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Daniel Nunan



When 'Service with a Smile' is not enough: A
Systematic Review of Emotional Labour in the
Service Encounter

School of Management
MRes Dissertation

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Daniel Nunan

When 'Service with a Smile' is not enough: A
Systematic Review of Emotional Labour in the Service
Encounter

Supervisor: Professor Simon Knox

August 2005

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Degree of Master of Research in Management Research

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Abstract

Recently, there has been increasing research into how emotion is displayed in an organisational context, as the creation of emotional links with consumers becomes more critical in developing strong brands. Emotion is a seductive concept, ubiquitous and powerful, yet often poorly understood. Adopting a systematic review method I use the framework of emotional labour as a basis for examining the role of emotion in service encounters, and understanding how emotional labour contributes to consumer evaluations of service quality. Traditional views of emotional labour have focussed on low paid, routine, interactive service work, such as in the retail, travel, and leisure industries. As a result, it is argued, emotional labour is undervalued by employers. Through a review of empirical and conceptual literature on emotional labour evidence suggests that emotional labour is significant in a wide range of professional and non-professional service roles, and has both negative and positive consequences. However, in many brief service encounters in routine service interactions 'service with a smile' was not seen to be a significant contributor to consumer satisfaction. Conversely, in many professional roles effective use of emotional labour was related to positive evaluations of technical service quality.

Several research gaps within emotional labour are identified, including research into cross-cultural and multi-channel environments. A significant theme in the empirical evidence was of employee emotional autonomy being an important factor in the correct performance of emotional labour. I provide a conceptual model of emotional labour that moves the focus away from the employee to a more consumer-focussed dyad, reflective of a service encounter. I propose that effective emotional linkages are formed through interactions based on emotional labour. This implies that if organisations genuinely wish to form strong emotional bonds with consumers, they must be willing to give greater emotional autonomy to service employees.

Table of Contents

Abstract 3

Table of Contents 4

Table of Figures 7

1. Introduction 8

2. Situating the field 11

 2.1 Overview 11

 2.2 Psychological Perspectives on Emotion 11

 2.3 Sociological Perspectives on Emotion 13

 2.4 Emotion in the Service Encounter 14

 2.5 Emotional Labour 16

 2.6 Research Propositions 17

3. Methodology 19

 3.1 Overview 19

 3.2 Review Panel 19

 3.3 Search Strategy 20

 3.3.1 Electronic Databases 20

 3.3.2 Books 21

 3.3.3 Working Papers 21

 3.3.4 Theses 21

 3.3.5 Manual Citation Searches 22

 3.3.6 Key Word Searches 22

 3.4 Selection Criteria 24

3.4.1 Gender and Emotional Labour.....	24
3.4.2 Emotional Intelligence.....	24
3.5 Quality Appraisal.....	28
3.6 Data Extraction.....	29
3.7 Data Synthesis	30
3.8 Summary Statistics on papers collected	30
4. Descriptive Analysis	31
4.1 Overview	31
4.2 Studies over Time.....	31
4.3 Studies by Country	33
4.4 Studies by Discipline.....	34
4.5 Studies by Context.....	35
5. Conceptualising Emotional Labour.....	36
5.1 Overview	36
5.2 The Origins of Emotional Labour	38
5.3 Emotional Labour as Feeling Rules	38
5.4 Emotional Labour as Display Rules	40
5.5 Emotional Labour as Aesthetic Labour	40
5.6 Emotional Labour as Interaction	40
5.7 Emotional Labour as Exchange.....	41
5.8 Developing an Emotional Labour scale.....	41
5.9 Hochschild’s Perspective: The Future of Emotional Labour	42
6. Empirical work in Emotional Labour	43
6.1 Overview	43
6.2 Beyond the Smile: Consequences of emotional labour.....	43

6.3 Emotional Labour in ‘Total Institutions’	44
6.4 Training for emotional labour	46
6.5 Emotional Labour in B2B.....	47
6.6 Smiling down the phone: Emotional Labour in call centres	47
6.7 Emotional Labour in Professional Work.....	49
6.7 Emotional Labour and Control.....	53
6.8 Corrosive Consumers	54
6.9 Consumer Responses to Emotional Labour.....	55
6.10 The limits and limitations of emotional labour	56
7. Synthesis.....	60
7.1 Overview	60
7.2 Research Propositions	60
7.3 Model of Service Quality and Emotional Labour	61
8. Conclusions	64
8.1 Conclusions	64
8.2 Areas for further research	64
8.3 Limitations and Learning Points	65
Appendix 1. Empirical Papers.....	67
Appendix 2. Conceptual Papers	78
Appendix 3. Non-sourced articles.....	82
References	83

Table of Figures

Figure 1. Goods-centred / service-centered views of customer interaction	15
Figure 2. Steps in the Systematic Review Protocol	19
Figure 3. Keyword search strings.....	23
Figure 4. Results from database searches.....	23
Figure 5. Inclusion Criteria	26
Figure 6. Exclusion Criteria	27
Figure 7. Quality Criteria	29
Figure 8. Summary of papers after selection process.....	30
Figure 9. Number of papers reviewed, by date	32
Figure 10. Cumulative number of papers, by date	33
Figure 11. Empirical studies listed by country where work was carried out	34
Figure 12. Most frequently cited journals	34
Figure 13. Number of studies by field.....	35
Figure 14. Range of service contexts	35
Figure 15. Conceptual Map of the development of emotional labour	37
Figure 16. Conceptual model of consumer driven Emotional Labour	62

1. Introduction

***"Pub Rage:** Incensed for being refused service at a pub at closing time, a man with a tractor repeatedly smashed into the establishment, causing the walls to crumble.*

***Checkout Rage:** A woman had half her nose bitten off by a fellow shopper when she insisted in remaining in an express lane with more than the 12 permitted items"*

- quoted in Grove, Fisk and John, 2004 'Surviving in the Age of Rage'

This thesis seeks to review a topic that at its roots is, even by scientific standards, a source of controversy and dogmatism. As the above quotes demonstrate, at its extremes emotion results in consumer behaviour that is damaging to both service workers and other customers. A customer refused service attempting to destroy a pub, represents commonly held stereotypes about emotion, as unreasonable, intangible and something that needs to be kept well away from rational thought. Whilst research into emotion in a range of disciplines suggests that such stereotypes are unfounded, much contemporary literature in marketing has focussed on creating 'emotional links' between consumers and brands based on the irrationality of emotion. Yet at a more subtle and every day level these emotional links already exist through interactions between consumers and employees in the service encounter. Such interactions can be both positive and negative for the organisation, and more often than not emotion contributes towards reasonable, rational behaviour. As the economy becomes driven by services, these interactions between consumers and service staff become a key source of competitive advantage for the firm. Understanding the role of emotions in such dyadic interactions is therefore key to building value in service brands.

This aim of this review is to examine the role of emotion in the service encounter¹. In recent years there has been an increase in the discussion of emotion in an organisational context (Sturdy, 2003), enabled by an emerging view of emotions as evaluative judgements. The impetus for much of this research was sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild's 1983 book 'The Managed Heart', which describes the ways in which airline cabin crew required to use a range of emotion management strategies to succeed in their roles. Hochschild proposed that the rise of the service sector meant that a new type of labour, separate from physical or manual labour, was required to successfully perform this new range of service roles. She termed this work 'emotional labour', and The Managed Heart has formed the basis for a wide range of studies in various academic disciplines and service contexts. The originality of Hochschild's contribution to emotion research means

¹ Parts of this dissertation have been presented in papers at the EIASM Special Seminar in Services Marketing, Maastricht, May 2005 and the Academy of Marketing Conference, Dublin, July 2005. A paper based on the conclusions outlined in chapter seven is under review for the Australia and New Zealand Academy of Marketing Conference, Perth, December 2005.

that little has been written on emotions in organisations in the last 20 years that does not take *The Managed Heart* as a reference point (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Despite the obvious focus of emotional labour research on services, and service interactions, there has been relatively little discussion of emotional labour in a marketing context. Indeed, less than 10% of the empirical studies selected for this review were published in marketing journals. Emotional labour has traditionally been viewed in terms of the consequences for the employee, or organisation, rather than the consequences for the consumer. Yet as an essentially dyadic construct the consumer is ever present in the research. Without the consumer interaction there is no emotional labour.

In this study a systematic review approach is adopted in order to extract key empirical data from existing studies, to consider the impact of emotional labour from a consumer's perspective. Synthesising data from such a wide range of management disciplines presents a challenge on the one hand, yet it also allows for a perspective of emotional labour that goes beyond the mono-focus on low-status and exploitative service roles envisaged by Hochschild. The purpose of this review is not to just consider the dimensions and consequences of emotional labour for employees, but by focussing on 'what works' to consider ways in which emotional labour can be used as a means of improving the service experience for consumers, and in doing so creating sustainable and beneficial emotional links between consumers and service firms.

This thesis has the following structure:

In *chapter two*, emotional labour is positioned in the literature, and an overview of the major theoretical and conceptual debates in emotion research is provided. I explain how changes in the marketplace have brought the need to understand emotions in service encounters to the fore, as managing emotion is increasingly seen as key to building strong services brands and increasing perceived service quality. From this broad literature review several propositions are provided to form the basis of the analysis of empirical data in chapter six.

In *chapter three*, I describe the methodology used to carry out this systematic review, including the search strategy used, keywords, the various inclusion and exclusion criteria and basic statistics underlying the reasons for exclusion for certain papers. In particular, I provide justification for the exclusion of two significant areas of research in emotion, emotional intelligence and gender.

The findings are presented in three sections. Firstly, in *chapter four* I provide descriptive analysis of the body of empirical work on emotional labour, including analysis of the distribution of studies by location, sector, and time. In *chapter five*, key the key conceptual

works are reviewed, and a conceptual timeline is provided. In *chapter six*, empirical studies into emotional labour are reviewed with a particular focus on insights into how emotional labour impacts the consumer in service encounters.

In *chapter seven*, I return to the original propositions, and in synthesising the data from empirical studies consider the extent to which the propositions stand. Additionally, a proposed model linking service satisfaction with emotional labour is provided. Finally, in *chapter eight*, the study is concluded together with details of learning points from the systematic review process.

2. Situating the field

2.1 Overview

Over the last twenty years research on emotion in organisations has become an increasingly important field of research. Indeed, workplace emotion has become a constant theme in the organisational theory literature (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993), though often more implicit than explicit due to difficulties in operationalising emotion. By contrast, marketing's treatment of emotion has been more explicit (e.g Gobe and Zyman, 2000, Duffy, 2003), optimistic (Roberts, 2004) and reliant on psychological measures of affectivity. In an increasingly commoditised market for services, the search for 'loyalty beyond reason' from consumers (Roberts, 2004) has become a driving force for developing brands. Put more prosaically, the importance of subjective, intangible and hedonic benefits in most types of consumption experience (Havlena and Holbrook, 1986) mean that studying consumers' emotional responses enables us to better understand consumer behaviour.

Emotion is a difficult concept to describe let alone define. We may respond with anger to an indifferent hotel clerk, or concern at being treated by a fatigued doctor but researching these responses presents a challenge. To name but a few aspects of this challenge emotion is considered to be private, intangible, transient, unmanageable and in some senses unknowable (Sturdy, 2003). Whilst 'emotion' has gained its current definition relatively recently (Soanes and Stevenson, 2003) the concept of emotion, under the guise of consciousness or soul, has troubled scholars back to Roman times. The clearest antecedents to modern understanding of emotion have been driven by improvements in scientific knowledge of the human mind (Damasio, 1999). As the economist Kenneth Arrow noted, "our knowledge of the way things work comes trailing clouds of vagueness" (Arrow, 1992), and it is only recently that science has helped lift these clouds allowing us to more closely research and understand emotion in a social context.

Whilst emotion is a subject that has touched a range of disciplines, for the purposes of this paper I will focus on relevant antecedents to its study in the service encounter. To summarise, in this chapter I will (1) provide an overview of antecedents to researching emotion in human interactions, (2) briefly discuss the differing sociological and psychological approaches relating to emotion and (3) relate these approaches to the service encounter. This chapter seeks to locate the subject of this review within the broader field of research into emotions, as well as establishing its relevance to research in marketing.

2.2 Psychological Perspectives on Emotion

Psychological perspectives have drawn on two empirical approaches to describing and classifying emotion (Holbrook, 1986). The first considers emotions in terms of their underlying dimensions. An example frequently popularised in consumer research (Havlena and Holbrook, 1986) can be seen in the Mehrabian & Russell's (1980) PAD paradigm

where emotions are defined in terms of continuous dimensions of Pleasure, Arousal and Dominance. An alternative is that all emotion stems from a basic set of categories, with models varying in the number of items on their list of emotions. Using Darwin's (Darwin, 1998/1872) analysis of emotion as a bipolar construct, the foundation of measurement instruments for emotion can be found in Osgood's (1964) semantic differential scale. In this type of measure the emotionality of the concept is given by the polarization measure, that is the difference between the neutral point and the attributed score. Moving on from measuring emotionality to measuring emotions were models such as the Differential Emotion Scale (Izard, 1977), which classified ten fundamental emotions and contained a self rating scale of three adjectives for each emotion (i.e. 30 in total). Plutchik (1980) refined this to a scale of eight primary emotions which has been widely used in consumer research (cf. Holbrook and Westfield, 1986).

However, the psychological perspective is perhaps best captured through the recent phenomenon of emotional intelligence. Emotional Intelligence, or EI, (Goleman, 1995) has received a great deal of attention in both the academic and practitioner literature, and whilst not fully grounded in academic psychology the issues it raises are applicable to psychological perspectives on emotion as a whole. Emotional Intelligence has been defined as "an ability to recognize the meanings of emotions and their relationships, and to reason and problem-solve on the basis of them" (Mayer, Caruso and Salovey, 1999:267). Through its attempts to measure, quantify and pass judgement on good or bad emotion EI is an exemplar of attempts to pin down emotion as a variable in work contexts (Fineman, 2004). However, such approaches to measuring emotion have faced criticism from sociologists who argue that emotion is a socially constructed phenomenon, and as such EI is overly reductionist in nature. Approaches such as EI also assume that emotions reported through measurement instruments are the same as would be manifested in a real world event. Would asking someone in a laboratory setting how they would feel if a car hit their dog (Multifactor Emotional Intelligence Scale, Mayer, Caruso and Salovey, 1988) produce the same response as when asking them after the event? In cases of high emotion such as this, the context specificity of the task is critical. It also assumes people are capable of evaluating and understanding their own emotional states, contradicting neurological research as previously discussed. Relying on such measurement based models risks assuming a higher level of attention and involvement than is actually present in the service encounter (Allen, Machleit and Marine, 1988). The opportunity of reducing the study of emotion to a series of tick boxes is tempting for researchers, and despite its crudeness may be useful and efficient in pointing the way through population trends (Fineman, 2004). Yet it also risks turning emotion into a form of classificatory privilege where people are allocated an 'emotional number' crudely resembling the complexities of their daily lives (Fineman, 2004). This can be related to the more general epistemological tensions occurring within the study of emotion, such as the challenge between positivistic perspectives of the universalism of emotion against the interpretivist relativist view of emotion being socially constructed (Lutz and White, 1986).

2.3 Sociological Perspectives on Emotion

Sociological perspectives on emotion seek not to view emotion as a new variable to add into the customer service or productivity 'equation', but instead consider what becomes apparent when we assume that feeling is as important to the outcome of a social interaction as thought or action (Hochschild, 1990). Whereas psychological perspectives see emotion as being reconstructed on a researcher determined scale (Fineman, 2004), sociological perspectives view emotion as being socially constructed and interpretive. According to social constructionism, emotions are shaped by the social circumstances and culture of a particular society. Whilst psychology seeks to discover whether people are 'reality-oriented', the sociologist additionally asks 'which reality?' (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:196). Realities that are taken for granted by service firms may in fact be socially defined. For example, when McDonalds opened its first branch in Moscow employees were trained to always smile at customers. Yet when smiled at, customers, for whom smiling was not part of the Soviet service reality, felt they were being mocked. Some of the richest and most detailed narrative on the roles of emotion in social interactions and encounters comes from the work of the Canadian sociologist Ervin Goffman. Whilst emotion was alluded to rather than forming the centre of his discussions, it has laid the foundations for more recent sociological work that explicitly focuses on emotion (e.g. Hochschild, 1979, 1983). For interactions to succeed where the outcome of the interaction is intangible both parties rely on a series of inferences. You infer that a guest in your home will not steal your wallet, or 'at least your spoons', because they are your guest (Goffman, 1959:15). A defendant in court must infer that their barrister will defend him robustly, whereas the barrister must take it on faith that the version of events given by his client is sufficiently accurate to survive cross examination.

