses of professional emotional labourers, but the response to "performance related pay" for teachers that is evident in the current National newspapers[14], may belie a similar concern.

What is evident is that in examining the interactions within emotional labour performance, there is a greater complexity of the concept than has been heretofore recognised. Interactions with colleagues, managers, and recipients themselves have an effect on emotional labour performance, and sometimes

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[14] Eg. The Times Educational Supplement, May 2012 (http://www.tes.co.uk/article.aspx?storycode=6219910)

outcome, and emotional labour as a job is something that goes far beyond a need to manage emotion in the workplace. It is a source of enjoyment as well as strain, and precipitates many behaviours in those that perform it – resistance, resentment, need, compassion and kindness. As such it may even present a field of work that is sought by emotive individuals. It is clear that cohesiveness within an emotional labour service benefits when the staff are similarly emotionally minded. This thesis seeks to extend the work and standpoint of Bolton (2000); by examining the interactions and their effect on emotional labour performance, the concept may be better developed. Insight into the complexity of the emotions involved within the emotional labour workplace, rather than viewing emotional labour as a process of organisational emotional management may better advise services to recruit, manage and support their workers as well as better please their service users. This latter point is now taken up with RQ2.

Research Question 2

Recipients of Occupational Emotional Labour	Recipients of Professional Emotional Labour
i) Recipients were hostile as a reaction to the emotional labour's behaviour	i) Recipients of professional services complain of hostility from the emotional labourer in the first instance
ii) Recipients do not need the job to be done to deem an experience positive	ii) Recipients of professional services are satisfied when the job is done (and do not seem to acknowledge how hard the emotional labourer "tries" if the job is not done)
iii) Recipients acknowledge the emotional labourer "going the extra mile"	iii) Kindness is recognised in comparison to other professional labourer behaviour rather than for its own sake

It is interesting that "patronising" was the term used to describe the negative attitude of the professional emotional labour. This may reflect the difference in the work of the occupational and the professional emotional labourer. It is possible that the professional emotional labourer is perceived by the recipient as having more "knowledge" or "specialised skill" than they – eg. a teacher possessing the knowledge that the student needs; or a doctor having the ability to heal the patient. (In the case of the occupational emotional labourer, it may be that the recipient merely feels that he or she is

someone they just need to interact with in order to get what they want (eg. the person who operates a till so the recipient can purchase groceries.)). If this is the case then rudeness, or other form of hostility, may be perceived as patronising by the recipient. Similarly, if the professional emotional labourer also has the attitude that they have more "knowledge" or "specialised skill" than the recipient, their attitude may be patronising rather than just rude.

Another finding of note was the view of the recipient of occupational labour that although the job was not done, it was clear that the emotional labourer had "tried their best". This is pertinent as it, once again, suggest that (at least for occupational emotional labour) that it is not necessarily the product or service itself that is important, but the attitude within the service interaction. This may reveal an astute perception on the part of the recipient of occupational emotional labour – they may realise that the worker is constrained by organisational demands and is willing to accept a lack of "result" as long as they feel that the worker has tried, or even "gone the extra mile". This may be because the recipient of emotional labourer wants to be acknowledged as a person, and also appreciates spontaneity on the part of the emotional labourer – or perhaps almost anything that deviates from a "jobsworth" approach. It does, however, conflict with another finding of this study that occupational emotional labourers complain of their customers presenting as "hostile" from the outset.

One explanation for this is that if the recipient of occupational emotional labour is used to dealing with "rude" or "incompetent" workers (as was the most common theme within this study), they may then present as hostile from the outset. This could precipitate a vicious cycle of negativity which may explain why there has been a rise in complaints with regards to services (eg. Gursoy et al, 2007). However, if the recipient of occupational emotional labour has a preconception that there are organisational constraints placed on the worker, allowing the labourer a level of autonomy in handling the interaction may not only result in a happier labourer (eg. Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993), but also more successful interactions – even if the job itself is incomplete.

This is less the case for professional emotional labourers who sustained complaints from the recipients, particularly, when the job was not done – and appreciation of their going the "extra mile" was only in comparison to their colleagues. This would suggest that with a professional "service", it is more important that the job is completed – perhaps this is because within professional emotional labour, the emotional labour performance is a fundamental part of the service itself. It may also suggest that the recipient may have higher expectations of emotional labour performance, judging it against a standard of what they have received, rather against an expectation that they have generated themselves. This would suggest that consistency of service within a professional organisation is important to maintain to avoid complaint. (Of course, this does not mean that performance should be maintained at the lowest level.)

