EMOTIONAL LABOR IN AN AUSTRALIAN HOSPITALITY SETTING- AN EXPLORATORY CASE STUDY

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Submitted on the 6th day of August 2002

Submitted in partial fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF COMMERCE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have given me their support in my endeavors of completing a successful and useful research project.

I would especially like to thank my supervisor, Alick PP Kay *Bsc(Hons), MBA,* from the University of South Australia's school of management for his unconditional support throughout the entire process of completing this paper. His assistance was invaluable in guiding me through the 'maze' of possibilities when constructing and executing the research. Alick was always available for a formal or non-formal chat about my work and this was appreciated immensely.

I would also like to thank Bruce Brown, Associate Professor, School of Mathematics, University of South Australia, for his expertise and work in the data analysis aspect of my research. I learnt a great deal about the application of analytic models through working with Bruce, all of which was also invaluable in making the research successful.

One must also never underestimate the support of family in completing such tasks. To my wife, Kate, and my baby daughter, Olivia, thank you for being you, and so understanding in times of deadlines and pressures.

I declare the following work to be my own as understood by the University's policy on plagiarism, unless otherwise stated.



The data, including raw data, collected during the research process is available for inspection from the researcher

Otherwise, all data will remain locked in a secure filing cabinet for the appropriate length of time as stated by the Human Research Ethics Committee (UniSA)



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ABSTRACT

This research project was concerned with the relatively new concept of emotional labor.

The study specifically identifies the main issues, including the consequences of performing emotional labor on workers, from previous literature, and reexamines Arlie Hochschild's (1983) Emotion management perspective as it applies to the hotel industry in Australia.

The research maintained two research 'questions'. These were: (1) to what extent does emotional labor, as described by Hochschild's (1983) seminal work, exist in the hotel industry in Australia. And (2) do employees in the hotel industry develop and adopt different strategies for dealing with the demands of emotional labor placed upon them.

The study comprised an exploratory case study approach, utilizing triangulation data collection techniques through participant observation, a survey questionnaire, and interviews with the aim of presenting complimentary evidence through the results.

Analysis provides support for Hochschild's emotion management perspective. Strong quantitative evidence shows the dimensions of emotive dissonance, emotive effort, organizational control, and dramaturgy being evident as part of the workers' lives in the hotel.

The qualitative data also supports Hochschild's perspective as it relates to dissonance, effort, display rules and outcomes. Various strategies are adopted and developed by the workers in attempting to deal with the demands of their work.

Implications of this research include positive and negative outcomes for both the organization and the workers, and recommendations for practitioners and future researchers are stated.

The study contributes to the general scholarly field on emotional labor, but also includes the development of a new measurement tool, which is used in the research process.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Emotions and their expression are often controlled and managed in organizations by a wide range of formal and informal means, in the attempt that certain emotions are expressed while others are suppressed. Employees may be expected to conform to these expectations about emotional display (named 'display rules) even when they conflict with 'inner feelings'.

When this conflict results in individuals suppressing genuine emotion or expressing false emotion, the work or effort involved is termed 'emotional labor'. Emotional labor may serve to have both functional and dysfunctional consequences for the individual and their organization.

However, the study of emotion in organizations has received little attention until fairly recently. This inattention to the emotional subtext of organizations is largely due to the longstanding emphasis on rationality as the ideal.

Arlie Hochschild's (1983) study on Delta Airlines was the first to examine this topic with any great detail. Her seminal work has prompted a growing number of scholars to examine the concept within various contexts. Much of this scholarly work has been theoretical in nature.

The aim of this thesis is to expand the scholarly understanding of emotional labor generally, but to also focus on a much-ignored area of the service literature- Australian hotels.

The thesis begins with a review of the relevant literature within the study of emotional labor. This begins with a historical perspective examining the reasons for which the study of emotions has been ignored in the past.

Models of emotion are presented and discussed, followed by a review of Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical perspective, which is expanded upon and added to by Hochschild's (1983) seminal work.

Hochschild's work is focused on in great detail because it was not only the first rich, descriptive study on the topic, but also, because

the research questions of this study relate directly to Hochschid's 'Emotion management perspective'

The thesis then critically examines and discusses the literature since Hochschild's seminal work, including attempts at re-conceptualizing the concept of emotional labor.

The thesis then goes on to present the justification and research 'questions' this study is concerned with. The main focus of the research was to examine the existence of emotional labor within the Australian hotel industry, as it was conceptualized by Hochschild (1983). The research also focused on whether or not workers in this industry develop and implement strategies for dealing with the demands of emotional labor.

The methodological stance, theory, design and procedure are then discussed in detail. The research used a type of triangulation strategy, via quantitative and qualitative techniques to collect the data and to present complimentary evidence.

An analysis, interpretation and discussion of the results then take place. Research implications, including support for Hochschild's

emotion management perspective and future research directions in the study of emotional labor are also discussed.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Rationality Vs Emotion

As far back as the late nineteenth century, Darwin's (1872) seminal work on emotion set forth that it was inappropriate for adults to experience emotions, stating that their rightful place should only be in children and animals. This position is one of the earliest examples of a Western bias in viewing emotions as something less than rational.

Fineman (1996) states that the long held belief was that organizations needed to take a mechanistic approach, emphasizing deliberate, calculative processes and technical efficiency in order to be successful.

This paradigm of thinking reflects the historical perspective, where the machinelike quality of the work environment extended to the human element. The writings of the influential Frederick Taylor

(1911), the 'father of scientific management' further espouses this early Western bias. Taylor believed that as much of the 'human element' as possible should to be removed from the job, because quality and quantity of production was negatively influenced by the expression of emotions by employees.

This bias may also be seen in relatively modern times, with the reluctance of various scholarly fields to undertake research on emotions, seeing them as vague, irrational and the "results of the impotence of the mind" (Levi- Strauss 1963, p71).

Ashforth and Humphrey (1995) state that indeed, organizational practitioners, managers and executives often hold the belief that work and emotion are mutually exclusive concepts because work is seen to be a rational enterprise while emotion is the 'antithesis' of this. James (1992, p501) comments further, that "expressions of emotion appear to be legitimate in the domestic domain but anathema in the workplace" and that "organizational emotions are consistently devalued and marginalized while rationality is privileged as an ideal for effective organizational life".

Putman and Mumby (1993) state, that emotions in the workplace have been seen as a 'value laden' concept that may have the effect of being disruptive, illogical, biased and weak. In this sense "emotion becomes a deviation from what is seen as sensible or intelligent linked to the expressive arenas of life, not to the instrumental goal orientation that drives organizations" (p 36).

Parkin (1993) believes that the dichotomous nature of emotionality and rationality is also evident from the often gendered separation of the two in the past. Parkin (1993, p168) put forth that this occurred through "the public/private dichotomy which consigns women to the domestic and more expressive sphere, while men retain dominance in the public sphere", and that "in the public realm of organizations, emotions are expected to be suppressed, particularly strong or negative emotions, and when they do surface, they are pathologized".

Ashforth and Humphrey (1995, p 119) assert however, that work is "saturated with emotion". They point to various organizational processes such as motivation and leadership as examples.

Ashforth and Humphrey (1995) also suggest that the role of emotion in group motivation and dynamics has long been

recognized, where for example, cohesiveness is typically defined as the attractiveness of a group to its members, highlighting the affective bond between individuals.

Weiss and Cropanzano (1996) argue that the workplace experience comprises a succession of work events that can be pleasing and invigorating, or stressful and frustrating, and that these events affect the way people feel and behave at work.

It has been recognized that the growth of the service sector in Western society has been perhaps the largest single contributing factor in mitigating the ignorance of emotions in the workplace (Hochschild 1983; Ashforth & Humphrey 1995; Erickson & Wharton 1997). This sector often involves interactive service work (Leidner 1999), that is, jobs that require workers to interact directly with customers or clients.

Organizations in this growing sector have therefore seized on the importance of the delivery of service (including emotional expression) to ensure customer satisfaction, loyalty and repeat business.

2.2 Models of Emotion

Two models of emotion have emerged in the last century and a half. From the work of Darwin and Freud, an organismic model appears. From the works of such scholars as Mills and Goffman, versions of an interactional model appear (Hochschild 1983).

The two models differ in fundamental respects. Firstly, the organismic model presupposes emotion as mainly a biological process. For Darwin (1872), emotions were seen to be an instinctive process that had a basic similarity across all 'categories' of people. Darwin saw emotions as something that was only expressive, with associated visible gestures. This view was a long held belief that under scored the work and debate in emotionality and rationality for other theorists and researchers for decades.

The interactional model, on the other hand, presupposes biology but adds the notion of social factors. In this model, social factors enter not only before and after but also interactively during the experience of emotion (Hochschild 1983).

At the heart of the interactional model is the notion that social factors influence what is expected, and thus what emotions are signaled in response.

2.3 Goffman's Dramaturgical Perspective

A social constructionist perspective that is particularly helpful in understanding organizational emotions is Goffman's (1959 & 1963) dramaturgical approach. From the dramaturgical perspective, workers are seen as organizational actors who perform emotions according to explicit and inexplicit rules of appropriateness.

This approach has consequently encouraged other scholars to consider emotion as more than an 'internal' or biological state. The 'ground-breaking' work of Arlie Hochschild (1983), examined and discussed in the following sections of this paper, was inspired greatly by Goffman's (1959) theoretical work on emotion.

Goffman (1959) introduced the notion that emotion is a performance that is tied up with organizational and social norms, culturally specific linguistic labels, and continuous interaction

among actors (employees), directors (often organizational) and the audience (customers).

Goffman's (1959) work begins by introducing the many 'minor traffic rules' of face –to-face interaction, describing them as they emerge in card games, elevators, dining tables and asylums. In relating this interaction to organizations, Goffman shows that small rules, transgressions and punishments all add up to form the experience of emotion at 'work'.

Goffman (1959, p83) states, *"thus one finds that service personnel, whether in profession, bureaucracy, business or craft, enliven their manner with movements which express proficiency and integrity, but, whatever this manner conveys about them, often its major purpose is to establish a favorable definition of their service or product". And, that "in this light we can understand how the sifting and sorting of urban life brings girls with good grooming and correct accent into the job of receptionist, where they can represent a front for the organization".*

Central and critical to Goffman's theory of 'performance' is the notion of 'front' and 'back' stage regions of expressive accentuation and suppression in organizations.

The front stage, as described by Goffman (1959), is where all the activity of the 'performance' by employees occurs before the observers (the customers). This front stage may consist of a particular 'setting', involving such things as décor and furniture, amongst other items that serve as stage 'props'. These props also include the 'costumes' of the performers, which serve in confirming consistency between appearance and expression.

According to Goffman, a back region or backstage area may be defined as "a place, relative to a given performance, where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course" (1959, p114). It is here that the performers can relax, stop speaking the lines, and step out of character.

Goffman states that because performers often behave out of character whilst in the backstage area, it is almost always certain to be kept closed or hidden from the 'audience'. This is one of the pivotal notions in the dramaturgical perspective and is often referred to as 'impression management'.

Goffman (1959) eludes that one of the most interesting times to observe impression management is the moment when a performer leaves the back region and enters the place where the audience is to

be found, or vise versa. "For at these moments one can detect a wonderful putting on and taking off of character" (p 123).

Another interesting observation Goffman makes, is that when members of the performance team go backstage, where the audience cannot hear or see them, they often derogate the audience. In fact, Goffman plays particular attention to the service sector where "customers who are treated respectfully during the performance are often ridiculed, gossiped about, caricatured, cursed and criticized when the performers are back stage" (1959, p 168- 169). This is one of the best descriptions of surface acting, where in this way, customers are treated relatively well to their faces and relatively badly behind their backs.

Goffman (1959) does not indicate through his writings as to why this derogation occurs, or why it has been shown to occur frequently in service environments. However, this aspect of emotion at work is of special relevance to the research study described later in this paper, as an attempt is made to examine all its content in more depth.

2.4 Hochschild's Seminal Perspective

2.4.1 "The Managed Heart"

Arlie Hochschild's (1983) seminal work on emotions in organizations is considered a pivotal point in spawning numerous scholarly works in the field in the following two decades.

This first in-depth study of emotional labor as it relates to the modern service sector used the resources of two market segments. In the main focus of the study, Hochschild (1983) enters the world of the flight attendant through Delta Airlines. As a smaller study, Hochschild also followed emotion work into the job market via the examination of bill collectors.

The flight attendant and the bill collector illustrate two extremes of occupational demand on 'feeling'. In this study, Hochschild (1983), through the use of observation and interviews suggests that the same principles of emotional labor apply to these very different occupations.

2.4.2 Hochschild's Definition of Emotional Labor

Hochschild (1983, p147), states that jobs involving emotional labor have three distinct characteristics in common.

1. They require face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with the public.

2. They require the worker to produce an emotional state in another person, as gratitude or fear, for example.

3. They allow the employer, through training and supervision, to exercise a degree of control over the emotional activities of the employees.

Hochschild (1983, p7) uses the term emotional labor "to mean the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display; emotional labor is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value".

2.4.3 Managing Feeling

Hochschild's (1983) theoretical foundations build upon Goffman's (1959) notion of surface acting. However, Hochschild (1983) adds the notion of 'deep acting' to the way in which people manage their emotions in a private or public arena.

Hochschild (1983, p35) states, that "we all do a certain amount of acting. But we may act in two ways. In the first way, we try to change how we outwardly appear. As it is for the people observed by Erving Goffman, the action is in the body language, the put-on sneer, the posed shrug, the controlled sigh. This is surface acting. The other way is deep acting. Here, display is a natural result on working on feeling; the actor does not try to *seem* happy or sad but rather expresses spontaneously, as the Russian director Constantin Stanislavski urged, a real feeling that has been self induced".

Stanislavski (1965) states that there are two ways of doing deep acting. The first is by directly exhorting feeling. The second is by making use of a trained imagination. This use of imagination is what Stanislavski termed 'method acting'.

In method acting, Stanislavski (1965, p163) explains, "the goal of the actor should be to accumulate a rich deposit of 'emotion memories'- memories that recall feelings".

Hochschild (1983, p41) expands further, that "feeling- whether at a time, or as it is recalled, or as it is later evoked in acting- is an object. It may be a valuable object in a worthy pursuit, but it is an object nonetheless".

Hochschild (1983) also explains that emotion memory on its own is not enough. The memory must also feel real at the time of the act. To do this the actor needs to make up an 'as-if' supposition. For example, the actor could imagine, '*if* I was poverty stricken and my child had no shoes....'.

Hochschild (1983) states that the professional actor has a modest say over how the 'front stage' is assembled and the 'props' selected, as well as say over his or her own presence in the play. This is also true in private life.

However, Hochschild (1983) argues that something more is at play when institutions are involved, because within institutions various elements of acting (whether surface or deep acting) are taken away

from the individual and replaced by institutional mechanisms of control. In this sense, the locus of acting, of emotion management moves up to the level of the institution. In this way, people and objects are arranged in accordance with institutional rules to accomplish the act, with the institution as sole director.

Hochschild (1983) states that therefore when surface and deep acting are used in a commercial setting, "one's face and one's feelings take on the properties of a resource, a resource to be used to make money" (p. 55).

2.4.4 Behind the Demand for Acting- The Case of Delta Airlines

In describing some of the job segments of Delta Airlines, Hochschild (1983, p91), discusses how upper management talks about getting the best market share of the flying public. Marketing personnel talk about reaching that market. In-flight service supervisors talk about getting "positive attitude" and "professional service" from flight attendants, who in turn talk about dealing with irate, rude and aggressive passengers. These groups taken together set up the picture and sale of emotional labor in Delta Airlines.

Hochschild (1983) states that one of the events that led to the airline industry focusing on emotional labor was the leveling out of pricing for tickets. This meant that when competition in pricing is out, competition in servicing is often in. In this sense, Hochschild states that the more important service becomes as an arena for competition, the more employees are asked to do public relations work to promote sales. Employees at Delta were continually told to represent the airline proudly.

However, Hochschild (1983) states that out of all the employees at the airline, it is the flight attendant that has the most contact with the customers, and in this sense has the greatest bearing on 'promoting' the airline.

The advertising conducted by Delta promised service that is 'human' and personal. The female faces and smiles on the billboards suggest a friendly and helpful environment. However, Hochschild (1983, p93) states that when sexual innuendo is added to the picture in captions, such as "fly me, you'll like it", it suggests that any fantasy may be possible in the air. As one flight attendant put it: "you have married men with three kids getting on the plane and suddenly they feel that anything goes. It's like they leave that reality on the ground, and you fit into their fantasy as some geisha girl. It happens over and over again." (p93)

According to Hochschild (1983), the sexualized advertising burdens the flight attendant with another task, beyond being helpful and open to requests: she must respond to the sexual fantasies of the passengers. She must try to feel and act as if flirting and propositioning is "a sign of my attractiveness and your sexiness" (p94). In this way, the flight attendant must also work on

suppressing true feelings that such behavior is, for example, demeaning to them.

Hochschild (1983) comments further that the first, and non-sexual, significance of the advertised smile, can also inflate the expectations of the passengers, and therefore increase their possibility of feeling disappointed, and venting their anger.

At the airline, Hochschild (1983) explains that the recruits are screened for a certain type of outgoing middle class personality, emphasizing the importance of a friendly personality. However, Hochschild states that basically the recruiters are looking for people who are smart, but can also cope with being considered dumb: "someone who is naturally empathetic but can also resist the numbing effect of having that empathy engineered and continuously used by a company for its own purposes" (p 98).

Hochschild (1983) goes further, stating that trainees, it seems, were also chosen for their ability to take stage directions about how to 'project' an emotion. Also, the trainees had to be able to act well, without showing the effort it involved, and therefore seeming at home or natural 'on stage'.

Hochschild (1983) also described a common threat used by organizations then, as they are now- firing of employees. Flight attendant work was, and still is a competitive sector to gain employment into. Recruits at Delta were reminded day after day that eager competitors could easily replace them if they didn't shape up to expectations.

Hochschild (1983) describes how new trainees had many direct appeals to smile thrown at them as they were told to 'really work on their smiles' and that their smile was their greatest asset. Trainees were told that they should 'relax and smile' when they are dealing with a difficult passenger.

Beyond this basic surface act, Hochschild (1983) states that there were also actual appeals by the trainers for the employees to modify their feeling states. The deepest appeal in the Delta training program was to the trainee's capacity to act as if the plane cabin was their home, and to think of a passenger 'as if' he or she were a "personal guest in your living room"(p 105). In this sense, the workers' memories of providing personal hospitality were called up and put to use, as Stanislavski (1965) envisaged.

Hochschild (1983) claims that this analogy between home and the plane cabin is an attempt by Delta to join the worker to the company. In this sense the worker would hopefully defend the company, and see impersonal relations with passengers 'as if' they were personal and 'as if' money was not transacted for the service. Hochschild states that the company brilliantly extends and uses the workers' ability to show empathy, whilst all the while maintaining that it is not interfering in their personal lives.

As far as supervision is concerned, Hochschild (1983) states that the lines of company control determine who fears whom. For the flight attendants, the fear hierarchy worked indirectly through passengers and back again through their own supervisors. Letters and other forms of feedback from customers were translated by supervisors into rewards and punishment for the employees. Delta also used more formal means of collecting feedback from customers through fully-fledged questionnaire sheets. Another strategy used by Delta was to have plain clothed 'under-cover' management on the planes seeing first hand the level of service given by the workers.

2.4.5 The Transmutation that Failed

Hochschild (1983) states that even when people are paid to be nice, it is hard for them to be nice at all times, and when their efforts succeed, it is a remarkable accomplishment. According to Hochschild, what makes this accomplishment possible is a 'transmutation' of three basic elements of emotional life: emotion work, feeling rules and social exchange.

First, emotion work is no longer a private act but a public act, which is bought on the one hand and sold on the other. Second, feeling rules are no longer simply matters of personal discretion, created and enacted in private with another person, but are spelled out publicly in training programs and through supervision. Third, "social exchange is forced into narrow channels, where there is much less room for individual navigation of the emotional waters". Hochschild (1983, p119)

However, according to Hochschild (1983), the training in surface and deep acting serve as a new development in deskilling. Hochschild states that "the skills they offer do not subtract from the worker's autonomous control over *when* and *how* to apply them.....but the overall definition of the task is more rigid than it

once was, and the worker's field of choice about what to do is greatly narrowed". (p 120)

However, Hochschild (1983) argues that there is a significant problem: when an industry speed-up drastically shortens the time available for contact between flight attendants and passengers, it can become very difficult to deliver emotional labor. Because of cost cutting to remain competitive, flight attendants among other groups of workers, had to do more and serve more passengers in the same amount of time as previously. In that event, the transmutation of emotion work, feeling rules and social exchange will fail, and company claims of offering a smile 'from the inside out' will become unrealistic.

Hochschild (1983) states that management of Delta, however, saw no escape from the contradiction of trying to meet the demand for emotional labor while promoting conditions that cut off the supply to achieve this. For the flight attendants, the want of enjoying the job becomes harder and harder the more the ratio of passengers to attendants increased. Hochschild notes that this speed up which asked attendants to make personal human contact at impossible speed would eventually lead to the employees cutting back on their emotion work and growing detached.

One other notable problem with unrealistic company demands over emotion work is what Hochschild (1983) terms 'responses to the contradiction'. In this way, since the job of the flight attendant is to act upon a commercial stage, under managerial directors, their protest may take the form of rebelling against the costumes and the choreography.

Hochshcild (1983) notes that many workers respond to the speed up with a slowdown. They smile quickly and less broadly, thus diminishing the company's message to the consumers.

One example given by Hochschild (1983, p127) illustrates this contradiction very well: a businessman said to a flight attendant, "why aren't you smiling?" The female flight attendant looked at him and replied, "I'll tell you what, you smile first, then I'll smile." The businessman smiled at her, to which she replied, "good, now freeze and hold that for fifteen hours."

In this sense the flight attendant challenged the company's right to imply that passengers have a right to her smile. But, of course the passenger got more than just a lack of a smile, he got an expression of her genuine feeling.

Hochschild (1983p 129) states that workers who refuse to perform emotional labor "go into robot". They withhold deep acting and revert only to surface acting, pretending to show feelings. Hochschild found that some who take this stance openly protest the need to conduct themselves in this way. Workers stated that "we are not robots" and "we'll pretend but won't try to hide the fact that we are pretending".

2.4.6 The Bill Collectors

Hochschild's (1983) parallel study of debt collectors yielded some interesting results. In some ways the jobs of the bill collector and the flight attendant were similar, although each represented an opposite pole of emotional labor.

Whereas the aim of the flight attendant is to enhance the passenger's status and importance, the aim of front line debt collectors may be to deflate the customer's status and resistance to paying.

Hochschild (1983, p139) states that "conversations with bill collectors are notorious for such status deflation, which is why

they often provoke hostility- usually legal on one side and often physical on the other".

Within the debt agency Hochschild (1983) studied, offstage and visible only to the collectors, was a sign in the window, a prompting card that read: "Catch your customer off guard. Control the conversation."

Whether working in person or over the phone, the debt collectors were encouraged by management to get right to the point, with no opportunity for social conversation. They were told to make the point very fast, so that the debtor thinks that the money needs to be paid immediately.

Hochschild (1983) observed that even if the collector trusted the debtor, there remained the question of how sympathetic to be. In the training of flight attendants, the analogy of the guest in the living room was used to amplify feelings of empathy and sympathy. However in the work of the debt collector, the analogies of 'loafer' and 'cheat' are used to reduce the possibility of empathetic or sympathetic feelings, so that they don't interfere with the duty at hand- collecting the debt.

Hochschild (1983) notes that even collectors who avoid being rude or aggressive know that such behavior is approved or valued in others. In this sense, a letter from an irate debtor to the management of a collecting agency would not be viewed in the same negative way as it would be in the airline industry.

The overriding rule in the office of the collecting agency studied by Hochschild was to be aggressive. One new employee noted his new manager's requests to him early in his career: "can't you get madder than that? Create alarm! Can't you be a man?" (Hochschild 1983, p146). Debtors who are often pushed hard by collectors sometimes threaten violence, and threats of retribution are not uncommon.

Hochschild (1983) states that both flight attendants and bill collectors are probably attracted to their jobs because they already have some of the necessary personal qualities to do the job. Within flight attendants this quality is assured through careful screening processes, and within bill collectors it is assured through high turnover rates, where those who do not like the job soon quit.

In both employment sectors, workers have to curb their feelings in order to perform. Hochschild (1983) claims that in both jobs,

supervisors enforce and monitor that curbing, and that the curbing is often a personal strain.

2.4.7 The Influence of Gender and Status

Hochschild (1983) notes that both men and women do emotion work, in private life and at work. However, Hochschild argues that within the whole realm of emotional experience, emotion work is considered more important for women than it is for men. The reason, Hochschild argues is because women have far less independent access to money, power, authority or status in society. Hochschild claims that women are viewed as subordinates and that this has four consequences.

According to Hochschild's (1983) social constructionist view, the first is that by lacking resources, women make a resource out of feeling and exchange it in return for more material resources they lack. The second consequence is that each gender tends to be called upon to do different types of work, as in the flight attendants and the bill collectors.

The third consequence, according to Hochschild (1983, p163), is the general subordination of women "leaving them with a weaker 'status shield' against the displaced feelings of others". For example, Hochschild notes that female flight attendants found themselves to be easier targets for verbal abuse from passengers so that male attendants often found themselves called upon to handle unwarranted aggression against them. The fourth consequence is that women more often react to subordination by making defensive use of sexual beauty, charm and relational skills.

Hochschild (1983) claims that it is these capacities of women that make them most vulnerable to commercial exploitation, and so it is these capacities that they are most likely to become estranged from.

2.4.8 The Human Cost of Emotional Labor

Hochschild (1983) states that like most achievements, the advanced engineering of emotional labor leaves new dilemmas and new human costs in its wake. Hochschild states that these human costs are not only under-perceived, but clearly unidentified properly therefore leaving ways of mitigating or removing them as little more than guess work.

To some degree conflict will exist between what the individual really feels and the emotion they are expected to display. Hochschild (1983) argues that the flight attendants experienced what she terms 'emotive dissonance': a clash between inner feelings and outward expression that can have a negative effect on their well being, causing certain 'pernicious psychological strain'.

In detailing a number of potential problems with emotional labor, Hochschild's (1983, p136) main concern was that it caused "estrangement between what a person senses as her 'true self' and her inner and outer acting".

Within the theory of estrangement, Hochschild (1983) states that there are three stances that workers seem to take toward work, each with its own inherent risk.

In the first, Hochschild (1983) argues that employees who identify too strongly or wholeheartedly with the job and company risked burnout and total depersonalization. This type of employee gives all in trying to achieve a personalized service, but is not so apt at depersonalizing inappropriately personal behavior towards her/ himself.

In the second stance, Hochschild (1983) states that workers clearly distinguish themselves from the job, and are thus less likely to suffer burnout. However, these employees who were able to separate their 'real self' from their 'fake self' risked blaming themselves for being secretly insincere.

In the third stance, Hochschild (1983, p187) states that "the worker distinguishes herself from the act, does not blame herself for this, and sees the job as positively requiring the capacity to act; for this worker there is some risk of estrangement from acting altogether, and some cynicism about it also".

Hochschild (1983) states that as a precaution against burnout, many experienced workers develop a 'healthy' estrangement, a clear separation of self from role. These workers clearly identify for themselves when they are acting and when they are not. They may sometimes feel 'phony', because at times they may feel that they shouldn't be acting or that they are not acting well enough. However, by differentiating between an acting and a non-acting self, they make themselves less vulnerable to burnout.

Nevertheless, Hochschild (1983) argues that workers who perform emotional labor have little or no say in how the 'scene' is played out and controlled. Hochschild argues that the less influence an employee has over controlling the enactment of emotion work, the more likely it is that one of two things will occur. Either the employee will overextend themselves into the job and burn out, or they will 'remove' themselves from the job and feel badly about it.

In coping with emotional labor, Hochschild states that workers from Delta would, behind stage, give mutual support to each other by listening and contributing to the venting out of anger and jokes about what has occurred in the 'front stage'. Others would wait until in the presence of a loved one to vent their thoughts. By

'releasing' in this way, employees would attempt to separate company rules of feeling from their own.

Nevertheless, in summation, Hochschild (1983) states that those who perform emotional labor in the process of giving service are like those who perform physical labor in the course of making goods: both are subject to the rules of mass production. "But when the product- the thing to be engineered, mass-produced and subjected to speed-up and slow down- is a smile, a mood, a feeling, or a relationship, it comes to belong more to the organization and less to the self."(p198)

2.5 Emotional Labor Since "The Managed Heart"

2.5.1 Introduction

Hochschild has been criticized for forwarding a view of emotional labor that can produce only negative consequences (Rafaeli & Sutton 1987; Tolich 1993; Wharton & Erickson 1993). However, others have argued that this characterization is inaccurate, as Hochschild asserts that emotional labor can be positive depending on how it is enacted. (Ashforth & Humphrey 1995)

Nevertheless, it is evident that significant research influenced by Hochschild's work addresses unfavorable consequences of emotional labor for employees. In particular, researchers suggest relationships between emotional labor and burnout (Tolich 1993), stress (Cooper 1995), poor self esteem, cynicism, role alienation, self alienation and emotive deviance (Asforth & Humphrey 1993).

A few scholars also assert that emotional labor can produce favorable outcomes, including increased job satisfaction, security and self esteem (Tolich 1993; Wharton 1993), increased self efficacy, task effectiveness and psychological well-being (Ashforth

& Humphrey 1993) and an increased sense of community (Shuler 2000).

To sort through these often conflicting and confusing interpretations of Hochschild's (1983) original work, other scholars have attempted to re-examine the construct and underlying theory of emotional labor.

Thus, it is the purpose of the next few sections of this paper to critically examine the scholarly work done in the area of emotional labor since 'The Managed Heart'.

2.5.2 Conceptualizing Emotional Labor

In attempting to re-conceptualize emotional labor, two notable efforts are Ashforth and Humphrey's (1993) and Morris and Feldman's (1996) perspectives.

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) defined emotional labor as the act of displaying appropriate emotions, with the goal to engage in a form of impression management for the organization.

In comparison with Hochschild's (1983) perspective, Ashforth and Humphrey were more concerned with emotional labor as an observable behavior than as a management of feelings. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) downplayed the importance of the internal management of emotions through surface and deep acting. In addition, they argued that emotional labor does not necessarily require conscious effort, and suggested that surface and deep acting may become routine and effortless for the employee, rather than sources of stress.

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) focused mainly on the relationship between observable expressions and task effectiveness. They link emotional labor positively to task effectiveness- with the proviso that the customer perceives the expression as sincere. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) also argue that performing emotional labor may actually help workers distance themselves from unpleasant or difficult situations.

In this sense, Ashforth and Humphrey's (1993) and Hochschild's (1983) perspectives differed in two distinctly different ways. Firstly, Ashforth and Humphrey's definition focuses on observable behaviors, not feelings, including emotional displays that may be genuine or effortless. Secondly, the main focus here is not on the

worker's health or stress, but rather on the impact of emotional labor on task effectiveness.

Morris and Feldman (1996) defined emotional labor as "the effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions" (p 987). In this interactionist approach, emotions are expressed in, and partially determined by, the social environment.

Morris and Feldman (1996, p989) conceptualize emotional labor through four dimensions:

- Frequency of emotional display
- Attentiveness to display rules (including intensity and duration of emotional display)
- Variety of emotions expressed
- Emotional dissonance (the psychological strain Hochschild (1983) states is experienced when there is a discrepancy between emotions expressed and those actually felt)

According to Morris and Feldman's (1996) model, the more dimensions experienced by the worker, the more emotional labor is being performed.

However, Morris and Feldman's (1996) model is seen to be problematic in the sense that they acknowledge that each dimension on its own may not be a sufficient indicator of emotional labor, yet neither are all four dimensions necessary.

Kruml (2000) states that the identification of some of the dimensions may also be problematic. For example, frequency and duration of service encounters, although perhaps relevant in a model of emotional labor, may function more as job characteristics that influence how a worker performs emotional labor rather than as emotional labor itself.

More problematic, according to Kruml (2000) and Mann (1999) is Morris and Feldman's (1996) failure to conceptually link their dimensions to their definition of emotional labor. Their dimensions do not appear to describe the individual effort, planning, and control they claim are exhibited by workers in service interactions, thus threatening their measure's validity.

2.5.3 Display Rules and Regulation of Emotion

Domagalski (1999) states that perhaps the most examined aspect of emotion in organizational behavior research has been the means by which organizations shape, direct and impose sanctions to ensure the display of desired feelings.

The history of research on the control of emotional expression traces back most clearly to the work of Paul Ekman. In examining the universality of facial expression, Ekman (1972), found that when viewing stressful films in the presence of authority figures, Japanese and American participants exhibited different facial expressions. But it was also found that when they viewed the films alone, there was no difference in facial expression across the groups. This observation led Ekman to develop the concept that he termed 'display rules'.

In this sense, Ekman (1972) proposed that display rules for emotional expression in specific situations is determined to a large extent by cultural and societal guidelines.

Yet, as other scholars to be outlined here state, emotional expression is not just about culturally specific display rules; many other factors come in here. Nevertheless, organizations have in many instances become culturally powerful in their own right, and can bear a great influence on employee behavior.

Leidner (1999) states that many employers of interactive service workers make determined efforts to regulate the feelings and actions of those employees through detailed pre-specification of conduct. Leidner argues that these attempts to standardize the interactions between workers and customers parallel the processes of routinization common of manufacturing and clerical work in that they minimize workers' autonomy and discretion.