Whilst C. Wright Mills referred to the salesman selling his personality (Mills, 1956), we must turn to dramaturgical theory (Goffman, 1959) for sociology's most influential contribution to studies of service encounters. Goffman observed human encounters as consisting of observable 'front and back stages'. For example, car showrooms may have neat and tidy reception areas where the customers wait (front stage), whereas the dirty workshops (backstage) are hidden from customer view. Some garages have gone as far as playing sanitised videos of mechanics at work to create a 'perceived backstage' (Grayson, 1998) for customers. To give but one of Goffman's many examples of emotions at play in the interactions of everyday life:

"When a neighbour dropped in to have a cup of tea, he would ordinarily wear at least a hint of an expectant warm smile as he passed through the door into the cottage. Since lack of physical obstructions outside the cottage and lack of light within it usually made it possible to observe the visitor unobserved as he approached the house, islanders sometimes took pleasure in watching the visitor drop whatever expression he was manifesting and replace it with a sociable one just before reaching the door. However, some visitors, in appreciating that this

examination was occurring, would blindly adopt a social face a long distance from the house, thus ensuring the projection of a constant image.” (Goffman, 1959:19)

Goffman’s work is a clear antecedent to the most widespread use of emotion in a service encounter, the concept of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983). Before continuing the discussion on emotional labour, I will first provide a précis of the service encounter literature.

2.4 Emotion in the Service Encounter

Whilst there is a rich tradition of researching consumers’ emotional responses to advertising there has been little research on consumers’ emotional responses to services (Price, Arnould and Deibler, 1995). That employees should be trained to give a certain ‘emotional’ response or impression to customers is taken for granted in a range of service industries. The forced smile and robotic chants of ‘have a nice day’ are emblems of such strategies. Take the following example from an employee handbook for a gourmet deli (Steinberg and Figart, 1999).

“Customer courtesy begins and ends with you... Under no circumstances should a customer ever wonder if you are having a bad day. Your troubles should be masked with a smile. Tension can be seen and received negatively resulting in an unhappy dining experience, or what is called frustrated food... Once an unhappy customer walks out the door, they are gone forever!”

This presents a paradox in the service encounter, neatly summarised by Hochschild (1983:192) “The more the heart is managed, the more we value the unmanaged heart”. Psychologists distinguish between the ‘Duchenne smile’ or the ‘Pan American smile’. The Duchenne smile² is a genuine smile whilst a Pan American smile, named after the smile PanAm hostesses were trained to wear, is polite but inauthentic. Research suggests that people react more positively to an authentic, Duchenne, smile than an inauthentic one (Ekman, 1992). What’s more, efforts by service firms to create desired emotions in their employees often result in service workers behaving inauthentically (Ashforth and Tomiuk, 2000). If this is the case then it takes more than just a positive display of emotion to create benefits in consumers minds (Grandey, Fisk, et al., 2005).

The service management literature provides us with four factors that make emotion, and emotional labour in particular, relevant to the service encounter (Ashforth and Humphrey,

² Named after Guillaume Duchenne, an 18th century French neurologist, who used electrotherapy to discover which muscles were used in a genuine smile.

1993). Firstly, service workers are at the customer-organisation interface and represent the organisation to customers. Secondly, service transactions typically involve face-to-face transactions between service workers and customers. Thirdly, due to the high level of uncertainty in the encounter created by customer participation these encounters have a dynamic and emergent quality. Finally, due to the intangibility of the service offered in the encounter it can be difficult for customers to effectively evaluate service quality. Taking these four factors into account emotion has significant potential for impacting on services encounters and the brands of the firm represented by the service employee. Service brands are formed through the relationship between the service organisation and its staff (Dall'Olmo Riley and de Chernatony, 2000). Recently it has been argued (Vargo and Lusch, 2004) that the separation of goods and services is part of an outdated dominant logic for marketing based around a goods centred model. In its place a service-centred dominant logic is emerging with the customer as a coproducer of the service, based on a process of relational and interactive exchange (figure 1).

	Traditional Goods-Centred dominant logic	Emerging Service-Centred dominant logic
Role of customer	Marketers do things to customers; they segment, distribute and promote to them	The customer is a coproducer of service. Marketing is a process of doing thing in interaction with the customer
Firm-customer interaction	Customers are acted upon to create transactions with resources	Customers are active participants in relational exchanges and coproduction

Adopted from Vargo & Lusch, 2004

Figure 1. Goods-centred / service-centered views of customer interaction

The consequence for the service firm is that service and value are produced out of joint contributions through interaction in the service encounter (Gummesson, 2004). Take for example a doctor with expertise in a certain specialty. To correctly diagnose and treat a condition a doctor must interact with the patient. Yet with the availability of medical information through a range of sources consumers often know more about their specific condition than the doctor who is treating them. Such perspectives support the relationship marketing view, in which providers and customers retain win-win relationships (Gummesson, 2004). Following this perspective, this systematic review will focus on the service encounter as a dyadic interaction between service agent and consumer regardless of whether the industry is recognised as being in the service sector.

Whilst service quality models such as SERVQUAL (Parasuraman, Zeithaml and Berry, 1988) and SERVPERF (Cronin and Taylor, 1992) take into account consumer perceptions of service quality they have been criticised for failing to include evaluations of emotion (Liljander and Strandvik, 1997). In addition, by focusing on consumer perceptions, these models do not take account of the dyadic nature of the emotional encounter between customer and service employee (Chandon, Leo and Philippe, 1997). The need for research into emotions in a service encounter is enhanced by the expectation that emotion will play a greater role in service encounters than in the advertising or consumption of products (Price, Arnould et al, 1995). In services, consumer satisfaction is influenced by the quality of the interpersonal interaction - the service encounter - between the customer and contact employee (Bitner, Booms, and Mohr, 1999). The service encounter is a powerful differentiator between goods and services and it is argued that, from the customer's point of view, the service encounter *is* the service firm (Bitner, Booms and Tetreault, 1990).

2.5 Emotional Labour

I propose that in order to ensure a fit between the various conceptual and methodological approaches to emotion, the framework provided by the concept of 'emotional labour' be used as a means of analysing the use of emotion in a service encounter. The concept of emotional labour provides a means through which to analyse the use, or misuse, of emotion in the service encounter. Hochschild acknowledges the work of Darwin, Freud and Goffman as antecedents to her work and also specifically notes the contribution of C. Wright Mills. However, whilst Mills (1956) noted how salespeople were required to 'sell' their personalities, Hochschild criticises the assumption that all one needs to successfully sell a personality is to possess one (Hochschild, 1983:ix). Emotional labour is described in the literature as the management, manipulation or suppression of one's feelings in order to portray a specific outward appearance to others (Grayson, 1998; Hochschild, 1983). For example, at a simplistic level, flight attendants are required to be 'nicer than natural', whilst debt collectors or law enforcers may be required to be 'nastier than natural'. Emotional labour emphasises relational rather than task based work, and can therefore be seen as important in the context of seeking to build service brands based on relationships.

Hochschild's original conceptualisation of emotional labour focuses on distinguishing between 'surface acting' and 'deep acting'. So as to meet work specific display rules surface acting is used by service agents to hide or fake felt emotions, whilst deep acting involves the service agent attempting to experience the desired emotion so that the correct, positive, display follows (Goffman, 1968). Surface acting can be seen as acting in bad faith as the service agent is going through the 'motions of emotion', whereas with deep acting the service agent is attempting to experience the emotions. For example, the put on sneer, the posed shrug, the controlled sigh (Goffman, 1959), is acting to change the way we actively appear (Hochschild, 1983). Deep acting on the other hand is a display of spontaneity, a self induced 'real' feeling. For example, flight attendants at Delta are trained to treat passengers

as if they were personal guests in their own living room. As one flight attendant noted (Hochschild, 1983:105), emotional memories were used to improve the service offered:

“You think how the [passenger] resembles someone you know. You see your sister’s eyes in someone sitting at that seat. That makes you want to put out for them. I like to think of the cabin as the living room of my own home. When someone drops in, you may not know them but you get something for them. You put that on a grand scale – thirty-six passengers per flight attendant – but it’s the same feeling”

Despite the application of emotional labour to a service environment, and the great deal of research focussing on emotional labour from a service employee/consumer perspective, the ownership of the emotional labour concept has remained with its origins in sociology and anthropology. Indeed, whilst early research into emotional labour saw considerable attention to service encounters between consumers and service agents, albeit with a focus on the agent, the sociological research agenda has moved on to more micro studies of emotional labour in the home, or specific work situations (cf. Hochschild, 1997, 2003a, 2003c).

2.6 Research Propositions

Rather than provide a single research question as the focus, I will explore the empirical data through a series of propositions based around three core themes. Whilst grounded in the discussions previously outlined in this paper, these propositions look to the contribution a review into emotional labour can make to marketing research.

The first proposition is concerned with consumer’s perceptions of authenticity in the service encounter. I propose that if the consumer perceives the service provider’s emotional displays to be genuine and authentic they will be more satisfied with the service encounter. In the emotional labour literature deep acting has been conceptualised as being a more authentic display of emotion than surface acting, which leads to the following proposition:

P1: Where consumers perceive deep acted emotional labour to be used by the service agent they will respond more favourably than when surface acting takes place.

Much of the conceptualisation of emotional labour is based on service encounters in types of service roles that are typically short in length, low status and require low involvement and low commitment from both the employee and customer. Examples of such contexts include airlines, fast food and grocery retailing. Yet a large number of service interactions are based in professional services such as education, healthcare and law. I propose that in

such professional services the use of emotional labour will be less due to a greater emphasis by the consumers on the professional's technical skills. Conversely, in low involvement services due to the high level of organisational control over the employees behaviour in the service encounter, and homogeneity amongst organisations in terms of the functional aspects of the service, emotional labour will become a more important determinant of service quality.

P2: In professional services interactions the use of emotional labour will be a less important determinant of perceived service quality than technical skills of the role

P3: In low status interactive service work emotional labour will be a more critical determinant of perceived service quality than the technical or functional skills required for the role.

Goffman's work on strategic interaction and game theory (Goffman, 1970) suggests that it is not just service agents that use emotional labour manage an interaction. As consumers become more knowledgeable about aspects of the service, it is more likely that they will seek to control the service encounter. To expand on the example previously given, where patients with chronic conditions often know more about their condition than the doctor treating them, patients may use their position to influence the types of medication prescribed to them. This leads to the final proposition:

P4: Where consumers perceive an imbalance in the information flow to their benefit they will use emotional labour to improve their position in the service encounter.

3. Methodology

3.1 Overview

In this chapter the methodology adopted for carrying out the systematic review is outlined, together with rationale for key decisions made in terms of bounding the review. Figure 2 illustrates the decision process that was taken in selecting each source for inclusion in this systematic review, starting with systematic searches for information, followed by selection based on both relevance to the topic, and quality of the source and completed with extraction and synthesis of the data.

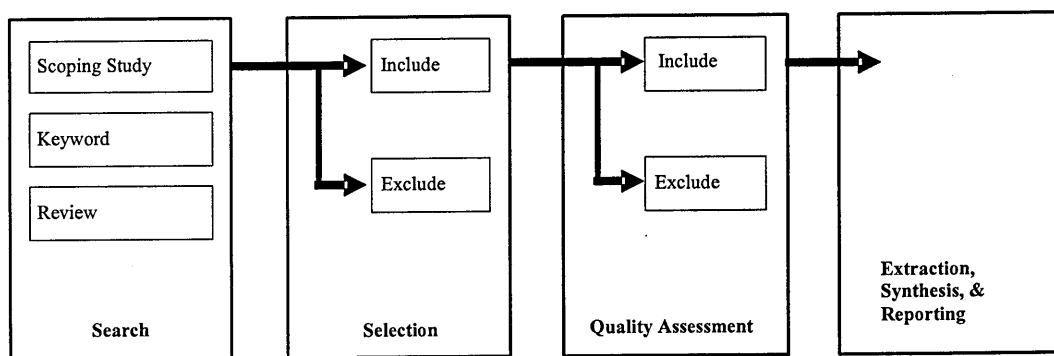


Figure 2. Steps in the Systematic Review Protocol

3.2 Review Panel

As previously discussed, the literature on emotion is spread across disciplines and philosophical perspectives. Yet despite this, individual studies tend to sit in disciplinary silos and not consider cross disciplinary perspectives. Therefore, a challenge exists in bringing together literature from such a wide domain without being constrained by the limits of the knowledge and experience of the reviews author. To counter this, advice on literature sources was sought from academic experts from a range of disciplinary backgrounds. In each case the rationale for the systematic review was explained, and specific guidance sought in terms of specific articles and search strings.

Firstly, I identified appropriate academics through attendance at three conferences. These conferences were (1) Academy of Marketing Doctoral Colloquium July 2005, (2) Academy of Marketing Conference Branding Track, July 2005 and (3) EIASM/EDEN Special seminar on services marketing, May 2005. Specific recommendations for literature arguing against the importance of emotion in services were provided by Dr. Aiden O'Driscoll (Senior Lecturer, Dublin Institute of Technology) and Dr. Mairead Brady (Lecturer, Trinity College Dublin). Professor Steve Worthington (Monash University) suggested looking at

emotion management in a wider context beyond that defined as Emotional Labour. A particular concern was to expand on my limited knowledge of literature in the psychology domain, particularly social-psychology. Conversations with staff at the University of Maastricht were particularly useful in this regard, as they have an expertise in psychology and marketing. Professors Jos Lemmink and Ko de Ruyter (Maastricht University) provided suggestions on psychology journals with a consumer behaviour focus, as well as specific terminology used to describe emotions in psychology literature, which were subsequently integrated into the search strategy. Professor Parsu Parasuraman (Miami University), suggested ways in which emotional labour could be integrated with the extant literature on service quality, which proved invaluable in developing the propositions which this thesis seeks to explore.

At Cranfield, discussions with Heather Woodfield in the Kings Norton library provided a list of business schools with working paper series, guidance on usage of working papers and information on accessing dissertations which were subsequently incorporated into the search strategy. Additionally, advice on accessing sources not available through Cranfield databases, particularly older anthropology and sociology journals, was sought. Extensive discussions with Professors Simon Knox and Adrian Payne provided the initial scoping for this research. Dr David Denyer provided assistance with the developing a robust review protocol. On the suggestion of Dr Silviya Svejnova (ESADE) articles linking social exchange theory with emotion were included (e.g. Lawler and Jeongkoo, 1996; Lawler and Thye, 1999).

As the research topic under question is not sector or location specific, and the outputs are centred on developing further research it was not considered appropriate to include practitioners in this review panel.

3.3 Search Strategy

3.3.1 Electronic Databases

The research topic of emotional labour is cross disciplinary in nature, and thus a range of database sources were used to give truly comprehensive coverage. Aside from “standard” management databases, EBSCO and Proquest, the BIDS social science database was included. Following advice from the review panel and given that the concept of emotional labour had its origins in the sociology literature, and there have been significant recent contributions in anthropology, I have included two JSTOR databases with specialist coverage of these subject areas.

- **BIDS International Bibliography of the Social Sciences**
- **EBSCO (Business Premier)**
- **JSTOR Anthropology Database**

- **JSTOR Sociology Database**
- **ProQuest**

3.3.2 Books

The inclusion of books in this review is required not least because the emotional labour originally came to prominence through Hochschild's 1983 book "The Managed Heart". However, whilst a number of other books on emotion in organization have been written, none met the inclusion criteria for this study.

3.3.3 Working Papers

Due to the long lead times in research reaching publication in leading journals, working papers provide a means to include the most current research and ideas into the systematic review. Working paper lists for management were sourced from the Birkbeck College, University of London Library, and searched with the same selection criteria used for journal articles. As part of the quality criteria, and to enable manageable search parameters, only working papers published since January 2003 are included. Whilst more than 60 working paper series were searched, the majority focussed on finance and economics, with only very few universities providing a consistent programme of marketing papers. It was therefore unsurprising that only one paper was found that met the quality and inclusion criteria set down for this review. As this paper (Lynch and de Chernatony, 2004) was subsequently published in a journal it was excluded from this review.

3.3.4 Theses

Like working papers, including theses provides a means through which to analyze recent in depth research. However, there is also the significant issue of accessing dissertations through catalogues and getting hold of the hard copies. For this reason, two digital research resources which allow online access to digitized version of theses were searched together with the catalogue of the British library collection of theses from UK universities.

- **NDLTD - Networked Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations 2000-**
- **UMI ProQuest Digital Dissertations 2004-** *(date restriction due to licensing)*
- **British Library Dissertations 2000-**

No doctoral dissertations were found that met the search criteria, although one was found from 1997 which has subsequently been published in journals (Mann, 1999).