Summary

Empirically, then, this study identifies that i) recipients still identify problems with the emotional labour performances they have experienced – but complaints focus more on the "emotional" element rather than the "labour" ie. for occupational labours it matters less if the job does not get done, as long as the emotional labourer has tried; with professionals, recipients respond to a negative initial attitude perceived from the service worker. ii) It identifies that there are differences between the recipient expectations and perceptions of occupational and professional emotional labour, as well as differences between the worker perceptions of, and behaviour towards their recipients, managers and colleagues – and how such relationships affect their performance. iii) While findings suggest that display rules and targets are still of negative consequence to occupational and professional emotional labourers, they are not as significant to understanding the concept as they might have been previously. Better, now, is a focus on the motivation to enter a profession or occupation that is *known* to be emotionally demanding and whether the labourer will need support in coping in an emotional environment. iv) The recipient perception of display rules and targets within occupational emotional labour is of note as this is something that organisations may not be aware of. Recipients of both professional and occupational emotional labour highlight instances where the worker has gone beyond expectation and

shown kindness or compassion that was unexpected. Such instances are unique to the situation and perhaps cannot be trained for, but may occur more frequently if the labourer is afforded the autonomy to act.

These findings suggest that much can be learned through taking a social constructionist approach to emotional labour interactions. Differences of opinion are highlighted along with differences in experiences and expectations of all parties to the interaction. Not only is it important to appreciate that emotional labour performance is affected by the emotional interactions surrounding service delivery, but those interactions differ depending on the field of work, and sometimes specifically from individual to individual. Further, the voice of the recipient reveals a requirement of a service beyond "sovereignty". Recipients wish for their individual needs to be addressed, and while they may present as rude or hostile, this may sometimes be in response to perceived negativity from the labourer (which may in turn be caused by the management). These complexities, and the links between them, have not previously been discussed in depth, if highlighted at all, and merit further investigation as they have such an effect on emotional labour performance.

The theoretical contribution of this research

Theoretically, there are two key contributions to be made:

1. As already outlined above, from a conceptual point of view, due to the complexities highlighted within this research, services examined within emotional labour should be differentiated – at the very least as occupational and professional as the labourer's *relationships* with their colleagues, recipient and managers differ as do recipient *expectations* of the service. As the ontological stance of this thesis views emotional labour as a social construct these relationships and perceptions are significant in understanding the concept in more depth. This extends Harris' (2002) approach proposing that a separation between the types of emotional labour be made, although his focus was on the emotional labour demands