Leidner (1999) states that scripting of speech, movement and body language is an especially common approach to regulating emotion work. The scripting can range from simple instructions (smiling, welcoming statements) to detailed directions for longer or more complicated encounters. In substantiating Hochschild's (1983) claims, Leidner states that in addition to scripting, the routines of interactive service workers frequently include a set of instructions about how one should feel (feeling rules), which guide employees' presentation to, and treatment of customers.

Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) contend that organizational norms for emotional expression can be maintained through selection, socialization, and rewards and punishments. Through recruitment and selection, organizations seek to employ people who can convey emotions considered appropriate for the job. For example, the bill collectors studied by Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) were employed for their ability to convey fear and urgency in the debtor.

According to Rafaeli and Sutton (1987), organizations socialize employees through teaching organizational norms and feeling rules, relating to which emotions should be displayed and which should be hidden.

Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) state that rewards or punishments are supplied within the organization through both formal and informal means. Within the bill collection agency Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) studied, collectors were rewarded for conveying urgency regardless of their 'inner feelings'.

Van Maanen and Kunda (1989), through their study on Disneyland, found that several mechanisms were used to control the emotional expression of employees. This process began

through socialization, during which employees were "schooled in the use of new identities of a situational sort" (p 68).

Van Maanen and Kunda (1989) also found that the use of particular language within Disneyland reaffirmed feeling rules and organizational culture. In this way, customers were 'guests', rides were 'attractions', uniforms were 'costumes' and accidents were 'incidents'. Employee performance was also found to be heavily monitored throughout the theme park by numerous 'spies' in the form of supervisors and plain clothed management.

Tracy's (2000) study on a passenger cruise liner, found that the company achieved the necessary regulation of emotional display through an extensive training and reinforcement program. The basis of the training focused on employees always smiling when they were in the presence of passengers. Strategically placed stickers in workers' cabins also emphasized this, reading; "we smile, we are on stage" and "we never say no" (p107). These same notices were also placed in passenger service areas.

Tracy (2000) also found that the management of the cruise liner relied heavily on passenger feedback sheets, not only to gauge

general service standards, but also in relation to the performance of individual service providers.

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) state that in developing display rules and regulation, two provisos may apply. Firstly, although most customers may agree on what generally constitutes good service, specific expectations may vary according to the particular industry sector, organization and occupation as well as the background and needs of the particular customer at hand.

The second proviso, according to Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) is that societal norms vary across cultures. For example, when McDonald's opened a fast food outlet in Moscow, Russia, management trained staff to conform to Western norms of good service, including smiling a great deal at customers. However, this particular norm did not exist in the former USSR, and therefore many patrons concluded that staff members were mocking and ridiculing them.

Lately, some scholars have chosen to examine what Goffman (1959) referred to as the expected consistency and coherence between manner and appearance in the delivery of institutionalized performance.

The importance that uniforms and appearance play in regulating the delivery of emotional labor has only recently attracted notable attention, although this 'dimension' warrants further examination.

Rafaeli and Pratt (1993, p32) state that "organizational scholars often consider dress to be a peripheral or unimportant issue in organizations". Rafaeli and Pratt introduce two broad assertions that underlie their conceptual framework that summarizes how the understanding of dress can contribute to the study of organizations: " (a) that dress indicates key organizational dynamics and (b) that dress may effect key processes in organizational behavior" (p 32).

Rafaeli and Pratt (1993) propose that organizational uniforms can effect employees' compliance with the goals and standards of behavior inherent to their roles. Rafaeli and Pratt suggest that because uniforms are organizational, determined by and representative of the organization, they elicit psychological processes in employees that lead to compliance.

In this way, Rafaeli and Pratt (1993) state that employees that wear organizational attire are more likely to comply to role requirements, than, say those employees who 'self select' their

attire, because the former find themselves in a position of dissonance that must be reduced.

This conceptual framework, where the individual's role becomes more salient, was key in Rafaeli's (1989) study of employees in sales, showing that those who wore organizational attire were more likely to convey organizationally prescribed emotions.

The second important outcome of uniforms, according to Rafaeli and Pratt (1993), is the legitimation of roles played by employees to outsiders. The authors here state that legitimation is strengthened when the association between uniform attributes and the organization are a closer fit. This is also enhanced if there is greater consistency in dress among all representatives of the organization.

In a more recent study, Nelson and Bowen (2000) examined the effect of mandatory uniforms on hospitality employees' attitudes toward their jobs. The authors found that decisions regarding the workers' uniforms were most often made by the management team, with little or no input from the employees who will wear them.

Nelson and Bowen (2000) found that managers were mostly concerned about the atmosphere the uniforms would create, whilst rarely discussing the uniform's functionality or appearance with the employees. The authors also found that as a result of poor functionality or appearance, as judged by the actual employees, the uniforms had the potential to adversely affect staff attitudes and that this often led to poor customer service and satisfaction.

Nelson and Bowen (2000) also found that within the hospitality industry, appearance was found to be a powerful component in creating an impression, and that "attractive people are often considered more sociable and more accomplished at tasks"(p 87).

In a comparative study of fast food outlets and 'sit down' restaurants, Seymour (2000) found that the enforcement of dress codes further plunged employees into having to perform for their guests and customers. It was found that respondents in both sectors felt strongly that wearing a uniform led to customers treating them differently.

Seymour (2000) states that the female uniform within the restaurants studied was often sexualized in that there was a demand to wear short skirts and low cut blouses. According to Seymour,

this led to many female employees feeling vulnerable and uncomfortable in front of guests. "Several of the waitresses had experienced what they called 'groping' by male customers, especially during evening service, although they commented that accepting this and dealing with it with a smile usually earned them high tips" (p 164). Seymour states that this vulnerability added extra emotional work throughout the service encounter, where females struggled to protect their 'self' from the advances of some customers and to convey where they drew the line whilst at the same time attempting to meet expectations of courteousness.

Seymour (2000) found that other workers, including males at the restaurants studied, stated that wearing a highly identifiable uniform gave the customers all of the power and the sense that they were always right in disputes with waiters/ waitresses.

Seymour (2000) also found that at the fast food outlet, male and female 'crew members' wore identical uniforms, which limited gender divisions and played down sexual differences. None of these staff had experienced sexual harassment by a customer. Although there was still a sense of denigration reported, with the employees complaining of the lack of respect they received from

customers once in uniform, and a sense of feeling like 'subordinates'.

2.5.4 Dysfunctions of Emotional Labor

Emotional labor can be seen as a double edged sword in that it can have negative outcomes for both the actor and the target.

Hochschild (1983) detailed a number of potential problems with emotional labor, but her main concern was that it caused "estrangement between what a person senses as her 'true self' and her inner and outer acting" (p 136). For example, Hochschild argues that employees who identified too strongly with the company risked burnout and total depersonalization, whereas those who were able to separate their 'real self' from their 'fake self' risked blaming themselves for secretly being insincere.

The pivot on which emotional labor revolves is the fact that there is a discrepancy between emotions expected and those actually experienced. This discrepancy is common because even though display rules may regulate expressive behavior, they cannot regulate expressive experience.

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993, p96) state that indeed, " what is functional for the organization may well be dysfunctional for the actor". Hochschild's seminal work (1983) argued that portraying emotions that are not felt creates the strain of emotive dissonance, and much of the scholarly work in the area of emotional labor has used Hochschild's portrayal of emotive dissonance to explain personal and work related problems such as poor self esteem, depression, burnout, cynicism and alienation from work.

Abraham (1998) states that dissonance may also originate from faking in 'good faith', where workers accept prescribed emotions even though those emotions are in conflict with the workers' true beliefs. Abraham argues that this may be a major threat to the employees' psychological well-being.

Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) state that the experience of emotional dissonance, and the possibility that inauthenticity may result, are likely to be influenced by the extent to which employees have internalized organizational display rules. Those workers who believe that presenting false emotions should not be a part of their job requirements, but present them anyway, are considered to be "faking in bad faith" (p 187). Rafaeli and Sutton argue that this form of self-presentation can be expected to result in greater

emotional dissonance than faking in good faith, or when the worker has internalized the need for presenting fake emotions.

Morris and Feldman (1996) state that emotional labor that leads to associated dissonance has the potential to lead to lower job satisfaction, lower self esteem, and depressive symptoms.

In confirming Hochschild's (1983) notion of 'speed up' negatively effecting the ability of service personnel to deliver emotional labor according to organizational guidelines, Rafaeli and Sutton's (1988) study of supermarket cashiers, found that the pressure of long lines of customers provoked unpleasant feelings in the workers. This led to the cashiers neglecting their organizational norms requiring friendly greetings, smiles and eye contact. Infact, quite often the opposite was true, with cashiers venting their anger directly at the customers by being rude and insincere.

Van Maanen and Kunda (1989), in their study of Disneyland employees, found that continuous emotional effort resulted in 'emotional numbness' and exhaustion.

Tracy (2000) states that emotional labor and organizational burnout are closely connected. Tracy's study of cruise ship

employees found that unrealistic expectations about emotional display, combined with long hours and intense customer and supervisor surveillance led to many workers reporting burnout.

Maslach (1976, in Tracy 2000, p95) defined 'burnout' as being typically characterized by three dimensions: "(a) emotional exhaustion, (b) depersonalization or a negative shift in responses to others, and (c) a decreased sense of personal accomplishment".

In a rare examination of emotions within the hotel industry, Ledgerwood (1998) states that depersonalization shows up as the negative, or excessively detached response to other people, normally customers. Ledgerwood also states that this depersonalization leads to the treatment of customers as 'objects' and can manifest itself as severe cynicism towards customers, co-workers and the organization as a whole.

Ledgerwood (1998) found that an increased frequency of encounters with rude or overtly demanding customers led to the hotel employees experiencing emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and a sense of lacking accomplishment.

In confirming Hochschild's (1983) notion of self-alienation, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) argue that deep acting may distort and impair workers' sense of 'authentic self'. Ashforth and Humphrey state "that deep acting may ultimately lead to self alienation as one loses touch with this authentic self, and it may impair one's ability to recognize or even experience genuine emotion" (1993, p95).

However, and despite the familiarity with the 'burnout' argument, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), Wharton and Erickson (1993) and Wharton and Erickson (1995) state that the relationship between service workers' emotional labor and burnout is a tenuous argument. These authors argue that the effects of intense public contact are conditioned by other job and worker characteristics, such as job autonomy, tenure and hours worked. Wharton (1993) states that the findings of various studies suggest that employees' responses to the interactional demands of their work are complex and cannot necessarily be assumed to have a uniformly negative or positive effect on well-being.

2.5.5 Functions of Emotional labor

Emotional labor is a functional part of much organizational communication. Selling more products, ensuring repeat business, and dealing with customer complaints adequately, among other things, are positive outcomes associated with the performance of emotional labor.

Fineman (1993) argues that the negative picture of organizational control over emotions is somewhat overstated, stating that service workers can have fun giving a 'performance', whilst being aware that they are just acting.

Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) state that complying with display rules facilitates task accomplishment and enhances its effectiveness- at least as long as the target perceives the expression of emotion to be sincere.

Leidner (1999) states that one way that emotional labor can contribute to task accomplishment is through using standardized scripts. These scripts are very much in use within the fast food industry, where Leidner observes that staff at McDonalds could easily carry out their routines without investing themselves too deeply in the parts.

Leidner (1999) found that some staff at McDonalds appreciated the confidence the routines gave them that they could do their tasks well, whilst at the same time reminding themselves that that the words and actions of the scripts did not reflect their true selves.

Seymour (2000) also agrees with this notion. Seymour's study of fast food restaurants yielded similar responses to Leidner's (1999) study, in that the employees felt that the script was an asset.

Seymour (2000, p163) states, "it enables them to deliver a friendly service even at very busy times and at the same time provided a barrier between themselves and the customers. Some respondents pointed out that the script helped staff that lacked confidence or social skills as it enabled them to know what to say and how to act".

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) state that emotional labor provides a critical means by which to regulate interaction, and that by guiding customers through such expressive means as facial expression, posture and tone of voice, emotional labor can increase self-efficacy in employees.

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) suggest that on another level the emotional laborer can actually distance him/ herself cognitively from the situation by acting rather than experiencing the emotion, allowing them to maintain objectivity and retain their own emotional 'equilibrium'. In this sense, a doctor or nurse does not let their emotional response impair their judgement, where they learn the art of 'detached concern'.

In a study of convenience stores, Rafaeli and Sutton (1991) also found that employees that were not busy were "more likely to display positive emotions such as smiling, greeting and eye contact because it introduces variety into an otherwise boring job". (p 30).

In another study of 'check out' staff at supermarkets, Tolich (1993) states that although customers were a major stress concern for the employees, they simultaneously provided staff with some pleasurable and stimulating moments. It was reported that the

customers enlivened the otherwise dull and monotonous tasks associated with work at the 'checkouts'.

Within this context, Tolich (1993) observed that the performance in moving customers through the checkout seemed to involve elements of both autonomy and discretion. Tolich (1993, p368) argues that it is "within the 'my customer/ my clerk' relationship that Hochschild's (1983) concept of emotional labor loses its utility".

More precisely, Tolich (1993) challenged Hochschild's (1983) concept of emotional labor with new notions of emotion as work-autonomous emotion management and regulated emotion management, making control rather than exchange value the pivot by which understanding emotion at work can occur.

Shuler and Sypher (2000) go so far in suggesting that emotional labor is enjoyable and functional, by arguing that some employees actually seek it out. In a study of an emergency call center in the United States, Shuler and Sypher argue that employees not only suffer through, cope with and resist emotional labor, but sometimes also seek it out.

Shuler and Sypher (2000) state that for these dispatchers, emotional labor is fun, exciting and a rewarding part of their work. The workers here did not downplay the negative and arduous aspects of their emotion work, however they were reported to enjoy the 'sense of community' they develop with their co-workers through the sharing of prank calls and other 'humorous' events.

Also, and more specifically, Shuler and Sypher (2000, p52) state that "the enjoyment 911 dispatchers derive from their performance of emotional labor is linked to their need for comic relief, a fix, or altruistic service".

Shuler and Sypher's (2000) study and arguments are interesting to examine, because the notion that the same customers can provide both stress and enjoyment to the employees is one that compliments the work of Tolich (1993). This notion is also one that would be interesting to examine in various employment sectors, other than just in supermarkets or call centers.

Wharton's (1993) examination of employees' work within banks and teaching hospitals yielded mixed results, suggesting that there were both negative and positive psychological consequences of

emotional labor. Both emotional exhaustion and job satisfaction were reported here.

2.5.6 Gender and Emotional Labor

Hochschild (1983) described the close relationship between emotional labor and stereotypical gender roles in Western society. Hochschild (1983, p164) stated that "In general, women are thought to manage expression and feeling not only better than men do, evidence seems clear that women do more emotion managing than men".

Indeed, Schaubroeck and Jones (2000) state that much of the literature on emotional labor focuses on gendered differences, but more particularly on women's roles, both at home and at work.

In confirming Hochschild's (1983) argument, Wharton (1993) found a higher prevalence of women in jobs that tend to require high amounts of emotional labor. However, Schaubroeck and Jones (2000) argue that other demographic variables and income levels can explain this observation.

Nevertheless, Hochschild (1983) stated that even after these sociological status factors were taken into account, women are still seen to take more initiative in undertaking emotional labor at work. Hochschild also argued that the expectation from customers of emotion work from females was higher than that of males.

Other examples from sociological research tend to confirm the gendered dimension of emotional labor. Leidner (1991) focused on the 'good' service scripts of restaurant employers who reproduce traditional gender relations by constructing different scripts for male and female servers. This gender construction was also monitored through the use of rules about demeanor and appearance. For example, management encouraged and trained women to smile and flirt with male customers, whilst carefully monitoring body language. According to Seymour (2000), this type of organizational behavior structures the interaction of female servers as sexual objects.

In comparison, Leidner (1991) found that insurance salesmen reconciled the content of their jobs with their sense of their own masculinity by viewing the transaction as a contest of wills requiring aggressive determination. The men studied here were

reluctant to acknowledge that selling insurance also required some display of friendliness, empathy and politeness.

The gendered delivery of emotional labor was also echoed by Pierce (1995) in her study of legal firms. Pierce states, "It was found that female paralegals were expected to give male trial lawyers tremendous support through deference and caretaking while managing their own anger and the anger of attorneys. Male paralegals, by contrast, were not expected to be nurturing" (p 88).

In supporting Hochschild's (1983) notions of gendered labor, Pierce (1995) states that the gendered hierarchy in legal work "ensures that men are affirmed as the authority and women as subordinates" (p 9).

In an interesting follow up comparison study, Taylor and Tyler (2000) studied the contemporary airline industry almost two decades after Hochschild's (1983) seminal work in the same employment sector.

Taylor and Tyler (2000) found gendered assumptions about the 'natural' ability of men and women in providing emotional labor.

This included the capacity of female employees to engage in and 'cope' with sexual innuendo and sexualized encounters. Taylor and Tyler also found that within the airlines, males and females were supervised and evaluated according to different criteria. Men were often evaluated according to 'getting the job done' and sales, whereas female employees were evaluated according to 'hard' and 'soft' standards- the latter referring to the nature of their interaction with customers, including the successful delivery of emotional labor.

Through their interviews with cabin crews, Taylor and Tyler (2000) found that keywords were used by management to encourage explicitly sexualized elements within the female workers, "Including being 'polished', 'well groomed' and 'flawless'" (p 87).

However, Taylor and Tyler (2000) note that there are inherent problems with management emphasizing the gendered delivery of emotional labor. One major problem, due to the heightened state of surveillance over flight attendants, is that it erodes employee autonomy greatly in the service encounter, leading to a greater sense of feeling inauthentic.

Wharton and Erickson (1997) argues that emotional labor being based on female tendencies and natural ability to 'feel' would result in more emotive dissonance in men rather than women. Wharton's argument is based on female workers finding the expectations associated with interactive service jobs rather unremarkable. Wharton states that men, on the other hand, receive little emotional socialization prior to entering the workforce.

Domagalski (1999) argues that women should be more responsive than men to the external cues or display rules that call on them to manage emotions at work. Domagalski also states that because men tend to rely on physiological changes for emotional cues, often they will respond more to their internal cues and respond with true feelings. Therefore, in disagreement with Wharton (1997), Domagalski expects that women would report more emotive dissonance and effort than men.

2.5.7 Individual Differences and Personality

It was Hochschild's (1983) claim that various personal characteristics, including age, experience and empathetic ability influence how people perform emotional labor. Apart from

gendered differences, the scholarly work in the area since Hochschild's study has been seen to be in its infancy.

Nevertheless, Schaubroeck and Jones (2000) state that the extent to which individuals perceive that they are required to express or suppress emotional expression may depend to a great extent on their personal characteristics and emotional predispositions.

Miller (1995) states that emotional laborers often self- select into occupations, as opposed to jobs, that deal with the public according to their own perceptions of themselves.

As far as organizations are concerned, Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) state that there are some individual characteristics which managers should look for in order to make better selection decisions. One personality variable considered important is affectivity. Lazarus (1993) defined affectivity as a general tendency to react to objects (jobs and people) in an emotionally consistent way.

In this sense, Morris and Feldman (1997) propose that employees who have a tendency to experience positive emotions will be better suited for work roles that require the display of positive emotions (such as sales people or flight attendants). In contrast, employees

who have a tendency to experience negative emotions may be better suited for work roles such as bill collectors or crowd controllers.

Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) have also suggested that selecting employees on the basis of extraversion may also be helpful, citing that extraverted employees are more likely to act in a friendly and social manner. Conversely, introverted individuals can seem be withdrawn, unsociable and inhibited.

Morris and Feldman (1996) argue that both extroverted individuals and emotionally expressive individuals willing to give free rein to their feelings would be particularly suited to a highly emotive dissonant environment. However, Abraham (1998) states that the mere ability to express feelings may be incapable of preventing psychological conflict and harm to the individual.

Another personal variable of importance here is purely the standard of one's own acting ability. The ability to 'conjure up' emotions that are seen as real by the target is an important element in the successful delivery of emotional labor. Although various scholars have noted the dramaturgical (Goffman 1959, Hochschild 1983) elements of emotional labor, the specific study of how

acting ability relates to the outcomes of emotional labor is neglected greatly within the literature.

However, Hochschild (1983) saw acting ability as being positively effected by an employees' age and experience because of the personal experience they can draw upon to control their emotional expression. This experience, Hochschild states can be accumulated in private life or in public life (the workplace).

Ashforth and Humphrey's (1993) social identity theory, aims to suggest that individuals who strongly identify with their organizational roles, specifically those who regard their roles as central, salient, and a valued component of who they are, are most apt at feeling authentic when they are conforming to role and display rules. Ashforth and Humphrey give the examples of the sympathetic counselor or extraverted salesperson here.

In assessing the demands of emotional labor that may lead to emotional exhaustion and burnout, other scholars have focused on the personalities of type A and type B individuals. Cooper (1995) states that type A personalities tend to be more hyper-reactive to uncontrollable stressors than type B personalities.

Kobasa (1982 in Cooper 1995) identified three personality traits (a high level of commitment, internal locus of control, and a sense of welcoming challenge) that contribute to the status of 'hardiness' and effective stress handling. This description has been referred to as the type B behavior pattern.

2.5.8 Coping Mechanisms

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) suggest that service providers may use various behavioral and cognitive defense mechanisms to mitigate the pressures of having to perform emotional labor. The authors state that emotive dissonance and self-alienation may be resolved by means other than through identification with the role in question.

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) suggest that employees can put up a type of 'barrier' between themselves and the customers or clients. They cite the example of social workers (Satyamurti 1981, in Ashforth and Humphrey 1993, p 12) who routinized their relationships with clients so as to minimize the need for personal interaction and the expression of empathy and concern.

Ashforth and Humphrey also state that organizations that require frequent emotional labor, such as banks and retail stores, often rigorously demarcate 'front stage' and 'back stage' regions. Employees, they argue may take advantage of the backstage area to temporarily 'step out of character' and relax. In this sense it provides a 'barrier' between workers and customers as it relates to Goffman's (1959) perspective of dramaturgy.

One commonly stated moderator of emotional labor in the literature is that of social support. Grandey (2000) argues that employees who perceive high levels of supervisor support may also report high levels of emotional labor but not burnout, because support acts as a buffer against the stressors.

Other scholars have focused on the role fellow employees may play in providing a social network of support. Abraham (1998) states that those employees subjected to conflicting personal and organizational emotional demands may seek 'counsel' from or vent their true feelings to co-workers, thereby somewhat preventing the prevalence of burnout. This type of example is in agreement with Hochschild's (1983) observation of informal meetings among groups of flight attendants who lifted restraints on their behavior

by openly exhibiting anger and annoyance as they exchanged anecdotes about difficult passengers.

Morris and Feldman (1996) state that social support and 'self-monitoring' appear particularly promising in mitigating the stressors associated with emotional labor. The authors here state that social support from work colleagues, family and friends enables individuals to cope better and increase their 'sense' of personal control.

Morris and Feldman (1996) refer to self-monitoring as the extent to which people observe and control the image of themselves they present in their interactions at work. Morris and Feldman state that previous research (Synder 1974, 1987) indicates that high self monitors may be better at controlling their emotional displays, thus being more readily inclined to comply with organizational display rules, and less likely to find the emotional labor part of their job dissatisfying. However, whether self-monitoring is purely a pre-dispositional aspect of some employees or whether it can be learned through experience may be a debatable point.

In supporting the literature on social support, Wharton and Erickson (1993) found that workers who have supportive social

networks may be able to rely on others to aid them when they experience dissonance, thus reducing the overall psychological distress associated with emotional labor.

Ledgerwood's (1998) study of front line hotel employees, found that interpersonal aspects of work including social support from managers, co-workers, and support networks provided a mechanism for dealing with job stressors, as well as a linking function for employees to share and realize that they are not alone in their anger or frustration, for example.

Ledgerwood (1998) also found that formal and informal staff meetings, in which employees could share experiences and provide support, were associated with lower levels of emotional exhaustion.

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) also state that stressful situations that feel threatening to employees can be alleviated if the workers believe that management will be supportive and provide a 'safety net' for them.

Van Maanen and Kunda (1989) describe the use of 'time outs', such as staff meetings, parties and retreats as helping to temporarily suspend the everyday emotion in employees' display,

whilst allowing emotions to be more freely experienced and expressed.

Kruml and Geddes (2000) argue that from the organizational point of view, greater flexibility in setting display rules may help employees cope better with the demands of emotional labor. Kruml and Geddes found that employees who were given greater display latitude, were able to bring some of their 'authentic' selves into the service exchange, experiencing less dissonance and effort in the process.

Kruml and Geddes (2000, p39) argue that this finding is important "if one considers that the key to reducing negative outcomes for both emotional laborers and their companies may be to allow as much true emotion to emerge as possible without jeopardizing customer satisfaction".

Wharton (1999) states that increased job autonomy may help alleviate some of the problems associated with emotional display. This idea lends support to Hochschild's (1983) claim that emotional labor is most problematic for workers when organizations fully control its performance. Expanding on this, Tolich (1993) found that cashiers in supermarkets increased their

autonomy when unsupervised to increase the personalization of the exchange with customers. Contradicting the display rules of expression from the organization through the introduction of their own personalized service enabled the cashiers to have more fun and alleviate some of the stressors of their work role.

Seymour (2000) also found that restaurant servers would often try to personalize their encounters, through deviating from the company rules, in order to try to retain their individual character and defend their 'self'.

Some researchers have found that employees use the strategy of humor to mitigate the effects of having to perform emotional labor. Shuler's (2000) study of emergency call centers, found that the employees would use the strategy of joking and story telling about odd calls or humorous events as a communicative way of alleviating stress.

Ashforth and Humphrey (1995) argue that humor helps people become psychologically detached from aspects of their immediate situations. This detachment can assist employees in feeling protected from potentially threatening situations, and helps in providing a cognitive shift.

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) also state that the use of humor in service environments provides a rich sense of community and social identity. The authors here argue that the use of humor or 'joke telling', "actively fosters a shared memory of a rewarding experience, creates and affirms a sense of 'groupness', and facilitates a richer appreciation of one's peers as whole persons rather than as stereotypical role occupants" (p 108).

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) state that these qualities can therefore enhance cooperation, communication, and the affective commitment that underlies social behavior.

Poole (1988, in Ashforth and Humphrey 1995) found that police officers utilized humor in an attempt to diffuse their fear and disgust so as to enable them to comply with display rules requiring poise in the face of danger and tragedy.

Through the use of humor, it seems, employees' welfare and organizational process can benefit. However, this aspect of the emotional labor perspective is largely ignored in scholarly work, despite managers, employees, authors and researchers stating how important humor is in the workplace.

2.6 Conclusion

Emotion in the workplace has traditionally been viewed as something that should be suppressed due to its 'irrationality' and inappropriateness in the workplace. Historically, scholars have also relegated the study of organizational emotions, seeing little importance in this field.

More recently, organizational managers have come to realize that emotions, or the expression of them, can enhance the 'delivery' of a product or service. Many organizations have implemented what Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) termed 'display rules'. These rules govern the range, intensity, duration and object of emotional experience, or at least display.

Despite emotional labor's growing significance for employee and organizational performance and well-being, and despite the increased scholarly attention given to it recently, some fundamental issues remain unresolved.

Is emotional labor a 'uni' or 'multi'-dimensional construct? How can it be measured accurately? What are the functions and dysfunctions for employees and organizations? What strategies or

coping mechanisms do workers implement when dealing with the demands of emotional labor placed upon them?

As discussed, Hochschild's (1983) seminal work in the area opened the 'floodgates' of interest on the topic. Hochschild's (1983) work helped scholars and practitioners realize the importance and relevance of this phenomena.

Hochschild's (1983) work expanded upon Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical perspective, where the laborer is viewed as an actor performing on stage for an often discriminating audience. In this sense the actor changes his or her emotions to make them appropriate or consistent with a situation, role or expected job function.

Hochschild's (1983) main contention was that some degree of conflict would exist between what the individual really feels and the emotion they are expected to display. Hochschild argues that attempting to conform to those expectations causes certain pernicious psychological strain.

Some scholars have criticized Hochschild for putting forward a view of emotional labor that emphasizes only the negative consequences for the workers (Rafaeli & Sutton 1987; Tolich 1993). This characterization of Hochschild's work is inaccurate, however, as Hochschild (1983) asserts that emotional labor can be positive depending on how it is enacted.

In response to this, some scholars have attempted to re-conceptualize emotional labor. The two most notable efforts were conducted by Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), using social identity theory, and, Morris and Feldman (1996), using a multi dimensional model. However several issues related to validity are called into question with these studies.

Nevertheless, much of the research influenced by Hochschild's (1983) work addresses dysfunctional consequences of emotional labor on those performing it (Ashforth & Humphrey 1993; Morris & Feldman 1996; Rafaeli & Sutton 1997; Van Maanen & Kunda 1989; Seymour 2000, amongst others).

Some scholars, however, argue that emotional labor produces favorable results for both the organization and the workers (Ashforth & Humphrey 1993; Tolich 1993; Rafaeli & Sutton 1987; Shuler 2000).

Some researchers (Hochschild 1983; Wharton 1993; Leidner 1991; Pierce 1995; Taylor & Tyler 2000; Domagalski 1999) have focused on the gendered nature of emotional labor, where different rules, expectations and outcomes are expected from female and male emotional laborers.

Other scholars have chosen to focus on how individual differences influence how people vary in the way they perform and react to emotional labor (Hochschild 1983; Schaubroeck & Jones 2000; Miller 1995; Morris & Feldman 1997; Rafaeli & Sutton 1987; Abraham 1998; Kobasa 1982; Lazarus 1993). These individual differences were found to include age, experience, empathetic ability, role identification, levels of introversion or extroversion, and whether people were 'type A' or 'type B' individuals.

One of the limited areas of study within the field of emotional labor was the focus of other scholars. This is the very important aspect of how employees cope with the demands of having to

perform emotional labor. Much of the work in this area has been theoretical in nature (Ashforth & Humphrey 1993; Morris & Feldman 1996). Some have gone into the field (Seymour 2000; Wharton & Erickson 1993; Ledgerwood 1998; Van Maanen & Kunda 1989) to interview workers in the emotional labor front line in order to gain first hand insight into the strategies used by employees.

In summation, there has been a growing amount of literature on the concept of emotional labor. Much of this literature, however, has been theoretical in nature. There is also a growing, although still limited, amount of research occurring in the field, most of which has been in the airline industry, banks, in nursing, debt collection agencies, and in sales.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH JUSTIFICATION & QUESTIONS

The aim of the research is to explore further the relatively new concept of emotional labor. The research focuses on a specific Australian hotel ('pub') context.

More specifically, the project is an attempt to explore/ answer two questions/ problems:

(1) To what extent does emotional labor, as described in Hochschild's (1983) seminal work, exist in the hotel industry in Australia?

(2) Do employees in the hotel industry develop and adopt different strategies for dealing with the demands of emotional labor placed upon them?

The justification for the research is based upon several theoretical, practical and interest based reasons. This is the focus of the following part of this thesis.

According to the services management literature, there are several reasons why the concept of emotional labor has particular relevance to service encounters.

According to Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), the first reason is that front-line service personnel are situated at the organization-customer interface and, thus, represent the organization to customers. Secondly, these front line service encounters are dominated by face-to-face interactions. Thirdly, given the uncertainty created by customer participation in front line service encounters, such encounters often have a dynamic and emergent quality.

Rafaeli and Sutton (1989) state that the issue of employee well-being within the context of delivering emotional labor is important to examine because, apart from the individual implications to the workers, there are financial impacts for the organization. Rafaeli and Sutton state (p 37) "physically and mentally ill employees may

lead to costly increases in health insurance premiums, turnover and absenteeism".

Ledgerwood (1998) states that more research needs to be done on the effect of emotional labor on employees' health within the hotel industry, especially in relation to the antecedents and consequences of emotional exhaustion and burnout. Ledgerwood also states that by understanding and mitigating stress factors leading to employee burnout, management can reduce the high costs of associated employee turnover, absenteeism, reduced productivity, and poor customer perceptions of service quality.

Boyd and Bain (1999) state that there needs to be an extension of current perspectives on occupational health and safety (OHS) by integrating the study of emotional labor into the debate. Boyd and Bain cite that while there are many accounts of the intensification of physical labor, through for example, higher workloads, the growing demands on emotional labor, particularly in the interactive service sectors, has received little attention.

One important issue here, according to Boyd and Bain (1999), is the increasing demands being made upon employees' emotional labor for dealing with abusive, rude or violent customers. Boyd

and Bain argue that excessive demands on emotional labor in these circumstances may lead to a higher risk of stress, anxiety and emotional exhaustion.

Wharton (1999) states that despite the growing literature on the positive and negative aspects of enacting emotional labor, there needs to be more work done in the area of coping strategies used by employees, as well the conditions under which they may fail.

Domagalski (1999) states that much of the literature on stress depicts it as an individual weakness and inability to cope. Within the workplace, employee counseling programs and stress training often emphasize individually based treatment. Domagalski argues that in individualizing stress in this way, the possibility of recognizing how organizational conditions might be contributing to a collective sense of stress among workers is diminished.

Domagalski (1999) thus calls for more research into the negative effects of organizationally induced procedures and control, and how these may be changed, rather than focusing on the individual, to alleviate the problems in performing emotional labor.

Rafaeli and Pratt (1993) state that the issue of uniforms and how they relate to the 'ultimate' organizational control over employees and their emotions has been greatly ignored in the emotional labor literature. Rafaeli and Pratt premise that adding analyses of dress to studies of organizations can enhance the understanding of organizational behavior.