3.3.5 Manual Citation Searches

As a check to ensure that all key papers had been included, citation lists from several recent reviews of emotional labour were checked against the list of articles returned by the databases. In particular the extensive bibliography provided by Hochschild (2003b), in the 'Afterword to the 20th Anniversary Edition' of 'The Managed Heart' provided several papers not accessible through databases,

3.3.6 Key Word Searches

Due to the narrow conceptual realm of this systematic review, the aim was to search as widely as possible for studies on emotional labour. The majority of sources were found using just one search term, *emotional labour*, and its Americanized variations. However, it is important to recognise that Hochschild did not invent the study of emotion, and in many ways her research has repackaged a number of other concepts relating to emotion. Following discussions with members of the review panel specific search strings on impression management, service encounters and the negative effects of emotion management were included. In all cases keywords were applied at the highest level of detail, namely full text searching. However, different search engines contain different levels of depth for each record, and where full-text was not available searching on abstract or title was accepted. A summary of the search strings used for EBSCO is included in figure 3, although the exact ways in which the Boolean operators are used varied depending on the search language of the database.

Figure 4 shows the number of results from each search engine after entering the search strings. In order to keep the number of articles manageable, EBSCO and Proquest searches were both setup as to only carry out searches in scholarly journals. If this setting hadn't been selected then ProQuest alone would have produced more than 2,000 results just for the emotional labour search string. Additionally, searches were carried out so as to exclude papers from dates other than that within the criteria for this study. The resulting papers were then filtered and checked for duplicates using an Excel spreadsheet to form a final list of 394 papers for selection criteria to be applied to.

Topic	Keywords	Search Strings (EBSCO)
<u>Emotional Labour</u>	Emotional Labour Emotional Labor Emotion Work	emotion* AND (labour OR labor)
Impression management	Dramaturgical Dramaturgy Impression management Goffman	Emotion* AND (dramaturg* theor* OR Impression Managagement OR Goffman)
Service Encounters	Service Encounter SERVPERF SERVQUAL	Emotion* AND (service encounter* OR servqual OR servperf)
Negative Emotions	dissonance stress burn-out	Emotion* AND (dissonance OR stress OR burn?out)
Branding	brands branding	Emotion* AND brand*

Figure 3. Keyword search strings

Search Topic	EBSCO	ProQuest	BIDS	JSTOR
Emotional Labour	293	173	89	8
Impression Management	6	0	4	2
Service Encounters	25	32	4	0
Negative Emotions	15	11	1	0
Branding	4	5	85	0

Figure 4. Results from database searches

3.4 Selection Criteria

After the generation of sources using keywords and database sources, selection criteria were applied to each of the 394 results selecting only the most relevant sources to go forward to the quality appraisal stage. Emotional labour is a topic defined in such a way that, with the exception of gender and family based studies which focus on individuals in non-work environments, the majority of results from database searches selected as being relevant. This is excepting that a significant number of the above results brought results that were out of context. For example, whilst inclusion of nursing journals produced relevant articles on the patient / clinician relationship as a service encounter, it also returned articles on childbirth (“emotion in labour”) and trade unions (“emotional Labour Party conference”). At this stage it is worth expanding on two of the selection criteria, gender and emotional intelligence, as these exclusions have the greatest material impact on the types of papers included in this study.

3.4.1 Gender and emotional labour

As originally specified by Hochschild emotional labour was developed as a clearly gendered construct. In the work of flight attendants, nurses and debt collectors, gender plays a key role in determining the nature of emotional labour used. This reflects the sociological origins of the emotional labour construct but is also based on a narrowly defined version of service work, grounded in definitions developed by from Hochschild’s original data collection work in the 1970’s. Many roles traditionally defined by researchers as requiring emotional labour are predominately held by women, and potential for pay disparity based on gender therefore becomes a serious issue which organisations need to deal with. However, even feminists such as Ronnie Steinberg (Steinberg and Figart, 1999) have criticised research designs based on choosing roles where emotional labour is assumed to exist as restricting research to a narrow range of occupations. Steinberg and Figart suggest researchers “abandon their reliance on preconceived stereotypes of femininity when studying emotional labour”. Whilst gender has been a central feature in developing the academic study of emotional labour, in this systematic review gender is not a focus. There are two reasons for excluding papers solely concentrated on gender. Firstly, this systematic review has a marketing focus based on the impact of emotional labour in a service dyad, where as emotional labour on gender largely concentrates on the individual role. Secondly, whilst there is a large body of literature focussing on gender and emotional labour, there are few conceptualisations of emotional labour in a contemporary marketing context.

3.4.2 Emotional Intelligence

Emotional Intelligence is perhaps the academic concept most familiar to practitioners related to emotions in organisations, and yet, like gender, is also excluded from this scope of this review. Whilst conceptually different from emotional labour, emotional intelligence (EI) has come to prominence for similar reasons. The rise of services and the move away from manufacturing in Western economies has increased interest in ‘the soft stuff’, the intangible sides of people’s behaviour which management philosophies such as Taylorism

sought, at best, to ignore. Broadly, emotional intelligence seeks to offer an alternative, through measures such as an Emotional Quotient, to traditional measures of intelligence such as IQ. If emotional labour is becoming an increasingly important to the performance of service roles then, it may be argued, those with higher EI are better able to perform the role. EI has become hugely popular, largely through bestselling book by Daniel Goleman (1995) driven by claims that EQ is a better predictor of workplace success than IQ. EI is a controversial concept amongst academics, as Epstein (1998) notes "The jury is still out as to whether there is a scientifically meaningful construct of emotional intelligence". Criticisms of EI are widespread, but can be largely categorised into claims that the concept is underdeveloped, that it duplicates existing measures, and concerns over the speed with which it has been adopted as a tool by organisations despite a paucity of empirical evidence. The latter has been of most concern by even generous critics of the concept.

"Claims about EI have created considerable excitement about the potential of EI both in the business community and in the general public, although, unfortunately these claims tend towards the extravagant and hyperbolic (if not outrageous)".

- Mathews, Zeidner, and Roberts, 2004: 467

Whilst there has been some conceptual work on EI, the paucity of empirical work limits the scope for including this in a systematic review. Additionally, the most frequently quoted pieces of empirical work into EI were commissioned by Goleman for inclusion in his books and full details of methods and results are not publicly available, making it unlikely to pass quality criteria. However, regardless of the current criticisms of EI, it is left out of this review primarily as the construct is underdeveloped, and its focus has been to date on individuals in organisations rather than its impact on consumers.

Tables 5 and 6 provide the formal specification of inclusion and exclusion criteria used in this study.

Inclusion Criterion	Rationale for inclusion
Academic papers in refereed scholarly journals, using databases covering the full spectrum of social science disciplines	Primary source of academic literature on emotional labour
Working papers from leading business schools from 2003 onwards	Working papers are sought as a recent source of data
International doctoral theses from 2000-onwards where available online UK doctoral theses from 2000- available through the British Library	Several of the original pieces of work on emotional labour started as doctoral theses, so this is another potential source of high quality and recent work on the review topic
No geographical or industry restrictions or country of study	Comparisons across countries, cultures and industries are sought in this review
No restrictions on methodological or theoretical background of paper	The purpose of this study is to compare approaches across a range of methodological approaches
Only English language studies will be considered	Researcher only has access to English language sources

Figure 5. Inclusion Criteria

Exclusion Criterion	Rationale for Exclusion
Papers pre-1979	The term for emotional labour was first used in 1979 by Arlie Hochschild. I am therefore only interested in sources that either implicitly or explicitly use emotional labour as a frame of reference
Working papers pre-2003	I am using working papers as a source of recent research, and will assume that quality work published in 2002 and before would be available through journal searching
Masters and other non-doctoral theses	Difficulties in searching for and accessing copies of non-doctoral theses
Studies relating primarily to emotional-labour in the home / family	This systematic review is concerned with the application of emotional labour in a commercial environment
Studies relating to emotional labour as a gendered issue, or applying emotional labour through a feminist perspective	Such studies focus on the individual employee role, rather than as in this case where I am interested in interaction in a service dyad
Studies analysing the health impacts of emotional labour, where the study has clinical implications	Whilst issues such as stress are important, those that have specifically clinical outcomes focus on the individual employee rather than the interaction that is the scope of this study
Studies analysing emotional intelligence	Emotional intelligence is a recent and controversial topic and much academic research is based on conceptualising, rather than empirically testing, the concept. In particular the lack of definition and immediate relevance to service encounters means that it is out of the scope of this review.

Figure 6. Exclusion Criteria

3.5 Quality Appraisal

In order to refine the set of papers further so that only high quality *and* relevant papers are included in the review the following quality appraisal criteria were applied to all articles selected as relevant. One of the roles of this review is to consider the effectiveness of various approaches to emotional labour in being able to capture, understand or interpret different levels of emotional interaction. Using the word ‘effectiveness’ implies that a value judgement will be made as to the quality of the paper. However, applying broad judgements across all papers could result in misjudging the quality of a paper. For example, in the journal *Annals*³, there are a substantial number of articles on emotional labour, yet they give only scant details as to the methodology employed in the research, reflecting the requirements of the journal. In books using longitudinal studies a variety of methods can be combined (c.f. Hochschild, 1983). Whilst a ‘scoring system’ for inclusion and exclusion would seem convenient, the level of complexity required in creating a system that worked for so many different approaches makes it unfeasible. Having said that, a comprehensive and unbiased systematic review does not assume that all sources are of equal quality. These criteria, together with the rationale for selecting these criteria are displayed in figure 7.

³ *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*

Quality Criteria	Rationale
1. Is the methodology appropriate for the study?	In order to compare the effectiveness of different methodological approaches it is necessary to include only those studies that use a method appropriate to the research design. It is necessary to isolate the effectiveness of a particular methodology from the researcher's ability to implement it.
2. Has the epistemological perspective been made clear?	In order to compare the epistemological differences between studies it is necessary to be able to extract this information from the study
3. Has the conceptual framework of emotional labour been correctly operationalised?	Emotional labour provides a clear framework, which has been used and developed by many sources. However, in some areas it has been adopted as a 'buzzword' and used inappropriately, for example being applied to emotional intelligence.
4. Is there a high clarity of argument?	The arguments and conclusions of the study need to be clear and understandable so that they can be synthesised
5. Has the work been positioned within the existing literature?	There needs to be evidence that the authors have considered the position of their work in the light of antecedent research into emotion

Figure 7. Quality Criteria

3.6 Data Extraction

Basic biographical data was extracted from all papers returned by the search engine and stored in an especially designed Excel workbook. For those papers that were not selected the reason for non-selection was noted. For empirical papers that passed the selection criteria key attribute information was stored, including key findings, service context, journal, academic discipline of the author, and geographical location of the study. A full list of empirical papers is contained in Appendix 1.

3.7 Data Synthesis

Given the wide variation in methods and philosophies between papers the synthesis process needs to have a clear focus. In order to achieve this synthesis will be organised around two goals. Firstly, the validity of the propositions stated in chapter two will be explored in relation to the empirical evidence gathered. Secondly, to form the basis for future research I propose a conceptual model, grounded in the analysis of empirical studies, linking emotional labour to consumer evaluations of service quality.

3.8 Summary Statistics on Selected papers collected

Figure 8 displays the results of applying the selection and quality criteria to the database output. The majority of exclusions were due to the paper not actually being about emotional labour, or emotion management in organisations. As discussed, this can be put down to keyword overlap with other concepts that use the words ‘emotion’ and ‘labour’ as terms. Exclusions due to a paper being on emotional intelligence are also included in the ‘not relevant to emotional labour’ count. In addition, it was not possible to source five papers in time for inclusion in this review. Full details of these are included in Appendix 3.

Total Number of Papers from Database	
Search	394
Selection Criteria Exclusions:	
Not relevant to emotional labour	270
Not academic publication	7
Home / Family related:	3
Gender focused:	25
Clinical:	10
Quality Criteria Exclusions:	
Inappropriate Methodology	2
Inappropriate Conceptualisation	2
<u>Total Selected for review:</u>	<u>75</u>
<i>of which empirical:</i>	<i>47</i>
<i>of which conceptual</i>	<i>28</i>

Figure 8. Summary of papers after selection process

4. Descriptive Analysis

4.1 Overview

The findings of this systematic review are presented in three chapters. In chapter five, key conceptual papers are reviewed, a conceptual timeline for emotional labour is proposed and the links between the conceptual development of emotional labour and the subsequent empirical work are discussed. In chapter six, the selected empirical studies into emotional labour are reviewed in the context of key emergent themes. However, I begin in this chapter with a descriptive analysis and discussion of key attribute data. Following the selection of papers for this review, attribute information was extracted from the papers in order to build up a picture of the body of literature in emotional labour. In this section I analyse and discuss four attributes: publishing over time, academic discipline, country of the study and the service context in which the study took place.

4.2 Studies over Time

The number of empirical and conceptual studies published in each year is shown in figure 9, whilst the cumulative number of studies is shown in figure 10. Although emotional labour is not a new concept, these graphs illustrate that it is only in the last five years or so that the concept has taken off in the academic literature. The explanation for the delayed take-up of emotional labour cannot be put down to academic obscurity. Unusually for an academic sociology monograph, 'The Managed Heart' was a best seller and was listed as a New York Times 'Book of the Year'. As will be discussed in chapter five, the explanation for this take up can most likely be related to conceptual shifts in the way in which emotional labour is defined.