of barristers and how they differed in having a "professional status" in comparison to the other forms of service worker being studied.
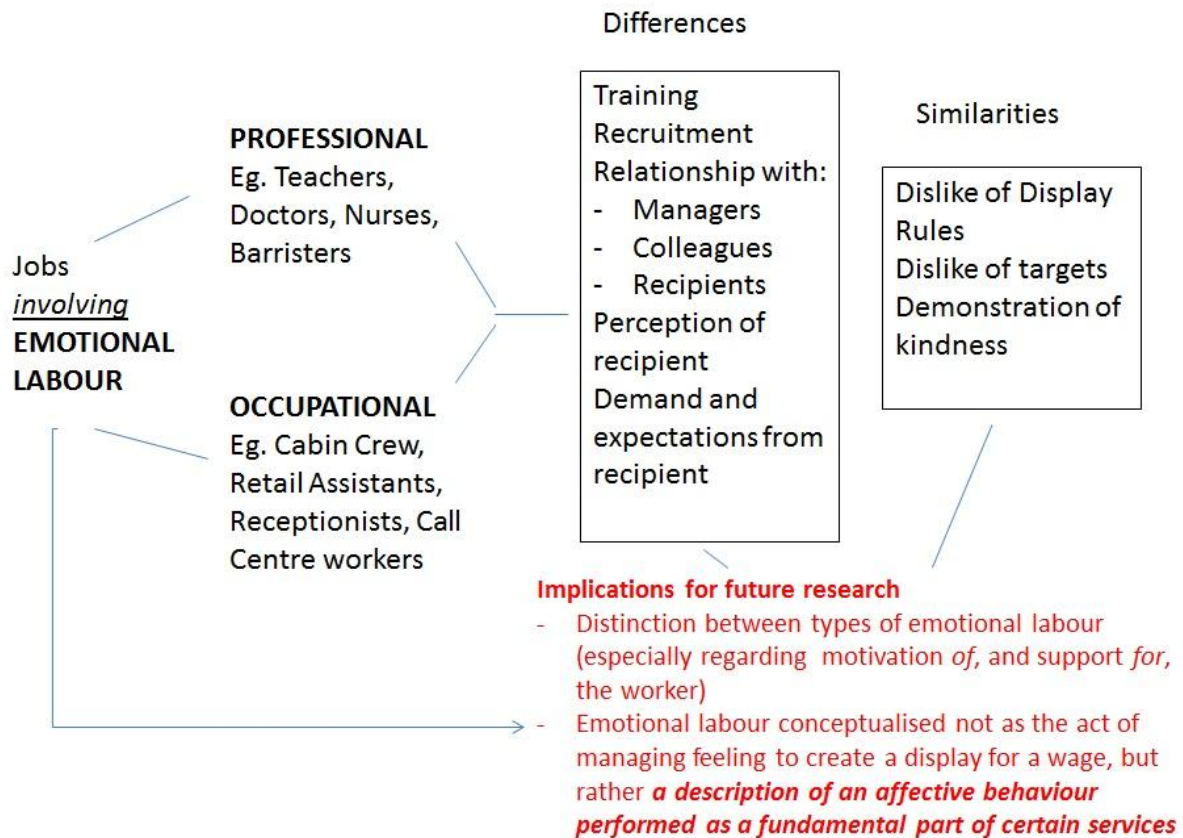
Occupational and professional emotional labour differs in terms of initial training and recruitment (Harris, 2002), but also the emotional demands, and expectations of the recipient; the perceptions of the worker themselves of their managers and colleagues; and even the recipient response to emotional labour performance. Such insights can only be considered fully, if they are teased out as separate strands to the investigating the concept of emotional labour.

2. A shift in perspective is indicated where emotional labour is seen less as a description of the (negative or "draining" elements of) work that people have to do as part of their job, but rather as an affective component of some jobs that people choose to do because they are so inclined. While the findings of Hochschild (2003) and others are still relevant in terms of identifying the problems with display rules, targets and organisational (and recipient) demands (which are still relevant), it may prove fruitful to approach emotional labour as an affective component within some jobs that people may be drawn to – even welcoming the opportunity to be involved in "dirty", but rewarding work – as long as the rewards are forthcoming. As the empirical findings suggest, this research extends Bolton's (2000) standpoint, that emotional labour transcends the view of "emotionally crippled actors" and may instead be better understood as work which involved emotional complexities rather than as a description of management oppression.

This new perspective might enable further insights into the motivation of emotional labourers, which, in turn, may result in ways in which they can be better supported or managed by the organisation. If, for example, the spontaneous kindness that is evident from professional and occupational labourers is motivated not by altruism (as Shuler and Sypher, 2000) would

suggest, but because of a corrective need on the part of the emotional labourer (as Riley 2010) proposes, then the motivation for such kindness becomes an important starting point for further investigation.

The theoretical contribution is presented as a model below:

In particular, this thesis advocates the importance of moving beyond the original approach of emotional labour proposed by Hochschild in 1983, and has moved even beyond the refinements of Bolton and Boyd (2002), and others discussed within the Literature Review. For while their findings are important and still bear relevance with regards to worker opinion on display rules, targets and other organisational demands, emotional labour must conceptually take into account the many service workers who engage in emotional labour work willingly, often undertaking professional training in order to qualify to perform it!

It is the view of this thesis that emotional labour is no longer the management of "…feeling to create a publically observable facial and bodily display…for a wage." (Hochschild, 2003:7), but emotions as *part of* the labour in specific jobs. Such jobs are known and sometimes selected for the opportunities for interaction and emotional exchange rather than being a job where emotional management is imposed at a later date. They are *labours involving emotion*.