Wharton and Erickson (1997) state that because the concept of emotional labor is a relatively new one, "it has been plagued by an overabundance of theoretical speculation accompanied by a severe lack of empirical verification" (p 189).

Mann (1999) agrees with this notion, stating that despite the evidence described previously concerning the potential 'pernicious' consequences of emotional labor, as well as its possible benefits, "no study to date has yet attempted to measure the amount or degree to which emotional labor occurs in organizational life" (p 352). Thus, Mann also calls for an empirical expansion on Hochschild's (1983) seminal work in an attempt to verify the theoretical foundations in which the emotion management perspective is based.

Ashforth and Humphrey (1995), Wharton (1993) Wharton and Erickson (1993) and Kruml (2000) state that to conduct an empirical test of the emotional labor construct is a major contribution to the field in itself, considering that the majority of the work done in this area has been theoretical.

Faulkner (1997), in one of very few studies conducted in an Australian setting, states that the manifestations of stress can have a particularly profound effect in a people oriented industry such as the hotel sector. Faulkner found that front line staff surveyed were more prone to stress owing to the nature of their duties, aspects of their background, and organizational control.

Faulkner (1997) also states that the majority of previous research on stress in the hotel sector has focused on managerial staff. Faulkner argues that there needs to be a departure from this, stressing that there needs to be more of specific focus on the incidence of stress among operational staff.

Another Australian researcher, Ross (1995) states that work stress has received scant attention in the context of the hospitality industry, despite the rapid growth in this employment sector.

This brief description highlights some of the main issues. Emotional labor is a relatively new concept that has only been given limited attention in recent years. Even less attention has been given to its study within the Australian organizational context. This lack of address is especially prevalent with regard to hospitality settings such as hotels where, by definition, this service oriented environment (as described by Hochschild 1983) would be the type of location where this particular phenomena would be rife.

Emotional labor it self, has also generally been neglected to be studied as a significant contributing factor to compensation payments made for organizational stress in Australia. Australian studies, such as those by Ross (1995), Faulkner (1997) and Ledgerwood (1998) examine stress as it relates to the hotel sector, however, these studies fail to recognize, or even acknowledge the concept of emotional labor and how it relates to organizational behavior.

This thesis and study attempts to build upon the recent scholarly work in the area of emotional labor, with the added significance of focusing on a specific Australian setting. With the growth of the service sector within Australia, the belief here is that the study will not only add to the body of knowledge on emotional labor

generally, but also increase the understanding of 'work' and its various components and consequences as it is enacted in the hotel industry.

The study is also seen as important because hospitality settings, such as hotels, are a major employer of young Australians. For the first time workers, the exposure of, and demands of emotional labor can have a significant effect upon their psychological development, work values and perceptions of organizational life.

CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Design

4.1.1 The Research Site

The research site for this study is a hotel located in the inner western suburbs of Adelaide, South Australia. This particular hotel has four main operational areas: a gaming room (maintaining 40 gaming machines), drive through liquor department, dining room and front bar.

In brief (will be discussed in greater detail later), the hotel is a relatively successful operation, with high customer numbers and high monetary turnover, particularly in the gambling departments.

The hotel maintains twenty-five staff, some employed on a full time basis and others on a casual basis. There are fourteen males

and eleven females employed, with their ages ranging from eighteen to fifty-four.

The management of the hotel consists of three males and one female, all relatively young, with ages ranging between twenty-one and thirty-three. The owners (licensees) of the hotel, however, are in their sixties.

The relationship of the researcher to the hotel is that of a 'middle manager', in that supervision and direction is given to the employees, and reporting is conducted to the business owners. This role raises some poignant ethical 'dilemmas' in relation to the research, which will be discussed later in this paper.

The hotel (commonly referred to as a 'pub') is one of 451 hotels located in the state of South Australia, where the industry as a whole employs approximately 23,500 people (Lewis 2002).

4.1.2 An Exploratory Case Study Approach

The study of emotional labor, especially within the Australian context, is seen to be in its infancy. This research study is the first of its kind examining emotional labor in a 'pub' context, as opposed to the 'traditional' research arenas of accommodation/ tourist/ resort style hotels within Australian hospitality research.

This is not to say of course that the two 'types' of hotel industries are not intertwined with similar business aims and operational areas. For example, both sets of 'hotels' may maintain dining rooms, bars, gambling areas and liquor sale departments. In this sense, the study at hand here aims to build upon the scholarly work on emotional labor within the hospitality industry as a whole, but is clearly differentiated on some grounds, which may become clearer and more evident as the 'work' of the employees studied here is examined.

Nevertheless, this research study can be seen as a type of 'exploratory' case study, in that part of the goal is to formulate more precise questions on emotional labor that future research can answer.

Neuman (1997) explains that exploratory research may be the catalyst or first stage in a sequence of studies, where the knowledge gained can be used to execute a more extensive study.

The research has some definitive 'questions' that it aims to answer, however the nature of the very topic lends itself to approaching it with an open mind. The focus of the study may change or deviate from what may initially be assumed as important or unimportant as the themes and findings converge in the aim of producing a colorful, rich description of emotional labor and how it relates to the people studied.

A case study approach in the researcher's place of employment was chosen here because of two main reasons. The first is the fact that 'access issues' were not of a major concern. The second, and more important reason is that the familiarity of the research site and subjects provides the opportunity to conduct what Neuman (1997) describes as 'immersion' in the field.

Neuman (1997) explains that a case study researcher faces an overwhelming amount of data through immersion in the field. Neuman argues that this immersion has the advantage of giving the

researcher an intimate familiarity with the subjects' lives and culture, where patterns in these lives, actions and words of the people being studied are considered in context of the complete case as a whole.

In this sense, a case study approach was seen as being beneficial in gaining greater depth and detail on the subject matter through gathering a range of information from various data sources.

Therefore, after concluding that an 'exploratory case study approach' would be used in the research, it was also decided early on in the project development piece that a 'complimentary evidence' strategy would be implemented. The merits and specific detail of such an approach is considered in the next section of the paper.

4.1.3 Triangulation

Fineman (1993, p222) deliberates, "capturing emotion in progress requires some methodological ingenuity". Domagalski (1999) states that it may be necessary to move beyond traditional 'scientific' methods in order to extract the depth and complexity of the data in the field of emotional labor.

Neuman (1997) states that most researchers adopt either qualitative or quantitative research techniques and are often opponents on issues related to this.

Neuman (1997, p335) goes further, stating, "It is a mistake to take this antagonism too far. Instead of observing a strict either-or dichotomy, many social researchers try to combine quantitative and qualitative research".

The notion of obtaining complimentary data and evidence is the basis for the implementation of a type of 'triangulation' strategy in this study. This involves the use of three distinct data sources:

participant observation, combined with interviews and an anonymous survey questionnaire.

The concept of triangulation, combining these different methodological techniques, may impact upon reducing or overcoming perceived weaknesses in specific techniques.

Combining qualitative and quantitative research methods in this study of emotional labor is seen to have several major advantages over using one method solely. These include making the data collection and analysis stages more rigorous and open for scrutiny. Secondly, because different methods of data collection are implemented, triangulation assists in revealing the richness and diversity of the research setting.

This second point is an important one because different methods may reveal different perspectives on emotional labor in the workplace. Neuman (1997) states that to some scholars, these differences are considered as so-called errors or biases, which should be eliminated. Neuman argues, however, that such differences should be treated as a valuable source of information about social life.

Neuman (1997, p326) argues that combining field research and surveys "helps the critical researcher engage in praxis". What survey research and field research can do for each other is summarized well in Table 1 below:

TABLE 1

FIELD RESEARCH FOR SURVEYS	SURVEYS FOR FIELD RESEARCH
Provides familiarity with an issue in helping develop new theories or hypotheses	Provides a way to select sites that are more representative of the population
Verifies survey findings that are unexpected or unusual	Corrects for the tendency to see parts of a setting as congruent
Helps when interpreting statistical results	Demonstrates that a single observation may be generalized from
Helps when developing a scale or index	Verifies field observations and interpretations
Permits the validation of a scale or index that has been developed	Casts new light on observations by seeing if they are consistent with survey responses
Helps illustrate particular types of individuals or situations revealed in survey data	Helps overcome the possible tendency of researchers to use a subset of people in the setting as informants
Clarifies ambiguous but significant responses by revealing the subjective meanings of respondents	Reveals systematic themes the researcher may have overlooked when examining qualitative data
Suggests which of several indicators are most important in the context	Helps researchers control for alternative explanations by measuring additional variables

Source: Neuman (1997, p337)

4.1.4 Research Ethics

The research subjects may be considered as having an unequal power relationship with the researcher. My position at the hotel being researched is as a shift manager. I have an input in decisions surrounding the overall operations of the hotel, which may include, to some extent, giving my opinion on staffing matters. Despite the negative aspects that may be perceived from my relationship with the subjects, the belief is that conducting the research at my workplace had several advantages, including:

- No access issues arising or correspondence required to gain entry
- Knowing that staff feel comfortable in talking to me about various, including sensitive, issues. (from previous discussions)
- Understanding industry specific demands at the hotel
- Understanding the culture and norms of the hotel
- Being able to ask valid and appropriate questions due to my experience in the very tasks other staff are now involved in

- The opportunity to gather rich, colorful dialogue from staff on a complex issue
- The opportunity to better understand and manage staff 'stressors' from data gathered
- Allowing the staff a 'voice' in expressing concerns

Despite the perceived advantages of conducting the research in my workplace, there were some serious ethical questions, procedures and dilemmas to address.

One major issue due to the sensitive nature of the topic is that of confidentiality. A researcher often learns intimate knowledge from the field that is given in confidence. The moral obligation here is to uphold the confidentiality of the data.

The participants in the study were assured of confidentiality in all respects. All identifiable information was separated from the other information gathered early in the piece. All participants were coded with a number and gender type only. For example; F 12. This coding was used in the taking of field notes and in the interviews. The surveys were self-reporting, with gender still

requested, but no number (or other identifying information) attached to the responses.

The interviews were audio taped, however no reference in name or specific description of the interviewee, other staff or customers was allowed to occur.

The surveys had particular instructions attached to assist in their anonymous nature, including the use of blue pens only, and instructions on how to fold the material. The participants returned the surveys in a sealed box, which was also designed to maintain confidentiality through its length, and shape of the return slot, assuring that the surveys fell randomly inside. This box was only opened after the deadline of returns, and only in the company of the research supervisor.

The research participants were also reassured of confidentiality through the issuing and display of information sheets about the nature of the project and their right not to participate. These information sheets are contained in the appendix of this paper.

A question of trust also relates to the researcher's integrity. One particular question that may be asked of this study is: How can the

research be objective or unbiased? This question is a valid one as readers of the paper identify with the fact that I have worked, interacted and observed the subjects (fellow workers) for an extended period of time. My very presence in the field of study may also be seen as affecting what occurs. Neuman (1997) states that a field researcher observes, hears, remembers and records only some of what occurs.

Nevertheless, it can be said that most research involves placing some degree of trust in the researcher. Opportunities for the unethical or dishonest researcher may exist in many research arenas.

However, Smith (1988, p5) argues, "Without firsthand information about the research setting, it is difficult for quantitative researchers to develop adequate conceptual frameworks for their studies". In reference to qualitative research, recognizing the human element does not mean that a researcher automatically interjects personal opinions or selects evidence to support pre-conceived ideas.

Rather, field researchers can take advantage of personal insight and perspectives, as, for example as fellow worker in this case, to understand the social life under study. This is not to say that one is

not aware of personal assumptions or values, but rather makes the facts of the study and relationship as open and transparent as possible to defend the issue of integrity.

Thus, it is seen as critically important in this study that the ethical stance, methodology and procedure in data collection and analysis are fully described. As discussed earlier, the implementation of a type of 'triangulation' strategy using complimentary evidence is also seen as important in maintaining the integrity of the study and researcher.

To strengthen claims made in the findings, various checks and balances were implemented to maintain and increase internal consistency. In this sense, the evidence is treated carefully, strengthening the claims by considering what all the respondents have to say and questioning whether the subjects have first hand knowledge of events or not. Cross-referencing interview data and field notes can also assist in creating internal consistency.

This study also faces an additional ethical dilemma. In asking employees about how they cope with the demands of emotional labor, some illegal activities may be reported, however minor or major as relevant to law or the organization.

Neuman (1997) states that, often the researcher faces a dilemma of building trust and rapport with the subjects, yet not becoming so involved as to violate personal information or behavior. Usually, Neuman states, the researcher can make an explicit arrangement with the subjects to alleviate this problem.

This was achieved in the study by informing the interviewees that particular questions of a personal nature did not have to be answered. This was reinforced several times throughout each interview. It must also be noted here that the interviewees were obtained through volunteering. The particular process of this and other issues related to ethical dilemmas are also discussed in the systematic description of the research process in the following sections of the paper.

However, it must be noted and reiterated that the focus of the study is on the employees and how they enact and cope with emotional labor as organizational, customer and industry factors prescribe it. The main focus is not on the improvement of the delivery of emotional labor, as has often been the case with other studies of late. This is not to say that there are not implications for the organization, including human resource issues, which will be discussed.

This is an important point to state due to my role within the hotel. The investigation centers on whether there is evidence, and to what degree, of emotional labor as it is described by Hochschild (1983). The other part of the study clearly focuses on the effects that performing emotional labor has on the employees, and whether or not they (the employees) develop and adopt different strategies for dealing with the demands of emotional labor placed upon them.

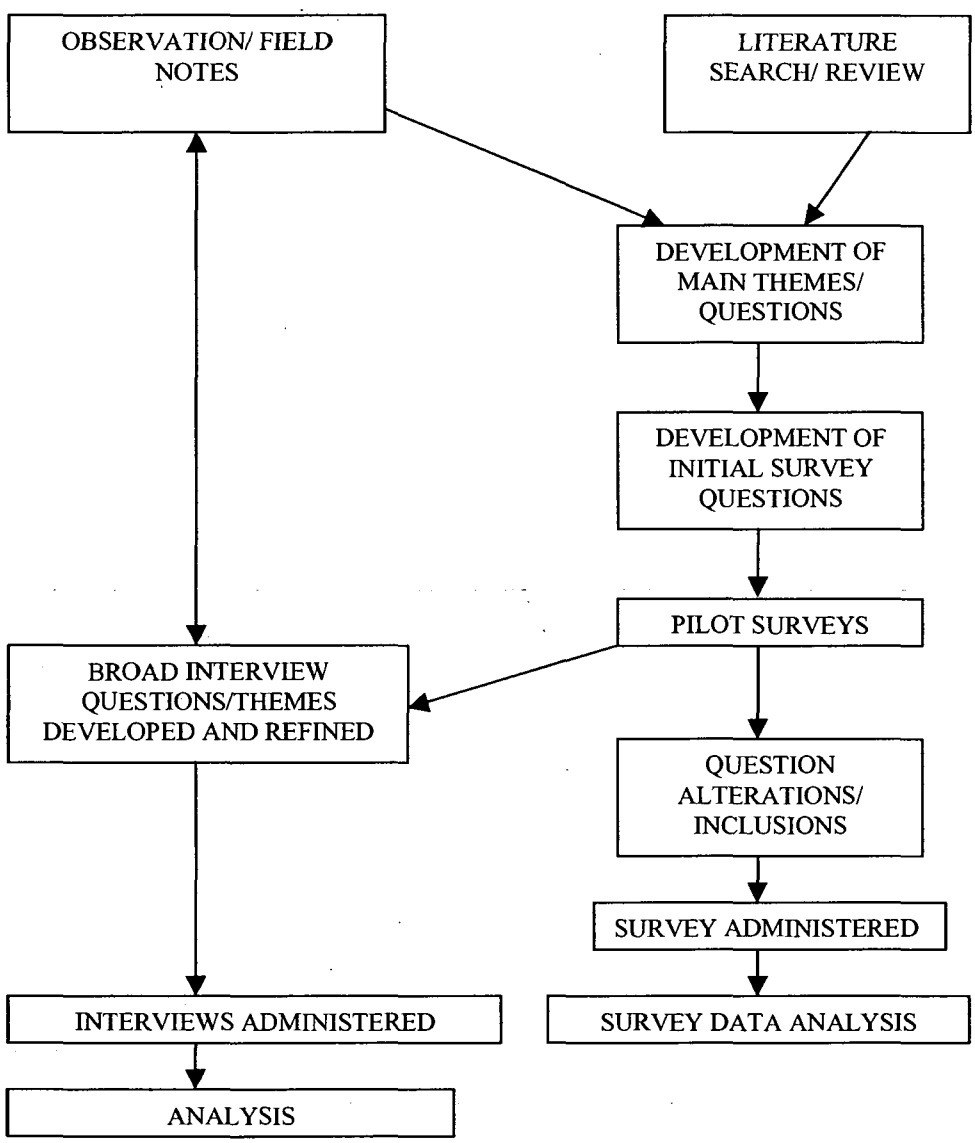
This was made clear to the workers in order to alleviate any misconceived notions of anterior motives for conducting the research.

4.2 Procedure

4.2.1 Model of Inquiry

The model developed here, on a type of time line reading from top to bottom of the page, indicates the various stages of the inquiry process, to be discussed in greater detail in this section.

The model of inquiry;



4.2.2 Gaining Access

One great advantage of conducting the research in my place of employment was the elimination of some serious access issues that other researchers in the field often encounter.

One such issue is the time delay often encountered through the necessary correspondence needed to gain entry from the 'gatekeepers' of an organization, often senior managers. This can be a frustrating and demoralizing period for many researchers who must attempt to convince these 'gatekeepers' that the research proposed is of value and will not reveal any 'secrets' of the business to potential readers of the study. Many gatekeepers may ask: What is in it for us? Or, What will the study achieve?

These questions, although not raised by the 'gatekeepers' in negotiating access, were raised and addressed by me. I alleviated any misconceptions that senior management may have had about privacy by stressing the anonymity and confidentiality of not only the employees, but also of the hotel as a whole.

Also, senior management was offered the opportunity of viewing any preliminary reports and anonymous data early in the piece as a

trade off for free and uninhibited access. Senior management was also informed of the value that understanding staff stressors and coping strategies might bring in terms of improving employer-employee relations and in improving the business.

Discussing the research process and aims comprehensively with senior management also reduced any 'suspicions' of the research intentions.

Senior management acknowledged these points favorably and granted me full access to conduct the research in the form it was designed.

4.2.3 Observation

The observation and consequent writing of field notes was conducted on two levels. Firstly, observations relevant to the study from the past (archival data) were written up from memory. Secondly, participant observation whilst working with other staff members was used to note more specific incidents and the general 'work' environment.

An observation schedule was initially devised to observe and note the workplace, as a pure observer. However, after close examination, it was believed that such a format for the taking of field notes may 'contaminate' the data. The belief was that my presence as an observer and note taker might result in the subjects (employees) altering their normal behavior.

The participant observation was therefore an on-going process over a three month period. Any data or observation of note was recorded on a small writing pad, which was carried at all times. The information was then transferred to a journal at the end of each shift. No tape recording or other types of recording devices were used as this was also seen to possibly contaminate the data. Specific names of employees or customers were also coded to preserve anonymity.

The main aim of the observation was to 'catch' the employees' interactions with customers and their environment in a 'natural work setting'. Careful listening and watching of all the activities in direct view, however seemingly mundane or trivial, was noted to reduce the possibility of overlooking something that may prove significant later.

In particular, the main interest of the observation was in the communication and interaction (both verbal and non-verbal, including body language and visual signals) between staff and customers. More specifically, signs of emotive effort and display, as well as attentiveness to organizational 'display rules' or norms were noted.

Field notes were also taken through carefully scrutinizing the physical setting of the site. The use of 'props' and décor was also noted in order to place the workers' interactions in context.

The observation was the first step in the triangulation process of data collection. However, this observation was also used to assist in the development of the questionnaire and interview questions. Particular incidents noted were planned to be followed up through questioning in the interviews. There were ample notes taken on all staff, in all departments, to allow this possibility of 'follow up' to occur.

Verifying or cross-checking observations through questionnaires and interviews can also achieve reliability in field research through placing the data in an overall context.

4.2.4 Survey Item Development

The first part of the research questions examined in this study was: To what extent does emotional labor, as described in Hochschild's (1983) seminal work, exist in the hotel industry in Australia?

It was decided to use a self-report questionnaire, using a Likert type scale to measure the concept of emotional labor. As Morris and Feldman (1996 p1009) state, the use of a questionnaire to collect data about emotional labor "can offer a number of advantages, including access to more emotional experiences over a longer period of time". In addition, the questionnaire may also be advantageous in revealing especially sensitive information such as emotive dissonance.

In an attempt to comprehensively represent the workplace experiences of emotional labor performers, and therefore increase content validity, anecdotes and descriptions were considered from the general body of literature on emotional labor.

However, and due to the first part of the research question, scale items were drawn from Hochschild's (1983) interviews to ensure

that her 'emotion management perspective' was well represented. This was also advantageous because Hochschild provides one of the richest descriptive studies of emotional labor in the workplace.

Apart from generating survey questions from Hochschild's (1983) study and the general literature, questions were also devised from my own experiences and thoughts on the concept. The reason this was done is two fold. Firstly, questionnaires of any nature on the topic of emotional labor are extremely rare in the literature, lending to the need for what was stated before as 'methodological ingenuity' and innovation.

Secondly, the research here may have the opportunity of substantially adding not only to the general knowledge in the field of emotional labor, but also to the ways in which this psychological construct can be measured. In this sense, the development and implementation of a measurement tool, however momentous a task, may be seen as an innovative pilot study within the general study conducted.

Nevertheless, five key 'dimensions' or areas of emotional labor were identified and developed to work from. These were: emotive

dissonance, emotive effort, display rules/organizational control, acting/dramaturgy, and organizational dress (uniforms).

Testing each of these dimensions within the surveys was considered important for the purpose of this study. Emotive dissonance is a critical area as this is the very notion that Hochschild (1983, p89) described as the conflict between what the individual really feels and the emotion they are expected to display, which may cause certain "pernicious psychological effects".

Emotive effort is also considered a central point within the study, as this is the effort that may lead to the strain of emotive dissonance, and thus negative psychological consequences over time.

Display rules and organizational control is included within the study's measurement tool as this is most often central to the demands placed upon employees to perform emotional labor. Common expectations can exist governing the appropriateness of emotional actions in the workplace and these expectations often give rise to formal or informal rules, or protocol termed 'display rules'. These rules can specify the range, intensity, duration and

object of emotions that are expected to be experienced, or at least displayed.

Acting and dramaturgy was considered important to include as a measurement as this is the social constructionist view of emotional labor, as described by Goffman (1959), which was the basis from which Hochschild (1983) expanded from and developed her emotion management perspective. It was also considered important because the very notion of emotive effort is based upon acting out or displaying emotions.

The measurement of the respondents' notions about how organizational dress or uniforms relate to the overall concept of emotional labor and organizational control was the rationale behind its inclusion. This last dimension was not described or expanded upon by Hochschild (1983) a great deal, but was nevertheless seen as an area of interest to the researcher (myself). The role of uniforms within the study of emotional labor as a whole has also been generally neglected. Nevertheless these 'props' have their place within the notion of dramaturgy (as actors, for example, use their costumes). Thus, the inclusion of questions on uniforms may also be of benefit to any future research on the concept of emotional labor.

Using a Likert type scale, as shown below, 36 questions were developed and included in the questionnaire, with all 5 dimensions represented.

Likert Scale:

O Strongly Agree O Agree O Don't Know/ Not Sure O Disagree O Strongly Disagree

The full survey and its administration are described in section 4.2.6 of this paper.

It must be noted here that the questionnaire was implemented first in the research process so that the respondents were not 'contaminated' in any way by other information such as discussions in the interviews. The very term 'emotional labor' was also avoided within the questionnaire, so that the subjects were not focused on perhaps 'giving' the answers that they perceived the researcher wanted.

4.2.5 Pilot Surveys

After developing an initial questionnaire survey, it was administered to four individuals who worked in other hotels of a similar nature around various suburbs and socio-economic areas of Adelaide.

The purpose of the pilot survey was as an information gathering process, to gauge the subject's responses to various aspects in the design of the questionnaire. The two males and two females that participated in the pilot survey were asked to give verbal feedback on such things as:

- The appropriateness of the language used (common meanings)
- The understanding or confusion surrounding specific questions
- The time needed to complete the survey
- Whether any particular questions were seen as too intrusive in nature

The general feedback from the participants of the pilot survey was positive. The language used in the wording of the questions was

seen as understandable and appropriate. The time taken to complete the survey varied between 15 and 25 minutes. Two respondents believed that some questions were asking for 'sensitive' information, but believed that the anonymous nature of the actual survey administration would have 'convinced' them to complete the questions without apprehension. All the respondents found the questions relevant to their work and 'interesting'.

4.2.6 Survey Administration

After the completion of the pilot surveys, it was decided to administer the survey questionnaire without any alterations.

All 25 employees were handed an identical copy of the questionnaire. Each employee was given a half hour break early in his or her shifts, in order to sit down in a quiet area of the hotel with a drink and complete the questionnaire. Employees were not 'docked' for this time off their work duties. The breaks were given by me, and thus completion or non-completion of the survey by individuals was not known to me as it occurred elsewhere from my location. The secure box for the return of the questionnaire was also in a private, out of sight area.

The process of allowing all staff equal time and opportunity to complete the survey took one week.

On the following pages is a copy of the questionnaire administered.

Please complete all questions by ticking (√) in the applicable circle. Please begin by first stating your sex. The questionnaire then asks you to respond to a series of statements by indicating your agreement or disagreement with each of the statements.

For confidentiality reasons, please use a blue pen only.

Please return the questionnaire by folding it once (with the information on the inside of the fold), and then placing it in the secure box provided.

My sex is ❍ Male ❍ female

1. I can keep a straight face whilst lying
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

2. I am a good persuader with my friends
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

3. I am a good persuader towards customers
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

4. When I serve customers, I behave in a manner that I think is expected of me by management
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

5. When I feel upset or angry with a customer, I put on a 'brave face' and hide my real feelings
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

6. Management has spoken to me about how to behave towards customers
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

7. I think that I am a good actor
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

8. Management has made it clear to me as to what type of uniform and appearance they expect from me
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

9. I show feelings to customers that are different to what I feel inside
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

10. I think management would disapprove if I showed what I really felt towards customers
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

11. I expect to lose shifts/hours if I am not always friendly towards customers
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

12. I use my acting ability a lot at work
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

13. The type of uniform I wear represents my job accurately
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

14. I 'cover up' my true feelings when dealing with customers
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

15. I fake the way I really feel towards customers
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

16. I think that I would be punished if I showed what I really felt towards customers
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

17. I am interested in the customers' personal problems
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

18. I act as though I care about customers so that they approve or like me
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

19. I frequently 'put on an act 'towards customers
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

20. I think that it is an unrealistic expectation that I can always act friendly/ happy
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

21. Management asks for staff opinion before enforcing uniform codes
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

22. My attitude changes when I put my uniform on
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

23. I try to treat customers as well as every other staff member does
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

24. I am concerned that if I don't treat customers as expected, that they will complain to management about me
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

25. The type of uniform I wear makes some customers treat me differently
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

26. I think that being able to act properly is an important aspect of my job
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

27. I think that it is an unrealistic expectation that I can always hide my true feelings towar customers
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

28. My whole shift is one big act
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

29. When I act happy with customers, it makes me feel happy inside
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

30. When customers tell me about their personal problems, I act as though I really care
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

31. I find it easier faking the way I feel towards customers early in my shift, rather than towards the end
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

32. The type of customers I work with are generally the type of people I associate with outside of the workplace
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

33. The feelings I show the customers are the same as those I feel inside
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

34. I think that it is easy always being friendly towards customers
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

35. When listening to customers' problems, I try to seem more sympathetic by 'imagining myself' in their position or difficulty' and thereby trying to feel what they may be feeling
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

36. I immediately start acting when I walk into my place of work and stop when I leave
❍Strongly Agree ❍Agree ❍Don't Know/Not Sure ❍Disagree ❍Strongly Disagree

The five groups or 'dimensions' of questions were purposely mixed within the questionnaire so that the respondents were less able to identify the main themes of the questions.

The breakdown of the questions relating to the dimensions studied were as follows:

- Group 1, Emotive Dissonance, questions 5, 9, 14, 15, 31.
- Group 2, Emotive Effort, questions 4, 10, 16, 17, 18, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35
- Group 3, Display Rules/ Organizational Control, questions 6, 11, 20, 23, 24, 27
- Group 4, Acting/ Dramaturgy, questions 1, 2, 3, 7, 12, 19, 26, 28, 36
- Group 5, Uniforms/ Appearance, questions 8, 13, 21, 22, 25

On closer examination, question 32 was deemed as not relating directly to any of the 5 groups identified, but rather to 'culture'. Due to this, the responses to this question were not statistically analyzed, due to the fact that one question was not sufficient to allow adequate analysis.

Analysis, results and discussion of the survey questionnaire is contained in Chapter 5 of this paper.

4.2.7 Interviews

The aim of conducting interviews with the employees at the hotel was to gain a rich and colorful description of their enactment and coping mechanisms in relation to emotional labor. The specific aims and themes for the interview process will be discussed in more detail later in this section.

The interview process began with the need to attain adequate numbers of interviewees from each department of the hotel. The aim was to interview eight employees, two from each of the four sections.

An information sheet was posted on the staff notice board stating the aim of the interviews and explaining the process, whilst also re-confirming confidentiality and anonymity.

Two weeks after this notice was posted, another notice was placed asking whom (of the workers) wanted to fully exclude themselves from the interview process. Six employees contacted me personally to exclude themselves from a ballot system to draw the names of the interviewees.

The other nineteen employees' names were then grouped in relation to their work duties and departments worked in. One name was then drawn at random each time until there were two representatives from each department. The first two names drawn from each section were then given two more weeks to assess if they wanted to continue as interview participants.

There was another exclusion at this stage, bringing the total number of exclusions to seven. This was somewhat representative of the sensitive nature of the topic. The seventh interviewee was then replaced with one more name being drawn. The pleasing aspect here was that despite the exclusions, there were still eight employees, two from each department to work with. The final numbers included five females and three males.

The interviews were conducted in a private, informal and quiet section of the hotel to foster more intimate reflections. All the interviews were audio taped, with permission, and ranged in length between 20 and 40 minutes. Tape recording was seen as important as it gave a full account of the interviews than notes alone. Using a tape recorder also enabled me to concentrate more on the actual interview than on writing notes.

As an extra point of interest, and as relevant to personal characteristics related to emotional labor, as described by Morris and Feldman (1996), all staff interviewed were characterized as extraverts or introverts prior to the interviews, from my understanding and experience working with them (in some cases, over ten years). The inclusion of an introvert/ extrovert label was also seen as providing some interest in comparing the various ways different employees enacted and coped with emotional labor in the workplace.

Strategies used in the interview process to increase their value and protect the integrity of the research included the use of open ended and semi-structured questioning, appropriate 'probing' where necessary, and funneling.

Semi and unstructured interviews were conducted because the interest lay in exploring the employees' experiences, thoughts and feelings from their own perspective. This strategy was particularly useful because one of the research concerns related to the meanings that the employees attached to their work experiences.

Trust is seen as an important and difficult issue in interviewing. Failure to develop trust may result in interviewees simply resorting to telling the researcher what they think the researcher wants to know. The advantage in conducting the interviews at the research site in this study is that I have well-developed and trusting relationships with the majority of the employees. The other advantage here was my detailed knowledge of the workplace, which assists in asking appropriate questions.

The use of appropriate language in the interviews was also seen as important. Using theoretical concepts, whereby the interviewees may become 'unnerved', was avoided. The interviewees were also encouraged to use rich, colorful language of their chose in describing their work at the hotel. This colorful language sometimes also included 'swearing', but rather than this being discouraged, it was seen as a genuine emotional response to an issue of great or question that the respondents felt 'passionate' about.

Another major issue in interviewing is bias. Esterby-Smith, Thorp and Lowe (1991, p79) state, "As views and questioning approaches may differ from one interview to the next, there is no one 'objective' view to be discovered which the process of

interviewing may bias. However, there is a very real concern about interviewers imposing their own reference frame on the interviewees, both when the questions are asked and as the answers are interpreted"

This presents somewhat of a dilemma in interviewing. Open-ended questions may avoid bias, but they are not always the best way to obtain the desired information. As in the case of this research, there were some occasions when more needed to be known about specific responses to questions, and in these cases 'probes' were used to improve the interviewee's response.

To avoid any perceived bias, the probes used avoided any 'leading' statements. An example of a leading probe might be: 'so you would say that you were very pleased?' Rather, the interviews conducted contained statements from myself such as: 'Can you explain this a little more?' and 'what do you mean?' for example.

Nevertheless, there were many alternative ways in which probes were used to enhance the value of the interviews. These included:

- Simply repeating the initial question when interviewees seemed to 'wander off' the point

- Explanatory probes, used when the interviewees responses were vague, by asking such follow up questions as 'What did you mean by that?'
- 'Silent' probes were used often within the interviews. These were used when the interviewees were either reluctant or extremely slow to answer questions. In these cases I paused and let the respondents break the silence.
- The technique of 'drawing out' was used often when the interviewees came to a premature conclusion to a question. In these cases, I repeated the last few words of their response and followed by asking them to 'tell me more.'

In some cases where more specific responses to questions were sought, the strategy of 'funneling' was also implemented. Funneling often began with a broader, open –ended and less threatening approach, before moving to more focused and sensitive questions.

Of course funneling was also used in reverse. Often, for example, some questions were perceived as very sensitive to answer at the outset by the interviewees, yielding little information. In these cases, the line of questioning changed to a broader approach until it was felt that the respondents were ready to 'divulge' more specific

information. In this sense, funneling was used in a type of 'back and forth' way, moving between broad and narrow questioning.