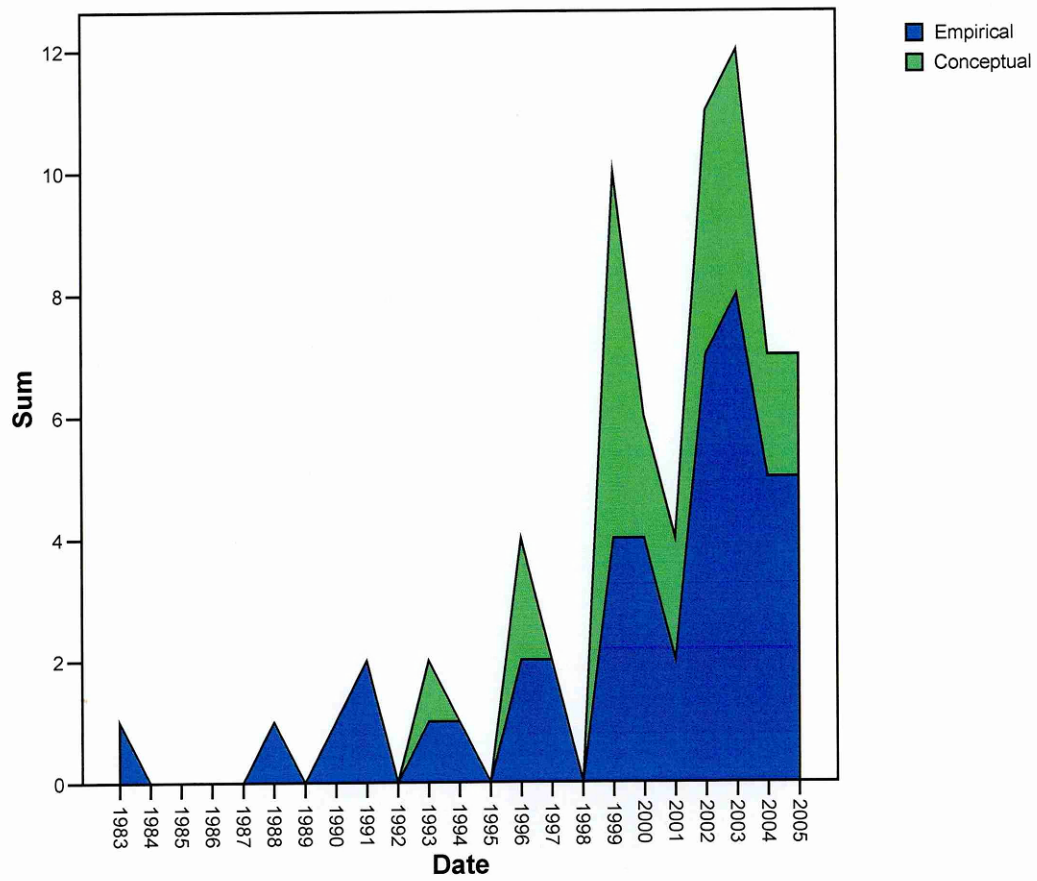


Figure 9. Number of papers reviewed, by date

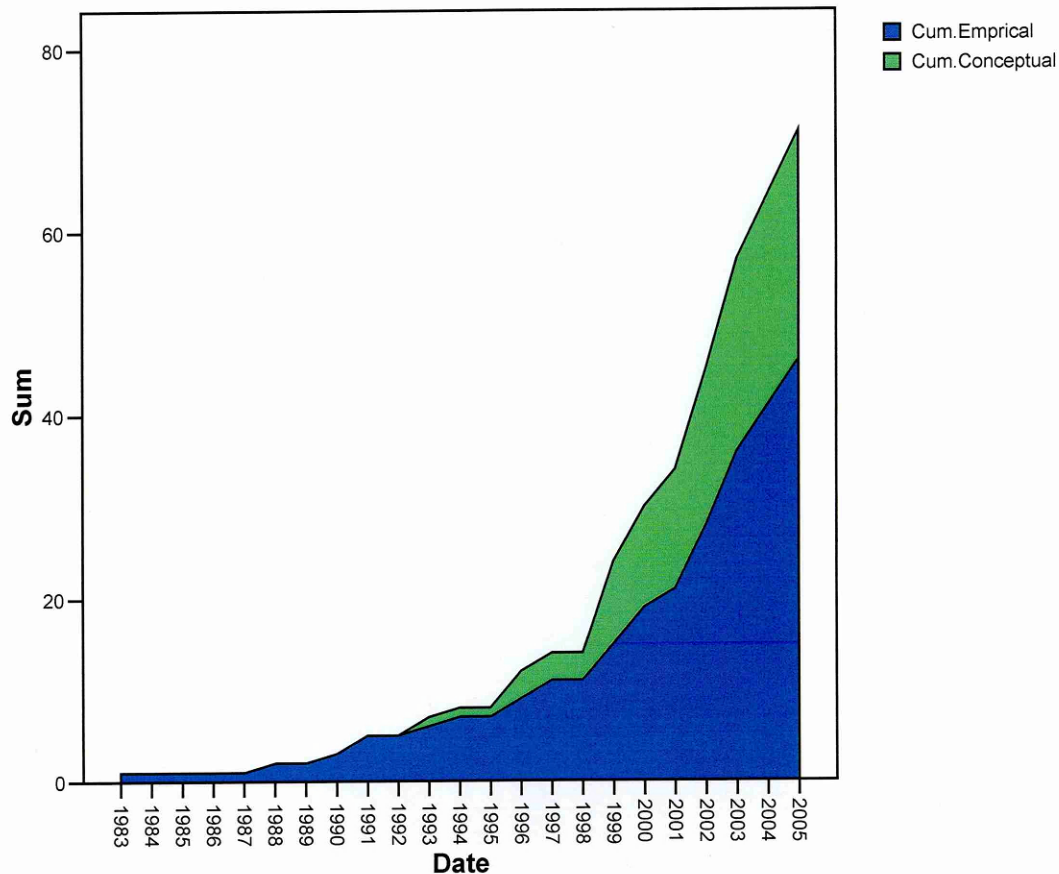


Figure 10. Cumulative number of papers, by date

4.3 Studies by country

As figure 11 makes clear, empirical studies into emotional labour have a distinct western, Anglo-centric focus. This is likely to reflect to an extent the selection of papers only from English language journals, but also perhaps reflects the geographic balance of research intensive universities likely to carry out such research. However, there leaves a research gap in the role of emotional labour in service settings outside the Anglophone world. For example, in one of the few comments on the cultural universality of emotional labour Rafaeli and Sutton (1990) note that in Israel it is acceptable for service staff to argue with or shout at customers. In areas of the world such as the middle-East, where public displays of emotion are less culturally acceptable we might expect emotional labour to operate differently.

	Empirical Studies
USA	26
UK	8
Australia	3
Canada	2
Germany	2
Israel	2
Sweden	1
Cyprus	1
Spain	1
Netherlands	1
Switzerland	1

Figure 11. Empirical studies listed by country where work was carried out

4.4 Studies by discipline

The most frequently occurring journals in this study are listed in figure 12, whilst the division of papers by academic field is given in figure 13. Perhaps the surprising factor out of these numbers is that even with a highly marketing focussed set of search criteria so many papers were found in fields outside management, yet so few in marketing journals. The lack of focus on emotional labour in marketing, especially given its substantial coverage in leading management journals cannot readily be explained. One possible explanation is that the lack of easily operationalisable models has made emotional labour less attractive to quantitative researchers in marketing.

Journal Title	Number of Papers
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science	7
Academy of Management Journal	7
European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology	4
Management Communication Quarterly	4
Journal of Management Studies	3
Academy of Management Review	3
Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology	3
International Journal of Service Industry Management	2
Journal of Vocational Behavior	2
Organization	2
The Service Industries Journal	2
Work & Occupations	2

Figure 12. Most frequently cited journals

Field	Number of Papers
Management	39
Sociology	15
Psychology	7
Marketing	6
Healthcare	5
Accountancy	1

Figure 13. Number of studies by field

4.5 Studies by Context

Studies of emotional labour have traditionally been focussed on a small range of service contexts, such as airlines, hotels and call centres, as is indicated in figure 14. However, through including a wider range of disciplines this review considers emotional labour in terms of a much wider range of services. In particular a number of professional services such as law, medicine and teaching are included in this study.

Service Context	Number of Papers
Travel & Leisure	11
Call Centres	5
High Street	
Retailing	4
Healthcare	4
Education	4
Law	3
Police	3
Debt/Tax	
Collectors	2
Business-to-Business	1
Fast Food	1
Image	
Consultancy	1
<i>Range of Contexts</i>	8

Figure 14. Range of service contexts

5. Conceptualising Emotional Labour

5.1 Overview

Whilst the bulk of work on emotional labour has been empirical, there is a significant body of conceptual work which has played an important part in the development of emotional labour theory, and on the subsequent body of empirical work. This chapter reviews how emotional labour has evolved since Hochschild's conceptual paper in 1979, by considering the major developments that have helped bring emotional labour into the mainstream of management research. For this review I focus only the key conceptual works in emotional labour, as determined by conceptualisations that have differed significantly from Hochschild's original work, and subsequently been used as a conceptual base by empirical work. Whilst 28 conceptual papers were selected from the body of work on emotional labour in this chapter I discuss 11 papers which can be considered as the key conceptual works in the development of emotional labour. In this context a 'key work' is defined as extending Hochschild's original concepts whilst also being cited by empirical papers selected for this review. Full details of all conceptual papers, including those not reviewed in this chapter are contained in Appendix 2.

In figure 15 a conceptual map is provided that outlines the basis of the development of emotional labour over the last 25 years in terms of the papers reviewed in this chapter. Whilst each paper brings a different perspective of emotional labour, they can be classified into two broad categories. Firstly, those papers that adopt Hochschild's original focus on human emotions. For these researchers, to understand emotional labour and its consequences it is necessary to understanding the emotional states of those who are managing their emotions. The second group focuses on the human behaviour aspects of emotional labour, that is, the way in which emotional labour manifests itself. Under this perspective what matters is not what the service worker feels, but what an external actor, such as a consumer, perceives the worker is feeling. These approaches do not exclude each other, but rather concentrate on different aspects of the same problem. A focus on individual emotions allows us to understand one side of the service dyad, the service employee, whereas a focus on behaviour gives a perspective on the other side, the customer.

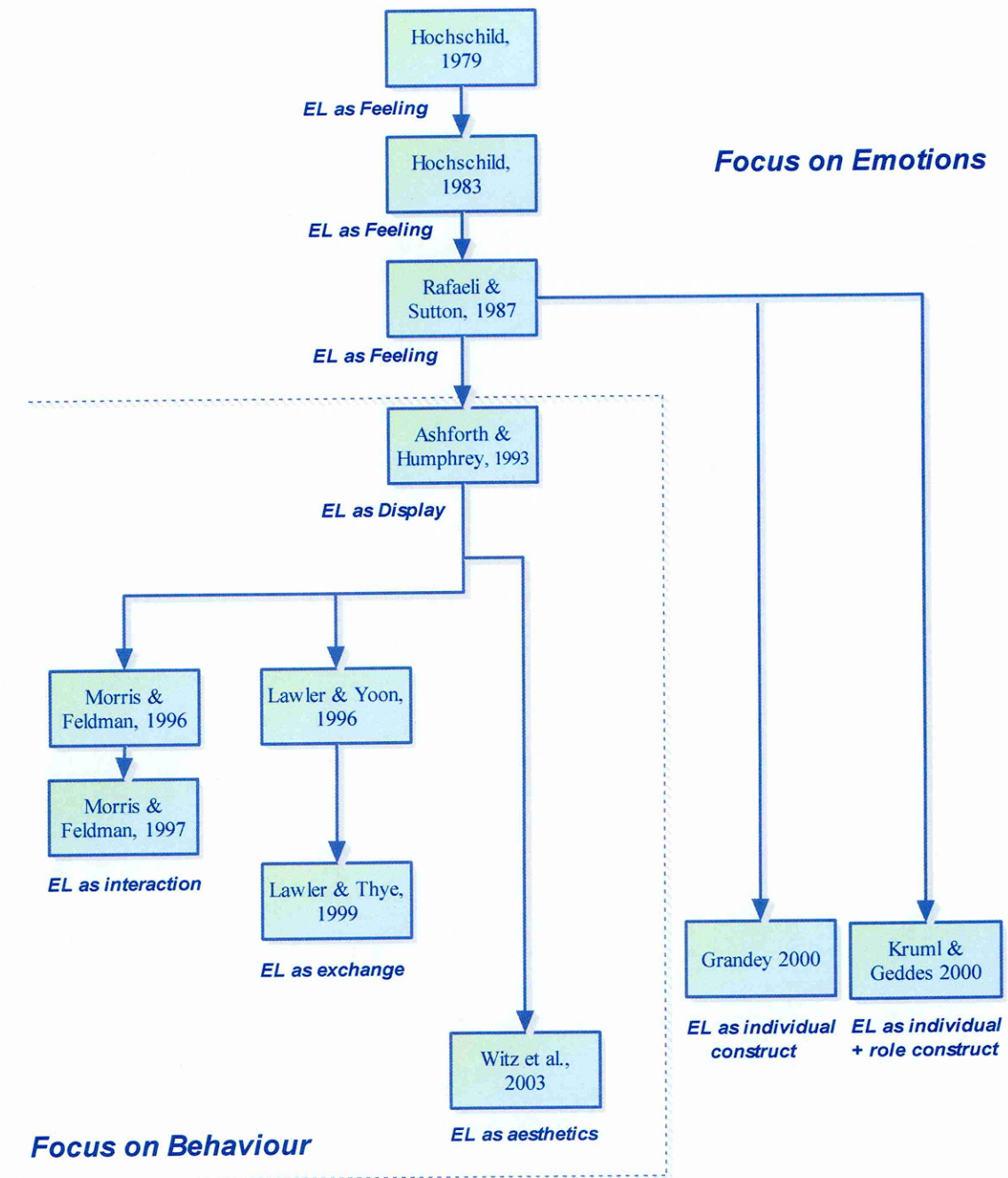


Figure 15. Conceptual Map of the development of emotional labour

5.2 The Origins of Emotional Labour

Whilst the term 'emotional labour' did not appear in print until 1983, its key concepts were outlined in Hochschild's (1979) paper 'Emotion Work, Feeling Rules and Social Structure'. In this paper we are introduced to the emotion management perspective, as an alternative to impression management and psychoanalytic perspectives as a way of viewing interaction. Hochschild describes emotion management as the type of work required to cope with feeling rules, the norms that regulate the use of emotion in a social context.

"We often speak of "having the right to feel angry at someone. Or we say we "should feel more grateful" to a benefactor...that a friend's misfortune "should have hit us harder", or that another's good luck should have inspired more joy" – Hochschild, 1979:654

Hochschild also briefly introduces the concept of surface and deep acting, although the bulk of the paper involves situating her conceptual position in the context of previous work on emotion and expression management. Although this paper discusses the commoditization of feeling, it spends little time on examples of this in a commercial setting. Indeed, a main finding is the way in which middle class families prepare their children for emotion management more than working class families. Whilst Hochschild's paper refers readers to her forthcoming book, it took another four years for 'The Managed Heart' to be published.

5.3 Emotional Labour as Feeling Rules

'The Managed Heart' (Hochschild, 1983) expanded on the 1979 paper, notably by introducing 'emotional labour' as a label. Whereas physical and mental labour had long been recognised as critical to the performance of work roles, Hochschild recognised that the changing economy, and an increasing focus on the provision of services, was dependant on a new type of labour other than either manual dexterity or raw intelligence. For example, whilst airline cabin crew require manual labour to push the catering carts, and mental labour to learn the various safety instructions, they also require emotional labour to interact with customers in the way expected by the firm. Whilst the 'soft' and intangible aspects of management had gained some currency with authors such as Peters and Waterman (1982), Hochschild added specificity. In a wide ranging study consisting of surveys, observation and interviews of airline cabin attendants and other related staff, such as union officials and airline debt collectors, Hochschild built up a picture of the use of emotional labour in service environments. Feelings are seen as clues and have a signal function. For example, as Freud (2002/1926) noted feelings such as anger could signal danger, and although not every emotion signals danger, every emotion does have signal function (Hochschild, 1983). However, in service roles where emotional labour is required Hochschild argues that these feeling rules are modified by organisational rules, which alter the signal function of emotion. For example, when a member of cabin crew receives abuse from a passenger they

need to manage their emotional response in order to give an appropriate customer service response.

"If they call me "honey" or sweetheart" or "little lady" in a certain tone of voice, I feel demeaned, like they don't know that in an emergency I could save their little chauvinistic lives. But when I get called "bitch" and "slut", I get angry...Now the company wants to say, look, that's too bad, that's not nice, but it's all in the line of public-contact work...They say don't get angry at that; it's a tough job, and part of the job is to take this abuse in stride" - (Member of Delta Airways Cabin Crew, quoted in Hochschild, 1983:20)

Hochschild identifies two ways in which emotion can be managed in such situations. Surface acting is defined as pretending to feel what we do, 'in surface acting we deceive others about what we feel but we do not really deceive ourselves' (ibid: 33). On the other hand deep acting involves deceiving oneself in order to actually feel the correct emotion. In 'The Managed Heart' similarities are drawn between the Stanislavski System of acting (also known as Method Acting) and deep acting, where actors draw upon their own emotions and experiences to attempt to 'become' the character they are playing. In the context of the harassed member of cabin crew deep acting could, using examples from Hochschild, involve the flight attendant imagining the death of a loved one, or that the abusive passenger had recently lost a child, in order to demonstrate appropriate levels of empathy towards them. Unsurprisingly, Hochschild finds that such use of emotional labour has a range of negative consequences for employees including emotional numbness towards the role and stress disorders.

Yet, despite Hochschild's best selling status, emotional labour had a slow start. Reviewing the papers for this study, it is notable that whilst many wish to extend Hochschild's original framework into new directions, there is little substantial criticism of her work. Perhaps the main reason for the lack of follow-on research is the difficulty in applying the framework to other service sector environments. Whilst the anecdotes from flight attendants made the research look particularly relevant to management researchers, the research was framed by a Marxist outlook focussing on, as she saw it, the exploitation of service workers, and particularly the exploitation of women in service roles. Emotional labour was therefore portrayed as negative from the individual's perspective. Combined with this was the concept of feeling rules, heavily based as they were in the interactionist theories of emotion, a perspective described as 'radical' by other mainstream emotion researchers (Mathews et al, 2004).

Whilst Annat Rafaeli and Robert Sutton published a series of empirical papers on emotional labour their 1987 paper is notable for being the first to extend the concept. They focus on consequences of emotional labour for the service worker, noting that whilst

Hochschild concentrated on the negative consequences of emotional dissonance, there are instances where 'faking in good faith' can help employees. For example, doctors may cope with burnout by acting concerned with patients. Rafaeli and Sutton propose two further types of emotional consequence for the employee – emotional harmony, and emotional deviance. Emotional harmony takes into account that employees can actually genuinely feel the emotions required by organisational feeling rules. Conversely, emotional deviance occurs when employees disregard organisational feeling rules and display only their own emotions. The authors propose that this is likely to lead to negative consequences for the employee; a flight attendant who speaks their mind to an abusive passenger may reduce the chances of negative emotional dissonance, but will also risk losing their job.

5.4 Emotional Labour as Display Rules

A major development from Hochschild's original conceptualisation was provided by Ashforth and Humphrey, (1993). Whilst Hochschild based emotional labour on 'feeling rules', Ashforth & Humphrey instead refer to display rules. Whilst feeling rules are determined by the internal emotional state of the employee, display rules are based on the external observable behaviour of the service agent. This reconceptualisation aided researchers in two ways. Firstly, by focussing on the external display rather than the internal feelings, the opportunities for researching emotional labour from a service perspective become enhanced. Secondly, by focussing on *behaviour* rather than *emotion* emotional labour gains conceptual clarity. To observe emotional labour it is not necessary to understand the emotional state of the service agent, only the way in which they display their emotions. Specifically, the authors define emotional labour as the "display of expected emotions by service agents during service encounters" and make explicit the link between emotional labour and contemporary marketing theory.

5.5 Emotional Labour as Aesthetic Labour

Witz, Warhurst and Nickson (2003) take this behaviouralist perspective a step further by introducing the concept of aesthetic labour. They critique the widespread research into emotional labour in service environments by arguing that in service environments it is not just how the employee feels that matters, but their whole display. Emotional displays are just one part of aesthetic labour. The authors give examples of corporate uniforms, hairstyles and even the way employees walk as ways in which aesthetic labour is required above and beyond emotional labour. They argue that presenting the correct aesthetic display requires effort in the same way as emotional labour. Whilst the importance of aesthetic effort might be questioned in comparison to that of emotional effort, the authors do propose that it will become increasingly important in service roles in the future.