Such a reconstruction of the concept would enable the complexities of emotional labour performance to be investigated as elements that can affect the exchange and may also have bearing on the labourer and their longevity within the field. In extending Bolton's (2000) approach, emotional labour may be better established as a pivotal part of services research as well as potentially contribute to research into emotions and emotional transference.

RECOMMENDATIONS

RECOMMENDATIONS

Following the findings, and ensuing discussion, there are three recommendations to be made:

1. That the concept of emotional labour move on from Hochschild's 1983 concept to a furthering of Bolton's (2000) approach that views emotional labour as the act of displaying emotion within labour – not as a description of organisational regulation. Further, as the emotions experienced differ depending on the service itself, it is further recommended that emotional labour research be categorised according to the service being studied – a straightforward starting point being "professions" and "occupations" (Harris, 2002).

2. Within this, that focus be placed on what motivates an individual to undertake an emotional labour profession, and how they may be best supported in their performance. Such support whether through simple recognition, or a longer period of counselling for the labourer (if they are identified as having, for example, an attachment need), may be best embedded in service design and training – especially in a professional service.

3. If there is to be a focus on the effect of display rules and targets, that organisations recognise that the recipient has an awareness of these demands and may make some exception for them. It should be recognised that the recipient cares less of the job gets done if the emotional labourer tries their best (despite the rules and targets); and also appreciates spontaneous kindness that cannot be targeted or "scripted" for (in the form of display rules) and so a greater autonomy may need to be allowed for or instilled within emotional labourers. Whether this is through training (eg. Smith et al, 2007; Daly et al, 2009) or recruitment (eg. Callaghan and Thompson, 2002), is perhaps still to be decided.

A shift in the conceptualisation of "Emotional labour"

From the perceptions of the respondents within this study, the concept of emotional labour has moved on from its original definition. Within the literature review, it was already clear that the concept was changing from Hochschild's original definition, with more facets being added (eg. Ashforth and

Humphrey, 1993; Bolton and Boyd 2002), more occupations being included (eg. Hargreaves, 1998; Bolton, 2000; Smith, 2008); and its effects (and how to minimise them being modelled) (eg. Brotheridge and Lee, 2002), however this thesis is proposing a greater shift than previous writers. While the original view of Emotional labour as a description of the type of work being demanded of an occupational service worker may have been timely as the tertiary section of the economy was establishing and growing, it is not sufficient to understand the emotion work within professional roles where emotional labour is a part of the service itself. Neither does it explain why (mainly because the previous perception has been so negative) workers actively seek out emotional labour job roles, *welcoming* the emotional work they will face on a daily basis. It also holds the somewhat restricting view of the sovereignty of the customer, whereas, this thesis suggests that the customer does not necessarily want to be "king", and instead responds best to acknowledgment as an individual with individual needs, recognising kindness that goes beyond what they know to be organisational display rule. It is certainly not to say that the original approach is completely outdated, however, it may apply more to what Harris (2002) (and this thesis) class as "occupational emotional labour", (or what Korcynski (2005) and others may refer to as Level 1 and some Level 2 services) rather than all service professions.

In order to progress emotional labour research, and ascertain specific and effective interventions, the concept must be differentiated within itself. Research conducted on occupational roles may generate findings that will not apply to professional ones, and vice versa; and the perceptions of those involved in occupational interactions are not the same as those considering professional interactions – thus the recommendations and interventions will, likewise, differ.

A separation of occupational and professional emotional labour as subject matter would enable the generation of more specifically directed findings, and would also establish the understanding that emotional labour is no longer *only* a description of an oppressive service organisation's method of managing its workers, but rather an umbrella concept which can be divided more specifically into an

understanding of how emotion may be encountered, integrated, and even embraced within different job roles – and how it should be supported.

A focus on appropriate motivation and emotional support for the worker

It has already been discussed in the results section that if professional emotional labourers are entering the profession to satiate a "corrective need" sustained within their infancy attachments, they will require support in order to contain this in an emotive world of work (Riley, 2010). It was also acknowledged in the Literature Review that some training programmes (particularly those which allow exploration of emotion through improvisation (Daly et al 2009) and forum theatre (Smith et al 2007)) have been successful in enabling emotional labourers to review and reflect on their emotional responses.