The semi-structured approach used in the interviews here revolved around an 'interview guide' developed around some key issues central to the research questions. The interview guide consisted of a list of topics without fixed wording or fixed ordering of questions, which also facilitated an in-depth examination of the key issues. Often 'new discoveries' were made about the topic, and in this case the interviews often reverted to an open discussion to allow the interviewees ample opportunity to provide further explanations and attach meanings to their statements and thoughts.

Many of the interviewees were also asked to respond to field notes made about their 'work' or emotional display. Often, specific incidents with customers, noted in the observation stage of the project, were expanded upon by asking the employees to explain what they thought happened and how they felt about it.

Nevertheless, some of the central themes or questions asked of the interviewees related to:

- Emotive dissonance
- Frequency of emotional display

- Emotive effort
- Organizational control, display rules and display latitude
- Surface acting in their work
- Deep acting in their work
- Uniforms and their relationship to emotional labor
- Coping mechanisms and strategies in dealing with demands of emotional labor
- Service 'speed up'
- Front-stage/ back-stage as related to dramaturgy
- 'Comic relief' and humor in the workplace
- 'Wind-down' activities and relaxation
- Acting ability
- 'Difficult customers'
- Physical or verbal confrontations with customers
- Sexualization of work role

CHAPTER 5 SURVEY DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

5.1 Response Rate

There was a 100% response rate to the anonymous survey questionnaire. This resulted in a total return of 25 surveys, which included 14 males and 11 females.

The break down of the respondents' department and gender was:

Bottle shop = 8 respondents (0 females, 8 males)

Dining room= 6 respondents (4 females, 2 males)

Front bar= 3 respondents (2 females, 1 male)

Gaming room= 8 respondents (5 females, 3 males)

5.2 Coding of Data

Before analysis of the data could take place, the responses to the questionnaire needed to be put in a different form. Here data coding meant systematically reorganizing raw data into a format that is machine readable (i.e., easy to analyze using computers).

The first step in this process was to create a coding procedure. Responses to each question in the survey were translated into a number code format. The format was:

Strongly Agree = 1

Agree = 2

Don't Know/ Not Sure = 3

Disagree = 4

Strongly Disagree = 5

These numbers therefore related directly to the respondents strength in agreement or disagreement to each of the statements contained in the questionnaire.

However, one proviso was important here. The strength of a respondent's positive response to a question relating to a 'dimension' of emotional labor tested meant that in some cases reverse coding was required. This is because 5 of the 25 questions required a disagreement with the statement to confirm a positive response to the emotional labor dimension. For example, and put in different words, this meant that all of the questions for the purpose of the analysis used were required to 'point' in the one direction.

An example of a question that pointed in the right direction was question 9, related to the 'dimension' of emotive dissonance:

'I show feelings to customers that are different to what I feel inside'

O Strongly Agree O Agree ODon't Know O Disagree O Strongly Disagree

Coding: 1 2 3 4 5

An example of one of the questions that initially pointed in the wrong direction for the purpose of analysis was question 17, related again to emotive dissonance:

'I am interested in the customers' personal problems'

O Strongly Agree O Agree O Don't Know O Disagree O Strongly Disagree

Reverse Coding: 5 4 3 2 1

This reversal of coding was required for questions 17, 21, 29, 33, and 34.

The next step in the coding procedure involved entering the data into a grid format. An Excel spreadsheet was used to enter the data consisting of 25 respondents (in rows) x 36 coded question responses (in columns), resulting in 900 entries. Gender and respondent number were also entered in extra columns. The number attached to the returned questionnaires was given as the surveys were removed at random from the secure return box. For example, the first questionnaire removed was labeled as respondent number 1, and so on.

Re-checking the accuracy of the codes entered was extremely important. Errors made when entering data into a computer threaten the validity of measures and cause misleading results. Checking the data entered a number of times was a mundane task, but was seen as crucial, as errors in the data and coding process would have ruined the whole research project.

5.3 Rasch Models and the Analysis of Questionnaire Data

** NOTE: Appendix D of this thesis contains a detailed account of the Rasch model as it is applied to the questionnaire administered for this research, presenting the algebraic formulations used in full.*

Bond and Fox (2001, p7) argue that "in the human sciences, we currently have only one readily accessible tool to help us construct objective, additive scales: the Rasch model. This model can help transform raw data from the human sciences into abstract, equal-interval scales".

Georg Rasch (1961) proposed a relatively simple logistic model as the basis for constructing objective measures in psychology. Bond and Fox (2001) state that when analyzing data using a Rasch model, an estimate is created of what our construct might be like if we were to create a ruler to measure it. "The Rasch model provides us with useful approximations of measures that help us understand the processes underlying the reason why people and items behave in a particular way" (p 8).

The Rasch model is based on the idea that useful measurement involves examination of only one question or attribute at a time (uni-

dimensionality) on a hierarchical 'more than/ less than' line of inquiry (Bond & Fox 2001).

An extension of the Rasch principles allows for an application to such data collection tools as the Likert scales used in this thesis.

Each Likert scale used in this study is provided with a 'stem' (or a statement of attitude) and a five point position scale, in which the respondents are required to mark a response on the disagree-agree continuum, indicating the extent to which the statement is endorsed.

Basically, the Rasch model explicitly recognizes the strongly agree, agree, neutral/ don't know, disagree, strongly disagree and the subsequent coding 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 as ordered categories only, in which the value of each category is higher than that of the previous category, but by an unspecified amount.

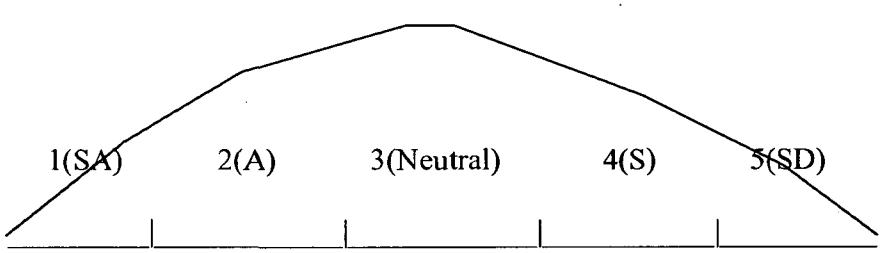
That is, the data are regarded as ordinal, (not interval or ratio) data, and we use the Rasch model to transform the counts of the 'endorsements' of these ordered Likert categories into interval scales based on the actual empirical evidence (Bond & Fox 2001).

Wampold (1998) argues that the Rasch model has several other advantages. Wampold (1998) uses the example where in classical models,

'outliers' are identified by extreme scores, but we take scores in the middle ranges to be acceptable, as long as the instrument has generally been shown to be reliable. However, Rasch modeling would identify a research participant who had responded randomly, or unexpectedly to the instrument, or 'idiosyncratically' to a few items.

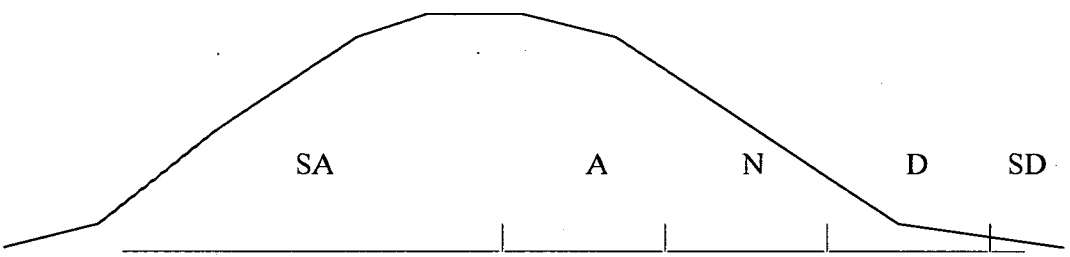
In relation to the application of the Rasch model to this research, the analysis enables the examination of one emotional labor 'dimension' at a time, as for example emotive dissonance, by clearly isolating it.

For example, the logistic scale, before analysis would look like this:



Here, there is equal distribution of tendencies to respond to the five options averaged among all the respondents (25). Shown as a type of 'bell curve'.

After applying the Rasch model to 'dimension' 1, for example, averaged over all respondents, to all questions in the group (dimension) tested for, the thresholds (vertical lines) would have a tendency to move → or ←. The logistic distribution, after analysis, may then look like this:



The question here is, after averaging over all questions in the dimension group, and all subjects, where is the final position of the grid? More specifically, has the middle category (N) moved → or ←? As we can see in this example, the middle category has moved to the right meaning that the majority of the respondents have a tendency to strongly agree or agree to the notion of emotive dissonance being present.

In basic terms, the further the 'N' (or middle category) moves to the right, the greater the Z-score. A normal distribution for Z-scores is –3 to 3. The greater the Z-score, the greater the evidence of the respondents answering positively to the group of questions related to the 'dimension' tested for.

The 'P' level (sometimes referred to as an Alpha level in some studies) has been set at 5%. The P level refers to the probability of a result coming about by chance, and is an important concept as a 'chance' finding results in a useless score. For example, as relevant to this thesis, a Z-score of 2.5 or more indicates that the probability of the results coming about by chance is 0.006%.

Results for Emotional Labor questions:

The results for five banks of questions, each aimed at a different aspect of Emotional Labor, are summarised below. Note that n = # (questions) in each question-bank.

Case	n	$\frac{1}{2}(\hat{\gamma}_2+\hat{\gamma}_3)$	$\bar{\alpha}$	$\bar{\beta}$	$\hat{\theta}$	$se(\hat{\theta})$	z
1	5	1.0373	1.666	–0.793	1.91	0.072	7.10
2	10	0.8927	0.512	–0.466	0.938	0.157	5.98
3	9	–2.2298	2.224	0.879	0.873	0.172	5.07
4	6	0.4546	0.369	0.0241	0.848	0.188	4.50
5	5	0.2845	0.496	0.301	0.479	0.192	2.50

5.4 Discussion

The application of the Rasch model of analysis provided z-scores specifically reflecting the varying degree of a positive response to different 'dimensions' of emotional labor tested for.

The results across all five areas surveyed are significant.
In particular, the testing for emotive dissonance, the item most critical to the identification of emotional labor as described by Hochschild (1983), scored 7.10. This can be interpreted as extremely strong evidence that the survey respondents believed that they experienced emotive dissonance in the workplace.

The z-score for emotive effort was 5.98. this is also extremely significant as it is this effort (as described by Hochschild) that leads to emotive dissonance, and subsequent psychological consequences.

The z-scores for display rules, 5.07; dramaturgy, 4.5; and uniforms, 2.5, are also significant. The most interesting point here is that the z-scores tend to confirm what Hochschild (1983) felt was most critical to the conceptualization of emotional labor. i.e.

emotive dissonance was most critical, followed by effort, organizational control and dramaturgy. Uniforms were treated by Hochschild as relating to dramaturgy, whereas for the purpose of this study, it was tested as a distinct item.

In this sense, another interesting outcome of the analysis is that the data enables an examination of one 'dimension' as a measure (by clearly isolating it), and then examining how that measure relates to measures other dimensions.

In relation to the logistic scale, the logistic distribution would fall heavily into the response 1 and 2 (strongly agree and agree) categories. In explaining this further, it can be shown that after averaging all questions and subjects in the groups (dimensions measured), the middle category on the distribution scale has moved to the right, thus producing the heavily distributed responses in the left thresholds (SA & A).

All the figures, across all the dimensions, suggest a tendency (in most cases, extremely strong evidence) of a positive response to the questions.

Of course, as with any new survey measure, the reliability, and interpretation of this data is dependent upon the skill (or lack of) in the formulation of the scale items, and thus questions in the survey. Or in other words, do the items fit the scale well enough to construct useful meanings

In justifying the reliability of survey here, the z-scores indicate that the probability, under a null hypothesis (Ho), of such positive responses coming about by chance is extremely low (or in other words, may occur occasionally, but would be highly unexpected).

In explaining this a little further, the notion of a null hypothesis would state that the concept of emotional labor does not exist. Therefore, one interpreting the data can chose between two possibilities; (1) that the results came about by chance or is a 'fluke', or, (2) that emotional labor really does exist.

However, the argument in favor of emotional labor actually existing is somewhat overwhelming. This can be illustrated by, for example, examining the lowest z-score in the study of 2.5. In this case, the mathematical probability of the results coming about by chance is 0.006%.

Thus, it can be stated that the probability of the results coming about by 'chance' is too small to believe. Therefore it can be stated that emotional labor, and all the dimensions tested for in the questionnaire, really does exist within the workplace of the hotel.

Apart from confirming Hochschild's (1983) notion of emotional labor as it relates to the work of hotel employees, the analysis and data here is useful because it may, for example, show that if dimension 1 is particularly highly correlated to a positive response, then this may suggest that constructing measures based on a test of items (questions) from group/ dimension 1 may be useful in any future quantitative research on emotional labor. This same theory may also apply to other dimensions surveyed.

CHAPTER 6 QUALITATIVE DATA

Note: reference is made throughout this chapter about various groups of people or individuals. All names remain confidential. However, for the purpose of this discussion, it is important to note that;

- Employees, staff and workers referred to have no management role. They are the front line people who work for the company in various departments and capacities
- 'Senior management' refers to either owners, directors or general managers of the company
- 'Management' refers to those employed as middle managers, of whom I am one. However,
- None of the quotes are those pertaining to me

The eight interviews conducted at the research site yielded approximately 24,000 words of rich, descriptive and sometimes colorful analysis of the workers' own enactment, attitude and skills as related to emotion work.

This, in combination with observation and field notes painted a 'picture' of emotional labor in the workplace. The description and the interpretation of this is the focus of the following sections of this paper.

6.1 Behind the Demand

The purpose of the hotel, as any such business entity is to make a profit, and to grow these profits year on year if possible. The hotel studied competes with many others in the area who offer virtually identical 'sets' of attractions or services; bottle shops, dining rooms, front bars and gaming rooms.

This is an important point, and relates strongly to Hochschild's (1983) description of the airline industry. In fact, legislation introduced in the state of South Australia in 1995 formalized part of the equal playing field as it particularly related to gaming machines, capping the maximum amount of machines per venue at 40.

The focus on the introduction of gaming machines within the hotel industry is seen as important because it forever changed the landscape. Hotels became like 'mini casinos' overnight. The

debate over the positive or negative outcomes as a result of the introduction of gaming venues within privately owned hotels is a much-debated topic within society generally.

Nevertheless, the introduction of gaming machines is an important event because it not only 'rocketed' hotel profits higher, but it also changed the focus in attracting customers. The sometimes 'sleazy', male domain of the 'local pub' was transformed, mainly through increased cash flow, in an attempt to attract more females and general public into gaming venues.

Gaming rooms were now the main focus of many hotel owners. Expensive upgrades and makeovers were implemented in order to change the image of hotels to achieve this. Dining rooms and bars became ways of attracting customers to the hotel, from which they could succumb to their gambling nature and have a 'flutter'.

This is not to say of course that bottle shops, dining rooms and bars were not important in their own right as profit generating areas. However, many hotels focused on the need to attract the general public by offering extremely cheap meal and drink prices. At the hotel studied, profits from gaming machines were seen as so lucrative that senior management would devise 'special' meal

prices, often sold at a loss, in order to make it possible that more people could play the gaming machines.

The theory here was a simple one: get more people to the hotel to begin with, and then more machines could be filled with players more of the time. Ideally, senior management aimed at having 30-40 machines being played at any one time throughout the trading day. High monetary turnover became the ideal. By the very nature in which the gaming machines were programmed, higher turnover guaranteed higher profits.

Many hotels implemented this practice. In confirming Hochschild's (1983) notion, when prices reached a low, they stopped competing on price, and started competing more on 'service'.

Service has always been seen as somewhat important within hotels, but now it became paramount. And the more important service became to the hotels, the more workers were asked to do in public relations.

The front line employees of the hotel studied became the most important element in the service context. The hotel often advertises

itself as a 'friendly' or 'friendly family' hotel. One particular hotel group within Adelaide goes so far as to state on radio ads that: 'we have the friendliest staff', and ' when you walk in you are always treated like an old mate'. These types of statements often appear in obscure places- such as on cigarette lighters in the case of the hotel studied, with the writing inscribed: 'your friendly local'.

Often, advertising promises of one hotel tend to redefine work in other hotels as well. The innuendo of being treated as a 'friend' or 'old mate' would inflate the image of the hotel worker to such an extent that it is often made difficult to achieve customer expectations.

However, the introduction of gaming machines is only part of the story. Due to the profit oriented environment of the hotel, all staff are expected to fulfill the service expectations of customers and management, and often within minimal staffing levels. In other words, employees are expected to behave in a 'friendly' and personal manner whilst at the same time serving more people in the same time. This relates to Hochschild's (1983) notion of 'speed up', and is also focused upon further in later parts of this chapter.

Props and décor used in the hotel examined also contribute in an attempt to make customers literally 'feel at home'. Lounge suites are positioned to further enhance the 'guest in a lounge room' scenario. Since the introduction of the gaming machines, landscaping and fresh flowers have also become a necessity.

Legitimating and enhancing the image and role of employees in the hotel industry is also apparent of late. Most employees and management of hotels, reinforcing status to the public, now wear Photo ID cards. In this way we see that a bar attendant's status is lifted somewhat by wearing a 'liquor manager' or 'responsible person' badge. These types of identification badges are also a requirement under liquor licensing legislation.

6.2 Organizational Control

Organizational control at the hotel begins with the selection process. Most applicants score points for attractiveness, ability and attractiveness of their smile, and social skills. Experience, unlike other occupations, is not the foremost prerequisite here. The most important factor to senior management of the hotel is the raw

material of potential employees. Training in specific work skills and tasks is considered secondary.

There is a difference in recruitment criteria between males and females at the hotel. Males are often employed on the basis of experience, and mainly in the areas of management and bottle shop work. Males are also considered on their ability to convey fear to some extent, through their physical attributes, to customers who may become physically threatening to other staff members or customers.

Within management, males are also considered on their ability to convey authority to staff members. Although males are also considered on the basis of their social skills, not all of their work revolves around the display of positive emotions.
The selection of female employees differs greatly to that of males. These recruits are screened for a certain type of outgoing sociability, but may differ between departments. Female employees selected for work in the dining or gaming rooms often have a type of middle-class sociability.

Female staff selected to work in the front bar are often selected on their middle to lower class sociability. This may be a

misconception on the part of senior management, but the theory here is to match the sociability of the customers in different departments with the staff working within those departments. One senior manager is quoted as stating, "If the staff member begins at a lower point, it is easier for them to 'dumb down' to the level of the front bar crowd". The use of the term 'crowd' here is an interesting one, as people who frequent other parts of the hotel are called customers.

Nevertheless, this claim by senior management is somewhat substantiated by 'customers' which frequent the front bar who ridicule and jibe staff members from other departments who may relieve workers in the front bar for toilet breaks and the like.

The sexualized role of female emotion work also begins in the selection process. Female applicants are screened for their ability to convey a certain type of sexualized image, as well as their body shape, hair style, straightness of teeth, suggestive smile and general presentation. They are also screened at the interview stage for their dress, to perhaps estimate the chance of them fitting in with the requirements of organizational 'uniforms'.

This sexualized role also calls for a certain amount of flirting with male customers, from which certain problems arise, as which will be discussed later. One key point here is that despite the encouragement of 'flirting', there is no specific direction given by senior management on walking this fine line of acting. Male customers sometimes take the flirtation as a serious cue to act upon.

In choosing employees who could portray a sexual image, it seems that senior management uses the role-play of interviews to assist in selecting employees who could act well.

After selection, it is the process of threats, training and indoctrination that take center stage in ensuring appropriate emotional display.

New employees are told that they must successfully complete a three month probationary period without substantial incidents arising, to consider themselves as surviving members of the staff group. These types of claims establish employees' vulnerability to being fired and their dependence on the company.

Most staff are reminded by senior management, at meetings or individually, that they "were easily replaceable by thousands out there". One manager is quoted as stating to an employee, "you really need to put in more effort.... there are heaps of other girls wanting a job like yours....you get paid well and you need to pull your weight more".

Apart from rules governing appearance and dress, display rules exist at the hotel about emotional display. Staff in all departments are constantly warned about the consequences of not abiding by these rules. These Consequences include the reduction of hours and official verbal or written warnings.

These display rules are pretty much unwritten, but are made clear to staff via meetings or personal communication with senior and middle management.

In many ways employees are expected to not only display, but to also feel, organizationally desired emotions. There is no specific training of this 'deep acting' as it was observed by Hochschild (1983) in the airline industry. Nevertheless, employees are expected to feel happy and positive in the workplace, both in general, but more crucially, towards customers.

It is not an unusual occurrence for staff who are in a 'bad mood' as defined by the company, or who have personal problems, to be sent home from their shift early and replaced. Management's theory here is that bad moods or personal problems are often picked up upon by customers, who in turn do not feel as happy or welcome in the hotel.

A female employee says, "I think it is expected by management to be mainly a happy type of person behind the bar".

Realistically, expecting employees to be happy and bubbly all of the time is a 'pipe dream'. It is not only unrealistic, but also unachievable.

The same employee states: "They (customers) can be demanding, they expect you to be serving them all of the time, and to be nice to them all the time and joke around with them. I can remember one particular occasion when I came into work and I was thinking about some other stuff that had happened, and they picked up upon the fact that I wasn't as cheery as I usually am, and they were hassling me and saying you can't bring your problems to work, but sometimes it just happens".

In reality most of the emotion work employees do at the hotel is surface acting. However, display rules governing this is evident through the semi-script most employees have to follow. This script involves the obligatory greeting and smiling at customers, followed by a request to serve them, such as "how may I help you?", and at the end of the transaction an obligatory "thank you" and smile is also expected. Staff are also expected to maintain conversations and show interest in what the customers are saying. Again, no specific training or guidelines apply on how to do this.

Surveillance of employees' adherence to organizationally desired emotional display is maintained through two channels. The first is through direct observation from middle management who must report unacceptable standards to senior management. The second form of surveillance occurs through feedback from customers.

However, the reliance on customer feedback is sometimes fraught with danger as personal vendettas and dislikes can be turned into complaints about particular employees. There is no doubt that employees at the hotel are all very aware of the power that customers posses in the feedback they provide.

6.3 Entering into Performance

Employees often talk about psyching themselves up before work and changing their demeanor and emotional display when they walk into work. This is all related to the notion of dramaturgy, first coined by Goffman (1959) and used to build upon by Hochschild (1983) in her development of the 'emotion management perspective'.

A female front bar employee says: "I get in the right frame to come to work.... it is almost like a ready to listen frame of mind. I psyche myself up to listen to other people. People behind the bar will always tell you their f___ng life problems."

Other employees spoke about listening to music to help them relax before their shift. Questions about actually entering the workplace yielded some interesting thoughts. Many employees spoke about attempting to change their personality or mood. Acting was a key theme throughout.

A female states: "I put on my work personality...you know, the be nice to people constantly personality. I think I just go into a bit of a robot mood".

Another female employee in the gaming room says: "I put a smile on my face and forget all that is at home and leave that at the door. I put on an act".

One female employee talked about role play a bit further, stating: "I walk in and as soon as I open the door and walk through the door, ok I am here to work, I am now a bar maid, that is who I am".

Some employees stated that they did not have to change their mood or personality when entering the workplace. This was particularly evident in the bottle shop, where one employee stated: "I look forward to serving people...they are making money for the hotel, they are paying your wage, I am always happy to come to work".

Another bottle shop employee states: "I really enjoy my work, however, there are the odd occasions when I just don't have the energy or excitement to deal with customers".

The front door/ back door analogy of dramaturgy is very evident within the hotel. Employees talked about walking in and out of front and back 'stage' areas throughout a shift. The kitchen is often a backstage area where a great deal of frustration is let off and gossiping about customers takes place.

Staff meal breaks are almost exclusively taken in backstage areas. Employees spoke about the need to "get away from customers" during breaks as they would still approach them if they did not.

6.4 The Enactment of Emotional Labor

Staff at the hotel varied in their descriptions of the frequency of acting out of emotional display. This varied in percentile terms to between 10 and 100 percent of the time.

Many employees spoke about the need to put extra effort into smiling or being friendly with 'difficult' customers. Some spoke about it being natural and getting easier through experience.

One female stated: "At first, when I first started working here it was a bit hard, but now I just take it with a bar of soap and just do it, I don't even think about it. Sometimes when a customer talks a lot or whatever, I tend to just say yeah, yeah, yeah, and I know that I am just doing that". Another female says: "I am kind of nice naturally, but I do need to force it at times".

A gaming employee states the difficulty in maintaining a positive display towards gamblers: "I find that the pokie gamblers and TAB gamblers are very rude, want service straight away and demand service basically. They can't stand losing money, they sort of blame us, and it is not our fault".

Many employees spoke about the difficulty of dealing with rude customers all night. They were sought of "stuck with them". This difficulty is somewhat mitigated in the bottle department where the customers are there for much shorter periods of time.

A bottle shop employee states: 'I'm in a fortunate position that customers don't hang around for too long. Sometimes you have one bail you up for five minutes tops. And then you know that they are just going to break your balls for five minutes then they're gone. Keeping that in mind you know you just say how ya going,

and just put on a front, and you know that they are going to go soon".

The same employee states that being friendly takes a great deal of effort at times: "you get a lot of wackers that don't even acknowledge you, you say hello how are you, and they just say, yeah, two cans mate".

A theme that became evident through the interviews was that the effort involved in displaying positive emotions to customers staff approved of was easy, but difficult to sustain over time, whereas, with 'difficult' customers it was a real strain. And it seemed that there were difficult customers in all departments a great deal of the time.

6.5 Gendered Labor

In comparing the research on the hotel industry with Hochschild's (1983) study, it became evident that some gendered expectations still hold true.

Men and women in the hotel, apart from in the bottle shop, do similar jobs, however it was found women do emotional labor differently and that more is expected from them.

As was discussed earlier these expectations are formed at the recruitment stage and involve showing more emotions towards customers, and in particular, towards males.

Male employees at the hotel can get away with just being pleasant and polite, whereas females are expected to flirt, hold more conversations and be 'warmer' towards guests.

Most of the females interviewed complained about the way male customers sometimes treated them as sex objects. They were often expected to inflate the egos of male customers in order for them to feel happier.

One particular employee who had her buttocks touched said: "I was shocked. I know that when guys start drinking they can become a bit sleazy, and hit on you and you can take that because of the bar between you. But because this person is an old man, it makes it even worse, like for him to grab me the way he grabbed me, I was offended. Just because he is a customer, it doesn't mean

that he can do it, but it made me feel like I had to put up with it because he is a big spending customer...and that made me feel trashy".

Another employee states: "most of them are males here. It doesn't bother me that much...it is only when they say rude things and that makes you think if they talk to bank tellers or check out people in the same way they talk to us".

Sexual innuendo and 'touching' was reported by all five females interviewed. One female, working on Melbourne cup day had a mini whip in her pants, which was grabbed at by a male customer who tried to put it back inside her trousers. She states: "I wasn't actually very rude to him, I should have been meaner. He had his girlfriend with him, he was a sleaze. Then you have others who just grab your arse".

Another employee talked about the fact that it did not take touching to degrade her. This was also done by the way males spoke and looked at her, saying, "they are going to look whatever you do. I sort of get over it, it is still gross, but that is still part of the job.

It seems that not only is there more expected from female employees from the organization, but some of the females themselves are under the illusion that this is actually part of the job. This is the very danger in encouraging flirtation that was identified earlier.

6.6 Employee Outcomes of Emotional Labor

One of the problems identified through this study was the level of emotive dissonance workers experienced. The organizationally desired emotions displayed by the employees are more often than not inconsistent with internal states and the effort in maintaining this display may cause strain.

Most of the workers within the hotel are young people, aged between 18 and 25, and for this group, whose identities are less formed, estrangement is a real issue in psychological well-being.

According to Hochschild (1983), for female employees, their capacity for beauty and relational skills are what they are more likely to become estranged from. For male workers, it is their

ability to wield authority and anger that they are most likely to feel estranged from.

The difficulty for the employees at the hotel is that they are acting out emotions so much that they may question how they can identify with their work role without fusing with the role itself.

According to Hochschild (1983), employees who were able to separate their real selves from their fake selves risked blaming themselves for secretly being insincere.

Another major problem for the workers is that if they identify too strongly with the organization, then they risk total depersonalization. Emotional exhaustion that can lead to burnout has been a major issue in the front bar of the hotel where absenteeism and staff turnover has been extraordinarily high.

Because the workers of the hotel have virtually no say on how the emotional display rules are designed and the 'scenes' played out, they are often faced with making a decision on whether to 'extend' themselves to maintain the wishes of the organization, or to refuse to do so. As discussed, the first can lead to strain and exhaustion,

and the second can lead to feeling 'insincere' or being viewed by the organization as not fulfilling the job role.

'Speed up', where senior management see no escape from the contradictory policy of demanding emotional labor, whilst at the same time cutting the number of staff per department also holds danger for the workers. Enjoyment of the job becomes very difficult under these circumstances and as Hochschild (1983) argues, rewards seem less intrinsic to the work and more a compensation for the arduousness of it.

Often, under these circumstances of 'speed up', workers may refuse to act out emotions, which has been seen as a failure to comply with job requirements as designed by senior management. Customers, one of the surveillance mechanisms for the hotel management, sometimes complain that employees don't stop to talk and that they are rude for not doing so. This is certainly one of those no-win situations for the employees as long as senior management maintains this type of staffing policy.

Some workers also reported the outcome of going into what Van Maanen and Kunda (1989) described as automatic pilot and

experiencing emotional numbness, which may also lead to exhaustion.

Some of the employees reported the enjoyment of social interaction with customers and felt that it was a justifiable part of their job. Although these statements of enjoyment must be judged in perspective, as the interview process itself was somewhat compromised by the workers being asked questions by myself (as one of their middle managers).

6.7 Coping Mechanisms

The interviews and observations identified many ways in which workers at the hotel attempted to cope with the demands of emotional labor placed upon them. Some of these mechanisms are simply as a result of these strong demands being difficult to maintain constantly, whilst others are conscious decisions made and strategies developed and implemented.

Some of the older and more experienced workers spoke about using their acting ability in a way which was clearly identifiable to them to create a type of healthy estrangement between their job

role and their 'real selves'. By clearly identifying emotional display at work in the hotel as an act, these workers can reduce the chance of suffering burnout.

Many employees attempt to turn the subordinate role, or power relationship of a customer to a server on its head. Staff talked about the strategy of giving poor service to rude customers. Often, this is done in secrecy, with one of the aims being to discourage such customers from returning to the hotel again.

Slow down in service is also used with these customers, where the workers would walk past a waiting person or actually lengthen the transaction time. For some customers, whose main pastime in life is to consume alcohol, having to wait too long for a drink is seen as bad service. In this sense, the employees attempt to reverse the role of a servant into a role of 'master' who controls the delivery of the 'goods'.

Also done in secret, emotive deviancy was also evident within the hotel. One of these deviant behaviors is for the worker to tell the customer what he or she actually feels about them. In this way, the employee expresses inner (true) feelings and disregards the feeling

(display) rules. Some employees at the hotel stated that doing so helped let off steam and made them feel good.

Many staff state that they often 'blow up' at customers when they have had enough, whilst the only introverted employee interviewed, stated that she would take her anger out in the cool store room, by "smashing" a few bottles and "by taking deep breaths to relax".

Some staff would deal with difficult customers by asking for a switch in work departments. Where possible, this was accommodated by the middle managers.

Many workers also spoke about the benefit of having group support. This group support would often come in the way of sharing stories about customers or difficult situations in a back stage area. Sitting down for a drink with other staff members after a shift also helped in this regard.

Others would seek support from partners or friends at home. Saying that they always felt better getting it "off their chest", and receiving an outsider's opinion on matters. By 'releasing' in this

way, workers can be seen to be attempting to separate company 'emotion' rules from their own.

The use of humor is another strategy workers use to alleviate some of the stress at work. This takes many forms, including joke telling between staff, jibing and ridiculing customers, and practical jokes.

All staff identified the kitchen as an ideal backstage area for the jibing and ridiculing of customers to occur. This also helped the kitchen staff keep up to date with the 'gossip' of the hotel. As one male put it: "I seem to get on well with the chef. She is very gossipy and likes to be in with all the goss!".

Most of the staff interviewed felt it was their right to joke about and ridicule customers because they saw middle management often participating in this type of activity. The workers also believed that management didn't discourage such behavior.

Many of the workers reported the need to ask for middle management intervention when dealing with difficult customers. This was most often the case with female employees and confirms Hochschild's (1983) notion of it further subordinating female

service workers, by not being able to deal with certain customers on their own.

Most of the employees also maintained set routines when finishing a shift in order to help them relax. In most cases this almost always involved the consumption of alcoholic drinks, and on some occasions the taking of illegal drugs.

Many workers spoke of their inability to fall asleep easily when they returned home from a shift, although there is no direct evidence substantiating the link between the employees' job requirements with their reports of an inability to relax and fall asleep easily.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION AND RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

7.1 Support for Hochschild's Emotion Management Perspective

The research conducted presents complimentary evidence of emotional labor, as it was described by Hochschild (1983), existing in the hotel examined.

The quantitative data suggests extraordinarily strong evidence of the emotional labor dimensions of emotive dissonance, effort, dramaturgy and organizational control. Since most of the survey items were drawn from Hochschild's (1983) descriptive accounts, the data here further validates her perspective.

The qualitative data describes how the organization shapes and directs emotional display, beginning with recruitment and training, and follows with distinct and strong display rules and expectations.