5.6 Emotional Labour as Interaction

With emotional labour now conceptually anchored as a phenomenon relevant to services marketing, in two papers Morris and Feldman (1996, 1997) attempt to add complexity by

conceptualising emotional labour to more accurately reflect the added complexities inherent in real world service encounters. Morris and Feldman's conceptualisation of emotional labour is perhaps that which differs most significantly from Hochschild's original work, both in terminology and scope. Whereas previously emotional labour was seen as a function of the individual, Morris and Feldman note emotional labour as a function of the role. Correspondingly, the concepts of surface and deep acting are virtually absent from their work. Like Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), and Rafaeli and Sutton (1988) before them, Morris and Feldman adopt Hochschild's interactionist view of emotion as a socially constructed phenomenon. In their 1996 paper they replace Hochschild's two dimensions of deep and surface acting with four dimensions of emotional labour (1) Frequency of emotional display, (2) Attentiveness to required display rules (3) Variety of expressed emotions and (4) emotional dissonance. Of note is that emotional dissonance is no longer considered as a consequence of emotional labour, but rather a dimension. By taking a role, rather than employee, perspective they view dissonance as incongruence between the emotional state of the employee and emotional requirements of the job. Whilst this could be seen as similar to surface acting, surface acting is really a management strategy used by the employee to deal with the dissonance. In summary, Morris and Feldman focussed on the dimensions of emotional labour rather than the means through which emotional labour is managed by the employee. Its contribution can therefore be seen as complementary to existing conceptualisations. In a 1997 paper, (Morris and Feldman, 1997) made without reference to the 1996 paper, the authors refine the four dimensions into three, focussing on interaction rather than just display, and eliminating 'variety of expressed emotions'. Although no explanation was given for why their conceptualisation had changed, the focus on interaction rather than employee display more closely reflects the interactive nature of the service encounter.

5.7 Emotional Labour as Exchange

An alternative conceptual approach is made in two papers by Edward Lawler (Lawler and Jeongkoo, 1996; Lawler and Thye, 1999) who, in bringing emotion into social exchange theory, considers the role of emotional labour from a cultural-normative perspective. Whilst noting that the sociology of emotions and sociology of exchange are distinct traditions, Lawler proposes that emotion norms which alter the public expression of emotion also entail actors managing their emotions to fit roles or positions. Lawler hypothesises that reciprocal exchange will be more sensitive to emotional expressions than negotiated exchange. In reciprocal exchange emotions "are also behaviours exchanged" (Lawler, 1999). Whilst social exchange theory has not yet been fully conceptualised in terms of emotional labour, its focus on reciprocal exchange does align with a marketing paradigm based on co-creation of services.

5.8 Developing an Emotional Labour scale

Two more recent contributions to conceptualising emotional labour introduce a more positivist perspective, suggesting that both the presence of emotional labour, and

competence in carrying it out can be quantitatively measured. Grandey (2000), preceded a series of empirical studies (Grandey, Fisk, et al. 2005; Grandey, 2003) with a conceptual paper based on a psychological view of emotional labour. In this emotional labour is viewed through the lens of emotion regulation theory. Grandey focuses on the individual employee rather than the role, and as such conceptualises emotional labour in terms of deep and surface acting. Two types of variable influence the emotional labour used, *interaction expectations* such as frequency, duration and variety of emotions and *emotional events* based around whether the service encounter was generating positive or negative emotions. Grandey also considered individual characteristics, such as gender and affectivity, to suggest that competence at carrying out the correct type of emotional labour can be predicted. Taking a similar approach, and published almost simultaneously, Kruml and Geddes (2000) developed an emotional labour scale containing two dimensions, emotive effort and emotive dissonance. As antecedents of emotional labour they considered personal characteristics such as age and gender, and also job role characteristics such as the training received by staff and the autonomy given to decide the type of displays used. Kruml and Geddes conceptual contribution is two fold. Firstly, they abandon the use of qualitative research that had previously dominated the study of emotional labour in favour of quantitative models under which dimensions emotional labour can be measured. Secondly, they propose that organizations design human resource processes and work environments around the prevention of emotion dissonance in order to maintain staff welfare, and also service quality standards.

5.9 Hochschild's Perspective: The Future of Emotional Labour

Finally, and appropriately, is the recent contribution of Hochschild herself (2003b) in carrying out a review of emotional labour research in an afterword to the 20th anniversary edition of 'The Managed Heart'. Unfortunately, this sheds little additional light on emotional labour in the context of service encounters. Whilst Hochschild acknowledges, with apparent pleasure, the extensive literature on emotional labour that had emerged over the previous 20 years she highlights the fact that her own research interests had moved away from emotion in the workplace, to the home environment. As the heart has been increasingly commercialised in the workplace, it is proposed that this process is repeating itself in the home. In summary, Hochschild notes that service role for which emotional labour is an important part is an ever expanding part of the US workplace, but has left the work of researching this phenomenon to others.

6. Empirical work in Emotional Labour

6.1 Overview

"When one recent customer called Mr. Mevert a 'son of a bitch' he clenched his teeth and replied: 'Thank you very much, you have a nice day'." – quoted in Bailey & McColough, 2000:51

Whilst stereotypes of the use of emotional labour by employees in 'have a nice day' service cultures have become common, in this chapter I consider the use of emotion management in a more subtle context. This chapter is concerned with a review of empirical studies into emotional labour, organised around key themes extracted from the empirical papers themselves. However, the extraction process was based on findings that were relevant to emotional labour in the service encounter and the research propositions that this study is exploring. Themes were selected on the basis of addressing marketing issues rather than just on the basis of context or method. By applying a cross-disciplinary, and cross-context lens to emotional labour I seek to draw new insights from the body of empirical work on emotional labour.

6.2 Beyond the Smile: Consequences of emotional labour

The evidence from empirical papers suggests that there are a range of negative factors associated with emotional labour, which in turn can negatively impact on consumers' evaluations of service quality. The original empirical study into emotional labour Hochschild (1983) noted a range of negative consequences for service employees, including stress and burnout. However, what Hochschild did not consider was how these negative consequences for employees translate into negative consequences for the consumer.

A study of German airline cabin crew was carried out by Heuven and Bakker (2003) who sought to explore the extent to which emotional dissonance, caused as a result of emotional labour, was a factor in staff burnout. They found that emotional dissonance was a significant factor in causing burnout, and was in fact more important than other quantitative role factors, such as the number of hours worked, and level of control over the role. Given the negative consequences of burnout for service quality, this research suggests that their emotional dissonance needs to be avoided to maintain customer satisfaction.

The argument that emotional labour has largely negative consequences for employees is based on the assumption that they are required to act. Yet one theoretical argument within emotional labour research has been the extent to which genuine emotions can be considered as a distinct emotional labour strategy, in addition to surface and deep acting. Whilst

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) proposed this initially, to date the only empirical work specifically investigating the role of genuine emotions is that by Diefendorff, Croyle and Gosserand (2005). In a study of 270 students working in service jobs the authors find that the expression of naturally felt emotions is a distinct emotional labour strategy. However, the extent to which the use of genuine emotion differs from, for example, deep acting in customer evaluations is an area which remains to be investigated.

6.3 Emotional Labour in 'Total Institutions'

There are many types of service roles beyond the standard '9 to 5', and in this section I consider research into emotional labour in the sort of organisations that are perhaps best represented by Goffman's theory of 'total institutions' (Goffman, 1968). These are service situations where the service agent has to face extended interactions with consumers over a period of days or weeks, in an environment that neither they, nor the consumer, can 'escape' from. In such environments the emotions of employees can be regulated in a much more structured way.

The first example of this comes from Tracy's (2000) ethnographic study of workers on a US cruise ship. Workers can work five to ten month contracts aboard the ship without getting single day off. They are only off duty whilst in their rooms, and certain crew areas, but in general cruise ship workers have to be conscious of customers throughout the day, and behave appropriately. The need to be constantly appearing to display positive emotions in front of guests is summed up by the head waiter on the ship:

"When you wake up in the morning, turn your smile on. Don't turn it back off again until you go to sleep." – quoted in Tracy, 2000:91

The compensation system on board the ship, where employee evaluations were based on the number of positive customer comments cards received, encouraged an employee-versus customer mindset amongst staff. Customers were so used to unfailing enthusiasm and positive emotional displays that even relatively minor transgressions, such as yawning in view of a customer, would incur negative feedback. Even when under personal pressure, such as when learning of the death of a relative, employees were expected to maintain the 'act' with customers. Little detail is given of the consumers' perspective, and they are portrayed as the source of employees' problems. This is perhaps a weakness with many of the papers taking sociological perspectives as they ignore the fact that the customers are also the source of the employees' income, much of it directly through the tipping system. In this particular case the compensation system provided little incentive for employees to display anything other than surface acting to maintain the role. Burnout amongst employees was high, and it is interesting to note that some longstanding staff members claimed that they did not need to act, as the positive emotional displays were 'them'. In total

institutions such as the cruise ship the emotional labour norms become inescapable, which in turn reduces the potential for authenticity in emotional displays.

A situation where guides have to spend days, rather than months with customers is in tour guiding. Sharpe (2005) performs an ethnographic analysis of US adventure guides, spending 39 days carrying out participant observation during a range of adventure activities such as wilderness canoe trips. In order to fulfil the organisation's slogan of 'Share the Adventure!', guides were encouraged to socialise with customers in order to foster a sense of community amongst them. Guides therefore had to behave in a particularly enthusiastic, expressive and outward-going way in order to help 'spread' their emotional state to guests, particularly those guests who were having difficulty connecting with other participants on the trip. Yet the need to create the appropriate intensity of emotions so that they would spread to customers caused difficulties for some guides.

"[The hardest part of the job] is when it's not working and there is somebody that is a bit difficult and maybe deep down inside you don't like them either and still trying to make the integration work. Because it's what your job is" – quoted in Sharpe, 2005:40.

This difficulty was explained by the very long length of the service encounter, meaning that workers have to maintain the emotional 'act' for much of the length of the tour. However, whilst tour guides were found to suffer from stress they were not found to have, as Hochschild suggested, difficulties reconciling their real selves with the persona they were required to be to carry out their role.

Two additional studies have been carried out into a different part of the tour industry, that of tour reps for British holiday makers. Guerrier and Adib (2003) focus on a British budget tour operator in Mallorca, Spain, through interviews with 15 tour reps. The context of such a tour operator presents a challenge for the tour reps, as they must not only provide a service to holiday makers, but deal with the consequences of the holiday makers often rowdy behaviour and subsequent complaints by hoteliers and police. The reps noted that customers' emotional pressures often rose when people were on holiday, due to family tensions, unrealistic expectations of the holiday itself and over-consumption of alcohol. The tour reps dealt with this issue by using emotional labour to appear as friends to the guests. The more authentic the friendship was perceived, the more effectively the tour reps could manage the consumer's behaviour. Surprisingly, the authors note that whilst emotional labour was used extensively by tour reps as a key way of managing their complex roles, there was little in the way of the direct control by management seen in other low status jobs. Yet, the tour reps behaved almost constantly in the interests of their own company. It is proposed that it is this lack of control over emotion management, and thus higher levels of autonomy, that leads to a reduction in the negative consequences of emotional labour.

“They feel empowered to answer back to abusive guests...They can find ways of increasing those parts of the work they like. They have time and space to develop ‘friendships’ with guests which makes it easier to manage them. They can make use of their fellow reps to develop tactics and strategies for managing difficult situations”. - Guerrier and Adib, 2003:1414

The concept that greater autonomy can increase customer satisfaction whilst also improving efficiency through the reduction of emotional dissonance is counter to the prevailing logic of employee control in service management. In a similar study Constanti and Gibbs (2005) interviewed three tour reps and one manager working for a British tour company in Cyprus. They note that surface-acting often takes place as a strategy for selling additional tours to customers, and thus earning extra commission. However, unlike Guerrier and Adib they conclude that the role of the tour rep is largely exploitative and the use of emotional labour is a reflection of this exploitation.

6.4 Training for emotional labour

If staff need to be trained in the use of emotional labour, then the question arises as to what is the most effective means of training them. New (2003) highlights a case of a UK car rental firm that applying multimedia techniques to train employees in emotional labour strategies. Using an advanced training system, stored with a 1.2million word vocabulary for generating customer scripts, it was found that use of such training materials helped reduce potential emotional dissonance felt by new staff when dealing with customers. However, for training to be effective it had to closely mirror ‘real world’ service interactions.

Abiala (1999) carried out a qualitative interview study into a range of service occupations, and found that the nature of emotional labour varies between services roles and occupation dependent on the importance of 'selling' to the to service interaction. A typology of four types of service occupations is suggested, based on (1) Work first, (2) Personalised Services, (3) Routine Selling and (4) Persuasive Selling. Whilst this typology is somewhat limited to a specific subset of sales roles, it does suggest an opportunity for research that analyses what role characteristics influence emotional labour.

In order to train people in the use of emotional labour some measure of emotional labour is required. Two papers attempt to respond to this through developing scales for emotional labour. Brotheridge and Lee (2003) develop a scale based on a convenience sample of 534 students. Surface acting was suggested as a mediator of emotional labour, and was shown to be positively related to emotional dissonance. The authors suggest that workers should be given room to develop greater expressive freedom in order to reduce the strength of

emotional dissonance. Glomb and Tews, 2004 developed a scale based on large samples from five service environments. Whilst their scale includes genuine emotions as a dimension of emotional labour, they propose that all emotional labour, be it surface acting, deep acting or genuine emotion is correlated with emotional dissonance. Whilst neither of these scales had a consumer focus, they do indicate the difficulty in developing the construct of emotional labour when explanations for underlying factors, such as link between surface acting and emotional dissonance, are lacking.

6.5 Emotional Labour in B2B

Kiely (2005) notes that there has been a paucity of research into emotional labour in business-to-business contexts, and seeks to redress this with a study of emotional labour in commercial transactions of cargo between shipping agents, port authorities and shipping lines. She finds that the business-to-business relationship is quite different to that in more standardised consumer based service encounters. The cargo business is highly complex, with significant potential for problems and errors, and emotions played a key part in ensuring that the service encounters went smoothly. Yet there were no organizationally scripted interactions, rather the service agents relied on building up interpersonal relationships. Like many other of the empirical studies being reviewed the work was poorly paid and involved anti-social hours. Despite this there was little evidence of emotional dissonance, or indeed of much emotional labour at all. Once trust was established between two parties, interactions were seen as authentic. This example suggests that, aside from surface and deep acting, the dimension of genuine emotion can exist even in low status work. However, as this was the sole study of business-to-business relationships there remains a gap for research into the dynamics of emotional labour in such environments.

6.6 Smiling down the phone: Emotional Labour in call centres

From the perspective of this review, research into call centres provides us with the opportunity of viewing the role of emotional labour in consumer interactions that are not face-to-face. Consumer's face increasingly multi-channel service environments, carrying out service transactions through a range of technologies. From reviewing studies on call centres it is possible to build an understanding of how emotional labour works in contexts that could be considered more impersonal. In a study of 480 Australian call centre workers by Deary, Iverson and Walsh (2002) a number of workplace factors were found to result in higher levels of emotional exhaustion amongst workers. Specifically, they found that it was not only the highly scripted nature of the role that contributed to exhaustion but the also the behaviour of customers. Staff were discouraged from arguing with customers and were expected to be polite in all circumstances. The highly scripted nature of the role, and perceived emphasis on speed over quality meant that the workers relied on a very basic form of surface acting in order to achieve the necessary 'wrap-time' (i.e. call speed) against which their performance was measured. As one worker put it:

'..at times I feel like I have done an excellent job and have been complimented by the customer for the effort put in, only to be told that my wrap-time is bad. This destroys any satisfaction for me.' – quoted in Deery, Iverson and Walsh, 2002:490.

The fact that the research setting was a telecoms firm could have contributed to the nature of the findings, given that a large proportion of the workload related to dealing with complaints from customers, or problem customers such as those who were late paying bills. Yet, this research suggests that in high-emotion service encounters workers need to have sufficient autonomy in order to be able to use appropriate emotional management strategies above and beyond what is scripted for them.

Callaghan and Thompson (2002) carried out a study of managers and customer service representatives (CSR's) from a call centre of a UK bank. Whilst focussing on the training of the CSR rather than actual interaction with customers, they note that employees were trained to use emotional labour as a means of controlling the service encounter. As in the previous study the tensions between quality and quantity of work were raised as a source of emotional dissonance.

Whilst both the previous studies focus on inbound call centres, many call centre workers are employed in outbound sales oriented roles. Zapf, Isic et al. (2003) study a range of call centre workers, in both inbound and outbound roles, comparing with those in other professions. Whilst emotion work was just one aspect of their investigation, the authors noted that call centre workers were better off than other workers in some aspects of job stressors identified with emotional dissonance. For example, workers were only very rarely required to display negative emotions, indeed the organisational display rules prevented it. However, in general call centre variables were found to have relatively little effect on emotion work. That is, call centre workers experienced emotional labour in ways that are little different to 'face to face' work.