What has emerged from the thesis findings is the idea that perhaps display rules and targets which are aimed at directing positive behaviour are not as useful to the emotional labourer as those which enable them to explore negative situations. Reflecting on the responses from the emotional labourers (both professional and occupational) who stated that they already knew how to behave and found display rules and targets restricting and/or inappropriate, it was suggested that if emotions are to be prescriptive they focus more on dealing with negative interactions rather than "teaching" an already gregarious worker to be more so.

It seems counterintuitive that a sociable, outgoing person, would seek a customer-facing job and not know how to respond on an everyday basis. (However, relating this statement to the first recommendation, the idea that someone seeks out an emotional labour profession does not seem to underpin the current research within the field). Nonetheless, whatever the motivation, support (and perhaps prescribed responses) for dealing with a complaint, or other negative situation, especially if there is no authority to solve the problem, may be of more help to the occupational emotional labourer.

From the responses, it would seem that display rules and targets are almost insulting to the professional emotional labourer. Of course, it is again not suggested that these are completely unnecessary, but it is recommended that targets are not contradictory (ie. an "accept all" policy for a college and then a 100% pass rate being demanded"; or the (occupational emotional labour) demanded to sell a certain number of a product to people that already have it.) It is possible that these incidents were isolated and unique to the respondents within this study, but that they are in practice at all is a point to note to avoid repetition. It is also recommended that display rules – especially in professions that trains and tests for them prior to awarding a qualification are not continually imposed. There is merit in practicing what Bolton (2000) identified as "professionalism" – expecting rather than imposing a specific emotional demeanour.

Finally practical support such as a secluded backstage areas for "breaking" role (Goffman, 1959) may be of further support. Acknowledging that all emotional labourers perform a public facing role, providing a suitable place to relax and "break" character is of benefit. There are many organisations (eg. Brennan (2006) – teachers; or Hochschild (2003) – cabin crew) where staff still do not have any respite from the service recipients, even in their scheduled break times. With no opportunity to discuss service users, to, "realign", "reflect" or just relax, *any* level of emotional performance becomes even harder to maintain.

Recognition of the importance of autonomy and spontaneity on the part of the emotional labourer

This final recommendation relates to the importance of affording both professional and occupational emotional labourers the autonomy to display spontaneity – perhaps through humour, and kindness. This involves a level of trust from the organisation beyond display rules and targets.

Reflecting on the vignettes this thesis, it is clear that kindness is often gifted from worker to customer (and perhaps worker to worker), and the service professional may benefit from appropriately channelling this very positive urge. Despite Wuthnow (1995) suggesting that the most prominent show of true kindness is often found within the natural instinct of the child, who learns to suppress it as he grows older – for fear of seeming weak, it is clear from the vignettes that moments of kindness were seen as *significant* to the respondents, *praised* by the customer, and *enjoyed* by the service worker. At least within these responses, "weakness" was not perceived.

While there may be grounds for fearing kindness as a source of creating weakness through the guilty pleasure of withholding it, only one vignette pertained to this. Kindness brings extraordinary pleasures and service workers are seeking to perform such acts, whether they are recognised, or remunerated or even, as in some instances, punished. It is suggested that such kindness is not the *show*, nor encouragement of vulnerability, nor surrender to dependency but, as Senaca suggested, the fulfilment of humanity. There are arguments that favour the suppression of kindness yet there is also *extensive* evidence that it is sought fervently and occasionally with fulfilling moments of success. While display rules may protect against over indulging in kindness, kindness brings extraordinary pleasures which all emotional labourers are highly aware of. Some channelling of kindness may be required, and perhaps support for the labourer whose compassion may overwhelm them as Riley (2010) identifies, but display rules and targets may be damaging emotional labour (and service work) beyond the already researched oppression on the worker's emotions. They are disliked by the *recipient* also.

As more and more services move towards automation and removal of human contact, such moments of kindness as described within this thesis should be celebrated as an oasis in a world that is slowly draining of compassion. When one can sometimes no longer trust in friends or family to act kindly, the compassion of strangers is something that must be heralded as positive and worthy of encouraging rather than something to suppress.