As with Hochschild's notion, non-adherence to such norms are punished with threats about employment.

The qualitative data also confirms Hochschild's notion that performing emotional labor in a service context takes much effort, and that often there is some degree of conflict between what the individual really feels and the emotion they are expected to display. This also lends support to Hochschild's argument that service providers experience emotive dissonance, the clash between inner feelings and outward expression that can have a negative effect on the workers' well being, which may lead to psychological strain.

Similar results in this research support the way in which Hochschild describes emotional laborers reacting to the demands of performing. Workers were seen to either identify too strongly with the organization or to secretly be insincere to the demands. The various effects of this are seen in the workers reporting such consequences as emotional numbness, exhaustion, and deviancy.

Evidence of Hochschild's notion of 'speed up' was also found through the research on the hotel. Although the way in which speed up is enacted in the hotel industry may be slightly different from the airline industry in the 1980's, the effect of this on the

workers is fairly parallel. The employees of the hotel found it difficult to maintain emotional display whilst also serving more people promptly as required. This may have particular relevance in the current climate of economic rationalism and downsizing across many service industries.

Hochschild's notion of competition in service increasing when 'competition in pricing is out' is also evident in the hotel industry in the early 21st century in Australia. This is the backdrop to the extra demands made of service workers.

Hochchild's notion on the gendered expectations of female and male emotion laborers is also supported from the data in this research. Similar results were also yielded on the ways in which females and males differed in their enactment of emotional labor and its consequences upon them.

Hochschild's perspective on the 'front stage' and 'back stage' areas of the workplace, as they relate to dramaturgy, is also supported by the data here.

Individual differences, such as age and experience, as a mitigating factor against the backdrop of the demands on emotional laborers,

as described by Hochschild, was also evident to some degree in this study.

In summation, this semi-empirical expansion on Hochschild's (1983) work goes some way in strengthening her rich data with supportive quantitative and qualitative data.

7.2 HRM Implications

From an employee's perspective, it is important that emotional labor is safe in terms of effects on well-being. However, from an employer's perspective, the quality of the service is also vital.

This bridge can be shortened, by examining the practical issues that can be addressed, to assist in the well being of both individuals and business.

Perhaps testing in the selection process is one way of somewhat ensuring that people with the appropriate personality type are employed in jobs requiring emotional labor.

One possible way of alleviating stress as it relates to emotional laborers, is for practitioners to focus on the organizational

processes as major contributing factors to stress in the workplace, rather than just on individual factors of the workers.

One other stress reduction approach may be to give service workers more empowerment. This approach may permit staff to respond more quickly to customer needs and thus diffuse potentially stressful situations more quickly. Wharton (1996) identified autonomy as a key factor in promoting emotional health and job satisfaction. Empowerment may also allow customers to see a workers' emotional display as more genuine.

A consultative style of management, rather than an autocratic one may also assist in stress reduction as it relates to the demands of emotional labor. This consultation strategy should go beyond discussing just trivial operational matters to take in more important aspects of policy. Under these circumstances, staff can be given an avenue to voice their concerns and influence policy.

Furthermore, burnout, as it may relate to emotional exhaustion may show up in symptoms such as absenteeism, staff turnover, insomnia and drug and alcohol abuse, needs to be intercepted at an early stage. Allowing the workers an avenue to vent their anger or

discuss issues is critical here. Encouraging group support may also be a positive.

This group support strategy is somewhat ignored in some hotels, where staff are not allowed to socialize after work hours within the workplace.

The reduction of organizational stress factors leading to burnout is also important in reducing the high costs associated with staff turnover and training.

As was found with the research conducted, many workers in service sectors have to deal with irate or rude customers. Despite the development of strict display rules pertaining to the display of positive emotions, some organizations have lacked to train or direct workers on how much abuse is too much to tolerate, as well as strategies on dealing with such issues.

In summation, organizations can literally not afford to focus solely on the successful delivery of emotional labor. More must be done to account for the effects of emotional labor on the workers, who as an example in the industry examined, are often young,

inexperienced, naïve and often under compensated for this extra burden.

7.3 Methodological Limitations

Due to the limited sample size, the generalizability of the findings to the population of front line hotel employees at large is unknown. Future replications of this study, employing larger samples from more geographically diverse areas would substantiate the claims more fully.

Furthermore, my very involvement in the workplace studied may put into question my own objectivity in the research process and interpretation. Future research on the hotel industry by a researcher not involved directly with the workplace may help validate the results in the eyes of reader who may question the integrity of the research here.

Also, although triangulation provided multiple perspectives from which to view emotional labor, increased depth in some areas may have bolstered the findings. For example, the interviews provided

an important insight, however conducting multiple interviews with each employee would have allowed for the possibility of revisiting previous statements and thereby adding further depth to the discussion.

Also, administering the survey before the interviews may have prevented the 'contamination' of the questionnaire, but may also have compromised the interview process by giving 'clues' away about the research.

7.4 Future Directions

The role of emotion at work has recently begun to be taken more seriously by researchers. However, much of the debate has focused on improving the delivery of emotional labor. More work needs to be put into examining the effects of this phenomena on individuals who perform it.

Hotels, as a major employer group in Australia, particularly of young people, need to be studied further to help understand the

specific nature of the work environment as it relates to the enactment of emotional labor.

Research on Australian hospitality settings needs to perhaps move beyond the examination of mainly accommodation or tourist style locations and focus more on the 'traditional' hotels or 'pubs' as this sector is a major employer of Australians and is constantly reinventing itself in terms of hospitality offerings.

Future research could also be focused upon the extent to which the concept of emotional labor can be generalized beyond service roles to other organizational roles.

In this research paper, uniforms were added to the study of emotional labor. It was found that organizational dress may indicate organizational values and help bring about employees' compliance and legitimation. Certainly more research needs to be conducted to help substantiate these types of claims.

One possible study of interest in the future may be to examine those hotel employees who live on the premises of the hotel. It would be interesting to find out if it is any more difficult for these

workers to maintain a non-work self or to de-personalize their experiences in doing emotional labor.

Also, further development of measurement tools needs to occur for measuring the concept of emotional labor in organizations. Further empirical studies within hotels would also help support the findings here.

Other possible future research topics that may be interesting may include the study of impression management within organizations, emotion in non-traditional work such as in virtual organizations, and the effects of displayed emotions on customers.

Emotional labor is a relatively new concept and there may be a whole plethora of possible research topics or angles that may be examined in the future to aid in the very understanding of this scholarly field.

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APPENDIX A

INFORMATION SHEET

University of South Australia
Research Division: Business and Enterprise
Title of Project: Emotional Labor in an Australian Hospitality Setting
Researcher & Qualifications: John Hatzinikolakis; BT, B Ed, Grad.Dip.Bus.(Adm. Mgt)
Program: Master of Commerce

Dear Staff, this is a formal invitation requesting your participation in my research project. The purpose of the study is to expand knowledge in the area of emotional labor. Basically, this is the effort involved in displaying certain emotions to customers that may conflict with true or felt feelings. I am interested in whether there is evidence of this occurring in the type of work setting we have here. I am also very interested in how the staff respond to this type of work.

If you decide to participate in the survey, then all you are required to do is spend about half an hour completing the questions, before placing it a self addressed envelope that will be delivered to my University.

You are free at any time you see fit to withdraw from the research. If you feel that the questionnaire is too intrusive for any particular reason, then simply do not complete it. All the information collected will be stored for seven years in a lockable filing cabinet which is not available for access by any other party. No information which could lead to the identification of an individual will be released at any time. The only personal piece of information requested is your gender.

If anyone has any concerns about this project, or you need more clarification in order to help you make up your mind about participating, then please feel free to contact:

Ms Jayne Taylor (Chair) Human Research Ethics Committee. Ph. 83023956

Thankyou. John Hatzinikolakis.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW WITH F1 [e.g, female, interview number one] (Extrovert)

Dept. employee works in = FRONT BAR

Can you tell me how you feel when you put your uniform on and are about to leave home and come to work ..... what sort of emotions do you feel?

I get in the right frame to come to work, I get in, it is almost like a, I would say it is almost like a ready to listen frame of mind. I psyche myself up to listen to other people and not worry about what I am thinking.

Ok, listen to other customers and so you get yourself psyched up because,.... why do you psyche yourself up?

Well, the customers behind the bar will always tell you their fucking, oh sorry, tell you their life problems.

Their life problems?

Yes.

And how do you feel about the fact that you have got to sit there and listen to their problems?

That is fine, that takes my mind off of my problems.

Does it, so you don't actually mind, tell me more?

Yep. And I get in a, I try, it doesn't always happen on every shift, I try to get into an almost .....good..... frame of mind, that I am in a good mood when I come to work.

So you psyche yourself up for that. And in what way do you do that?

I actually listen to music on the way to work. Good music.

And that works for you quite well?

Yes.

And when you walk through the front door of the hotel and are about to start your shift does your mood change again at all or does it remain the same as before you came to work?

Yes, I almost become, not necessarily a different person, but I walk in and as soon as I open the door and I walk through the door, ok I am here to work I am now a bar maid, that is who I am.

So, do you think you are playing a type of role, do you think there is a bit of acting involved in it?

Yes.

How much would you say, what sort of frequency, would you consider your whole shift to be a big act, towards customers?

Yeah in a way because when I am out with friends, I am not always so bouncy and chatty because I am bouncy and chatty behind the bar servicing customers.

And are you doing that because it is expected by anyone in particular?

I think it is expected by management to be mainly a happy kind of person behind the bar.

What sort of, I mean is it draining at all to be like that, I mean you said your whole shift?

It can be, I think it can be draining.

What sort of things do you do to relax. Do you have trouble relaxing or sleeping after a shift?

I can't go straight home and go to bed. I probably go home and, well the knock off drink is a classic example, you have got to sit down afterwards and have a drink ..... and then I have got to go home and relax and wind down.

And do you think that you will more than often, all the time, or seldom have a knock off drink after work?

All the time.

After every shift?

After every shift.

And you do that to?

Wind down.

To wind down to relax. And how long does it take you to normally fall asleep after a shift when you get home?

Well I go home and I usually watch a bit of TV and then I go to bed.

Do you think about things that have happened at work when you are at home?

Yep.

And if you dealt with a difficult customer at the hotel, how does that affect your relaxation or sleeping pattern?

Well if there has been a customer, most of the time when customers, if the customer gives you shit, then you just think well that is just the customer you don't think about it, but if they get personal then you go home and you think about it.

When you are at work, apart from being at home after a shift, how do you, is there any way in which you can escape the acting role. Is there anywhere in the hotel where you can escape for a little while even if it is for a short period of time, one thing that you do, what sort of strategy do you use to get yourself away from that for a little while?

Well when I am on a long enough shift where I can have a break I usually like to sit away from the customers, in a room where there are no other customers, read a paper or watch a bit of tele, just to break it up.

So you would sit in another room that is empty?

Yes. And I don't like it when I have to sit in a room with customers, it doesn't feel like a break because you are in a room with customers.

Can you tell me more why it doesn't feel like a break?

Generally because they come up and think you are still working and they come up and they speak to you and I mean you spend your whole shift speaking to customers, so on your half hour break you don't want to sit down and keep talking to them.

What about when you take your uniform off at the end of a working shift, does that change your mood?

yeah it does, when I go home the first thing I like to do is take the uniform off and put on normal clothes, comfortable clothes.

Why is that?

Because I don't feel like I have finished work if I am still in my uniform. Because that is what I have to wear to go to work so to take it off is to sort of take off my role.

How is it difficult then, just leading on from that, is it to leave behind those sort of demands you are talking about, to be cheerful or friendly all the time?

Yeah, easy.

Fairly easy?

Yes.

Very easy?

Yeah, I would say, and like I said, unless somebody, unless something has happened at work where it has affected you personally, like somebody has given you shit personally, and it has been something that, I mean people can pay you out that is fine, that is one of the things you put up with when you work in a pub, but if somebody makes it more extreme than that, you go

home and think about it, and even while trying to relax you are still sitting thinking about what has happened.

So you have a fairly set routine when you finish work, which is?

Yes, have my knock off drink, go home, get changed, watch a bit of TV, go to bed.

Sure, and there are a couple of notes here that I made about a couple of particular incidents which you may want to answer if you like. On one particular occasion, an Irish gentleman in the front bar was quite nice to you and you commented to me that you were shocked because the group of people who he was with might have associated him with a bit of a ratbag as well and you made a fairly strong comment about it, can you tell me more about that? Are you often shocked when people are nice to you, do you expect..... what do you expect?

Well especially in the front bar, most people are pretty rough, and they are knocking off work and it is their relaxation time, so they give you shit because their outlet is the barmaid or the person behind the bar. But especially when they are sitting with a group of people that give you are hard time generally as a shift, then if somebody out of that group is polite to you then you say ok, well maybe they are not all arseholes.

And that makes you feel?

Well it makes you want to serve them more than you want to serve the others, and be polite back to them, like you go out of your way to be nice to them.

So that is a fairly positive outcome. And you think it is a good reflection upon you when that sort of thing happens?

Yes, because they obviously, I mean admittedly when people give you shit people are generally probably arseholes to everybody else, not just to you. But if somebody is polite to you it means they think you are polite or they are giving you the respect back that you are obviously giving them.

So there are some nice people who come here. What about those people who are rude to you quite often. How do you change your behaviour towards them, how do you treat them?

When, if a group comes in or a person comes in and starts being rude, first of all I try to joke around with them just to try and ease them a bit, but if they continue to be that way I will get back on my back foot and not necessarily be rude to them, but won't go out of my way to be polite to them. And generally like

if, can I give an example. There is a group of people who come into the front bar that sit in a particular spot and they are always rude, so I really don't care too much if they are happy. Like I do my job and I serve them when they need serving. Like with the keno, if someone is polite to me and gives me a ticket and asks me to go to the other bar and put the ticket in, then that is fine I will do that for them, but when they come demanding and rude then I might say look this isn't the keno bar go to the other bar.

So you are more upfront?

Yeah.

So in what way are people rude to you when they are rude, in particular in that bar?

In particular that bar and in particular regular customers that are generally there all the time, they are rude in the way they think they are the only ones that you have to serve and that you should be serving them first and if they have to wait two seconds for a drink, they give you a hard time, they just whinge over anything whether the music is too loud, just anything they whinge over.

And do you think about those sort of customers when you get home and try to relax?

Not really, they don't affect me personally.

Just another incident. There is a gentleman who plays the pokies who, if I can use the language, gropes your behind, your buttocks, how do you feel when that happens?

I was shocked because I haven't had that done before. I know that, especially when guys start drinking they can become a bit sleazy, and hit on you and you can take that, and because of the bar between you that is usually fine, but because this person in particular is an old man, which makes it even worse, like for him to grab me the way he grabbed me, was quite, I took offence to it, I was offended.

How did you feel, tell me a bit more about how you felt?

Because he started off like, and I know he does it to the other girls that is what he is like, he grabbed you now and again, it was a bit of a joke at first but then when he had a real grope in that particular incident, it was like, it became personal because he had done something that I don't let other guys do, and just because he is a customer doesn't mean he can do it, but it

made me feel like I had to put up with it because he is a customer and a big spending customer, which made it feel even worse because I had to put up with it because he spent so much money, and that made me feel trashy.

Did you feel that you had to put up with it?

I felt like I had to put up with it.

So do you feel you can come to management about issues such as that and get their support?, and be honest here or not answer the question if you don't want to.

I think that he in particular, that is a real concern, and management will definitely step in and do something about it.

And have you had other problems in the hotel and get management assistance and have they been supportive or not, or do you think you can handle things yourself with difficult customers?

There have been a few occasions where there have been a few disputes where I have felt more comfortable telling management about it and getting them to help me out with situations than doing it myself. I feel that I don't have to do everything myself

and don't have to necessarily put up with everything up here. But I have worked in hotels where that doesn't happen.

Where they don't help you much?

Yes.

Do you joke around with other staff about particular customers and if you do can you tell me more about that and where does that happen in the hotel and what sort of things do you talk about?

Definitely joke around, because that is one of the ways the staff deal with the all the crap that is heaped on them by the customers. If you get a customer that is rude to you and done something you don't like, or offended you then you go and sort of pay them out to another staff member cause the other staff member will definitely understand and it is good to rebound that. Incident in particular, my 'friend' who comes in that thought he could rub himself up against me and, it is good that, I mean even with the customers they, I had to go and joke about it because it did offend me and now they sort of, it makes me feel more comfortable knowing that they know about it and they can joke about it, and to joke about it is better than sitting there stewing about it.

So a sort of release?

Yes.

So that is another incident apart from the gentleman who groped you. This other gentleman who felt that he could touch you, on a particular area of the body. How does that make you feel, I am talking to you from a female point of view because the majority of the customers here are male, what sort of relationship do you think occurs here between males and females, particularly females who work behind the bar and males who are customers, do you feel that the male customers have any expectations or feel a particular way that you think is wrong?

In this hotel in particular I think the male customers because they're, a lot of them are slightly older, and I think it is a release for them to come down here and have drinks when they have got family problem. I think a lot of them come down here because they have family problems so they are in here every night, they come down to see a young girl behind the bar is refreshing for them, so they do kind of expect you to, I mean I don't mind joking around and flirting in a joking way with the customers, but I think a couple of them do probably expect you

to be, especially the ones who spend a lot of money, they, in particular that customer who groped me at the pokies, he spends a lot of money and he feels that it is almost his right to be able to treat the bar staff that way and we have to respect him because he spends so much money.

And when you said that you joke with the staff about particular incidents, when you do that during work hours,in what parts of the hotel would you do that.

Usually away from where the customer is, so if they have a customer out in the pokie bar it would be out in the dining room or in the front bar, or if the customer is in the front bar you would walk out and talk to the staff in the pokie bar. Definitely away from the customer, so that the customer could not hear you.

Would you say that the kitchen was one area?

Yes, kitchen yes, definitely bitching out there.

And that is because there is absolutely no chance of customers being in there at all?

Definitely.

When, in this particular hotel, and I am sure in other hotels, there is a demand there for staff to serve customers promptly, and so quite often staff don't really have much time to talk to customers, when this occurs, do you find that customers choose to talk to you anyway and how do you feel about that?

Yeah, customers always like to talk, a public place where a customer will come, especially in the pokie bar, the customers come to the pokies because they have got nothing else to do, they come as their entertainment, because they want to talk to people, and it is hard, but the regular customers understand that you have to serve other customers, so they don' t mind, but in this hotel in particular, they are very much demanding when they want their drink. If they have to wait two seconds for a drink then they are on your back about it, and if you are in the middle of a conversation with another customer you do feel like you are being rude by just walking away. But one of the things that keeps customers coming back is being friendly with them and holding a conversation with them, so.

So do you think there is a fine balance between management expectations of serving customers promptly and being able to talk to customers and responding to them?

You have got to let the customer know that you are talking to that you do have to serve other customers, you can't stand there and finish your conversation.

Almost finished here, but with respect to humour and having fun and joking about customers, do you think that management encourages it?

Joking around with customers, is that what you mean.

Well, joking around about customers.

Well not really, but I think management understand because management here are pretty hands on so they understand what it is like to get crap from customers and they can see what the bar staff have to put up with. They don't encourage it but they know it is going to happen, it is going to be a release.

And do management themselves participate in that with staff?

Yes.

Ok, is there anything else you would like to add about the whole role of being nice and friendly towards customers, or anything else you find difficult about it or easy?

It is hard to be nice to customers on every shift especially when they can be pains in the butts, in particular the bunch of Greek men that we get coming in here, they spend a lot of money, we know they spend a lot of money, we know we have got to give them a little bit extra, they can be demanding, they expect you to be serving them all the time, and be nice to them all the time and joke around with them. I can remember one particular occasion when I came into work and I was thinking about some other stuff that had happened, and they picked up on the fact that I wasn't as cheery as I usually am, and they were hassling me and saying you can't bring your problems to work, when you know you can't bring them to work, but sometimes it just happens. So it is hard sometimes.

What are some of the other things that happen when you are not nice, or some of the things that might happen if you are not nice to the customers?

Well if, I don't know, with the whole customer thing, nice back, you know, well I know as a bar worker, that if I am nice with customers and friendly with them then they are generally going to be like that back with me. If you are having a bad day then they pick up on that and they can give it back to you, they can pick up on the fact that you are in a bad mood and make it

worse. And then it is just ...a balance..... between the two. I don't know.

Just a final question. What do you think management of hotels can do to alleviate some of the problems you are faced with when having to be nice to people you don't particularly like?

Out of all the hotels I have worked in, I think this hotel has got it down for giving the staff the leeway of being nice to customers, but knowing that the customers can push you too far, they accept that. I have worked in hotels where management doesn't accept that, you have still got to serve that customer and still be friendly to them and put up with their crap. And when you have to put up with it that just makes it worse because you are doing it grudgingly and you don't want to do it and they know you don't want to do. So I think that management needs to understand that the problem with a lot of hotels is management doesn't get involved with customers they stay in their office, they do the paperwork and the behind the scenes work, and they don't understand the everyday ins and outs with customers, and the crap that the customers give you every now and then, especially the regular customers, how they work with staff. If management can see how they work, then they know what the staff has to put up with, by letting the staff, if they are being hassled by a customer, then go and work in a separate area, or management

coming and taking over and serving that customer for them, and just being aware that staff really do have to put up with a lot when they work in a bar.

Ok, thank you very much for your time.

INTERVIEW WITH F2 (Introvert) GAMING ROOM

Can you tell me how you feel when you put your uniform on at home and are about to come to work?

I don't know.

Do you have to psyche yourself up at all?

No, just another day.

Just another day?

Yeah. You get your days where you think, oh maybe, it maybe a Thursday and certain customers are going to come in, oh, this is going to be, I have to work with certain people on ..... I need to probably think about it bit.

And do your feelings change at all when you walk through the front door to come to work?

Definitely.

Definitely, can you expand a bit more?

As I said, you have to, certain customers are coming in and you have to put up with them. Not as relaxed I suppose coming in, walking in the door. As I would be if I was walking out.

So you are saying you are a lot more relaxed walking out?

Yeah, when you are finished.

When you finish work, what sort of things do you do to relax?

Drink.

Do you? Ok, so do you have any set routine, do you have any trouble relaxing or sleeping after a shift at work?

I have trouble sleeping all the time. I think late nights you always have trouble just to wind down.

If you are working a late night shift?

Yes.

And what sort of routines do you go through when you are trying to relax after work. You mentioned the drinks, do you have a

knock off drink every time you work, if you are working a night shift in particular?

Yeah I think I do, well not every night, even day shifts I don't have a drink every time. I might just leave straight away. Just to relax get home watch TV, or some music.

And how long do you think you stay up before you go to bed?

An hour or so, a couple of hours.

When you are at work, what sort of things do you do to help relieve some of the stresses that you mentioned before, having to deal with customers that you don't like. What sort of things do you do at work to alleviate that sort of pressure?

Smash bottles!!. I go into a cold room and take deep breaths and try to relax.

So somewhere away from customers?

Yeah.

And do you joke with other workers behind customers' backs about what customers are saying and doing. Do you joke around about that?

Yes, yes, you pick up obviously what people say and that, so you make comments about that.

And where mainly does that occur in the hotel. Where do you have a joke with another staff member about a customer. Well it doesn't have to be a joke, just having a go about a customer?

Where?

Yeah, whereabouts in the hotel would that happen, any particular area in the hotel?

Either in the kitchen or in the pokie booth. Just at the bar.

So away from customers?

Yeah, as long as they don't hear.

And do you think management encourages staff to joke with other staff about the customers?

No.

You don't?

No.

Ok, do you think management participates in the joking about customers?

Yeah, I would say they would.

But you are saying that they don't necessarily say anything to encourage it?

No.

How do you feel about your uniform that you have to wear when you are at work?

I like wearing what I wear, it is comfortable.

And has management asked your opinion about the type of uniform that they are trying to enforce?

Yeah, they have been talking about that.

Ok, can you give me any specific examples about, well not too specific, don't mention any names, but of incidents where customers have upset you in any particular way. What makes you upset, what gets you going?

I don't like customers commenting on what I look like, what I wear, which they tend to. Just with service, you can't always get to them on time, and they get a bit stropping, bang or yell out a bit. That upsets me a bit.

Do you treat customers differently that are rude to you than those who are polite?

Yes, definitely.

In what way?

I just serve them, that is it, and walk off. Other people might say something, I just haven't got time for people who are rude.

Do you find that nowadays with hotels that staff are expected to not only be polite to customers but to serve them quite quickly as well?

Yes.

So you may not have much time to speak with customers yourself. Do you find that customers try to talk to you anyway?

I do, I walk off and they still keep talking.

And how do you try and get around that?

Well you have to try and come back, they sort of know you are busy.

Have you got any other examples of situations that have made you upset or angry?

I find that the pokie gamblers and TAB gamblers are very rude, want service straight away and demand service basically. They can't stand losing money, they sort of blame us, and it is not out fault, we don't know nothing.

And do you have to put on a brave face and try not to show those feelings that you are angry and upset?

Yeah, I try, sometimes it shows.

Do you think it shows sometimes?

Yeah, I do.

And on other occasions you say you might go to the cool room and take a deep breath or let it out to another staff member. Let out your anger that way.

It helps to talk about some incidents.

Ok, just a couple more questions. In the acting department do you think you are a good actress?

Yes I do.

Do you think you use your acting ability in a lot of your work?

Yes.

And at what point in time do you think acting begins at work and when does it finish?

I think if someone upsets me I will start to, not early in the morning, it might be after lunch, and then I switch off.

Would you say that in some ways when you walk through the door you would be the same person when you walk through the door or would you change your whole persona the way, in other words are you acting as soon as you come through the door, are you putting on an act?

No I wouldn't say that.

Or is it just when customers upset you or when you are with unruly types of customers?

Yes.

In what ways do you think the owners or management of the hotel can help staff who are having problems, or to deal with difficult customers and do you think management has given staff enough support or yourself enough support?

I think they do, I usually speak to management if I have a problem and they usually listen..... maybe we need a staff room, relax and get away from people, a bit of quiet time and that. A TV Room or something.

And the last question, when you are given a break, do you normally sit in the same room as customers or away from customers?

I usually do.

Away from customers?

But I would like to sit away and have a break because they always come up and talk to you when you are having a break for some reason, when you are eating.

Just one final question, this will be the final question, being a female working in an industry where the majority of the customers are male, how do you think the male customers in general, or if you want to give me some specific examples, treat female employees, how do you feel serving male customers the majority of the time and how do they relate to you?

Um, most of them are male here. It doesn't bother me that much, it would be good to have more female customers, it is only when they say rude things and that you tend to think well do they talk to other bank people or check out people the same as they talk to us.

How does that make you feel when they say rude things or say something of a sexual nature?

I try to ignore it, but.....

So you put up with it?

Frustrating.

You might put up a bit of a front to make out it is not affecting you?

Yes. Put up a front.

So you don't laugh along with them, you just ignore them perhaps?

I probably used to, but I have learnt to ignore them.

And it is through experience you think, working here for a number of years?

Definitely.

Ok, thank you very much for your time.

INTERVIEW WITH M1 (Extrovert) BOTTLE SHOP

You work in a bottle shop, can you tell me how you feel when you put your uniform on at home and are about to come to work?

As I put my uniform on, I try to be as proud as anything of the hotel, but I reckon we probably should have more of a uniform. Some people come in shorts, and other people come in slacks, so I want to represent the company but.....

And how do you feel when you walk into your place of work, walk into the bottleshop, what sort of emotions do you feel about the type of customers you are going to be dealing with. Like do you look forward to it or not?

I do look forward to it. I always look forward to serving people. I treat everyone, they are customers, they are making money for the hotel, they are paying your wage, I am always happy to come to work. As a uniform, just off the record, should be a little bit more, like you are in here.

Something more to represent what you are doing, who you are?

Yeah.

Do you think you are a good actor?

Yeah, I do, I think I am a very good actor.

And do you think you use acting a lot at work?

Yeah I do.

How much of the time do you think serving customers would you act do you think?

80%.

And the other 20% is natural or is it just people that you do like?

Yeah, probably yeah, people that you don't have to act. More along my line. We get a lot of dickheads come through and you have to put up with them.

So when you mean people along your line what do you mean?

Just genuine, down to earth, they come there for a reason, they know what they want. Matter of fact, a lot of people, I know

nothing about wine, so I just, 80% of the time I just bullshit. It sells, like shit sells.

Do you, when you have had hard customers or someone that has given you the shits, do you joke about that customer or you know have a spit about the customer behind the customer's back to other staff, like have a joke about it?

Yeah, probably more joke, say what an arsehole they were, behind their back as they left, never in front of them.

And how often do you think that that would happen?

It would happen twice a night out there. Or what a dickhead they were, fuck you, get them every night.

Can you think of any examples of people that have upset you out there that you have talked a lot about or it has affected you for the rest of the night?

Yeah, yeah, for example someone will come through and get six Johnny Walker cans for $15, they will go to the car and they have only got ten bucks. And they can't even get four cans for ten dollars. Oh, can't you do me six for ten dollars, like.

So they try to bargain?

Yeah, they try and bargain. Oh, we come through here, we are regulars, and you look after your regulars, we know our regulars, and we do look after regulars, we will give them a free can and they will come back the next night and they will owe you a dollar ninety from the, but you know they are regulars and they are not having you on.

So how do you deal with these customers who try to bargain with you?

Well I don't deal with them, I say sorry we run a business here, we can't, I can do you three cans for eight dollars, I try to do it that way.

And is that hard having to deal with that?

It is hard, I know the feeling, you go somewhere, you don't have a lot of money. You try to, they probably need the alcohol, let's face it, people who want alcohol need it, it is not that they, it is hard.

And have you ever tried to deal with customers that have tried to push the point with you or argued with you about pricing, where

you really didn't like them, you thought you didn't like them but you had to be polite. How did that make you feel, was that much of an effort?

It was an effort. We had one guy on Wednesday night he come through, he said he was at the Marion Hotel, he said they had Hahn Premium for $36 and we sell ours for $42. Said come on, Sip n Save are $36, I said mate, ours are, got on the till, $41.99, I said listen if you are going to buy two cartons I will do them for $41. Two cartons, down the Marion they are $36. So if he is going to whinge over ten dollars I said mate you would be better off driving back down to the Marion.

And how did he react to that?

Wasn't happy and sort of drove out.

And did that worry you that he wasn't happy?

It did worry me. I didn't want to, like they are customers, but in this industry, I reckon I have only been in it two years, but you look after the people who look after you, they are paying our wage, we get a lot of regular people who come through and we probably do, for someone regular I would look after them

regular, I would probably do it for $36. I felt well, fucking hell, got to go back to Marion, but he might have been having me on.

So would you say that people who are polite to you who are regular, you treat differently to people who are rude to you?

I do, I definitely do. People who are regular and polite are honest. We have a guy who used to work here, I will mention his name, Bradley, came through on Wednesday, had no money, wanted four cans of Bundy, I will come in Thursday and pay you, wrote him down, Thursday night comes and pays me. You look after the people, who are honest.

Where as if someone has been rude to you in the past, would you do that?

No.

With the humour or the fun, where you have a joke about a customer, do you think management encourages it?

I think they do, they have fun, make the customer happy and have a laugh and joke, but there is always situations too, there is a time, there is always time and place to have fun.

And where, if you are having a jibe or a joke about a customer to another staff member in the bottle shop, whereabouts in the bottle shop would you do that? You said before as they were driving off.

Yeah, never in front, like so they can't hear you.

Sure, ok, any other ways that you guys have fun in the bottle shop to alleviate some of the stress dealing with customers?

Yeah, out there we get a lot of girls coming through as, we have a lot of fun.

Like serving the girls?

Yeah, serving the girls, and we joke around, we have a lot of alcoholics coming in and shaking, and yeah, a lot of different things.

When you get home from work, how do you feel when you take your uniform off, do you feel any different?

No, not really, I am a pretty casual bloke, without doing too much, I don't feel any different.

Do you find it difficult to relax and sleep after working at the hotel, particularly after a night shift?

Yeah, I do find it difficult at night. That is why I, if we finish at 10.00 or 11.00, I come in here for a couple of hours, I come home and look at the TV for an hour and then go to bed, just to wind down, I do find that a bit. A little bit stressful, you worry about how the, how tills are, how the customers are, hope the bottle shop has gone alright.

And you find that hard to relax or sleep after finishing a shift if you have had a difficult customer?

Yeah, I always think back if I could have changed something or if I could have changed something. Or how I should have dealt with that.

What sort of things then, so you, you said you watch TV for a while to relax, do you have a knock off drink?

Yeah I have a knock off drink.

Does that happen on most occasions?

Yeah that happens most occasions, on the premises.

On all occasions you would say?

Yeah on 90%, barring Sundays.

And are there any other substances that you take, you don't have to answer this question, apart from alcohol?

No, I don't do cigarettes. I don't do drugs.

Just referring to a particular incident without saying too much, you caught someone steeling a couple of bottles of alcohol a number of weeks back. Did you find it difficult to relax and sleep that night, the police were involved.

Yeah I did find it difficult, the police were involved, the guy threatened me and said he was going to come back, and I thought shit what happens if I am not on, and the Friday night after I wasn't on, and I thought Mick and Anthony was on, and I came back just to warn them that if the guy comes through just to ring inside. Just for their safety because he was quite threatening, he was going to come back and get me and for my safety as well. I did find it very difficulty, matter of fact very difficult.

Have you been threatened very often by customers?

Couple, twice, I think.

Another one was someone said he was upset because he had had a fight with his girlfriend, split up with his girlfriend, won't mention any names, said he was going to come back with a gun and was going to blow you away. How did that make you feel?