Shuler and Davenport-Sypher (2000) provide a study of emotional labour in an unconventional service context, that of '911' dispatchers in the US (i.e. those who answer emergency 999 calls). Unlike other roles where either positive or negative emotions are required 911 dispatchers must display neutral emotions. Given the heightened emotional state of callers to the emergency services, the authors find that the dispatchers have to applying extensive emotional labour in order to maintain calm in situations where multiple emergency calls may be happening. Yet despite the stressful nature of such situations, workers are found to look forward to such occasions, often feeling guilty at wishing that a car crash or kidnapping would interrupt a mundane shift. This is a reflection of the nature of the work, that when dealing with serious crimes workers felt their work was important. Yet it also reflects the need for what the authors refer to as an 'emotional fix'. Workers actively seek and look forward to opportunities to use emotional labour in their role. In

addition to the high stress examples, such as car chases, they also seek altruistic emotional experiences where employees breach organisational rules in order to display appropriate 'genuine' emotions. For example, one dispatcher described an example where they ignored the institutionally sanctioned response for timewasters when a student called 911 to ask what to do about a large spider which they were afraid to kill:

"I said "Do you have a textbook, since you're a student?", "Well, yeah, I do." "So, okay, hold the textbook in the corner above where the spider is and drop it and that will kill the spider." "Oh, thank you." She called me back later and said, "Thanks, thanks. You know it worked, I killed the spider". - Shuler and Davenport-Sypher, 2000:76

The authors proposed that the employees deal with calls in such a way due to the fact that they receive little praise from others when dealing with serious incidents, and so engineer situations where gratification will be forthcoming.

6.7 Emotional Labour in Professional Work

The majority of research into emotional labour is based on relatively low pay, low status service work, as typified by Hochschild's studies of airline attendants, or Sutton's (1991) work on debt collectors. However, there are a number of studies that deal with emotional labour in professional contexts. Emotional labour has been found to exist in a range of professional settings. For example, Zammuner, Lotto and Galli, (2003) find that the dimensions of emotional labour as identified by Hochschild are relevant to doctors, nurses and technical staff in hospitals, just as negative consequences of emotional labour are also present. In a different study Wellington and Bryson (2001) highlight the neglect of work studying emotional labour in well-paid professional employees. Through surveying the UK image consultancy industry they argue that display rules, and the management of emotional displays as part of this are becoming more important for professional employees.

Studies of professionals serve to extend the concepts of emotional labour beyond those which might normally be considered in a marketing context. For example, Pentland and Carlile (1996) provide a rich example of the role of emotional labour in tax collection. Interviewing more than 80 US Internal Revenue Service workers they found that, contrary to stereotypes about tax inspectors, impression management was a key part of successfully performing the role. Whilst adopting a broader approach of tax collection as an 'expression game' (Goffman, 1970) the authors note that emotion management is an essential part of carrying out the role, as illustrated by one IRS inspector:

"We know your really part of the IRS team when you can go out on an audit where the person has taken all kinds of questionable deductions so they can afford to have

their kids teeth fixed. The guy starts, screaming or crying... To do your job, you have to go out there and explain it to him, empathize with his problem, maybe let him cry on your shoulder, and still get that adjustment. If you can do that and still live with yourself the next day, then you are really part of the IRS team.” - quoted in Pentland and Carlile, 1996:279

The authors conclude that whilst the IRS inspectors used impression management and emotional labour as a means of enhancing the outcome of the service encounter for them, the customers (tax avoiders) also manage their emotions as a means of maintaining the appropriate ‘front’ to the IRS. Thus emotion management becomes the means through which tax-avoiders battle the tax-collectors.

There have been a number of studies focussing on emotional labour in a legal context. Harris (2002) presents a study from the UK, carrying out interviews with 56 barristers. Unsurprisingly, Harris finds that barristers make extensive use of acting within the courtroom yet he also finds that barristers use acting techniques much more widely to clients, as well as the solicitors who bring them much of their business. Barristers’ courtroom acting often reflects the display which clients want of them, be it aggressive or argumentative. Yet this is typically surface rather than deep acting, reflecting the highly dramaturgical nature of the barristers role where the courtroom ‘act’ is seen as important a mark of skill as legal knowledge itself. Some limited examples of deep acting are given, such as one barrister who imagines himself into the role of a female victim, in order to help generate appropriate emotional responses from witnesses. Yet the barristers appeared highly conscious of the need to maintain emotional control, and relied on surface acting to do this, even outside of the work environment. The author concludes by noting that the display of emotions in a professional capacity by barristers is not a reflection of the self, but rather the use of emotion management strategies is seen as a key part of what it is to be a barrister.

Two further empirical papers examine the work of paralegals working in the US. Pierce (1999) carried out a 15 month study of paralegals working in two San Francisco law firms, and found that emotional labour was used by these workers as much as a means of supporting their bosses, as it was for dealing with clients. One paralegal even referred to themselves as a “lawyers’ emotional punch bag”. Whilst Pierce looked primarily at larger law firms, Lively (2002) focussed on paralegals in smaller firms working in consumer law, which was seen as more customer facing than working in commercial law and requiring higher levels of emotional labour. Paralegals were found to use emotional labour primarily as a control mechanism to deal with customers who were often in highly emotional states, facing situations such as bankruptcy or divorce. As one divorce paralegal is quoted as saying:

“I think our clients are in the most needy stages of their lives... We see them at their worst. We see all their weaknesses...we do have clients that get very angry, or very

stressed out, freaked out...And a lot of times... if you're not careful, it can be contagious. You know, someone calls you in a panic; you have to be careful not to panic, too." – quoted in Lively, 2002:208

The emotional labour control mechanism is not only used to calm the emotional state of the customer, but to prevent emotion spreading to the paralegals. Emotional labour is used to allow the paralegals to separate themselves from the emotional state of their customers. Interestingly, Lively notes as professionals the work done by paralegals is not typical of Hochschild's interactive service work due to the length of the service encounter and the emphasis on forming a relationship in order to achieve appropriate levels of service quality.

Ogbonna and Harris (2004) provide a prescient example from the UK, carrying out qualitative research on the use of emotional labour with students amongst 54 lecturers in a range of UK universities. As a result of work intensification in Universities, through the growth in student numbers, staff have increasingly felt the need to use emotional labour to manage the 'service encounter' with students.

'I don't think it's feasible for us to care about every single student. Ten years ago I knew name and faces – today it's a miracle if I can remember what degree they're doing. Pretending to remember their problems and faking concern is just a coping response'. Lecturer, Old University - Ogbonna and Harris, 2004:1197

Indeed, the increased use of emotional labour comes as the need to 'provide a service' to students has become more pronounced. The authors found emotional labour had both positive and negative consequences. Firstly, emotional labour acted as a cognitive defence for academics giving them a form of coping mechanism. Secondly, it was found that, contrary to in some other professions, emotional labour was rewarded.

'I have no problem with faking concern about students if it gets me another increment [point].' Lecturer, New University - Ogbonna and Harris, 2004:1197

However, whilst the familiar themes of workplace stress emerged there was also evidence that increased use of emotional labour had come at the cost of interactions with colleagues. Another more extreme example of the requirement for emotional labour in a university context is given by Miller (2002). She details a study into the aftermath of a tragedy at Texas A & M university in 1999, when 12 students were killed after a bonfire collapsed. Whilst this case is clearly an 'outlier' in terms of what workers will typically come across in their day-to-day role, the author draws a number of more generalisable conclusions. Firstly, for professional service workers, such as academics, emotional labour is not merely part of the job but is attached to an individual's identity as being part of that profession. Miller found that there was a lack of explicit training or organisational requirements for the

display of emotional labour, and academics therefore found great difficulty in bringing their 'private' emotions into the workplace, whilst keeping the university functioning, and showing appropriate displays of sympathy and empathy for students who were affected.

Another example less commonly considered in a marketing context is in medicine. Zifko-Baliga and Krampf (1997) highlight the fact that despite the highly positivist outlook in medicine, the importance of intangible 'soft' factors on in the doctor / patient interaction has been long known, if not entirely understood. For example, the placebo effect where a medical treatment which has no therapeutic value is administered as if it were a therapy, and in turn the patient shows an improvement in symptoms. Under such circumstances high satisfaction with the service encounter can lead to improvements in health. Zifko-Baglia and Krampf explore the relationship between patient evaluations of service quality using a survey of 1,259 recently hospitalised patients in the US. Using a modified version of the SERVQUAL model (Parasuraman, Zeithaml et al, 1988) they found that patients evaluated the technical aspects of the medical 'service' (e.g. clinical outcomes) using non-technical, or emotional, criteria. The significance of dimensions such as "listened to me" and "made me calm" suggests that patients want their physicians to act authentically by showing belief in them.

Locke (1996) provides another medical example of the requirement for service workers to alter their emotional states as a response to customers. In a study of doctors in a paediatric hospital, extensive emotional labour was used to confront the fears and worries of the parents of the young patients. In this case humour was used by doctors to 'diffuse' the tension felt by patients:

Dr. Morris' right hand clasps the door knob. He opens the door slowly, gradually inserts only his head and right shoulder into the room. Rapidly, the head and shoulder retract into the hallway, the hand pulling shut the door. The young man's mouth opens in a half smile as he exchanges a questioning glance with his parents...This peek-a-boo cycle is repeated... When next the door opens (for the fifth time), he walks into the room, extends his right arms, announces "Hi, I'm Dr. Morris," and shakes everybody's hand." – quoted in Locke 1996:50

However, as the author notes this was no spontaneous display. The doctor had practiced the act many times so as to maximise its effect. This paper is one of the few examples of emotional labour being used by a service worker specifically for the consumer's benefit. Whilst widespread amongst doctors, there was no evidence that such performances were organisationally mandated, or doctors specifically trained to carry out such performances. The importance of such soft skills is highlighted by Gorman (2000), who looks at care workers in the UK. The author notes that, as in medicine, 'winning hearts and minds' is a

key part of care work, beyond the 'technical' health related skills, and emotional labour is a means through which this can be achieved.

6.7 Emotional Labour and Control

An industry that gained renown for its labour control processes through the work of Goffman (1975) is the casino business. Sallaz (2002) provides a study of a Nevada casino, where the tipped labour system controls the ways in which emotional labour is used in service interactions. Casino's workers are reliant on tips from customers to earn a reasonable living, and therefore make extensive use of emotional labour to maximise the level of tipping. Customers who tip badly will be treated coldly, to the extent that they will be encouraged to leave the table. When new customers appear who may not understand the tipping norms in the casino, the croupier will act out an over elaborate emotional response to other customers tipping so that the norms become learnt.

Casino's are generally perceived to be high control environments, where service workers have little opportunity for autonomous behaviour. Video surveillance, casino design and even staff uniforms are developed to avoid the opportunity for any behaviour other than that which is institutionally sanctioned. Yet in this study not only can appropriate tipping 'buy a smile' from a croupier, it can provide advice on the appropriate hand to play or shuffle the cards less frequently so as to benefit the gambler. One very experienced croupier even used her skills to throw the roulette ball so that it would not land on a non-tipping gamblers number. This research finds that even in the most highly controlled environment there are extensive opportunities for employees to use autonomous emotional displays at the employer's expense. In a casino environment emotional labour has a clear value, and regular customers understand that they need to buy the appropriate level of emotional expression with tips in order to guarantee the appropriate level of service.

An extreme example of where emotions are used to control the service encounter is provided by Sutton (1991) in his study of debt collectors. In this role emotion management is the primary method of exerting control over late payers, and thus increasing the likelihood of money being received. In terms of the impact on the consumer, in as much as a debtor can be considered a consumer, the use of emotional labour is designed to create emotional dissonance. For example, an angry debtor would be dealt with by a debt collector acting calmly, or even friendly, whilst a debtor who appeared calm or apologetic would be dealt with by a debt collector raising their voice. As such emotional labour is a means of exerting control over customers in order to benefit the organisation.

Whilst using the same data as in Sutton's previous study (1991), Rafaeli and Sutton (1991) expand their research by including a study of emotional labour in criminal interrogators. They focus on the 'good-cop, bad-cop' interrogation technique, and the means through which a range of emotion management strategies were used in order to get a suspect to

confess. Interrogators would deliberately use surface acting, in order to appear inauthentic, and then switch to deep acting to generate 'perceptual contrast' in the suspect's mind. Using interrogation provides an intensity of interaction not found in everyday service encounters, this paper gives a good example of the extent to which emotional labour is not just a tool of social influence, but also of social control.

In an extensive ethnographic study of US grocery store cashiers Tolich (1993) finds that there are many situations where emotional labour is a source of enjoyment for store workers. However, Tolich distinguishes between autonomous and regulated emotion management. Regulated emotion management occurs where the decision to control the emotion is made by the organisation, whereas with autonomous emotion management the decision is made by the individual. For example, even though highly regulated in terms of the technical aspects of the role, in this particular grocery store staff had some autonomy over the way in which they displayed positive emotions. As one put it:

"I am constantly talking, telling jokes, and stuff. I get a little circus going in my unit. I say, "Hello, how are you doing?" I always have some conversation going. The topic of the day is what another clerk calls it. I kid a lot - like I might have some running joke going with some of the customers" – quoted in Tolich, 1993:375

Contrast this with regulated emotions, where checkout staff are required to follow a closely defined set of display rules such as keeping on a smile, however fake, and reminding the customer to have a nice day. Tolich argues that roles with higher levels of regulated emotions will increase the levels of emotional dissonance, which in turn can reduce service quality.

6.8 Corrosive Consumers

Several papers are based on situations where the emotional labour exists due to some form of negative behaviour by a customer. Coye and Verma (2005) highlight the danger of 'corrosive customers', and point out that inappropriate emotional displays by customers are just as likely to have a negative impact on the service encounter as those by staff. Using research based on a study of 425 employees from a range of service industries they conclude that, when customers behave badly, it negatively impacts employee morale and performance, and creates a knock on effect for other customers. In this research it is the fact that there is no implicit requirement for consumers to use emotional labour that causes problems for employees and other customers.

Similar conclusions are drawn in another study of difficult customers. Bailey and McCollough (2000) investigate how such customers alter the emotional labour requirements of staff. A survey of 50 service workers in several service contexts indicated

that difficult customers required higher levels of emotional labour, typically surface acting. However, if employees didn't apply emotional labour extensively then they risked damaging the level of service they offer to subsequent customers. Thus, through emotional labour customers that require higher levels of emotion management can transmit a reduction in service quality to other customers.

Yet the negative effects of one customer, do not just impact other customers but other staff. Korczynski (2003) argues that many service workers are positively disposed towards customers, seek meaning and pleasure from the service encounter, and can be seriously affected by negative behaviour from customers. In a study of call centre workers the author considers the consequences of angry and abusive customers on such service workers, and the means through which they cope with abuse in the absence of effective organisational policies. He argues that in the absence of organisational coping mechanisms, service workers create informal 'communities of coping' with other workers to help dissipate the stress of dealing with difficult customers. This is a response to a paradox in call centres, where consumers are trained to display impersonality to angry customers whilst at the same time being required to give personal service to all other callers.

6.9 Consumer Responses to Emotional Labour

But what of the consequences of service without a smile? What does it mean for the consumer? Pugh's (2001) empirical study of service encounters in 39 US bank branches found that customers 'caught' affect from employees in a process he termed emotional contagion. Displays of positive emotion were found to be related to positive affect being felt by consumers, which in turn led to more favourable evaluations of service quality. However, if, as Pugh suggests, positive emotions can be contagious to customers, and by extension more negative 'toxic' emotions can also be spread through the service encounter.

Whilst such studies tell us that the consumer will respond, negatively or positively, to use of emotion in the service encounter it does not provide detail on the mechanisms through which consumers make use of emotion, and ways in which consumers might deploy their own emotion management strategies. The question of use of emotional labour by consumers is one that is the specific focus of only one paper. Tan, Foo and Kwek (2004) view the service interaction as dyadic and reciprocal and therefore take into account that both the customer and the service agent can influence the use of emotional labour in the service encounter. Through an empirical study of emotional labour in fast food outlets emotional contagion was seen to exist between consumers and staff, and vice versa. Whilst this research did not indicate whether emotional labour were being used by consumers it suggests that consumer use of emotion management strategies could have a significant impact on the service encounter.