In summary, this research precipitates an extension of findings within the field of emotional labour. It acknowledges that elements of Hochschild's (1983) work remain true within service, such as targets and display rules, but attempts to establish that this is now a minor element of the concept as a whole. It extends Bolton's (2000) view that emotional labour transcends workplace demands and necessitates a study of emotion within the workplace – with a particular focus on services. It identifies many complexities within the performance of emotional labour which may be attributed to the relationships between labourer and manager, colleague and recipient, and differ between services. It also identifies emotional behaviours that are displayed by service workers, perhaps aimed at maintaining a personal emotional balance, for example, resistance in the face of recipient strain, or the inappropriate seeking of recognition through recipients in response to management resentment. Such behaviours are interesting psychologically as well as within organisational research. The importance of the recipient voice is also highlighted as this challenges the dominant view of customer sovereignty which is evident in much services research, and instead suggests that recipients prefer their specific needs being acknowledged and addressed. The finding of unique and spontaneous displays of kindness is also significant as this is not only a memorable part of the job for recipient, but also for the labourer. It is notable that these displays cannot be managed nor predicted, and can occur even when display rule or target constraints may be evident. This in turn may precipitate a philosophical discussion on kindness which is identified as lacking (for some time) in current society (eg. Wuthnow, 1995; Phillips and Taylor, 2008). This research arguably raises more questions than it answers, but it is clear that its key contribution is the laying of the groundwork for appreciating emotional labour as a more complex phenomenon than has heretofore been recognised.

LIMITATIONS

LIMITATIONS

Regarding the validity of this research, vignette data is used to inform the researcher on management behaviours, and reliability may be affected by subjectivity of participant interpretation and memory as well as the researcher's categorisation of the concepts and themes identified. Awareness of personal and epistemological reflexivity is of particular importance when regarding the strength of the rhetoric element; and while it is possible to generalise findings from a singular case, further investigation, is required. The choice of a social constructionist and qualitative approach is nonetheless justifiable, especially in the light of the complexities it has allowed this research to identify.

The reliability of the vignettes used to inform this research may also be affected by subjectivity of participant interpretation and memory as well as the author's categorisation of the concepts and themes identified. However, this is true of much qualitative research, and while critics of CIT continue to espouse such concerns, CIT is nonetheless an accepted and valued methodology. Its particular strength within this thesis is that the responses have been collated from participants' own perceptions of their work (or service interactions in the case of customers), and thus the issues that the participants find significant are identified and discussed by them, as well as by the author. From the service professionals, such issues are also drawn from within the context of practice and experience rather than from secondary interpretation or observation. A further problem is that all "critical incidents" are bound by the feelings and opinions of the respondents at the time the incident was recalled. There is a chance that should the very same respondents be interviewed again what they deem to be "significant" may have changed, and so, by virtue of this, must the analysis.

Further, it is acknowledged that the educational sector features strongly in the respondent sample of emotional labour professionals. This is because it is the sector with which the author has most contact and experience for such in-depth data to be gathered. However, it is argued that of all the service sectors, the teaching one is probably a good medium where there person (teacher) and the product (knowledge) are of equal importance in customer satisfaction and because the vignettes covered both

the product (knowledge) and the interpersonal relationships (teacher/student or teacher/organisation) one may extrapolate from teaching into a wider range of services. Ultimately though it is suggested that organisations are wise not to shy away from the issues raised in this thesis that are currently affecting emotional labourers and their performance, and academics are wise to consider a shift in perspective when it comes to future emotional labour research. The incidents were significant enough to workers and customers to be retold at length to the researcher and it does a long standing methodology, and the respondents, a great disservice if they are too swiftly dismissed.

CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS

Researching emotional labour as an interactive process in which people within services engage, offers greater scope for understanding the complexity of emotion within the context of work, as well as how emotional performance may be hindered, enhanced, and supported by interactions and emotional transference. Where previous research into emotional labour has largely derived from Hochschild's (1983) broadly Marxian humanist view that emotional labour represents the oppression of a service worker imposed by a capitalist organisation in which the worker's personality, feelings and displays of emotion are subject to regulation and rule by the management, the concept is far more complex. Research rooted in Bolton's (2000) approach (where emotional performance transcends display rules and organisational constraints) has found that emotional labourers find ways of resisting strain, and has identified sources of pleasure within the job, but this is under-developed. It is notable also that emotional labour research (from both Hochschild's and Bolton's standpoints) is largely centred on the performance of the worker. This thesis finds that the emotional labour process necessitates varying degrees of involvement from both worker and recipient, and the transient nature of emotions (eg. Theodosius, 2006; Hennig-Thurau et al, 2006; Rupp and Spencer, 2006) means colleagues and managers, can also be touched by being subject to emotional "transferences" which may pass first between labourer and recipient and then to co-workers and their managers. Investigation into emotional labour interactions should therefore encompass worker and manager, worker and colleague, as well as the recipient. Each is involved and each affects others and is themselves affected.