At first very upset, I had to calm him down, I ended up giving him a stubby holder, and promotional stuff, and all the time now he comes in now I look after him, I give him a frisbee or a stubby just to calm him down, but I am still a little bit worried.

So you were upset, any other emotions that you felt when he said that to you?

I was pretty upset, I didn't know how to handle the situation. That Saturday night I came in and spoke to management about it, and they said the same guy had come in here and had the same sort of, and another time me and ..... were working, I shouldn't have said that, me and another guy were working, and a guy cut somebody off and come in, and was abusing and was going to come back and shoot us as well.

So that is a third occasion?

Yeah, happened a couple of times, was going to kill us because some lady cut him off and we stuck up for the lady.

So that guy that came in and said he was going to shoot you, he brought a personal problem into the hotel, how do you feel about having to listen to people's personal problems when you are just trying to do your job. How does that make you feel?

Well we do get a little bit in the bottle shop, people come in and say things aren't going that great, and hey you take time out and listen and I think you pick up pretty quick the people who are for real and who aren't. Sort of take time out and listen, but once again it is hospitality I suppose.

Part of your job?

Part of my job.

With hotels now, staff are expected inside and outside to really serve people quickly and still be polite, do you find that even when you don't try to talk too much they will talk to you anyway?

Yeah, they still try to talk, you are in a hurry and ...

Can you, do you sit there and listen to it or do you try to get away?

I always take time out and listen, like people say what day they have had or what they are doing on the weekend, and the cars are banked up behind you, and you try to take as much time as you can, but you have just got to say politely listen I have got to go I will catch you during the week, or we will have a chat soon. It is not an easy one. Cause I think a lot of people like coming in, they buy stuff, they see it as sort of, it is like coming to the bar and ordering a beer, like a local comes to the bar and gets a beer, he just likes to have a beer and what a day he has had, same thing, the staff in here have to put up with, I have had a busy day, and a hard day at the office. We get the same in the bottle shop even if it is not in the bar, they are looking forward to having that beer just to relax or ease the tension or whatever. You try to take a little bit of time out and listen but when you are busy you have just got to get on with it.

Do you think that management gives you enough support in dealing with difficult customers?

Yeah, I think so. We have had no problems.

In what way would they give you that support. Can you give me an example of how management have assisted in that?

Well I know when we are busy we have to get our job done, I can't really give you an example because I just, I have never had any problem with management. When we are busy we have to serve cars, if we are quiet we take time out. We probably get more of our arse kicked if we never took time out when we are busy with a customer. And they come back and say they were rude out there, or so we, it is a difficult one.

Have you ever lost it when you are dealing with a customer, someone that has really, really upset you and you have just lost it?

I couldn't say I have lost it dealing with a customer, but as I go back to the cash register or, you go through your mind, fuck these people.

So you say it to yourself, inside?

Yeah, say it to myself, you can never really, probably maybe, once or twice, I have told somebody that if they are not happy we don't really need them, I have said it probably a couple of times.

And those people who you want to fuck off quickly and that, do you, do you still try to smile at them when you are giving them the change and things like that, even though inside you are saying fuck them?

I have tried to be pleasant, have a good night, or have a good afternoon.

And does that take a lot of effort?

Yes it does take a lot of effort, that is where it comes to acting I think. You act and think and when they drive off you say shit how did you do that.

And how strict do you think management is in how you treat customers here. Do you think that management expects certain types of behaviour on your part, or do they give you a bit of leeway anyway because you have some rude people anyway?

Yeah, I do a fair bit with ....., he is the bottle shop manager and I think he has taught me a lot, because this was new to me when I started two years ago, I had never had the dealing, I had dealt with people on my own, but not with taking money, so they are important, these people coming back. When I used to deal

with people, I had to go back to them, but these people, in this business we rely on them coming back, so ..... is pretty good, I would say that management has a big part, to deal with people, just put up with, cause I said I was new at the game, and I learnt a little bit, I used to come here a bit in the hotel and saw how he used to treat people, like you don't like everyone that comes here but you have got to put on a brave face, sometimes and smile and put up with their shit.

And are night shifts any different from day shifts, do you get any more irritable towards customers if you are working late night than during the day?

No, I have done a few day shifts, mainly nights, but I treat people day and night, same thing. Only thing at night you get more whackers coming through after seven or eight oclock, must be a full moon out most of the time. But I treat people the same both day or night.

Have you ever had to get physical with someone in the bottleshop. Just going back to this other incident where you caught the guy with two bottles, you had to actually restrain him, did that actually affected you for the rest of the night. How did that make you feel?

Well I mean you don't like having, I mean he ran out of the bottle shop and I instinctually chased him and you grab them, and then they threaten you, and there has been a couple, once or twice there, I have had to get a bit physical with somebody. But not like punching him around.

And what is it like to trying to relax and sleep after dealing with people like that?

Yeah, that is when you come in and have a beer and try and forget about it, but you always wonder whether you do the right thing of the sake of the hotel. Like if it was my business you would tell them to fuck off you don't want anything to do with them, but you are working for somebody else, so you have got to try and keep a little bit of karma. We do get a, if you speak to anyone in the bottle shop, we get a lot of dickheads coming through, smart arses.

And going back to the uniform, what sort of demands do you think the owners, management place on your appearance, other than just the uniform, grooming?

I think they place a lot on, when I come to work I have a shave, I like wearing a hat, but if I wear a hat it has to have the product, something we are trying to promote, and I like wearing shorts,

but I do go to other bottle shops when I am driving around, just drive through and get a coke and just see how, and they are presented I must admit a lot better than what we are, but I have had no complaints in our bottle shop with service, a lot of people come through and say our service is fantastic. I don't know if uniform plays a huge part.

Just the last question. Would you say it is easier to leave behind the demands, always acting at work, acting about 80% of the time, is it easy to leave that behind when you get home?

Yeah, yeah, I leave it at work.

Just switch off?

Yeah, just switch off. I know when I come to work, the job I have to do. Like I was self employed for seven years and mate I had those customers, I had to bullshit a lot to, have a cup of tea with an old lady just to keep her, just to keep her happy, I didn't care the shit she was speaking. So I think acting has a lot to do with it. And when you have finished, once the ten oclock comes eleven oclock comes, you just switch off and that is it. You just come back the next day and just switch on again. You have got to be nice to people and that is acting, have a good day, how

has your day been, you have had a shit day, and a lot is to do with acting.

Thanks very much for your time.

INTERVIEW WITH F3 (Extrovert) DINING ROOM

Can you tell me how you feel when you put your uniform on at home before you leave to come to work? What sort of emotions do you feel?

Ok, honestly I am just tired, I don't think much about work I am very unhappy to be out of bed. I like sleeping in the morning. How do I feel? I don't really think about it very much because I am also trying to find stuff to wear and I can never find anything. I don't feel, I never feel like, I can't believe I have to go work if it is in the morning time. If I start in the evening which I am not used to do them I might, oh, I have to go to work, that is when I am like, but in the morning time, it is alright.

So you are used to working during the day?

Yes, certainly am.

And does your mood change at all as you walk through the front door of the hotel to begin work?

It depends on what sort of mood the other people are in when I get here. If they have had a bad morning or...

Do you mean customers or staff?

Both actually, how many people are here, you know if you say someone has been out the night before, or but yeah my mood usually gets better when I walk through the door. When people say hello, I like it when they say hello.

Do you find acting towards customers easy, as in acting nice, friendly, smiling all the time?

A majority of the time.

You find it very easy to do?

Yes really easy actually. Unless they are very mean.

And do you think you are a good actor?

Yeah. Yeah.

So you would use that a fair bit at work?

Yes.

Have you ever "lost it" with any customers. Have you ever felt that angry at a particular hotel whether it be this hotel or another that you have shouted at them?

I have never shouted at anyone, I have had people that have, I think it is mainly when it is busy and they are really rude. I had people one time, it was so busy I had everyone out the back as well, and they just drove me insane, they were just so rude to me the whole night and then they tried to order food at 8.30 and I said sorry we stop serving at 8.00 and they yelled at me again, and they said they are never coming back here and I said, fine. I think that was the only time. I walked off and started folding napkins.

So you sort of brushed it off with them?

Yes I just brushed it off.

Did that affect your mood for the rest of the night, that was fairly early in the night did that affect your mood for the rest of your shift?

That was actually towards the end of the night. So, yeah I wasn't in a good mood after that.

Do you find it hard to relax and sleep at home when you have done a night shift in particular?

It does take me a while to unwind at home. I end up being up for another few hours.

Is there any particular routine that you go through, do you have a set routine when you finish work, do you have a knock off drink or do you drink?

I usually drink, I have a knock off drink definitely.

Almost every occasion?

Yes, almost every occasion.

So that forms part of your routine?

Yes.

You don't have to answer this question but is there any other substance that helps you relax after work?

Yes.

Do you want to tell me about that?

I smoke pot when I get home.

Ok, sure, and that helps you relax?

Yes.

And you find that you do that on most occasions when you finish work?

Yes.

It forms part of your routine?

Yes, my routine.

And how long do you think it would take you to fall asleep when you do get home?

Hours, always hours.

Is it longer, does it take you longer to fall asleep after working here than if you had a day off and went to bed?

I had a day off yesterday so, probably yes, I have had time to relax when I have had a day off, I have been out, all that, but I genuinely like to come home, normal people finish at 5.30 they come home, have something to eat, watch TV, I like to do those sort of things but at a different time.

And how strict do you think that management is on the type of feelings and behaviours you display towards customers?

I think they are pretty good actually. I think they have all been in the industry a while so they know themselves how bad customers can be. They, you don't see them yelling at anyone, being angry at customers, or trying not to be.

And do you think that your moods and the way you display your feelings depends on which department you work in. For example whether it be the front bar, the dining room or the gaming room?

Dining room yes, I think mainly because, not so much tonight, oh quite a little bit tonight, because the dining room is a split shift. It is the perfect amount of time. It is the perfect amount of time in between the shift in the dining, you go home, relax and you go back. But the dining room but I think it is because it is shorter shifts as well. You kind of, probably not in a bad mood

when I leave the dining because you are not here for that long. Front bar and the gaming room are pretty similar. Although the front bar is alright because you are by yourself out there. So that is probably different as well now I think about it.

And what difference does it make when you are working on your own?

There is not someone watching over your shoulder the whole time. Like I mean I like to make sure I get everything done but I might have a different routine of getting everything done to other people.

So you talked about the shortness of the shift in the dining room being a positive thing, so how do long shifts affect you, is it more difficult would you say to deal with unruly customers when you have been working for 7-8 hours already?

Like tonight, I have been here a while and she was very rude. I wasn't mean to her but it does affect your mood for sure when you are here for a long period of time.

I was wondering if you have a joke or a jibe at customers, or laugh about particular customers with other staff?

Oh yes, definitely.

How often would that happen?

Oh, every day.

Why?

I think it puts me in a better mood because I know that I am not the only one that thinks that and also because you can have a laugh about it as well, you can't laugh so much when you are by yourself about them. So if someone else has noticed it too, you know it is not just you that they don't like.

Do you think that it helps relieve some of the pressure that you have?

Yes.

And what parts of the hotel would that type of joking or talking about customers occur in?

The kitchen, or even just behind the bar like if there are no customers near.

And so it is important that it is away from customers, so you don't get caught?

Yes.

Do you feel there would be a problem if you got caught?

Yes. I mean some of the regulars have heard us say stuff but they have joined in. If it was a really obvious thing they don't mind.

And do you think that management of the hotel encourages you to joke about customers?

Yes.

And do you think that management participates in joking?

Yes.

Can you think of anything else that you may do to help alleviate some of the stresses that may happen here at work with dealing with customers apart from joking with other staff about them?

Smoking.

Ok, can you tell me a little bit about that? Do you smoke more when you are at work? Do you crave a cigarette when you are at work?

I would like to smoke more when I am at work, but I actually smoke less because I am at work. But I think that at work makes me want a cigarette more because I know, I might just be because I know I can't have one all the time.

Do you think it would be harder to give up smoking if you remained a worker at the hotel?

Yes. I think that would be similar with any job though, not just because it is a pub.

Being a female employee and considering that a majority of the customers are male, can you tell me a little bit about the relationship you have with customers here?

Ok, well a lot of them are very male. A lot of them are quite friendly about it though. A lot of them do say things like oh, you look nice today rather than something particularly male.

You mean like something rude of a sexual nature?

Yes, not sleazy or whatever. But of course there are the other ones that are. I don't like them. Did that answer the question. I couldn't remember the start of it.

Yes, I asked you about how males treat you as a female while you work here.

I think it is the same for everyone though. They definitely, you can tell if a male was behind the bar, they like it better to be served by one of the girls.

Have you ever had anything of a sexual nature said to you or anyone try or attempt to touch you at work, a customer?

Yes.

Do you want to tell me about that without using names?

Well there has been, I think the first time was on Melbourne Cup day actually, remember those whips we had on the tables and I had one of those tucked into my belt and a customer pulled it out and then went to stuff it back inside my pants, and I said sorry no. And he goes that is ok, I will do it for you. And I said no, don't. I wasn't actually very rude to him, I should have been

meaner. He had his girlfriend with him, he was like a fucken sleaze or whatever. And I just grabbed it. Then you have had people that just grab your arse.

And how does that make you feel?

I don't like it at all.

How does that make you feel as a female in the front bar?

It makes me feel, like I am here to serve drinks and meals.They don't seem to have a lot of respect to you. Like we give you your drinks it doesn't mean you have a licence to say and do whatever you want.

Sure. Nowadays in hotels and in other industries as well, staff are expected to serve customers quickly and at the same time be polite. Do you find that if you haven't got time to talk to customers they will go out of their way to talk to you anyway. How does that make you feel. Is that a problem at all?

It depends on the customer, and how they go about it. Whether they are taking up all of your time or if you are just at the till putting money in, like if that is when they say anything that is

fine because I am, but it doesn't bother me if it doesn't get in my way.

When you are, you say you use a fair bit of acting out work, what type of effort does it take to achieve this?

Most of it is fairly natural. Other times it is more of a struggle. If they are a rude customer, if they are, like generally as a person I don't go out and talk to new people and meet new people and be nice to new people. So here when I am actually nice to new people and talk with them it is different for me, but most of them are nice, and it is no hassle at all. But if they are rude then..

Is it hard putting being nice?

It is exhausting as well. It makes you tired and it takes a lot out of you I think.

Do you become more irritable when people are rude?

Yes. You definitely have a shorter fuse.

Does management place any demands on your appearance at work whether they be subtle demands that aren't spoken or spoken demands?

Every now and then, I think it is subtle, like they will say, they will comment when I ask, they have never told me off for it, and said I don't want you to wear that. With stuff like that if they have said something about it, I try not to wear it again unless I have to.

And you have a fair bit of leeway as to what you wear at work?

Definitely.

And do you pick out what you feel most comfortable in or what you think perhaps customer would rather appreciate?

What I feel most comfortable in and what is clean is also a big thing to me. That is actually a majority of the thing, is clean.

How do you feel when you take your uniform off at the end of the shift?

Oh good, I like it. It is great, that is a good time.

Why is that?

I don't know, it just feels like officially I have finished work, I can put my slippers on and whatever, and that is it now.

And leading on from that do you find that it is easier to leave behind the type of demands you have at work? I am sort of the understanding that is it when you take your uniform off or is it when you walk through the front door to leave?

Oh, a bit of both. Walking through the front door is good as well because you are home. I am not sure which one I like more. I think I like taking my uniform off because I am able to sit down and relax properly.

Just a couple of final questions. What do you think management can do to change or help you deal with some of the problems in having to always be nice to customers?

I think if they know that a particular customer is, like if you don't like a certain customer, or if they hear something, because I think that management generally gets on well with all the customers here and I think it would better if it came from them, whatever they did, not even in a rude way, just subtly, in a friendly way. They seem to do a pretty good job, they seem to be understanding about it all.

So management gives you enough support in dealing with difficult customers. Can you think of any examples where you have had to go to a manager to deal with a particular problem that you didn't think you could deal with yourself?

Occasionally with, it is generally to do with people that are gambling, the people with the pokie money when they want bonus money. And I don't just want to be handing out the pubs money, so if I don't recognise them, or if whatever, and they don't have a card, I won't actually, even if they say I have been here for 20 years, I say if you have been here for 20 years you should have a card by now, you know, just in situations like that where mainly it is just to deal with someone's food or someone's drinks, or something that is costing the hotel money, that is fine then I go to management.

And do you think that gamblers of the hotel get a different type of service from staff?

I think they expect it. They seem to want everything their way, they want the music off, or the TAB turned up, or they want delivery to the pokie room, they are definitely more demanding I think.

And are they rude to you sometimes, when they lose money?

Definitely.

And if you don't particularly want to do something you are not expected to, like delivering drinks to people playing on the pokie machines, how does that make you feel when someone asks you to do that. Do you ever say no?

Again it depends on the customer, if they are just a friendly person and they are playing the pokies and it is not busy, I am more than happy to do it, but if they are rude then I will just say, I have said I can't actually do that, I have to put it up on the bar. I haven't said no fuck off, I don't like you. But I have said you have to go to the bar.

Thank you very much for your time.

That is alright.

INTERVIEW WITH F4 (Extrovert) DINING ROOM/ GAMING ROOM

Can you tell me how you feel when you put your uniform on at home and are ready to leave from home to come to work?

I feel like here we go again. But I feel happy because I love the people I work with. Most of the customers are good as well.

And how does your mood, does your mood change when you walk through the front door of the hotel?

It changes when I walk into the front door. When I have got it on at home it is sort of like I am ready and stuff, but when I walk in and I see the regulars sitting at the bar it is sort, I do change.

In what way?

I change as in I don't know, I put a smile on my face and forget about all that is at home and leave that at the door. I put on an act.

Do you, and how much of the time spent here, oh first of all do you think you are a good actor?

Yes. I am not acting as much but just smiling a lot and forgetting about my own problems.

And how much of the time spent here dealing with customers would you put on a smile. Not a natural smile, put on a smile as in an act?

Probably 20-30% of the time, I am smiling because there are some customers I don't like and I am acting because there are some customers I don't like and I am smiling because I have to. But the majority of the customers I find easy.

And does it, how much of an effort does it take to act with those customers you don't like?

At first, when I first started working here it was a bit hard, it was a bit hard to smile but now I just take it with a bar of soap and just do it, don't even think about it, just do it.

And that is through experience that you can do that?

Yes.

And do you know that you are doing it?

Yes, I do sometimes. I do say if there is a customer that talks a lot or whatever, I tend to just say yeah, yeah, yeah, and I know that I am just going yeah, yeah, yeah.

And smiling at the same time?

Yeah.

So I suppose you do notice it yourself that there is an effort then involved, if you notice it yourself?

Yes.

When you are at work what sorts of things do you do to alleviate some of the pressure involved in having to act nice all the time towards customers. What sort of things alleviate that pressure for you?

Smiling to start with. As soon as I smile it makes me feel better, helps me get over it basically.

Other than the acting towards the customers, what do you do to help deal with it, as for example you might go and have a cigarette and that helps you relax, is there anything else you might do?

I don't know. I might open a packet of chips or something.

And do find that you ever joke about customers or have a go about customers or complain about customers to other staff members?

All the time.

All the time, and does that help you alleviate things?

Yeah it does because you relate to the other person and they say I agree with you and you don't feel so bad.

And whereabouts in the hotel would this take place the joking or having a jibe about someone?

Behind the bar, when you turn around and pour drinks, and in the kitchen, in the kitchen a lot, or in the bar that the customer is not in.

Ok, always away from the customer?

Yes.

Do you always make an effort to do that away from the customer for fear of.....?

Don't want to hurt their feelings.

And when you get home, after work, how do you feel when you take that uniform off?

I am glad it is over but then I start thinking about when I have to work again. But it is a relief. And most of the time when I have had a good night at work I feel good when I get home.

And how long does it take you to go to sleep when you get home and is it easy for you to relax?

No, it takes me ages to lay down.

What sort of things do you do to help yourself wind down?

Have a shower, have a chat.

To your roommate?

To my boyfriend.

And do you talk about work issues with him?

Yes, if they have upset me. But other than that not really. I might tell him a funny story.

So you not only talk to other staff about your customers you tell your partner about things that have happened at work, funny things, humorous things?

Yes.

So in that situation when you have had a rough night with some customers, how easy or difficult is it to leave that behind when you get home?

It is hard, it is hard because I get home and I am still thinking I am right and he is wrong, but then that person is wrong, but after a while I start to feel better when I start to do other stuff.

And how many hours does it take you, but if you are doing a night shift how long would you stay up after getting home before you fall asleep. Are you confident that you would go to sleep?

About three hours I reckon. Say I finish at 11.00, have a couple of drinks and then I usually go to sleep about 2.00am.

And do you always have a knock off drink when you finish work?

Always.

And is that part of your routine in relaxing after finishing the shift here?

Yes.

So your routine would be, from when you have finished work what would your routine be? Can you take me through those steps, from having a knock off drink.

Ok, so the knock off drink. Then another knock off drink.

Do you always have alcohol after you finish a shift?

Yes, yes. And have a cigarette. Go home.

And you don't have to answer this question, but is there any other substances that you might take apart from alcohol to help you relax?

After work, sometimes.

Ok, you don't have to say what, that if fine.

When you do have trouble with a customer who is really giving you the shits, do you feel confident enough about going to management about it and getting their help. Do you think they help you enough?

Yes.

And how would you decide whether you can handle it yourself or whether you would go to a manager about it?

When, I always try and talk it out with the customer first and say, and say what I am thinking and feeling and say this is why, and if they still don't want to listen to me and they are drunk or getting abusive, then that is when I get backup.

So there is a line there that if they cross?

Yeah, if they start getting abusive and they won't listen to me.

Do you think in respect of the comic relieve where you have fun with other staff talking about customers, do you think management encourages it?

I don't think they encourage it, but they realise...

Do you think they discourage it?

No, I don't think they discourage it.

Do you think that management participates in the joking?

I think they agree with it yes.

And why do you think that is, the reason why they participate?

Because they stir them as well and they understand, they know.

Would you consider management here to be hands on or back office type managers?

Yes they are.

What back office type managers?

No, I think they, serve customers.

And does that help at all in the managers understanding of work here?

Yes I think it does.

Do you think there is anything else that management can do to help alleviate some of the stress evolved in having to always be nice to people that you don't particularly like?

No, I think it is just the job, it is what you go out to do, the bottom line is you have to be nice.

And how about on some occasions if you are having problems at home or you have got some personal problems and you come to work and you have to put on an act, how do you get yourself in the mood to start?

Smile a lot. Basically as I am walking into work, I say, ok, I have got to start work, and sometimes I will even say to customers, don't give me a hard time tonight I have had a hard day, and I am only joking around but they sort of know.
Now not just at this hotel but at others, staff are expected to serve people quickly but at the same time be pleasant and be nice to customers. Is that a difficult process to get through?.

It is sometimes because one customer will be there having a chat and we have got three other customers waiting for a drink. So you have sort of got to stand there and smile and sort of hurry them up and then, yeah, it is hard.

And do you find if you don't have time to talk to a particular customer they will talk to you anyway?

Yeah.

Give me an example of that without using names? Say a gentleman or young lady etc.

There was a gentleman who holds his money while he is talking to you so you have to stand there longer. While other customers are banging their cups and stuff.

And how does that make you feel? How do you get around that problem, what do you do with that person who holds his money and doesn't give it to you?

I will joke around, and say common give me your money, I will just have a joke. Or I will just walk off and get the money later.

Being a female working in an industry predominantly where the customers are male, how does that make you feel?. What is the relationship between the female workers considering yourself as an example, with male customers?.

As in?

As you are female, how do males treat you, the customers?

They do tend to be nicer to females because they want to chat and they also like to have a look, and they will make you stand there and have a look while you are standing there.

They will have a look at your body?

Yeah.

And how does that make you feel?

It depends on who it is, ha ha. If they are good looking then that is ok, but if they are crusty old men then you feel a bit gross about it.

Do you get stressed about that at all?

Crusty old ones, yeah, I do because it make me feel gross, I don't even want to know what they are thinking.

And what do you do to get around that problem, is there anything you can do, or do you feel like you are stuck behind the bar.

You can't really do, if they are going to look they are looking anyway whatever you do they are going to look. I sort of get over it, it is still gross, but that is part of the job.

And do you think your uniform represents your job quite accurately?

As in.

In what you wear?

Yeah, I always wear black and white.

And that is because management expects that? Do you like wearing these colours?

Not really, black I do.

Ok, but do you feel comfortable in the clothes you wear to work?

Yeah.

And has any male ever said anything to you of a sexual nature that has really upset you?

A couple of times, yeah.

Do you want to give an example?

Oh, there was one customer that came in and I didn't know him and I went up to him and said what would you like and he looked me up and down and said, yeah well. And I don't know why, but that really got to me, he was just, and he must have known that got to me because all night he was staring and making me feel uncomfortable on purpose, I think he was doing it on purpose.

So that made you feel really uncomfortable?

Yeah.

And that happened early in the shift?

Yeah.

So how did that affect the rest of your shift?

I felt uncomfortable and awful and bad.

And was that an easy night to relax and sleep after finishing that shift?

Not really, I went home and told my partner and yeah, it is better when I tell him about it and he will just say don't take any notice of him. It is nice to hear it from somebody else.

And again, you don't have to answer this question, but has there ever been an occasion when because you don't just stay behind the bar, you have to take meals out and so forth or clean up, has there ever been an occasion where a male customer has tried to touch you.

Yeah there has been a couple and one customer that taps me on the bum a lot and I have told him, I told him in a joking way, you don't have to touch me to say hello. Because he touched me and I said why do you touch me all the time, and he said I am just saying hello, and I said you don't have to touch me to say hello, and he hasn't done it since.

Has there been any other occasions when they just kept doing it?

Yeah, well there is one customer he used to hug me all the time, and every time he walked past he used to put his hand on my shoulder and it made me feel gross, really gross, and I sort of given him the message and every time he touches me I sort of flinch away, and he hasn't done it for a while either.

So you told him verbally that you didn't like that?

I didn't tell the second one but the first one I told verbally.

And is there anyway of avoiding those situations do you think?

There is to a certain point, sometimes they will just do it and, but if they keep doing, yeah, I think there is a way to avoid it, you tell the manager or you just tell them if they keep doing it.

Just a couple more questions. Howe strict do you think management is about the sort of emotions that are displayed towards customers?

I don't think they are very strict at all. I think as long as you look and act decent enough.

And do you ever worry about if you are rude to a customer they will tell management about it?

Yeah, if I am rude there is usually a reason because they are a wanker or they are an arsehole. I don't know if I am ever really rude though. I have really learnt to put on an act. So it is easier just to be nice than to feel sorry about it.

And do you always think it depends on what part of the hotel you are working as to how much of an act you have to put on. For example whether it is the front bar, dining room or gaming room.

Front bar, I am more relaxed in the front bar, I can say what I want out there. Pokie room, I am actually quite relaxed in the pokie room except for the new customers that come up. Dining room is easy, very easy, very manageable.

During late night shifts do you think you are more susceptible to getting irritable compared to day shifts?

No. I am a night person so I like the night time shifts.

Ok, is there anything else that you want to say about this topic before we finish up?

No, I don't think so.

Ok, thank you for your time.

INTERVIEW WITH F5 (Extrovert) FRONT BAR

Can you tell me how you feel when you put your uniform on at home and are ready to come to work, what sort of feelings go through your mind about the work ahead?

Oh, not much about, if I put my uniform on at home, all I am thinking about is whether it is clean. But sometimes, cause I ride my bike to work, sometimes I get changed when I get here. And then I put on my work personality with my work uniform. But otherwise it is when I walk through the door.

I was just about to ask you if your mood does change when you walk through the front door?

My actual mood doesn't change, but I do put on my work personality.

Can you tell me a bit about what sort of personalty you are talking about?

You know, the be nice to people constantly personalty. I think I, sometimes I just go into a bit of a robot mood. And people say to me how can you be so nice and friendly after you have been here all night long, how come you are so happy.

Staff say that or customers?

Customers. And I will say I just am but really it just my work personality that I am just pretending.

And to get in that mood, to get to put on that different persona when you walk through the door, what sort of a process to you have to go through mentally to do that, is it a matter of switching on and off?

Nothing, I just switch on.

And what sort of things do you refer to to be able to do that. Is it experience or is it acting ability?

I think it just comes naturally, personally. I have been brought up by business people so I have always had to be nice to customers, so maybe it is the way I have been brought up.

Sure, ok. I was going to ask you how much of the time spent here you would actually be acting. You might want to describe that in words or as a percentage?

Most of the time not, I think, but sometimes you have to pretend. You know I probably think 10% or 15% of the time I would be acting, and that is only when I come across someone who is particularly obnoxious or when people tell me personal details that I find offensive.

So you said before you change when you walk through the door, and yet you are saying that you only act 10% of the time?

I am kind of nice naturally but I do need to force it at times.

So on the odd occasion when needed you need to actually make a real effort to be nice?

Like the other day I was having a customer who was telling me that he thought it was ok to hit women sometimes. And I went, I didn't say anything, I didn't I just said, ok, you know.

Did that take a lot effort to stop yourself from saying something. What I am getting at here if the feeling you are saying inside are different from what you were expressing, because you didn't actually say anything?

Not really, I just pretended to go along with it, but sometimes I might disagree depending on who the person is. But like, I

mean I will use respect for that person once they have gone and said something like that. You know, I have lost respect.

How close were you from saying something?

Not very actually, it was just one of those days.

So you did disagree with what that person was saying?

Oh absolutely.

So you wouldn't say there was a lot of effort involved in stopping you from saying something?

No not really, it just comes out, just a big lie coming out of my mouth, saying alright.

And yet though you did say that you did consciously oppose what he was saying?

Oh yes, absolutely.

So if someone is rude to you like that person, or rude in other ways, how does that change the way you treat that person on other occasions.

I would definitely give them less, the service wouldn't be as good definitely.

In what ways do you mean?

I may just serve them a little bit, I may not be in as bigger rush to serve them, and I may not be quite as nice.

Sure, and what about people who are polite to you?

Then I am extra nice to them.

Ok, you think they deserve that. When you are at work, do you ever joke or have a go or jibe about a customer behind the customer's back to other staff.

Yes.

How prevalent do you think that is?

Very, depending on the customer.

So it would happen every night you work?

No, not every night. But a lot of nights, yeah practically every night. I bitched about ..... tonight.

And to other staff mainly or to other customers?

Other staff.

And would that normally occur in front of the customers?

No, not in front of the customers.

And when you do laugh and have a joke about a customer or a jibe or whatever else, where about in the hotel would that take place with other staff?

Probably in a quite corner somewhere like down that one there, probably, in the kitchen is a good place.

Other people have said the kitchen as well, why do you think the kitchen is a good place?

Because the customers can't here you in there.

But what about the kitchen staff?

And they love to gossip in the kitchen absolutely, the kitchen staff are the biggest gossips of all.

So what sort of a purpose does it serve to joke about customers?

I think it is a good feeling if you can.

Do you think management encourages you to joke about customers?

Yes.

In what way do they show that?

By joking about them themselves.

I was just about to ask if they do it themselves. Ok in respect to, I will ask you a couple more questions about your time out later, but in respect to when you work night shifts in particular, when you get home does it take you very long to relax and sleep after a night shift?

Yeah, it takes me a few hours generally speaking.

Do you normally have a knock off drink when you finish work?

Usually I do yeah.

And you don't have to answer this question, I have asked others as well. Is there any other substances that you might take to help you relax?

Yeah, I usually like to have a joint. Not a pipe, a joint.

Sure, and does work play a role in you feeling the need to have a joint?

No I don't think so, I think that is just something I like to do anyway. Actually I think I have tobacco in it as well so it is a little bit like a cigarette to me, I don't smoke cigarettes.

Can you take me through the routine of from the point of when you finish work, to going to sleep? What is your wind down routine?.

I usually finish and have a drink or two, sometimes I might have a few drinks or not, depending, then I will go home. I would probably have a joint, then I would probably watch a bit of TV, then I would take my dog for a walk and then I will probably

have another joint and then watch some TV and then I will go to sleep.

And how many hours does all this take?

That is probably four or five hours.

Even after a night shift?

That is usually after a night shift. But most of the time, if I have finished really late and I have to start in the morning, then I will purposely try to shorten that and go to sleep a bit earlier.

Is there anyone who you talk to about work when you get home?

Only if I ring someone up.

Do you feel the need to talk about work issues at home?

Sometimes.

On what sort of occasions?

If I have been really pissed off I will ring up my sister who also works in a bar and I might say you wouldn't believe about what

this customer did tonight, and I will talk to her and she understands.

Following on from that, how easy do you think it is to leave problems that you have had with customers or rude customers behind when you get home?

I think that depends on the person, how long it takes for someone to get over something like that. For me probably half an hour.

I should have asked this question before, but I will ask it now, how does it feel when you take your uniform off?

I am pretty lazy with that thing. I will just get home and won't take it off until I go to bed probably.

So there is no real symbolism in that for you?

It doesn't make much difference to me.

Ok, I have just got a couple of notes here from some of the observation I did prior and some of the comments you have made. You stopped smoking about five years ago before you

started working here, when you started here you started smoking in the second week of the pub?

No, not cigarettes.

Well you had a couple?

I think I was just going through a little phase here, that might have been when I first started.

Well you said to me that you started. Was there any reason why you started smoking when you started here?

I think that is just being surrounded by smokers. Just people smoking around me. And or maybe because I am sitting here waiting to get home for a joint with my tobacco in it, so I might have a puff or two.