Dormann and Kaiser (2002) note that existing research has focussed on employee rather than customer responses to emotional labour. However, one of the challenges in researching dyads is being able to match a customer to a particular service agent. Other empirical work on customers focuses on a group of customers in general, and their thoughts on a group of service workers without the researcher being able to match a specific employee to a specific customer. The authors carried out empirical research in the setting of a kindergarten. This study is unique in actually specifying the dyad as the unit of analysis, and providing a method by which the dyad can be identified. There is a high level of interaction between the kindergarten teachers and parents of children, with 79% of the 102 parents surveyed in the study having interacted with their child's teacher 'in the last couple of days'. The findings were that emotional dissonance reduced perceived service quality. However, the data did not provide enough information to explain why this was the case, although the authors suggests it could be either an indication of customer dislike of inauthentic behaviour (they want to feel that the teacher is talking specifically about their child), or role dissonance (that the teacher is not well suited to the role).

6.10 The limits and limitations of emotional labour

Grayson (1998), presenting one of the most theoretically complex papers in this review, views much management research into impression management framework as a simplification developed by sociologists, thus requiring extension to fit a contemporary marketing context. Grayson extends the back stage/front stage duality by noting that in reality there exists a perceived front or back stage. For example, a fast food chain may have part of its kitchen open to view, allowing the customer to perceive that they are viewing the 'backstage' of the operation, whereas areas dealing with waste disposal and pre-processing of food are kept hidden from customers. He proposes that it is this *perceived* back-stage from which consumers make judgements over authenticity of services, and therefore the consumers *perceived* emotional labour that needs to be the focus. By focussing on consumer perception, the focus of emotional labour becomes the consumer's perspective rather than the employees' feelings. Using an experimental design, 60 students were shown video tapes of various service encounters typical of a hotel reception. Considering perceived emotional labour in terms of both its hedonic and instrumental utility, Grayson found that perceived emotional effortlessness (essentially deep acting) had little hedonic value. However, the instrumental value of this perceived emotional effortlessness was higher than that for less authentic "surface acted" emotional labour suggesting that deep acting communicates information about the service providers trustworthiness. Overall emotional labour was found to have a limited effect.

An earlier paper in the marketing literature on emotion in service encounters was written by Price, Arnould et al. (1995). Using a sample of students and a combination of diary and survey instruments with a range of service encounters they found some surprising results. Whilst the authors were looking at emotion in a broad sense, and not just emotional labour, their findings would appear to disagree with more recent research. They find that "On

average, consumers have little or no emotional response (either positive or negative) to service encounters.” (ibid:50). Of particular note is that the scale items that could be associated with emotional labour, such as those related to perceived authenticity of the service provider’s interactions, had the highest convergent reliability and validity, but also the lowest correlations with customer satisfaction. Several responses could be given to these findings. The use of students, and the wide range of different service encounters used (the exact types of service encounters were unreported) could make the comparison between different service encounters unreliable. Another explanation is that in low involvement, low interaction service encounters the role of emotional labour is limited. There is an irony here, in that in many of the service roles given as exemplars of emotional labour, such as fast food, leisure and entertainment, the role of emotional labour is limited. Indeed, as Price, Arnould et al. findings corroborate, in such service contexts only in situations of service failure do emotional factors become significant.

Sutton and Rafaeli (1988) consider the extent to which emotional labour matters in a study of US convenience stores. Their research was carried out in 576 stores in US and Canada where the outward display of positive emotions was seen as an essential part of service delivery by the firm:

"People want to be happy! Be Happy and they will be glad they came to your store. Loyal, regular customers are a source of steady sales for your store. Smile!! Service with a smile and a friendly attitude will keep them loyal and keep them coming back" - quoted in staff training programme, Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988:481

The authors hypothesised that there would be a positive relationship between display of pleasant emotions and evaluations of service quality by customers, after all, if this was not the case then there would be a question mark over the entire 'service with a smile' literature in services marketing. In fact, the authors found a negative relationship between the two. After follow-up qualitative research they propose that this could be explained by the busyness of the store. Emotional labour has a time cost, and in order to serve customers at a faster rate they employees become less able to carry out emotional labour. Conversely, during slow periods they become less task-oriented, can view 'customers as entertainment' and are more likely to offer positive emotional displays. This suggests that the use of emotional labour to improve service worker friendliness requires a trade off with other factors, such as speed of service. Indeed, in this paper the authors found that customers felt it inappropriate for staff to take up time with excessive friendliness when the queue was long. In this sense, they wanted to see an authentic display of busyness from the workers.

The same authors Rafaeli and Sutton (1990) expanded upon their original study by reproducing the study into convenience stores in Israel. The Israeli service culture is noted to being weaker than in the US, and it is not unusual for staff to argue with customers:

Customer: "In America, all the cashiers smile."

Cashier: "So go to America. What do you want from me?"

- quoted in Rafaeli and Sutton 1990:635

As in previous studies expression of positive emotions were found to be negatively related to the busyness of the store. They also found that expressing positive emotions is an effective way of dealing with, and maintaining control over, demanding customers.

Another study which questions the one-way focus on the customer was carried out by Tschanh, Rochat and Zapf (2005). They measured nearly 850 work interactions using staff in both services and non-service roles. Whilst noting, in line with other studies, that service roles required greater levels of emotion work than non-service roles, the authors also propose that emotional labour is just as important in dealing with co-workers as it is with customers. Rather than view 'people work' as a customer / service agent dyad, the authors argue that researchers need to consider all those with whom the workers interact.

Grandey, Fisk et al (2005) carried out an experimental study looking at evaluations of the service encounter from a consumer's perspective, particularly focussing on the role of authentic emotional displays. The authors ask "is service with a smile enough?", and question the obsession with smiling as an essential requirement of organisational life

"It may be that authenticity does not have the same effect in encounters that are for other purposes than social relations; in fact, perhaps authentic smiles are irrelevant in a realistic and economic interaction" - Grandey, Fisk, et al. 2005 :40

The authors suggest that, whilst customers evaluate emotional displays that are perceived to be authentic more highly than those perceived to be inauthentic, there are boundaries to the role of authenticity. If consumers can put the inauthentic display of emotion down to contextual factors, such as the busyness of the restaurant, then they are less likely to negatively evaluate the service. Essentially, use of inauthentic emotional displays is acceptable if customers can attribute a reason to the inauthenticity.

Bolton and Boyd (2003) critically revisit Hochschild's original work context through an analysis of 923 flight attendants. They note that there is little room for 'moments of truth' in Hochschild's original conceptualisation, and propose that it oversimplifies the cabin service encounter, and falsely assumes that feeling rules exist only under organisational control. They argue that Hochschild's original conceptualisations of airline crews bear little

relation to the real world, where onboard managerial control is low, mistakes are made and crews use emotional labour, such as through humour, to increase their own satisfaction with the role. Furthermore, they criticise the lack of focus on the outcome of the service encounter. Whilst Hochschild's original focus did not claim to be concerned with either the marketing or consumer perspectives, this paper does make a strong argument for, from a marketing perspective, 'moving on from Hochschild'.

7. Synthesis

7.1 Overview

The empirical data on emotional labour suggests a range of consequences for the service encounter, but also leaves many questions unanswered. In this chapter I synthesise the data to give focus and respond to the original research hypothesis. Additionally, so as to facilitate further research a proposed model linking service quality with emotional labour is presented.

7.2 Research Propositions

The response to the original research propositions must be prefaced with the proviso that given very limited body of research focussing on emotional labour from a consumer's perspective, the evidence for direct causal links is weak. Rather, where propositions are found to hold it is through more indirect links.

P1: Where consumers perceive deep acted emotional labour to be used by the service agent they will respond more favourably than when surface acting takes place.

The greater body of research in this thesis supports P1, though for two different reasons. Firstly, there is partial support offered by employee focussed papers that where deep acting is used consumers rate services more highly. However, this may be due to evidence suggesting that emotional dissonance is weaker when deep acting is used, and thus the employee is under less stress and more likely to provide good service. A more causal explanation is provided from the evidence from professional services suggesting that consumers look for authenticity in emotional displays as a means of evaluating the technical abilities of doctors or lawyers. However, whilst deep acting appears to be positively correlated to perceived service quality, consumer perceptions of emotional labour is an area that requires further research.

P2: In professional services interactions the use of emotional labour will be a less important determinant of perceived service quality than technical skills of the role

P3: In low status interactive service work emotional labour will be a more critical determinant of perceived service quality than the technical or functional skills required for the role.

The next two propositions sought to explore the differences between types of roles. It was argued that the emphasis on technical skills as a source of competitive advantage in

professional services would weaken the role of emotional labour, and conversely that emotional labour would be a more effective differentiator in homogenised routine service roles. However, the evidence fails to support either proposition, suggesting that emotional labour is essential in some professional roles whereas it can have little effect in 'normal' low involvement service encounters. Despite 'service with a smile' having become a well trodden mantra within the customer service literature, this research suggests that cinema goers aren't really bothered about whether the popcorn seller smiles at them as long as the popcorn tastes good, and the film is entertaining. In fact, as emotional labour can slow down the rate at which customers are served even 'appropriate' use of emotions can reduce customer satisfaction in busy environments. On the contrary in many high involvement service situations, such as where professionals are involved, emotional factors may be the determining factor in service quality evaluations. Paradoxically, it is in the professional roles where emotional labour is so important that organisations give staff little training and support over its use. By relying too readily on low involvement service contexts borrowed from research in sociology, where customer satisfaction is at best a secondary concern, research has perhaps failed to focus on the areas in which emotional labour has its most significant impact.

P4: Where consumers perceive an imbalance in the information flow to their benefit they will use emotional labour to improve their position in the service encounter.

Given the paucity of research with a consumer, or even dyadic, focus there is no direct evidence to support, or refute P4. For example, in many professional contexts the observation is made that the consumer (be it patient, student or defendant) is highly emotional. Whilst the insinuation is that this is genuine emotion, it is not possible to tell from the studies whether this may have been a form of emotional labour. However, some clues are provided in the large number of studies of angry and dissatisfied customers. These customers seemed to have a particularly strong effect on employees, yet it is possible that the anger is in part a form of emotional labour. Consumers may deliberately use anger to resolve problems because of the dissonance it causes service employees, which in turn could increase the likelihood of the problem being resolved in the consumers' favour.

7.3 Model of Service Quality and Emotional Labour

Whilst specific areas for further research are highlighted in chapter eight, one overriding theme is the need for what can be referred to as *Consumer Driven Emotional Labour*. Previous research on emotional labour has concentrated on its potential negative consequences for employees (Morris and Feldman, 1996). Through this lens, emotional labour has been seen as symbolic of the exploitation of the service workforce through the creation of organisational display rules (Goffman, 1968). Stress and burn out as a result of emotional dissonance (Middleton, 1989) have been identified as just some of the negative psychological consequences for service agents. However, such approaches are based on the assumption that the consumer is a passive recipient of emotional labour and that emotional

labour is ‘done to them’. Therefore to develop superior customer experience firms need to look systematically at the service encounter from the consumer’s point of view (Ford, Heaton and Brown, 2001). For this reason, a model is proposed (figure 16) that considers the service dyad from a marketing paradigm in which the consumer is a participant in a relational exchange. That is, the exchange value of emotion is shared by the consumer and the service agent.

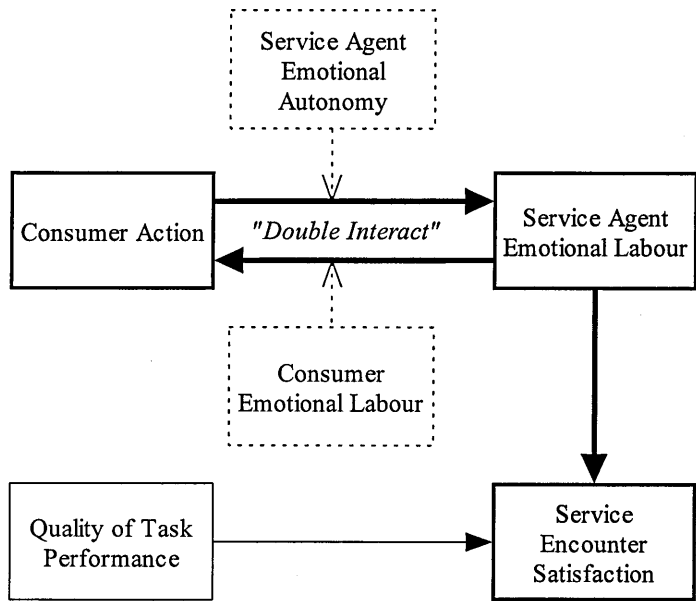


Figure 16. Conceptual model of consumer driven Emotional Labour

One of the key themes emerging from the empirical data, but not dealt with by the propositions is the issue of control. Employees use emotional labour to control consumers, but organisations also use it to control employees. Evidence suggests that the greater the amount of autonomy employees have to manage their emotions, the lower the level of emotional dissonance. Yet examples of high autonomy are not just associated with professional roles, tour reps and dockworkers were as likely to use autonomy as doctors. I refer to the extent to which the service agent can choose when, and how, to use emotional labour as emotional autonomy. Antecedents of emotional autonomy include such factors as closeness of monitoring, task variety and job autonomy (Morris and Feldman, 1996). Generally, the service encounter is initiated by consumer action. However, even in situations where the encounter is initiated by the service agent, such as through telemarketing, the consumer makes the decision on when to pick up, and put down, the phone. The type and extent of emotional labour used by the service agent in response to this consumer action is moderated by the emotional autonomy of the service agent. If emotional autonomy is low, for example where the role is highly scripted such as fast food (Leidner,

1999), then emotional labour based on surface acting is more likely to be used. Where emotional autonomy is higher then the service agent is more able to use deep acting.

The data presented in this review suggest at the least that emotional labour relies on interactions between consumers and service staff to be effective. Weick (1979) referred to this act-response-adjustment model as the double-interact. An initial act by the consumer is followed by a response from the service agent, and a subsequent adjustment or clarification by the consumer. This adjustment will be moderated by the extent to which consumers choose to use emotional labour. Unlike service agents, consumers automatically have a great deal of autonomy over use of emotion management strategies which leaves open the important third dimension of emotional labour beyond surface and deep acting, that is, the possibility that consumers may have genuinely-felt emotions towards the service.

8. Conclusions

8.1 Conclusions

This review has considered how employee emotion management strategies can influence the customer experience in the service encounter, through a focus on the concept of emotional labour. By using a systematic review methodology, a much wider range of service contexts and situations have been considered than has typically been the case in previous studies of emotional labour. Many authors in management seek to apply Hochschild's framework, together with antecedent theories of impression management, outside of its original sociological context without necessarily questioning where this is appropriate. Mills (1970) sociological imagination where sociologists 'think ourselves away' from the routines of everyday life presents different perspectives to those extant in marketing. Indeed, the marketing problems that provide the basis of marketing research are typically grounded in the routines of everyday life. Superficially, sociology can appear to be similar to marketing, with acolytes such as Anthony Giddens (2001) writing about the branding of products, and consumer lifestyle choices. Yet ultimately sociology seeks to observe only the impact of marketing on society, rather than directly intervene in its practice.

Nevertheless the structural changes in the world economy suggest that the importance in understanding the links between employee and consumer emotions, and emotion management will become ever more important in building brand value for services firms. This review suggests that if organisations genuinely wish to form strong emotional bonds with consumers, they must trust their employees with greater control over emotional interactions, rather than seeking to 'automate' the emotion management process. Ultimately, isolating employees from the emotional decision-making process, through excessive emotion display rules and norms, may prevent customers from forming emotional bonds with the firm and reduce customer satisfaction.

8.2 Areas for further research

Despite the large body of work that already exists in emotional labour this review has identified a number of gaps in emotional labour theory relating to the customer, the three most significant of which are identified here. As I presented in figure 16, investigation of the direct role of emotional labour in consumer evaluations of the service encounter would help to develop emotional labour as a marketing concept. For example, research to establish the dimensionality of emotional labour amongst consumers, the circumstances under which it is used and the ways in which organisations respond to this to increase service satisfaction.

Research that more closely reflects the channel complexities facing modern consumers is a second area in which future research should consider. Overall, it can be said that much

research into emotional labour in services assumes a single channel approach. Typically this involves a consumer coming into face-to-face contact with a service agent in a retail or leisure environment. Yet there is a lack of research on how consumers respond to and deal with such encounters in an increasingly multi-channel business environment. For example, whilst there is research into call centres this should be extended to consider the issues surrounding emotional labour and virtuality, and the dimensions of emotional labour in internet communications.

Finally, the studies included in this review were based in Western, largely English speaking, service cultures. There is clearly a gap for understanding how cultural differences impact the use of emotional labour, and the extent to which the dimensions already identified hold in a more global context. For example, Hofstede's (1990) dimensions of uncertainty avoidance and individualism might be related to emotional labour in different cultures, such as investigation of whether group based cultures suffer lower emotional dissonance than more individualistic cultures.

8.3 Limitations and Learning Points

The primary limitations of this study reflect the limitations of the emotional labour construct, through attracting a multitude of viewpoints and thus making a universal synthesis of ideas more complex. The range of philosophical viewpoints used in this empirical papers reviewed makes comparisons between studies difficult, and therefore limits the generalisability of the findings beyond the service contexts and cultures reviewed in this paper. With this in mind, the evidence from this study is used most effectively in raising questions for further research for emotional labour in the service encounter.