Though not Hochschild's especial concern, emotional labour researchers have sought to advise service organisations with regards to the "design" of the service, as well as the training and support of the workers. Probably two strategies can be detected. Service managers may be advised to allow workers "time out" and "back-stage refuges" from regulation (broadly Hochschild's approach). Alternatively, or additionally, "opportunities for spontaneity" (broadly Bolton's approach) are argued to be advisable. However, the effects of emotional labour performance may go beyond "time out"

and "spontaneity", especially for the professional labourer, and more specialised support may be in order for example, for the teacher whose emotional performance belies an attachment need.

To date, services research broadly entails meeting the needs of *recipients* (such as airline passengers or patients) who have expectations and make judgements about "standards of service", it is noted, through these findings, that their needs are not necessarily being met. The recipient will forego being treated as "sovereign" in favour of being acknowledged and having their individual need understood. However, while services are still a source of disappointment and complaint among recipients, there are unique reports of "small acts of kindness" which cannot be predicted, planned for nor even repeated. These acts offer the giver and receiver a high level of pleasure and are a memorable and celebrated part of the job.

It is also evident that to date, emotional labour research does not differentiate adequately between services, and from the findings, significant differences in relationships, expectations, and coping mechanisms are evident. Unwarranted over-generalisation are made from one emotional labouring occupation to others (or from one emotional labouring profession to others). This thesis amplifies the ways in which services may be differentiated (eg. Korcyniski, 2005; Harris 2002) and by detailed analysis of data, has offered distinctions upon which different recommendations can be suggested.

Through examining emotional labour as a differentiated interactive process encompassing managers, colleagues and recipient effects on the labourer, it is seen that not all emotional labour is alienating; not all management is oppressive and intrusive, not all recipients are "sovereign". Through teasing out the different judgements voiced, especially by recipients, treating them not as a monolithic but also as diverse carries equally diverse implications for service managers. Through a comparison of the findings when divided into professional and occupational emotional labour the importance of

differentiating between services as a whole, and avoiding over-generalisation and blanket recommendations is impressed. Finally, acknowledgement of the spontaneous kindness that occurs within emotional labour offers hope for a society criticised as "lacking" in compassion (Wuthnow, 1995; Phillips and Taylor, 2008) but its presence, which transcends type of service as well as protagonist (any party to the emotional labour process can offer or receive it), is one of the most applauded elements of emotional labour interactions. Kindness can neither be predicted nor planned for and as such reveals the capacity for engaging in compassion that people possess.

Emotional labour is a highly complex element of service work affected by (and affecting) all parties to its performance, becoming a source of great pleasure, or great pain, differing from service to service. It must, therefore, be approached as such for meaningful developments to ensue.

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Appendix i - Original Interview Questions

Adapted from Robert Wuthnow's (1995) "Learning to Care"

Ethical clearance obtained from Brunel University, 2008.

This is part of a study about services being conducted at Brunel University. I would like you to answer in as much detail as possible, to tell me stories about your experience and not just answer yes or no. There is no right or wrong, I'd just like to know your thoughts. Some of the questions may seem repetitive. You can stick answers from the questions before.

You can ask me any questions you like, otherwise I won't say much. You may also stop the interview at any time or choose not to answer should it make you feel uncomfortable.

Please will you sign here to give me your consent that you understand the instructions and permission to use your responses in my write-up. Your interview will be kept confidential, and no names will be assigned. You may have a copy of the summary of the research, and please feel free to email me on audrey.tangdavis@brunel.ac.uk with any questions at any time.