On another occasion there was a gentleman called ..... in the front bar, who drinks the stout.

Him right.

He was giving you the shits one evening and you commented that just because you are nice to him doesn't mean you are his friend?

Well we are being paid to be nice to people, you know, he came in here, for two, I had started for two weeks, and I was talking to him as you do, with your customers, you give them a beer, you say how are you, are you having a nice day. And he was saying oh ..... she is a really good friends with me.

To other customers or staff?

Both, and cause she talks to me all the time. He said. So I stopped talking to him, I don't talk to him at all. He was quite obsessive that guy, I found him to be a bit creepy in the end.

Considering in hotels now you are expected to serve really quickly and yet be nice anyway as well, do you find that sometimes when you don't have time to talk to customers they will go out of their way to talk to you anyway?

Yes.

And how does that make you feel?

I think, you, I mean you still have to be nice to them, you just have to kind of, you can't leave other customers waiting just because someone wants to tell you about their day, so you can try and listen with half an ear and get beers at the same time.

Do you feel that is part of your job to listen to customers problems or how their day went?

No I don't actually.

But you think it comes with the job?

But they like it. I can tell you an example about a guy that I had who came in one night, I had never seen him before, he was here literally two minutes, ordered a beer and within that two minutes he told me that he lived in his car, and that he hadn't had a woman in eleven years.

And what was your reaction to that?

Well I was stunned that he wanted to tell me this much detail when he had never met me before.

And what sort of emotions did you display to him when he was telling you?

I pretended to be interested, I went, oh really!

And what were you actually thinking and feeling inside?

I was thinking what a user.

Was it a difficult process putting on a front even though you thought differently?

No, I don't find that hard at all, unless I am really angry then I find it hard.

Do you feel comfortable in the uniform you wear at work?

What I wear here is fine. Yes but I am really not a black pants, white shirt and tie kind of girl. I kind of like being able to wear black shirts and that kind of thing.

And how does that make you feel having to wear black and white?

I don't mind it actually. Although I do get a little bit sick of it after a, if I am wearing it every day. On Sunday my day off, I might just decide to wear all pink or something because I am sick of

black and white. But generally speaking I have got a lot of black and white clothes anyway. So I don't usually mind that.

Now you don't have to answer this question either, but has any customer ever said anything of a sexual nature to you that has upset you.

Yes.

Do you want to give an example?

Comments about my weight. Comments about my breasts.Any comments about my body, then sexual type comments, I don't think that is acceptable.

I remember this time when this person made this comment about you needing to lose weight. How did that make you feel, I mean I saw it?

I thought about it for a second and then I thought fuck it, I am not serving him anymore, fuck it. I don't need to put up with this shit.

How angry did that make you feel?

I was mad, very mad.

Did you have to control yourself not to...

I was so mad that I didn't even try to control myself. I said to him a couple of choice things to him.

I remember you coming to me and saying that as well.

Do you feel you have management support at times when customers are rude to you?

If I didn't, I would go for it anyway, personally. For me my pride is more important than my job and if management didn't support me then I would be happy to go onto the next job.

Do you think that management supports you?

Absolutely, I think they do.

There was another occasion when three Irish gentlemen in the front bar wanted you to shut a door between the front bar and dining room because cool air was coming between there and what sort of language did they use to tell you to close the door, do you remember?

Well those guys have a problem with serving people, like people who serve them. They like to push the limits. They weren't really cold, they just wanted me to close the door.

What sort of language did they use, were they polite or rude?

They were rude, I can't remember them actually swearing or anything, but just the way they speak is really rude.

And I remember that it was significant to you, the fact that when I came through the bar they said to me John could you please shut the door. They were very polite to me.

Oh, that is right, they said just shut the fucking door. And I said no, if you ask me nicely I would have closed it.

And then they asked me nicely, so how did that make you feel?

Well I turned around and said to them I noticed that you said that nicely to John.

Why do you feel they did that?

Well those same guys have come in, they like to push the limits. They want to see, I have noticed they like to see what they can get. Alright, I have seen them, them come in and say, oh I haven't got my glasses with me, will you go and get me some cigarettes from the cigarette machine. When you see them, and I have said no, but five minutes later they will be there without his glasses and he can see perfectly.

Does that make you feel like a bit of a servant perhaps, or people perceive you, some people perceive you as a servant?

Well obviously these guys do see that, see it that way. But as soon as you put your foot down, and with a lot of customers, as soon as you put your foot down, and they realise what you will and won't do, they basically, some of them will even stop coming in. But you know, they realise how far they can go. Like with me in the front bar, I think I get a lot less shit than some of these girls out in the pokie bar because I won't put up with it and they know that.

Sure, you were talking before about them talking about your weight and you said you mentioned them talking about your breasts as well, how does that make you feel when they comment about that?

I think it sits out of line, it is not on, it is not appropriate.

And does much of that come from men, all men, or do women ever talk about your body?

Yeah, generally speaking men, and a couple of lesbians, slightly out of line, but they are kind of like men too really.

So can you describe in words how that makes you feel when they talk about your body?

I just don't, I just feel that they don't have any right to even comment, basically it is none of their business what I look like.

Why do you think they feel that they have the right?

I think half of them go out to strip joints and they think that going to a normal bar is the same thing. A lot of women don't understand where the line is drawn between various different places.

Have you ever been physically touched at the hotel by a male?

Yes.

Ok, do you want to describe that?

Just a few weeks ago, I was sitting down after work, having a drink, and a guy walked past and stuck his finger down the back of my pants. And I just turned around and said , oy, what the fuck do you think you are doing. And he said, oh what. And I said that is not on, you can't do that kind of thing, and I said it loudly so that as many people as possible could hear it just to embarrass him.

And how did it feel when he did that, that split second when he actually did it?

Well it is an assault. It makes you jump, you don't expect it, you can't go touching people.

It has come out a bit in other interviews and I am just thinking along the lines if that happened on the street, then it would be a police matter?

Well that is what I said about ..... with that guy, this is a physical assault, you can't go touching people, doing things like that. Out here apparently there are a couple of customers that try and grab them on the bum when they go out to the pokies

and stuff like that, that is not on. I said you can turn around and slap someone for doing something like that.

Have you ever thought of taking it further with situations like that when someone has touched you?

I don't think anyone has ever really tried on me, but they could. But I have worked with girls in other places, like I worked with a girl one time that was thrown to the ground and her top pulled up and she was groped.

That wasn't at this hotel?

It was at a café, but that was actually by other staff. But I feel it was partly because she was the kind of girl that laughed about it and thought it was funny, and I turned around to these guys and said how come you never try anything like that with me, and they were groping the girls all the time, and they said oh, we wouldn't dare, we know you would kick us or hurt us or something. I think if you can't handle this kind of thing then you should get out of the business as well.

Sure. What other ways do you, what other things do you do to alleviate the pressures of having to deal with, or be nice to customers all the time, particularly if they are not nice to you? In

what ways other than joking with other staff do you, is there any way you can have time out. (pause in tape) So before we were talking about other ways of alleviating stress, is there anything you want to add to that?

No, I don't think so. I am not a very stressed out kind of person so I don't really get that stressed and if someone really makes me mad I will let them know, and that is a way of alleviating stress really, standing up for yourself, I think that makes you feel a lot better.

Is there any, has there ever been a situation where other than putting on an act on the exterior of yourself, where customers talk about a particular problem they have had and you have actually felt sympathy for that person or empathy and you have actually tried to feel how they feel inside?

It would have to be, yeah, yeah, there have been a couple that I have felt genuinely sorry for.

And you felt the same inside as you have on the outside for those people?

Like when the captain had skin cancer....you can't help but feel for someone like that. But most of their problems aren't really

that big a problem, and if they weren't such alcoholics they probably wouldn't have these problems.

Sure. Just the last question, what sort of things do you think hotel owners and management could do to alleviate some of the problems that staff have in having to always be nice and in dealing with difficult customers?

I think just supporting their staff. If the staff feel that there is a problem then there probably is a problem, so I think that that is pretty much it. I think a general, just looking after your staff in general, not ..... I think that all goes down quite well.

And breaks perhaps?

Breaks aren't not too much of a thing for me. I don't know, I like going without them actually.

Why is that?

Once I have a break and sit down, I don't want to get back up again.

Sure.

But I don't smoke cigarettes so I don't need to.

When you do have a break do you find that customers come up to you anyway, when you are on a break?

I wouldn't go and sit in the front bar on my break, they would, they would all come and talk to me for sure, yeah.

No worries, thank you very much for your time.

No worries.

INTERVIEW WITH M2 (Extrovert) BOTTLE SHOP/ GAMING ROOM

Can you tell me how you feel when you put your uniform on at home and are about to leave for work?

Well it depends on what I am wearing. If I put on a nice white shirt, like I am only a student so I have only got a certain array of shirts, so if I put on a nice white shirt and a nice tie I feel really good about myself, but if I have to put on one of my dodgy shirts I don't feel as confident.

And how do you feel about the work that you will be doing when you are putting that uniform on?

I am pretty happy, I am always happy to come to work, I really enjoy my work. 99.9% of the time I am really happy to deal with customers and stuff. There are odd occasions where I don't really, not I don't want to come to work, I just don't have the energy and excitement to deal with customers.

Does your mood change at all when you walk through the front door of work, or walking into the bottleshop depending on where you are working?

I wouldn't say it normally does, it doesn't change. Not really, no.

When you are at work, do you ever joke about customers or have a jibe about a particular customer or customers with other staff members. Does that occur?

Certainly, it occurs all the time. We discuss certain aspects of their character or we will talk about their annoying parts, we talk about, yeah, there would be jokes.

Is that normally done behind the customers back or in front of them?

Oh, definitely not in front of the customer. They could be insulted by it, if it is a positive statement about the customer you would say it in front of them, if it is an annoying thing you wouldn't say it in front of them.

So more often than not it would be a negative thing about a customer. Or amusing?

Sure, negative or amusing for sure.

Ok, where about in the hotel would this take place, if you are working in the bottleshop where would it take place?

If you were working in the bottleshop I would do it once the customer has driven out probably, by the till, by the counter.

Sure and if you were working inside, where about would you jibe, or where would it occur the most?

Behind the bar, away from that customer, cause you can't exactly wait for that customer to leave, so you can get the annoying part just done, so it would be the opposite end of where the customer is.

Anywhere else in the hotel where that would occur?

The kitchen is an excellent part for good gossip.

Why do you think that is?

I would say that is probably because of the staff. I seem to get on well with the chef. She is very gossipy and likes to be in with all the goss, so I would say that would be a main factor.

Do you think management encourages staff to have a joke or a jibe about customers behind the customer's back?

Are you saying in this particular hotel, yes, I would say our management are pretty laid back and into staff happiness, sure.

And do you think that management participates in the joking and jibing about customers?

I don't think they directly encourage it, but they would add their influence where possible.

We will talk a little more about your time at work later, but when you finish a shift, I am particularly interested in evening shifts, do you find it hard to relax or sleep after working at the hotel, when you get home?

Sometimes, that is a hard question to answer. I don't know, I find it hard to sleep anyway regardless. So I don't know if the hotel would have an influence on that.

So do you feel different when you get home and take your uniform off?

Yeah, I feel much more relaxed, I can stop sort of almost putting on a fake act sort of thing. Like I can feel more relaxed and be myself. Like the things that I do at home, lounge around, I couldn't do in front of the customers here.

And how long would it take you to fall asleep when you got home after finishing a nightshift at work?

I would say anywhere between half an hour to an hour.

And how long after going home would you actually go to bed?

I would say a good two hours.

And what do you do in those two hours?

TV. Time to chill out, there is no social interaction I guess. You have spent six hours interacting socially with customers particularly when you are behind the bar. So I would say, yeah, you definitely need your own personal time.

Do you have knock off drinks when you finish work?

Yes.

And would this occur on most occasions when you finish work, or every occasion, or seldom?

I would say most, not all but most.

Can you give me a percentage?

I would say 85% of the time.

Ok, and you don't have to answer this question, I have asked others as well, is there any other substance that you might take other than alcohol?

Not at all.

So can you just go through the steps or the routine that you have when you finish work, is there a certain routine that you maintain when you finish work, from the time that you knock off?

I wouldn't say it is a routine, but I would say three out of five times I would like finish work, particularly when I am in the bottle shop, I would finish work, come inside and get myself a knock off drink, and I find it pretty relaxing throwing five or ten dollars into the pokie machines, just sit there by myself, not having to talk to anyone, just playing the poker machine.

And then after that?

I will probably hang around here for a little bit more, then go home and normally I would maybe have a couple more drinks with some friends at home and then go to bed. And that would be the two hours I was drinking at home, or I would probably watch TV and go to bed.

Do you think it is easy leaving work behind when you get home or do you think about it, or does it depend on what happens whilst at work?

Well, cause I live so close to someone who has a direct involvement in the hotel, we often go home and discuss a lot of talk shop basically, talk a lot about what goes on in the hotel, talk about ways to improve it, talk about negative aspects, talk about other staff, other customers, so I would say yeah, there is a lot of talk when we get home. But I would have to say if it wasn't for that other person that has the direct involvement, I would probably... I wouldn't.

And you saying before about putting on this fake self, putting on this act, do you think you are a good actor?

Yes.

And how much of the time do you think you spend acting at work? Describe it in words or in percentage terms.

I would say probably 75% of the time, because especially in the bottleshop that other 25% of the time would not be with customers. So in that sense I don't have to put on an act.

So when you are dealing with customers, would it be a high percentage?

I would pretty much say 100% of the time. I am saying stuff to certain patrons that barracks for bloody Port Adelaide, I wouldn't disagree with them, I would encourage their team.

What about with other staff members, would you say there was a bit of acting involved in getting along with other staff as well. Is there any?

It depends on which staff member, there is obviously within every organisation, there is informal organisations. They are more like, I am closer to some staff members than I am with others, so the ones that I am obviously close to I am not going to put an act on but for the ones that I am not that close, I will put

on an act. I will agree to maybe to get them closer, so I don't have to put on an act.

How strict do you think management is on the type of feelings and behaviours you display towards customers?

I don't think management actually, it has never actually been said to me, by any manager you have to put on an act to please a customer, I think it is just an unwritten law. Like working in retail and hospitality you have to have good customer service. And I have been working in many places where customer service is the key, so I think customer service and acting, acting basically in front of the customer is what it is all about.

So you have learnt that through experience?

Yeah, I used to work in another organisation where it was really drilled in to you, you had a dedicated time which is three hours of customer service, we did nothing but customer service.

And do you think it also depends on what department you work in, whether it be the bottleshop or inside in the gaming room. Is it a different type of display you might give?

Yeah, I would say because in the bar and gaming section, the customer is there until they decide to leave. Whereas in the bottle shop they are in and out within a short period, so you definitely have to put on more of an act in the bar than the bottleshop because you have to deal with them for longer. You can be a bit less tolerant with someone in the bottleshop because they are going to be out quicker.

I have got this observation here, I have made a note, you once said to me that you just want to serve people and then go, but people sometimes talk shit instead. How do you deal with that in the bottleshop, like quite often in hotels, you are expected to serve people quickly and be very polite as well, that is often a difficult process. But do you find that you don't want to talk to customers they will go out of their way to talk to you anyway and talk shit, how do you deal with that,and how does that make you feel?

Like we have got a very regular customer who comes in all the time and he continually talks shit and you have learnt to brush him off to a certain extent but in a polite way and keep doing work, and make it so he is not too offended. But other customers who aren't regulars and have just come through and decide to use you as a hairdresser, you can take that time, but

you can't obviously spend, sit down and spend half an hour with him, but you can sit there and discuss something with them.

And what do you mean by the term hairdresser?

By hairdresser I mean hairdressers are often used as psychologists, like everyone tells them their problems, so you get that sometimes.

Do you quite often have to listen to customers problems, personal problems in the bottleshop?

I wouldn't say quite often, on occasions it has happened.

How does that make you feel, how do you feel with having to put up with that?

I am just smiling, standing there smiling, politely agreeing with it whatever they are saying, but to be honest, I couldn't care less.

Being a male working in an industry where the majority of customers are male, what is your relationship like with customers that are male. Is there any difference do you think,

through your own observation between the way they treat you compared to female staff?

Sure, I had an incident the other day where a customer was disagreeing with me and being really rude and really rude, even on the verge of aggressive and directly to me, and two seconds later he is saying to a new girl who had just started, how are you sweetheart, are you enjoying yourself, really disgustingly. So yeah, they definitely treat males differently. Like females here often get tips, drinks bought for them, and males definitely don't get that.

You don't often get tips?

Not at all.

Well from the older generation, older ladies especially, I can get that, but definitely not from people in their middle age.

Now,in hotel, do yo think that male customers would rather be served by you or a female employee?

I reckon they would prefer to be served by a female. But I think all customers would have some realisation that there I guess

would have to be some males in a bar situation, so I guess they have to live with it. The bar really can't be run by all females.

So with those customers who you think might want to be served by females, for your lack of femininity, how do you make up for that in other areas, other aspects?

Comedy is a big thing, getting them to have a laugh with you, being able to amuse them in a certain sense. Or purely giving them good service and making them think that basically you are a good bloke.

What sort of a service do you think customers expect at this hotel?

I think every customer and patron expects good service regardless of the hotel that you are at. I think if I walked into a hotel I would expect good service and I can't see why customers here wouldn't expect good service.

In the, as far as putting on this fake self, how much effort does it take to achieve that. Is it a conscious effort?

I wouldn't say it is a conscious effort. I would just say that it is selling, like I said before, it has been drilled, I wouldn't say the

word drilled into me, but ever since I was 14 I have been working in an environment where customer service is the key. So, just say the question again.

In putting on this fake self when acting, you said 100% of the time when you are dealing with customers, how much effort is involved in it. Like do you psyche yourself up for it, are there processes inside your own mind to help you out?

No, I wouldn't say that, I think it is a natural thing, you have either got it or you don't have it.

Do you switch it on when you come to work?

Yes, I switch it on.

And when would you switch it off?

When I am at home by myself. I can switch it on when I am out in a social environment as well.

What about on the odd occasion when a customer is telling you a personal problem of theirs, do you ever try to seem sympathetic by either thinking about an event in your own life or trying to put yourself in their own shoes in this situation and

actually trying to feel what they are feeling inside rather than just on the exterior?

Like empathy. I wouldn't say that I actually, I would try and consider it from their perspective. Like I have got my own opinion, I don't know, I definitely put my own opinions aside to get on their side but I don't, I wouldn't say I put myself in their shoes to see their point of view. I am not hugely interested in what they have to say, I just agree with it for the sake of agreeing.

So would you say then that the majority of the time spent here is purely an exterior phenomena, it wouldn't be occurring from the inside, you wouldn't be feeling what you are displaying on the outside, it would just be an outward display?

Yes, it is an exterior display, like if a customer irritates you, you can walk off and particularly like I said before, the kitchen is a great place for gossip it is also a great place to go in there, slam a plate down, let off a little bit of steam, and come back out smiling again.

During late night shifts or night shifts in the bottleshop or inside, what are your moods like, different from working a day shift?

Depends on the sort of day you have had originally, like sometimes particularly, I know if I am working a night shift I won't do a whole lot during the day, I will relax, almost like you said before, not psyche myself up, but prepare that I have got to actually work, walk around, serving, being nice, so I have got all day, I am doing nothing but relaxing. Where as if I have got stuff to do during the day, obviously I am going to be a little less tolerant to the customer.

When you do get irritable with customers, how do you think you show it.

To the customer.

Well for anyone to see who is around?

I don't think I show it to the customer at all, in fact I try not to show it to the customer, but I will defiantly show it to the staff, walk in away from the customer, to say my feelings for the person, but I will try not to show it to the customer. I was actually thinking tonight though, one way to show you don't like the person, would be to give them worse service but then my conscience got the better of me and I thought, no, I can't do that.

And what sort of process did you go through in your own mind then to get you out of this situation where you were about to give bad service and then you didn't?

My actual logical progression was, god that guy is a dickhead, I don't like him. He is waiting for a beer, should I give him a beer, and I said to myself, don't worry about it, he is being rude to me, he can wait that extra bit just to irritate him a bit more, but then I couldn't do it because of my loyalty towards the pub, I would feel bad to

annoy the customer so much that he would not no longer come here, and I would feel bad for them losing the business.

Has anyone ever, or have you ever been involved in a physical confrontation with a customer, or nearly become involved in a physical confrontation, or felt threatened that someone was going to get physical with you?

I haven't been involved in a physical confrontation with a customer, there has been, or actually no, I have. A customer came through about six months ago, he was in a very aggressive state, and I served him as quickly as possible to get him out of the bottleshop, I was completely polite to him, if he only wanted to pay $2 for a drink that cost $2.50 I would have

given it to him for $2 just for that fact that I didn't want to stir him up any more than he was, he was in an obvious state of aggression.

Did that take more effort?

I was very aware of what I was doing. I was watching every move that I made, the guy was bleeding everywhere, and he was very aggressive, so I didn't want to upset him any further.

Do you think management here are hands on or back office types. Do you think that managers spend a majority of their time serving customers or sitting in the office?

I don't think they sit in the office, and they definately have a customer service role.

How do you think that affects the way the managers perceive the employees work in customer service?

Well I would say it is obviously good, if you have got a manager sitting in the back office he can't really determine how that staff member acts towards the customers, whereas if they are taking a more active role, then they can see the way the person interacts with all the other customers.

Just a final question, if this putting on an act or showing, displaying certain emotions to customers is stressful, how can management or the owners of the hotel assist staff in dealing with that stress, how can they make life easier for the staff?

Sorry how can management?

How can management help staff with the stresses involved in dealing with difficult customers, or customer who are rude or difficult to serve and get on with?

I really like the owners' idea of getting the punching bag, I thought that was innovative.

Can you tell me more about that?

Well the particular person who got it.

Yeah, well why that person got it?

Well I think that person got it because he has got a very stressful role involved in the hotel. It is not only customers that would increase the stress, but the staff, and he has got an ability to come in and take out his frustrations on some sort of

punching bag I guess, which I thought was a great way of relieving stress, rather than going out and yelling at a staff member because he is annoyed with another staff member. Come in, take your frustrations out, walk out again smiling.

Anything you would like to add to this particular topic?

No not particularly. Have you got any further questions?

No I haven't, thank you very much for your time.

No problem.

INTERVIEW WITH M3 (Extrovert) BOTTLE SHOP/ GAMING ROOM

Can you tell me how you feel when you put your uniform on at home and are about to leave for work?

What it feels like, what are my thoughts. Well with this present job I have no problem, I quite enjoy coming. I don't mind putting on my uniform and showing up, it is a pretty good job. Some other jobs I have had, it is like, I can't be fucked.

How does it feel thinking about customers you are going to be dealing with when you are putting that uniform with?

There are a couple that you know are going to break your balls, but we are in a fortunate position where they are not there for very long.

In the bottleshop?

Yeah.

I will ask you a few more questions later about your work in the bottleshop. Does your mood or your emotions change at all when you actually front up for work in the hotel?

Absolutely, you have got to put on a front you know. The place that you are working, expects that of you because you have got to retain an image of the pub, so whatever that image is, whatever they want to convey to their customers, you have got to slot into their image.

What sort of image do you think that is?

Well you have got to be I guess warm, inviting, friendly, you have got to make your customers feel welcome so they return, because that is what we are aiming for, repeat business.

And how do you achieve that. What sort of expressions, bodily expressions, facial expressions do you do to achieve that, or what do you say to achieve that?

Well over a course of say 12 years of working, you kind of get to understand. You can kind of sum up a person when you first see them. If you see this guy with this big bell goatee, and he is covered from arsehole to breakfast with tats you know that he is not going to want to take time out and talk to you, some do, and they really spin you out, but generally, g'day mate, how you going, good one, thank you, see you later. Some guys, women, the way they say hello to you, they seem friendly, they want to

have a chat. Some guys on the way home from work stop just to have a chat, so you cater for them.

And do you think that you are a good actor?

Great, oh yeah, like to customers for sure. You have got to, whatever they say you have got to let it bounce off you and not care. Also, I am in a fortunate position that customers don't hang around for too long.

Describe more about that, working in the bottleshop and the customers, how long will they normally spend in there?

You will probably have one bail you up for five minutes tops. And then you know that they are just going to break your balls for five minutes and then they are gone. Keeping that in mind you know you just, hi how are you going, and you just put on that front, and you know they are going to be out of there soon.

Do you smile with most customers?

Oh, all of them, all of them.

And do you say 'how are you'?

To all of them?

Does it take much effort to do that with every customer?

Well it does because you get a lot of wankers that don't even acknowledge you, you say hello how you going, and they just say yeah, two cans mate. Like a simple hello doesn't take much effort.

And does it affect how you treat rude people compared to people who are polite to you, do you treat them differently?

Absolutely.

In what way?.

Well if someone that comes through, a really good bloke, please, thank you, a free sample stubbie holder, you know, take it away mate. And they are rapped. But you get guys come in, they are wankers, what's for free. I am like fuck all mate, got nothing this week. You know, it goes both ways.

How much of the time spent serving customers are you actually acting, putting on a front. You can explain it in words or as a percentage?

If I am new to a job, like in the first, in the embryonic stage of my employment, every customer, because you don't know them, you have to keep yourself the same. But I guess the longer you are in a position you get to know people, and you change a bit, you kind of adapt to people differently and you find out about their history, and you can talk to them more, you don't have to talk shit to them.

Ok, when you are either working in the bar or bottleshop do you ever joke or have a jibe about a customer to other staff members, a bit of humour about a customer?

Yeah, yeah, like there are little idiosyncrasies that people have. And just some stupid things that everyone says, even we do, you have a laugh about it. Some guys ask for a cask of moselle riesling, and you say well which one do you want, well I want a moselle riesling. We laugh about that.

What about if a customer really pisses you off do you talk to other staff and have a joke about it?

I won't have a joke about it, you will just say look he is a wanker. I mean you laugh at them really in the end.

And will that be in front of the customer or behind their back?

Never in front of the customer, no matter how much of a wanker they are, you can't, it is getting back to that image.

And when you are inside working, in a bar, where would that take place, joking about a customer to other staff.

Generally after work, knock offs, it would be remember that guy who was sitting down there, and you would tell stories.

What about if something really funny happened, and someone really pissed you off and you had to get it off your mind, where would it take place?

It depends, either you walk into the kitchen or somewhere, or out the back.

Now other people have said the kitchen, why is the kitchen a significant place for this?

Like when you are at home, everyone always hangs around in the kitchen, always congregates around in the kitchen for some reason. Because I guess where I have worked it has always been close, to the bar, like it is here, just duck out there. And

you don't really want to laugh while there are customers there, they will want to know why you are laughing and get in on the joke. So you can't.

Talk a bit more about your work here later, but is it difficult for you to relax or sleep after completing a shift here, I am particularly interested in night shifts?

As in.

How long do you stay up for?

Is it because of the stress of the job, or my own personal unwinding?

Well would the work affect your relaxation patterns?

No, because as soon as I get to work I switch on and as soon as I finish I switch off.

What do you switch on and switch off?

Just that front you are talking about, that whole persona of how are you going blah blah, the whole act, and then as soon as it is time, it is all over.

Do you normally have an alcoholic drink when you finish work?

Oh yeah.

On every occasion, or most occasions?

Most occasions.

You don't have to answer this question, I have asked other people as well, are there any other substances that you might take to help you relax after work?

No, not on a regular basis. if I do it is more on a recreational basis. Like a joint out with the boys. Nothing that I rely on.

Can you take me through the routine when you knock off? Not interested in when you are going out, but your routine when you knock off and go home to bed. Start off with the knock off drink.

All right, and then I will have another one. I will have a few. It all depends, I don't really have a routine, I like to come in and have a drink, but then if I have got things to do I will do them, if I have got people to meet I will go and meet them, and you know, more often than not, I don't have things to do so I like to have a

few drinks. Don't really know the staff in here that well so it is a good opportunity to come in and get to know them. But no definite routine. I will have a few beers and then go and have a few drinks somewhere else. Because a lot of my friends work in hospitality as well, kind of finish around the same time and catch up.

How many hours or minutes after you finish would you actually go to bed when you finish a night shift?

I would say two to three hours.

Just talking about the joking about customer before, do you think that management encourages that?

As a whole or just here.

Here?

Well I think it depends on management as a whole, I don't think they encourage it but they know when it should be done as well, and they kind of ...

So they discourage it?

Well I am sure if management saw it happening in the incorrect place they would discourage it.

Does management participate in joking and jibing about customers?

Yeah, yeah, yeah, but also discretely. If you know what I mean.

Do you feel comfortable in the uniform that you have to wear at work?

Very comfortable.

And do you think your uniform makes some people treat you differently, some customers treat you differently?

I think so, we had a uniform with a little heart and a logo and everything, it is very much like a fast food sort of chain, and I have had to do it before, and people treat you like shit, like they do in those fast food chains, they think you have got your set, your set way of doing things, and you like come in and the customer is always right, sort of thing, which I am not a firm believer in, but you have to uphold that to some extent.

Do some people treat you like shit anyway, cause they see you in a uniform?

You always get the yuppies or the rich people, you are just nothing but a measly old bottle shop attendant, you get that walking down the street too.

And how does that make you feel when people are like that?

Crap, but I don't care.

Is it easy to leave behind a difficult customer at work when you get home and are trying to relax?

Yeah, but that comes with experience, I mean when I first started I used to take a lot of stuff home with me, and think what am I doing wrong type of thing.

How do you feel when you take your uniform off at the end of the shift?

I kind of relax, I kind of think that is the end of my day, it is a kind of closure from my shift.

Ok, how much of the time spent here, I think I have asked you this actually but I am not sure, how much of the time spent here serving customers do you think you are faking it?

I think you have asked me it. I think about 95% of the time.

And doing late night shifts do you get more irritable towards customers than in day shifts?

No. It is the other way round.

If you do get irritable with rude customers, how do you think you show it?

I guess I'm not really, I don't smile as much. But I am always friendly though and I will always finish the sale, and treat them with respect, but I won't go out of my way to start a conversation or interact with them.

How strict do you think management at this hotel, or the owners, are on the type of feelings and behaviours that you display towards customers?

How strict are they.

Yeah, how much latitude do you think you have in what sort of behaviours you display?

Me personally, I think that I am given quite a bit because I think that they are aware of my experience and my history. To me I feel like I am given a lot of leniency. Like you know what you can do sort of thing, and I am sure if I didn't you would hear about it or management will hear about it.

Have you ever 'lost it' when dealing with a particular customer?

In the past, yeah, when I first started out.

Can you tell me a little bit of what happened, if you like?

Well a guy came in, ordered a meal, wanted a steak, wanted it medium to well, to me it looked like medium to well, to him it looked like shit, sends it back, got him another one, still wasn't good, and then it was a packed restaurant and he lost it. And he was yelling and screaming, and I was trying to diffuse the situation and get him away from everyone, and then basically I just said get the fuck out, leave your plate there, leave your cutlery, your wine, don't pay for it, just fuck off. I would rather lose that customer than a half a dozen sitting around him.

What sort of other things apart from joking about customers help you alleviate the pressures involved in having to always be nice to customers?

How does that help.

What other things can you do to help alleviate the stress?

Apart from joking around, I think you have just got to take the positive out of it, you know what I mean, or just take something humorous. You know that not everyone is the same, you know you are going to have the arsehole, and the best thing is, is just trying to turn that around when you get an arsehole in there to you know, put it back onto him or her. If they want to be a prick, then make them realise indirectly that they are being rude, you know, and generally you get them walking away saying, thank you, see you mate. And that is a good challenge. That is good fun to do.

Is there anything management can do to help staff alleviate the pressures involved in having to be nice all the time?

Well I think that if for example someone is getting, a staff member is constantly getting harassed, maybe swap them into

another department, or send them out on to the floor, get them away from that situation.

O.k, in most hotels now, staff are expected to serve people promptly, quickly and yet still be polite, that doesn't leave you much time to talk to customers, do you find that customers choose to talk to you anyway, talk shit to you anyway?

Some do, most of them know that you are busy and aware of the fact. A lot of customers don't even want to talk to you, but they feel compelled to. But you know, most of them want to just come in and get what they want and leave.

What do you do in a situation where someone talks shit to you and you don't really want to be talking to them?

Well I mean if I have got time, I will listen, and like I said I will have a joke and you know, but if you don't have time, you have to say look I am very busy, I would love to talk, but as you can see I am flat out I will talk to you later. But you have to make them aware cause if they are going to stand there and start throwing shit, they obviously don't know, you know, the ins and outs of when you are busy and when you have got to go.

Has there ever been a situation where a customer in the bottleshop has told you about their personal problems?

Yes.

How does that make you feel having to listen to that?

Depresses me if they are major problems. Just depressing. You want to avoid them next time they come in you know. Well not necessary the next time, but if every time you see them they give you their problems, but I guess some people's lives are like that, you have just got to take the good with the bad.

Do you ever show empathy when people are telling you about their problems?

Not sincerely. It doesn't come from my heart, it is that act we are talking about, that comes out and oh, sorry to hear about that mate, and you know.

And do you often try to match your facial expressions to sounding like you care?

Oh, if you want to put on a good show you have to.

Does that take a lot of effort to do that?

It does, it does, but still that comes down to the image of the pub. You can't be rude. I had a guy that was rude to me a couple of days ago and complained about me, but what can you do. Obviously you can't please everyone all of the time. He had his problems, he had a chip on his shoulder, he can have it.

Have you ever been in a situation when you have actually felt sympathy for someone and you have actually tried to match what you feel in your heart to what your expression is showing.

Well it wasn't necessarily in that situation but I remember seeing a family come through and, they obviously weren't very well off and a young girl, gorgeous girl in the back seat, and the parents came through and they wanted a beer each, scrounging up the money for a beer, and the girl says I want a coke dad, and shut up you are not getting nothing. And I brought the girl a coke, I paid for it for God sake. And that sort of thing really cuts you up. I really feel sympathy in that type of situation.

Did that come naturally or did you have to psyche yourself up to actually feel it?

No that was, straight to the fridge, there you go.

There has never been any situation where you have tried to put yourself into someone's situation and tried to make it look at though...

Tried to put myself in their shows, no. no. I would imagine what it would be like, but no..

You don't go through the mental process?

No, you are responsible for your own actions do you know what I mean, and I don't expect anyone to feel sorry for me if I fuck up. So I mean, people that come through they have got problems, they have got alcohol problems, they have got addictions, they have got the whole bits, they are masters of their own destiny. They can't expect me to turn their life around.

Have you ever been threatened physically during your work in the hotel?

No. I had one guy who come in and said I am going to come back and shoot all you bastards. But drunk idiot, I never take that seriously.

Has anyone ever verbally abused you using swear words?

Uh yeah.

How often does that happen?

Every time I refuse people service because they are too drunk. Every time I have to ask someone to leave, all the time.

How does that make you feel?

You have got to understand that a lot of people, it is my job, I don't get paid to feel, I get paid to stop serving people when they are drunk. If they are drunk they are no good for the place. If they are running amok.

Sure. Thank you very much for your time.

That it is it.

Yes, thankyou.

APPENDIX C

CODING SHEET- DATA ANALYSIS

EMOTIONAL LABOR SURVEY ANALYSIS JOHN HATZINIKOLAKIS

KEY: STRONGLY AGREE= 1. AGREE= 2. DON'T KNOW/ NOT SURE= 3. DISAGREE= 4. STRONGLY DISAGREE= 5.

note: questions with a asterix have been reverse coded for analysis purposes *e.g: 1=5,2=4,3=3,4=2,5=1*

QUESTIONS ↘

		Emotive dissonance					Emotive effort										Acting/ dramaturgy								
SUBJECT	GENDER	5	9	14	15	31	4	10	16	*17	18	*29	30	*33	*34	35	1	2	3	7	12	19	26	28	36
1	m	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	2
2	f	2	2	4	4	4	1	4	4	3	4	4	3	4	4	2	4	2	2	4	4	4	1	5	5
3	f	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	2	1	4	2	2	2	2	4	4	2	2	1	1	2	4	4
4	f	2	1	2	3	1	1	3	1	2	1	4	1	1	1	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	1	5	2
5	m	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	2	4	2	2	4	3	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	2
6	f	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	3	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	4
7	m	1	1	2	1	4	4	1	1	1	4	2	2	4	2	4	1	1	1	2	5	2	1	1	4
8	m	2	5	5	5	3	4	5	4	4	5	5	3	2	5	3	3	3	3	4	5	5	2	5	5
9	f	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	3	2	4	1	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	1	5	4
10	m	1	4	3	3	3	1	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	4	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	2	5	4
11	f	3	2	2	3	3	1	2	2	2	3	4	2	3	4	3	2	1	1	2	2	4	1	5	4
12	m	2	2	2	4	2	1	2	2	4	4	5	2	4	5	2	4	1	2	3	2	4	2	4	4
13	m	1	2	2	4	5	1	3	4	4	4	2	4	4	4	1	5	4	3	4	4	4	1	5	4
14	m	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	3	2	4	2	4	2	3	4	4	3	3	3	2	4	2	3	2
15	m	1	2	2	3	4	2	3	5	4	3	4	3	3	4	4	1	1	2	1	2	4	1	4	4
16	m	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	4	4	2	2	2	1	2	1	4	4
17	m	1	1	2	4	5	1	4	4	4	4	4	3	5	5	1	3	3	2	3	3	5	1	5	4
18	m	2	2	2	4	4	1	1	4	2	4	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	4	4	2	4	4
19	m	3	2	2	4	3	1	2	3	2	3	4	4	3	4	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	1	4	4
20	f	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	5	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	5
21	f	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	4	2	4	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	2	4	4	2	4	4
22	m	1	2	2	4	5	1	1	2	4	5	4	5	3	4	2	4	2	2	5	4	5	1	5	5
23	m	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	4	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
24	f	2	2	1	1	4	1	1	2	4	1	5	2	4	5	1	3	1	1	3	2	2	1	5	4
25	f	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	3	4	2	2	3	2	2	5	4

Display rules/ org. control						Uniforms/ appearance					Culture
6	11	20	23	24	27	8	13	*21	22	25	32
4	3	1	2	4	2	2	2	3	3	1	4
2	5	2	4	4	4	2	3	3	4	2	4
4	1	4	1	1	4	2	2	3	4	4	4
5	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	5	2	2	5
4	1	2	2	2	4	2	3	2	2	4	5
5	3	2	2	2	3	3	3	4	3	2	4
5	2	4	2	1	4	2	2	4	2	2	5
4	3	4	5	4	3	2	1	4	5	4	3
3	2	4	2	3	4	2	2	3	4	2	5
2	3	4	2	2	3	2	3	3	3	2	4
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2	2	3	4	2	4	1	2	4	4	4	2
2	1	4	4	4	4	1	2	4	4	4	5
3	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	2	4
5	5	4	3	5	2	4	4	3	5	3	4
2	2	2	1	2	4	2	2	4	2	4	5
1	2	4	1	4	1	1	2	4	4	3	4
5	2	1	2	2	4	2	4	3	2	2	3
2	2	3	1	2	3	3	3	3	4	3	3
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	5	5	5
3	4	2	2	4	2	3	2	4	2	4	4
1	2	4	2	2	2	1	2	4	5	4	1
2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	5
2	1	4	1	1	3	1	2	4	1	4	4
5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	4	4

APPENDIX D

RASCH MODEL ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE DATA (DETAILED)

This section (10 pages) prepared by Bruce Brown
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Rasch Models and the Analysis of Questionnaire Data (Detailed)

Logistic regression models are the standard method of analyzing binary response data. The model is

$$ln\left(\frac{\theta_i}{1-\theta_i}\right) = \{\text{linear function of the explanatory variables for the } i\text{th response}\},$$

where $(\theta_i, 1-\theta_i)$ are the probabilities of (success, failure) at the ith response. Note that the dichotomous outcomes are labelled as (success, failure). The coefficients in the linear function of explanatory variables are regression coefficients, of interest because they measure the influence of the explanatory variables upon observed outcomes.

Rasch models are special cases of logistic regressions, where the explanatory variables have values either 0 or 1, corresponding to the absence or presence of various factors. They are named after the Danish geologist Georg Rasch (Rasch 1961) and have become widely used in educational testing.

The standard form of a Rasch analysis is that of an item/subject model. Here m subjects each perform n tasks (for example questions in a test)

and the results are either success or failure. Let θ_{ij} be the success probability for the *i*th subject performing the *j*th task.

The Rasch model is

$$ln\left(\frac{\theta_{ij}}{1-\theta_{ij}}\right)=\mu+\beta_i-\alpha_j$$

Here, μ is a parameter which measures the overall success level, β_i is the *i*th subject 'ability' and α_j measures the 'difficulty' of the *j*th task. To make unique the specification $\mu+\beta_i-\alpha_j$, some fixed constraints need to be imposed. The package *Minitab* imposes $\beta_1=0=\alpha_1$, the package SPSS imposes $\beta_m=0=\alpha_n$, while the constraints $\sum\beta_i=0=\sum\alpha_j$ have better aesthetic properties. Dealing with different constraints from different statistical packages can be an awkward difficulty in handling Rasch analyses.

Dosage-response models were precursors of logistic regressions and one of the earlier examples of binary models. In these models, different subjects have different 'strengths' and are given different doses of a poison. If 'success' is defined as survival, then the higher the subjects 'strengths' and the lower the dose of 'poison', the higher is the success probability. This is exactly analogous to the item/subject

Rasch model, equating *subject strength* to *subject ability*, and *task difficulty* to *dose of poison.*

One conceptual advantage of a dosage-response model is that there is a physical model for the observation process which can be helpful in visualising and interpreting statistical results. For the Rasch item/subject model, this is as follows:

Subject i with ability β_i is to attempt task j, which has difficulty α_j. On the occasion of attempting the task, subject i provides an 'input' like an 'amount of neural energy', of $\mu + \beta_i + \varepsilon$, where ε is a random quantity with mean zero. In fact, ε is assumed to have a logistic probability distribution, distributed symmetrically about zero with a ball shaped density function very like the shape of a normal density.

The *cdf* of a standard logistic distribution is

$$F(x) = \Pr\{\varepsilon \le x\} = \frac{1}{1+e^{-x}}, \quad -\infty < x < \infty$$

and the *pdf* is

$$f(x) = F'(x) = \left\{e^{x/2} + e^{-x/2}\right\}^{-2}, \quad -\infty < x < \infty$$

Subject *i* will achieve success on the *j*th task if the amount of neural energy $\mu+\beta_i+\varepsilon$ exceeds the threshold α_j, which is the level of difficulty of the task. The probability of this occurring is

$$\theta_{ij} = \Pr\{\mu+\beta_i+\varepsilon>\alpha_j\}$$

$$= \Pr\{\varepsilon>\alpha_j-\beta_i-\mu\} = \frac{1}{1+e^{\alpha_j-\beta_i-\mu}}$$

Thus

$$ln\left(\frac{\theta_{ij}}{1-\theta_{ij}}\right) = \mu+\beta_i-\alpha_j,$$

which is precisely the Rasch model formulation.

Rasch models are being applied increasingly outside educational testing and one such area is the *Analysis of Questionnaire Data.*

It is common for questionnaires to use ordered Likert-scale responses and for the present discussions we will consider questions of this form.

What is your response to the following statement?

(Proposition)

Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

(or no opinion)

To adapt Rasch models to the situation of ordered categorical responses, we need to use *ordinal logistic regression*. To explain this, it is useful to go back to the dosage/response model.

Imagine that after taking poison, each subject ends up in one of the four states:

Healthy *Slightly ill* *Very ill* or *Dead*

The *i*th subject receives dosage level α_i and responds with 'physical energy' $\mu + \beta_i + \varepsilon$, where β_i measures the strength of the *i*th subject and ε has a standard logistic distribution. There are thresholds $\gamma_1 < \gamma_2 < \gamma_3$ so that

$e_i = \mu + \beta_i + \varepsilon - \alpha_i > \gamma_3 \Rightarrow$ Healthy

$\gamma_2 < e_i < \gamma_3 \Rightarrow$ Slightly ill

$\gamma_i < e_i < \gamma_2 \Rightarrow$ Very ill

$$e_i < \gamma_1 \Rightarrow \text{Dead}$$

Statistical packages will fit this model if *ordinal logistic regression* is selected. The categorical responses depend in part on values of $\gamma_r - \mu$, and different constraints can be imposed. It is common for packages to assume $\mu = 0$, allowing free specification of $\{\gamma_r\}$. Alternatively, other packages allow free choice of μ, and impose the restriction $\sum \gamma_r = 0$.

Now revert back to the ordered-category questionnaire setting and use the $\mu = 0$, arbitrary $\{\gamma_r\}$ specification.

In adapting Rasch models to the analysis of such questions, the dosage-response formulation is useful. The labels on the five response categories are assumed to have a strong degree of common language understanding in the population, so that for all subjects there exist threshold values $\gamma_1 < \gamma_2 < \gamma_3 < \gamma_4$ which separate these five categories on an underlying emotional/logistical scale. The meaning of this is that when the *i*th subject reads the *j*th question, an emotional 'disagreement' response $e_{ij} = \beta_i + \alpha_j + \varepsilon$ is triggered. Here, β_i is the *i*th subject effect, or tendency for the *i*th subject to disagree, α_j is the *j*th question effect, the tendency of the proposition in the *j*th question to produce disagreement, and ε is an independent logistic variable. If $e_{ij} > \gamma_4$, then the response to the *j*th question is 'strong disagreement'.

If e_{ij} is between other (γ_{n-1}, γ_n), then these other categories of agreement or disagreement are recorded:

e_{ij}	**Categorical Response**
$> \gamma_4$	Strongly disagree
Between γ_3, γ_4	Disagree
Between γ_2, γ_3	Neutral
Between γ_1, γ_2	Agree
$< \gamma_1$	Strongly agree

Sometimes the questions come in a bank, or group, which are all investigating different aspects of a common underlying property, measure or scale. Then $-\alpha_j$ measures the extent to which the *j*th question produces a sympathetic response to the scale, and $-\beta_i$ measures the extent to which the *i*th subject is prone to be sympathetic.

If the constraints $\sum \beta_i = 0 = \sum \alpha_j$ are assumed, then the $\{\beta_i\}$ and $\{\alpha_j\}$ measures extent of disagreement relative to other subjects and other questions, respectively.

Validity of the scale

A question of interest could be: does the underlying scale exist and is there an overall sympathetic response to it?

Here 'overall' means averaged over the individual variations between subjects and questions, and hence it is convenient to assume

$\sum \beta_i = 0 = \sum \alpha_j$. Because the middle 'neutral' category embodies neither a positive nor a negative reaction to the scale, the overall tendency towards a sympathetic, or positive response is given by the extent to which $\theta = \frac{1}{2}(\gamma_2 + \gamma_3)$ is positive.

This is estimated by ordinal logistic regression output, as $\hat{\theta} = \frac{1}{2}(\hat{\gamma}_2 + \hat{\gamma}_3)$. To carry out a statistical test of H_0: $\theta = \frac{1}{2}(\gamma_2 + \gamma_3) = 0$ against $H_1 : \theta > 0$, it is necessary to evaluate the standard error $se(\hat{\theta})$.

The package SPSS provides the estimates, variances and covariances of all $\hat{\beta}_i$, $\hat{\alpha}_j$ and $\hat{\gamma}_r$, which can be used to calculate $se(\hat{\theta})$. However, a complication is that SPSS does not impose $\sum \beta_i = 0 = \sum \alpha_j$, but instead uses $\beta_m = 0 = \alpha_n$, where m is the number of subjects and n is the number of questions.

Therefore, some adjustments are needed to convert SPSS output into the form required.

Let the SPSS estimates be $\hat{\beta}_i, \hat{\alpha}_j, \hat{\gamma}_r$ with $\hat{\beta}_m = 0 = \hat{\alpha}_n$.

Let $\bar{\alpha}, \bar{\beta}$ denote the average of these $\{\hat{\beta}_i\}$, $\{\hat{\alpha}_j\}$, and set

$$\hat{\beta}_i' = \hat{\beta}_i - \bar{\beta}, \quad \hat{\alpha}_i' = \hat{\alpha}_j - \bar{\alpha}, \quad \gamma_r' = \gamma_r - \bar{\alpha} - \bar{\beta}$$

... (1)

which preserves the differences

$$e_{ij} - \gamma_r = \beta_i + \alpha_j + \varepsilon - \gamma_r$$

$$= \beta_i' + \alpha_j' + \varepsilon - \gamma_r'$$

with $\sum \beta_i' = 0 = \sum \alpha_j'$

Thus the parameter of interest is

$$\theta = \frac{1}{2}\{\gamma_2' + \gamma_3'\}$$

$$= \frac{1}{2}(\gamma_2 + \gamma_3) - \bar{\alpha} - \bar{\beta}$$

SPSS output gives the values of all

$\hat{\beta}_i, \hat{\alpha}_j$ and $\hat{\gamma}_r$, hence of $\hat{\theta}$, and also an estimate of var $\left(\hat{\theta}\right)$ from the covariance matrix of all $\left\{\hat{\beta}_i,\ \hat{\alpha}_j,\ \hat{\gamma}_r\right\}$. Hence $se\left(\hat{\theta}\right) = \sqrt{\text{var}\left(\hat{\theta}\right)}$ can be calculated. A test of $H_0 : \theta = 0$ is carried out by referring

$z = \dfrac{\hat{\theta}}{se\left(\hat{\theta}\right)}$ to the standard normal distribution.

Results for Emotional Labor questions

The results for five banks of questions, each aimed at a different aspect of Emotional Labor, are summarised below. Note that n = # (questions) in each question-bank.

Case	***n***	$\frac{1}{2}(\hat{\gamma}_2+\hat{\gamma}_3)$	$\bar{\alpha}$	$\bar{\beta}$	$\hat{\theta}$	$se(\hat{\theta})$	z
1	5	1.0373	1.666	–0.793	1.91	0.072	7.10
2	10	0.8927	0.512	–0.466	0.938	0.157	5.98
3	9	–2.2298	2.224	0.879	0.873	0.172	5.07
4	6	0.4546	0.369	0.0241	0.848	0.188	4.50
5	5	0.2845	0.496	0.301	0.479	0.192	2.50

APPENDIX E

EXAMPLE OF DATA ANALYSIS-
EMOTIVE EFFORT

4	10	16	*17	18	*29	30	*33	*34	35
1	1	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	3
1	4	4	3	4	4	3	4	4	2
1	1	1	2	1	4	2	2	2	2
1	3	1	2	1	4	1	1	1	3
1	2	2	3	2	4	2	2	4	3
1	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	3	4
4	1	1	1	4	2	2	4	2	4
4	5	4	4	5	5	3	2	5	3
1	1	2	3	2	4	1	2	3	3
1	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	4	2
1	2	2	2	3	4	2	3	4	3
1	2	2	4	4	5	2	4	5	2
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2	3	3	2	4	2	4	2	3	4
2	3	5	4	3	4	3	3	4	4
1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	4
1	4	4	4	4	4	3	5	5	1
1	1	4	2	4	3	3	2	3	2
1	2	3	2	3	4	4	3	4	2
1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	5	1
2	2	4	2	4	4	2	2	2	4
1	1	2	4	5	4	5	3	4	2
1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	4
1	1	2	4	1	5	2	4	5	1
1	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	4

Parameter Estimates

		Estimate
Threshold	[RESPONS	-2.002545
	[RESPONS	0.400907
	[RESPONS	1.384498
	[RESPONS	3.982818
Location	[QUESTIO	-4.158917
	[QUESTIO	-1.642669
	[QUESTIO	-0.447165
	[QUESTIO	-0.31842
	[QUESTIO	0.092519
	[QUESTIO	1.470093
	[QUESTIO	-0.738278
	[QUESTIO	-0.434932
	[QUESTIO	1.062626
	[QUESTIO	0
	[SUBJECT	-0.513352
	[SUBJECT	1.83018
	[SUBJECT	-1.220524
	[SUBJECT	-1.525822
	[SUBJECT	0.440384
	[SUBJECT	0.376986
	[SUBJECT	-0.117382
	[SUBJECT	3.608242
	[SUBJECT	-0.26171
	[SUBJECT	0.241264
	[SUBJECT	0.621165
	[SUBJECT	1.684961
	[SUBJECT	1.805455
	[SUBJECT	1.333333
	[SUBJECT	2.240252
	[SUBJECT	-1.375952
	[SUBJECT	2.532244
	[SUBJECT	0.221032
	[SUBJECT	0.949792
	[SUBJECT	-2.498682
	[SUBJECT	1.109643
	[SUBJECT	1.371933
	[SUBJECT	-1.761771
	[SUBJECT	0.557409
	[SUBJECT	0

Link function: Logit.

a This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.

Asymptotic Covariance Matrix

		Threshold				Location
		[RESPONS	[RESPONS	[RESPONS	[RESPONS	[QUESTIO
Threshold	[RESPONS	0.963308	0.86853	0.849291	0.826604	0.216382
	[RESPONS	0.86853	0.91976	0.896705	0.878024	0.131042
	[RESPONS	0.849291	0.896705	0.942674	0.914181	0.102628
	[RESPONS	0.826604	0.878024	0.914181	1.070188	0.068645
Location	[QUESTIO	0.216382	0.131042	0.102628	0.068645	0.401921
	[QUESTIO	0.200023	0.13816	0.11315	0.083125	0.199648
	[QUESTIO	0.191863	0.139138	0.115935	0.087605	0.192626
	[QUESTIO	0.153978	0.14025	0.132465	0.118369	0.15765
	[QUESTIO	0	0	0	0	0
	[SUBJECT	0.785547	0.774945	0.773447	0.772772	0.010047
	[SUBJECT	0.708943	0.790038	0.818282	0.856187	-0.071172
	[SUBJECT	0.825196	0.775347	0.768671	0.763044	0.06195
	[SUBJECT	0.775044	0.779553	0.780311	0.780593	-0.00388
	[SUBJECT	0.764921	0.784387	0.788364	0.789954	-0.015469
	[SUBJECT	0.793293	0.772898	0.770201	0.76873	0.020655
	[SUBJECT	0.790129	0.773574	0.771339	0.770208	0.016332
	[SUBJECT	0.669335	0.768473	0.820507	0.920659	-0.127971
	[SUBJECT	0.788394	0.774038	0.772071	0.771118	0.013953
	[SUBJECT	0.729605	0.792124	0.810546	0.82746	-0.04819
	[SUBJECT	0.733653	0.791948	0.808665	0.822701	-0.044314
	[SUBJECT	0.745076	0.790522	0.802473	0.810127	-0.03395
	[SUBJECT	0.729567	0.792125	0.810563	0.827505	-0.048227
	[SUBJECT	0.720913	0.791907	0.814129	0.838498	-0.057103
	[SUBJECT	0.749889	0.789486	0.799435	0.805083	-0.02968
	[SUBJECT	0.793293	0.772898	0.770201	0.76873	0.020655
	[SUBJECT	0.748302	0.789858	0.800466	0.806734	-0.031091
	[SUBJECT	0.7257	0.79213	0.812227	0.832263	-0.052082
	[SUBJECT	0.7234	0.792056	0.813161	0.835206	-0.054457
	[SUBJECT	0.823425	0.774885	0.768417	0.763036	0.059756
	[SUBJECT	0.745913	0.790361	0.801964	0.809241	-0.033208
	[SUBJECT	0.729567	0.792125	0.810563	0.827505	-0.048227
	[SUBJECT	0.8527	0.785839	0.776066	0.766614	0.094971
	[SUBJECT	0.77091	0.7816	0.78355	0.784275	-0.008876
	[SUBJECT	0	0	0	0	0

Link function: Logit.

a One or both parameter estimates are redundant.

[QUESTIO	[QUESTIO	[QUESTIO	[QUESTIO	[SUBJECT	[SUBJECT	[SUBJECT	[SUBJECT	[SUBJECT	[SUBJECT
0.200023	0.191863	0.153978	0	0.785547	0.708943	0.825196	0.775044	0.764921	0.793293
0.13816	0.139138	0.14025	0	0.774945	0.790038	0.775347	0.779553	0.784387	0.772898
0.11315	0.115935	0.132465	0	0.773447	0.818282	0.768671	0.780311	0.788364	0.770201
0.083125	0.087605	0.118369	0	0.772772	0.856187	0.763044	0.780593	0.789954	0.76873
0.199648	0.192626	0.15765	0	0.010047	-0.071172	0.06195	-0.00388	-0.015469	0.020655
0.353934	0.181792	0.154589	0	0.004962	-0.054471	0.045509	-0.001706	-0.007053	0.011429
0.181792	0.337825	0.15334	0	0.002997	-0.048982	0.036784	-0.001025	-0.004932	0.00744
0.154589	0.15334	0.290715	0	0.000299	-0.018011	0.002425	-0.000396	-0.002749	2.55E-05
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0.004962	0.002997	0.000299	0	1.599232	0.771273	0.782228	0.777702	0.776473	0.779784
-0.054471	-0.048982	-0.018011	0	0.771273	1.533237	0.745694	0.781029	0.791242	0.765043
0.045509	0.036784	0.002425	0	0.782228	0.745694	1.927616	0.776396	0.771006	0.786379
-0.001706	-0.001025	-0.000396	0	0.777702	0.781029	0.776396	1.543628	0.778774	0.777364
-0.007053	-0.004932	-0.002749	0	0.776473	0.791242	0.771006	0.778774	1.523141	0.775043
0.011429	0.00744	2.55E-05	0	0.779784	0.765043	0.786379	0.777364	0.775043	1.655588
0.008636	0.005444	0.000166	0	0.779462	0.767488	0.784713	0.777495	0.775597	0.780761
-0.100276	-0.090598	-0.034007	0	0.768954	0.880315	0.731956	0.782004	0.795715	0.760386
0.00719	0.004456	0.000232	0	0.779278	0.768886	0.783781	0.777571	0.775919	0.780399
-0.033866	-0.030528	-0.012785	0	0.772964	0.825611	0.754513	0.780306	0.787984	0.768347
-0.030133	-0.027021	-0.011749	0	0.773318	0.821804	0.756298	0.780153	0.787298	0.769033
-0.020382	-0.017629	-0.008643	0	0.774371	0.81094	0.761442	0.779696	0.785243	0.771059
-0.033901	-0.030561	-0.012795	0	0.772961	0.825646	0.754497	0.780307	0.787991	0.768341
-0.042262	-0.038216	-0.014936	0	0.77223	0.833792	0.750736	0.780621	0.7894	0.766917
-0.016689	-0.014014	-0.007248	0	0.774844	0.806268	0.763672	0.779489	0.784315	0.771961
0.011429	0.00744	2.55E-05	0	0.779784	0.765043	0.786379	0.777364	0.775043	0.781398
-0.017876	-0.015177	-0.007714	0	0.774686	0.807817	0.762932	0.779559	0.784626	0.77166
-0.037579	-0.033961	-0.01376	0	0.77263	0.829279	0.752807	0.780449	0.788629	0.767698
-0.039812	-0.036001	-0.014327	0	0.772437	0.831444	0.751809	0.780532	0.789002	0.76732
0.043482	0.034891	0.002003	0	0.782121	0.746587	0.799982	0.776438	0.771179	0.786156
-0.01972	-0.016982	-0.008404	0	0.774452	0.810132	0.761827	0.779661	0.785085	0.771213
-0.033901	-0.030561	-0.012795	0	0.772961	0.825646	0.754497	0.780307	0.787991	0.768341
0.077356	0.067629	0.014233	0	0.783601	0.733699	0.809816	0.775867	0.768783	0.789258
-0.003885	-0.002459	-0.001197	0	0.777192	0.785162	0.774147	0.778459	0.779739	0.776397
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

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0.790129	0.669335	0.788394	0.729605	0.733653	0.745076	0.729567	0.720913	0.749889	0.793293
0.773574	0.768473	0.774038	0.792124	0.791948	0.790522	0.792125	0.791907	0.789486	0.772898
0.771339	0.820507	0.772071	0.810546	0.808665	0.802473	0.810563	0.814129	0.799435	0.770201
0.770208	0.920659	0.771118	0.82746	0.822701	0.810127	0.827505	0.838498	0.805083	0.76873
0.016332	-0.127971	0.013953	-0.04819	-0.044314	-0.03395	-0.048227	-0.057103	-0.02968	0.020655
0.008636	-0.100276	0.00719	-0.033866	-0.030133	-0.020382	-0.033901	-0.042262	-0.016689	0.011429
0.005444	-0.090598	0.004456	-0.030528	-0.027021	-0.017629	-0.030561	-0.038216	-0.014014	0.00744
0.000166	-0.034007	0.000232	-0.012785	-0.011749	-0.008643	-0.012795	-0.014936	-0.007248	2.55E-05
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0.779462	0.768954	0.779278	0.772964	0.773318	0.774371	0.772961	0.77223	0.774844	0.779784
0.767488	0.880315	0.768886	0.825611	0.821804	0.81094	0.825646	0.833792	0.806268	0.765043
0.784713	0.731956	0.783781	0.754513	0.756298	0.761442	0.754497	0.750736	0.763672	0.786379
0.777495	0.782004	0.777571	0.780306	0.780153	0.779696	0.780307	0.780621	0.779489	0.777364
0.775597	0.795715	0.775919	0.787984	0.787298	0.785243	0.787991	0.7894	0.784315	0.775043
0.780761	0.760386	0.780399	0.768347	0.769033	0.771059	0.768341	0.766917	0.771961	0.781398
1.631691	0.76378	0.779958	0.77015	0.770705	0.772347	0.770145	0.768996	0.773081	0.780761
0.76378	1.733175	0.765702	0.846479	0.840398	0.823736	0.846536	0.860036	0.816854	0.760386
0.779958	0.765702	1.619037	0.771186	0.771666	0.77309	0.771182	0.770188	0.773728	0.780399
0.77015	0.846479	0.771186	1.531507	0.810002	0.80237	0.812644	0.818139	0.79902	0.768347
0.770705	0.840398	0.771666	0.810002	1.530931	0.800602	0.810024	0.815033	0.797515	0.769033
0.772347	0.823736	0.77309	0.80237	0.800602	1.527045	0.802387	0.806055	0.79305	0.771059
0.770145	0.846536	0.771182	0.812644	0.810024	0.802387	1.53151	0.818168	0.799033	0.768341
0.768996	0.860036	0.770188	0.818139	0.815033	0.806055	0.818168	1.53165	0.802146	0.766917
0.773081	0.816854	0.773728	0.79902	0.797515	0.79305	0.799033	0.802146	1.524739	0.771961
0.780761	0.760386	0.780399	0.768347	0.769033	0.771059	0.768341	0.766917	0.771961	1.655588
0.772835	0.819117	0.773515	0.800135	0.798543	0.793826	0.800149	0.803445	0.79172	0.77166
0.769626	0.852472	0.770733	0.815114	0.812278	0.804042	0.81514	0.821111	0.80044	0.767698
0.769321	0.856074	0.77047	0.816571	0.813606	0.805014	0.816598	0.822855	0.801264	0.76732
0.784537	0.733325	0.783632	0.755136	0.756869	0.761866	0.75512	0.751473	0.764035	0.786156
0.772472	0.822534	0.773199	0.801794	0.800071	0.794978	0.801809	0.805381	0.792708	0.771213
0.770145	0.846536	0.771182	0.812644	0.810024	0.802387	0.812668	0.818168	0.799033	0.768341
0.786969	0.713043	0.7857	0.746231	0.748737	0.755883	0.746208	0.740894	0.758938	0.789258
0.776706	0.787513	0.776884	0.783424	0.783057	0.781957	0.783427	0.78418	0.781459	0.776397
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

[SUBJECT	[SUBJECT	[SUBJECT	[SUBJECT	[SUBJECT	[SUBJECT	[SUBJECT	[SUBJECT	[SUBJECT=25.00]
0.748302	0.7257	0.7234	0.823425	0.745913	0.729567	0.8527	0.77091	0
0.789858	0.79213	0.792056	0.774885	0.790361	0.792125	0.785839	0.7816	0
0.800466	0.812227	0.813161	0.768417	0.801964	0.810563	0.776066	0.78355	0
0.806734	0.832263	0.835206	0.763036	0.809241	0.827505	0.766614	0.784275	0
-0.031091	-0.052082	-0.054457	0.059756	-0.033208	-0.048227	0.094971	-0.008876	0
-0.017876	-0.037579	-0.039812	0.043482	-0.01972	-0.033901	0.077356	-0.003885	0
-0.015177	-0.033961	-0.036001	0.034891	-0.016982	-0.030561	0.067629	-0.002459	0
-0.007714	-0.01376	-0.014327	0.002003	-0.008404	-0.012795	0.014233	-0.001197	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0.774686	0.77263	0.772437	0.782121	0.774452	0.772961	0.783601	0.777192	0
0.807817	0.829279	0.831444	0.746587	0.810132	0.825646	0.733699	0.785162	0
0.762932	0.752807	0.751809	0.799982	0.761827	0.754497	0.809816	0.774147	0
0.779559	0.780449	0.780532	0.776438	0.779661	0.780307	0.775867	0.778459	0
0.784626	0.788629	0.789002	0.771179	0.785085	0.787991	0.768783	0.779739	0
0.77166	0.767698	0.76732	0.786156	0.771213	0.768341	0.789258	0.776397	0
0.772835	0.769626	0.769321	0.784537	0.772472	0.770145	0.786969	0.776706	0
0.819117	0.852472	0.856074	0.733325	0.822534	0.846536	0.713043	0.787513	0
0.773515	0.770733	0.77047	0.783632	0.773199	0.771182	0.7857	0.776884	0
0.800135	0.815114	0.816571	0.755136	0.801794	0.812644	0.746231	0.783424	0
0.798543	0.812278	0.813606	0.756869	0.800071	0.810024	0.748737	0.783057	0
0.793826	0.804042	0.805014	0.761866	0.794978	0.802387	0.755883	0.781957	0
0.800149	0.81514	0.816598	0.75512	0.801809	0.812668	0.746208	0.783427	0
0.803445	0.821111	0.822855	0.751473	0.805381	0.818168	0.740894	0.78418	0
0.79172	0.80044	0.801264	0.764035	0.792708	0.799033	0.758938	0.781459	0
0.77166	0.767698	0.76732	0.786156	0.771213	0.768341	0.789258	0.776397	0
1.525508	0.801638	0.802511	0.763314	0.793466	0.800149	0.757927	0.781626	0
0.801638	1.531705	0.819404	0.753481	0.803422	0.81514	0.743826	0.783768	0
0.802511	0.819404	1.531703	0.752514	0.804368	0.816598	0.742415	0.783968	0
0.763314	0.753481	0.752514	1.910195	0.76224	0.75512	0.808798	0.774244	0
0.793466	0.803422	0.804368	0.76224	1.526655	0.801809	0.756412	0.781872	0
0.800149	0.81514	0.816598	0.75512	0.801809	1.53151	0.746208	0.783427	0
0.757927	0.743826	0.742415	0.808798	0.756412	0.746208	2.340243	0.772916	0
0.781626	0.783768	0.783968	0.774244	0.781872	0.783427	0.772916	1.531639	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0