_____ (signed)

_____ (date)

Demographics

1. First, for my records, how old are you?

2. Gender   M   F

3. Nationality

This first set of questions deals with your current job

EMOTIONAL LABOUR COMPONENTS

4. How would you describe your professional title?

5. Tell me about the sort of work you are doing

6. How long have you been doing it?

7. Do you see your profession as a "job"? *(ie. you are doing it to pay bills)* A "Career?" *(the chance to progress/succeed)* Or a "Calling?" *(Money doesn't matter)*

8. What attracted you to the profession? *(Probe: for each thing – ask why is that important to you?)*

9. How many hours a week do you spend interacting with clients/customers?

10. What sorts of people are they?

AFFECTIVE RESPONSE a

11. Tell me a story that would illustrate some particular experience at work that has been particularly significant or moving to you. Please add why it was so significant.

12. What would you say your most memorable experience has been so far? *(Probe: why was this memorable? Why did you act in that way? Would you do it again?)*

13. What do you get out of being in this profession?

14. People often say that they enter the service profession because they get a good feeling from helping people. Do you experience this and if so, can you describe those feelings? If you don't experience this, what feelings motivate you to do your job?

15. Has the way you feel about yourself changed as a result of being in this profession?

16. Do you expect to be doing this job a while longer?

RELATIONSHIPS AT WORK

17. Have you made friends with any of your customers/clients – is there anyone you will be keeping in touch with?

RECOGNITION

18. Have you received any rewards or recognition for your work?

19. What are the support systems like where you work? *(Probe: What happens if you are faced with a situation where you feel out of your depth? Is there any level of support missing? How do you cope? How do you feel about that omission?)*

DISPLAY RULES

20. Do you have to wear anything specific for your job?

21. Does "dressing the part" help in any way?

22. Do you have to behave in a certain way ie: a script to follow for certain interactions? *(probe – does this help?)*

TRAINING

23. What is the training process like for your job? *(Probe: Is it on-going? What activites do you do? What did you find useful? Are there areas missing?)*

24. If properly trained, do you think anyone could learn to do your job?

25. What are the difficult aspects of your job?

26. Have you ever felt that you would like to do something as part of your job, but are restricted because of procedure? *(Probe: ie: like a teacher not being able to touch a student)*

AFFECTIVE RESPONSE b

27. Can you tell me about any occasion when you have had to suppress your personal emotions to deal with something professionally? *(Probe: How did you feel about it? What were the emotions you had to "cover up", is it a common occurrence?)*

28. Are there any elements of your job that you would change? *(Probe: Is there anything you feel that management/the organisation can do better?)*

29. Would you perform your job for less pay? *(Probe – why/why not? How important is money to you?)*

30. Is there any job you would perform for "free" *(Clarify: assuming you had enough to live)*

The next set of questions is about you

31. What do/did your parents do for a living?

32. Did either of them encourage you to get into the profession you are in? *(Probe: How?)*

33. How supportive have they been about your profession?

34. Do you have any brothers or sisters?

35. What jobs do they do?

36. Tell me a little about what you like to do in your spare time. *(Probe: Why do you enjoy it?)*

37. Do you ever feel that it takes you some time to "wind down" from work?

The last set of questions is about your experience when you have received a service[15]

38. Tell me a story about a time you received really good service. *(Probe: what made it so memorable?)*

39. Why do you think that service occurred?

40. Did you learn anything from this event?

41. Did you follow up that service with a thank you or similar? *(Probe: why/why not?What happened?)*

42. Tell me a story about a time you received really poor service.

43. Why do you think that service occurred?

44. Did you learn anything from this event?

45. Did you follow up that service with a complaint or similar? *(Probe: why/why not? What happened?)*

46. What, in your opinion, makes for good service? *(ie: efficiency, competence, personableness etc.)*

47. What does "Competence" (in terms of services) mean to you?

48. Would you prefer an aesthetically pleasing impersonal service over a less grand, but more personal one (ie: The Ritz or a B&B?) – given that they were both equally competent. Please explain your answer.

49. Which qualities do you think are lacking in the service provided today and why?

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[15] These questions were asked of the service workers if they had time to respond as a service recipient, and were asked of all service recipients.

50. What do you think would improve the quality of service?

51. What comes to mind when you think of "services"?

If it is ok for me to contact you for a follow-up interview, please will you give me your email (on first page)

Thank you for your time.