In terms of learning, the focus of this study as originally planned and laid out in the scoping study has broadly stayed the same throughout. The aim was to investigate the role of emotional labour in consumer evaluations of the service encounter, and broadly this is what this study has achieved. However, a number of changes were made along the way driven by the learning process of carrying out a systematic review. Firstly, whilst emotional labour appeared to be a well defined area of literature the inter-disciplinary spread of papers was much wider than expected. Additionally, despite emotional labour being conceptually oriented around the service encounter there was a lack of empirical evidence gathered from the consumer's perspective. The focus of some research propositions was therefore changed from considering the methods most suited to researching consumer centred emotional labour, to a more basic focus on the dimensionality of professional versus routine service roles. In carrying out the research, the search strategy was refined with the number of databases used reduced, and some research strings used in a more focussed manner. In particular the need to not rely solely on database searches was emphasised. The importance of carefully selecting a review panel was made clear by the number of papers emerging from discussions, which were not available through standard database searches. Whilst an element of subjectivity is always going to be required in selecting and reviewing the articles

for such a diverse field, the systematic review process challenged my perceptions of the field of emotional labour by forcing me to consider papers from 'non-standard' journals, whilst also requiring the omission of interesting, well written, but contextually irrelevant papers.

Appendix 1. Empirical Papers

Author	Title	Year	Journal	Country	Service Context	n	Summary Findings
Abiala, K	Customer Orientation and Sales Situations:	1999	Acta Sociologica	Sweden	Range of service contexts	survey of 871 service workers	Generic differences between difference service roles need to be considered when applying various emotional labour concepts.
	Variations in Interactive Service Work.						
Bailey, J & McCollough, M	Emotional Labor and the Difficult Customer:	2000	Journal of Professional Services Marketing	USA	Range of service contexts	50	Difficult customers require higher levels of emotion management, and in doing so can damage the levels of service quality received by other customers
	Coping Strategies of Service Agents						
Bolton, S & Boyd, C	Trolley dolly or skilled emotion manager?	2003	Work, Employment and Society	UK	Airline Attendants	728	The original conceptualisations of emotional labour were over simplified, and need to consider the realities of cabin crew work to more readily reflect the marketing environment
	Moving on from Hochschild's managed heart						
Brotheridge, C & Lee, R	Development and validation of the Emotional Labour Scale.	2003	Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology	Canada	Range of service settings	534 students	In developing a scale for emotional labour, surface acting was suggested as a mediator of emotional labour, and was shown to be positively related with emotional dissonance.

Callaghan, G & Thompson, P 2002	'We Recruit Attitude': The Selection and Shaping of Routine Call Centre Labour.	2002	Journal of Management Studies	UK	Call Centre, Bank	14 recruitment & training managers + 24 CSR's	Employees were trained to use emotional labour as a means of controlling the service encounter
Constanti, P & Gibbs, P	Emotional labour and surplus value: the case of holiday 'reps'.	2005	The Service Industries Journal	Cyprus	Tour Reps	3 reps and 1 manager	Tour reps use emotional labour as a means of increasing sales, but overall it is viewed as part of the exploitative nature of the role Emotional exhaustion was made worse in call centres by a combination of high levels control over the employee (i.e. service scripts), and dealing with angry customers
Deery, S et al.	Work Relationships in Telephone Call Centres: Understanding Emotional Exhaustion and Employee Withdrawal.	2002	Journal of Management Studies	Australia	Call Centre, Telecoms	480 call centre agents	Use of genuine emotion is a distinct strategy for managing emotional labour
Diefendorff, M Croyle, R et al. 2005	The dimensionality and antecedents of emotional labor strategies,	2004	Journal of Vocational Behavior	USA	Range of service roles	270 students working	Through using the dyad as a unit of analysis the authors find that emotional dissonance reduces service quality. This may be explained by perceived inauthenticity by the customer, or role dissonance
Dormann, C & Kaiser, S	Job conditions and customer satisfaction.	2002	European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology	Germany	Kindergarten	Survey of 102 Parents and 36 teachers	

Glomb, T & Tews, M	Emotional labor: A conceptualization and scale development,	2003	Journal of Vocational Behavior	USA	Range of Service Settings	335 surveys returned by various service employees	In developing a scale for emotional labour, all dimensions of emotional labour were found to contribute to emotional dissonance
Gorman, H	Winning hearts and minds? - Emotional labour and learning for care management work	2000	Journal of Social Work Practice	UK	Care Work	30 in depth interviews with care managers	Emotional labour is necessary in order to 'win hearts and minds' and effectively carry out care work
Grandey, A	When "the show must go on": Surface Acting and Deep Acting as Determinant of Emotional Exhaustion and Peer-Rated Service Delivery,	2003	Academy of Management Journal	USA	University Administrators	131	Surface acting, but not deep acting, was related to stress, and resulted in lower quality evaluations of the service encounter. Despite this, surface acting was preferred as a technique by service agents.
Grandey, A et al	Is "service with a smile" enough? Authenticity of positive displays during service encounters.	2005	Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes	USA	Hotel Check In & Restaurant Service	144 students & 255 restaurant customers	Service with a smile isn't always enough, and customers are willing to accept more inauthentic 'surface acting' where contextual factors can explain the inauthenticity. Proposes that it is the perceived back-stage from which consumers make judgments over authenticity of services, and therefore the consumers perceived emotional labour
Grayson, K	Customer responses to emotional labour in discrete and relational service exchange.	1998	International Journal of Service Industry Management	USA	Hotel Check In	Experimental study of 64 students	

that needs to be the focus

Guerrier, Y & Adib, A	Work at leisure and leisure at work: A study of the emotional labour of tour reps.	2003	Human Relations	Spain	Tour Reps	15 Tour reps in Mallorca	In order to deal with the 'dirty work' of badly behaved customers the tour reps used emotional labour to create friendships with the customer, and thus improve their ability to control them. Barristers use emotional labour extensively, both inside and outside of the courtroom, but rely mostly on surface acting. As such emotional labour is seen as part of the profession rather than part of the self.
Harris, L	The Emotional Labour of Barristers: An Exploration of Emotional Labour by Status Professionals.	2002	Journal of Management Studies	UK	Barristers	56 one hour interviews with barristers	Emotional dissonance is a significant factor in causing burnout, and was in fact more important than other quantitative role factors, such as the number of hours worked, and level of control over the role.
Heuven, E & Bakker, A	Emotional dissonance and burnout among cabin attendants..	2003	European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology	Netherlands	Airline Cabin Crew	Survey of 220 cabin crew	Emotional dissonance is a significant factor in causing burnout, and was in fact more important than other quantitative role factors, such as the number of hours worked, and level of control over the role.
Hochschild, A	The Managed Heart	1983	Book	USA	Airline Cabin Crew	Ethnographic Study of a large number of US airline staff from various airlines	Emotional Labour exists, and is largely negative

Coye, R & Verma, R	Managing Corrosive Customers.	2005	MIT Sloan Management Review	USA	Range of service settings	420 service workers	Because customers don't use emotional labour they become 'corrosive' and spread negative emotions through the service encounter. Even in this low status, low paid jobs, where strong relationships were established emotion management could extend beyond surface and deep acting to the realm of feeling genuine emotions
Kiely, J	Emotions in business-to- business service relationships.	2005	The Service Industries Journal	UK	Shipping Firms / Cargo	14 staff	In the absence of effective organisational means for dealing with difficult customers, staff form 'communities of coping' to spread the negative emotion around the organisation Emotional labour is used more by consumer than commercial paralegals. It is used to manage the customers, often strong, emotions in order to achieve the appropriate functional service outcomes. Doctors use emotional labour to manage the emotions of patients, without necessarily needing to use it to manage their own emotions.
Korczynski, M	Communities of Coping: Collective Emotional Labour in Service Work.	2004	Organization	USA, Australia	Banking & Telecoms Call Centres	70 interviews in two call centres	
Lively, K	Client Contact and Emotional Labour: Upsetting the Balance and Evening the Field.	2002	Work and Occupations	USA	Paralegals	51 paralegals from Midwestern law firms	
Locke, K	A Funny Thing Happened! The Management of Consumer	1996	Organization Science	USA	Doctors	5 month ethnographic study of a paediatric department of a	

Emotions in Service Encounters.					large hospital	
Martin, S	Police Force or Police Service	1999	Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science	USA	Police Officers	Police work is an example of work that makes extreme emotional demands on officers, and where the "human" side of work is often undervalued by managers and officers themselves.
Miller, K	The Experience of Emotion in the Workplace: Professing in the Midst of Tragedy	2002	Management Communications Quarterly	USA	Academics	Professional service workers such as academics are not prepared for emotional labour
New, S	Multimedia for international operations: a case study.	2002	International Journal of Operations & Production Management	UK	Car Rental	Advanced computer based training can help reduce potential emotional dissonance felt by new staff when dealing with customers. As work intensification and a service culture has been introduced into UK universities academics have increasingly turned to using emotional labour as a means of managing student satisfaction
Ogbonna, E & Harris, L	Work Intensification and Emotional Labour Among UK University Lecturers: An Exploratory Study.	2004	Organization Studies	UK	University Lecturers	Interviews with 54 academics

Pentland, B & Carlile, P	Audit the taxpayer, not the return: tax auditing as an expression game.	1996	Accounting, Organizations and Society	USA	Accounting / Tax Collection	>80 tax inspectors	Both tax inspectors and tax avoiders make extensive use of emotional labour as a means of enhancing their position in the service encounter. Emotional Labour was used by paralegals as a means of supporting their bosses, more than it was for dealing with customers
Pierce, R	Emotional labor among paralegals	1999	Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science	USA	Law	15 month study of paralegals working in 2 law firms	In low involvement service encounters consumers have little or no emotional response (either positive or negative) to the encounter. Customers 'catch' the affect of employee through emotional contagion processes. Emotional labour is therefore. Service worker emotional displays can therefore directly influence customer evaluations
Price, L & Arnould, S	Consumers' emotional responses to service encounters.	1994	International Journal of Service Industry Management	USA	Range of service locations	572 service interactions	Customers 'catch' the affect of employee through emotional contagion processes. Emotional labour is therefore. Service worker emotional displays can therefore directly influence customer evaluations
Pugh, S	Service with a smile: emotional contagion in the service encounter	2001	Academy of Management Journal	USA	Retail Banking	131 employees in 39 US bank branches	Business in service encounters reduces the likelihood of positive emotional displays, but 'difficulty' of the customer does not.
Rafaeli, A & Sutton, R	Busy Stores and Demanding Customers: How do they affect the display of positive emotion?	1990	Academy of Management Journal	Israel	Retail Stores	194 interactions between customers and 22 female cashiers in five stores	

Rafaeli, A & Sutton, R	Emotional Contrast Strategies as means of social influence: Lessons from Criminal Interrogators and Bill Collectors	1991	Academy of Management Journal	Israel	Criminal Interrogators	20 interviews with police interrogators	Different types of emotional labour were used in variations of the good-cop / bad-cop strategy in order to generate perceptual contrast in suspects and garner greater levels of information
Sallaz, J	The House Rules	2002	Work and Occupations	USA	Casino	4 month ethnographic study	Emotional labour, through surface acting, was used as a means of manipulating the tipping system in the employees favour. Emotional Labour is a key requirement of the job. Ensuring safety, generating fun and creating a sense of community (through emotional contagion) were all achieved through emotion management strategies. Stress was higher due to the very long length of the service encounter.
Sharpe, E	"Going Above and Beyond." The Emotional Labor of Adventure Guides.	2005	Journal of Leisure Research	USA	Adventure Guides	Participant observation of 8 tours over 39 days	Whilst emotional labour is a key part of dispatch workers role, they also seek it out in order to provide 'fun' and excitement when the role is on occasions boring
Shuler, S & Davenport-Sypher, B	Seeking emotional labor	2000	Management Communication Quarterly	USA	911 Emergency Dispatchers	Interviews with 16 dispatchers, and observation over a 9 month period	

Steinberg, R & Figart, D 1999	Emotional Demands at Work: A Job Contents Analysis	1999	Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science	USA	Nurses and Police Officers	n/a	Suggests that focus on gender in emotional labour is unnecessary, and there is much more similarity between roles than previously thought
Sutton, R	Maintaining norms about expressed emotions: the case of bill collectors	1991	Administrative Science Quarterly	USA	Debt Collectors	Range of methods including observation and interviews with a range of staff	Emotional labour is the key method used to control late paying debtors, largely through attempting to create emotional dissonance in them
Sutton, R & Rafaeli, A	Untangling the relationship between displayed emotions and organizational sales: the case of convenience stores	1988	Academy of Management Journal	USA, Canada	Retail Stores	576 stores. Each store visited twice during the day & 1/3 stores visited at night.	Hypothesized a positive relationship between employees display of pleasant emotions and sales
Tan, H., Foo, M. and Kwek, M	The Effects of Customer Personality Traits on the display of positive emotions	2004	Academy of Management Journal	Singapore	Fast Food	Observations of 175 Service Providers in 24 fast food outlets	Emotional contagion exists, whereby both consumers and service agents can modify each others emotional displays
Tolich, M	Alienating and liberating emotions at work: Supermarket clerks' performance of customer service.	1993	Journal of Contemporary Ethnography	USA	Retail Stores	Interviews with 65 supermarket clerks, together with observation	Considers two types of emotional labour: Regulated emotion management occurs where the decision to control the emotion is made by the organisation, where as autonomous emotion management the decision is made by the individual. Regulated emotion

management results
in higher emotional
dissonance

In total institutions
the emotional labour
norms become
inescapable, but
which in turn
reduces the potential
for authenticity in
emotional displays

Emotional labour is
just as important in
dealing with co-
workers as it is with
customers

The proliferation of
image consultancy in
professional roles
suggests that display
rules are just as
important in
professional roles as
in more conventional
interactive service
work

Dimensions and
consequences of
emotional labour
were present in
hospitals

8 month
ethnographic
study, including
participant
observation and
interviews

78 young people

Survey of 44
image
consultants
followed up by 9
semi-structured
interviews

180 Nurses,
Doctors and
technical staff

Management
Communications
Quarterly

USA

Cruise Ship

Journal of
Occupational and
Organizational
Psychology

Switzerland

Range of service
roles

UK

Image
Consultancy

Australian e-Journal
for the
Advancement of
Mental Health

Australia

Hospitals

Becoming a character for
commerce

It's not only clients:

Studying emotion work
with clients and co-
workers with an event-
sampling approach.

At Face Value? Image
Consultancy, Emotional
Labour and Professional
Work

Regulation of emotions in
the helping professions:
nature, antecedents and
consequences

Tracy, S

Tschanh, F et al.

Wellington, C &
Bryson, J

Zaummner, V,
Lotto, L et al.
2005

2000

2005

2001

2003

Zapf, D Amela, B et al.	What is typical for call centre jobs? Job characteristics, and service interactions in different call centres	2003	European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology	German	Call Centres	375 Call Centre workers and 405 workers from outside call centres	call centre workers were better off than other workers in some aspects of job stressors identified with emotional dissonance, however in general characteristics of call centre jobs had relatively little difference on emotion work Patients evaluate the technical aspects of clinical service using non-technical criteria such as perceived emotional authenticity. Clinicians therefore need to understand the use of emotional labour.
Zifko-Baliga, G & Krampf, R	Managing perceptions of hospital quality	1997	Marketing Health Services	USA	Hospitals	Survey of 1259 patients	

Appendix 2. Conceptual Papers

Author	Full Details	Year	Journal
Ashforth, B & Humphrey, R	Emotional labor in service roles: the influences of identity	1993	Academy of Management Review
Ashkanasy, N Härtel, C et al.	Diversity and Emotion: The New Frontiers in Organizational Behavior Research.	2002	Journal of Management
Bailey, J Grenler, D et al.	Service Encounter Emotional Value: The Dyadic Influence of Customer and Employee Emotions	2001	Services Marketing Quarterly
Berry, L & Lampo, S	Brand in Labour-Intensive Services. By: Berry, Leonard L.; Lampo, Sandra S..	2004	Business Strategy Review
Briner, R	The Neglect and Importance of Emotion at Work	1999	European Journal of Work & Organizational Psychology
Bryman, A	McDonald's as a Disneyized Institution	2003	American Behavioral Scientist
de Raeve, L	The modification of emotional responses: a problem for trust in nurse-patient relationships?	2002	Nursing Ethics.
Diefendorff, J Gosserand, R	Understanding the emotional labor process: a control theory perspective.	2003	Journal of Organizational Behavior

Grandey, A	Emotion Regulation in the Workplace: A New Way to Conceptualize Emotional Labor	2000	Journal of Occupational Health Psychology
Ford, R			
Heaton, C et al.	Delivering Excellent Services: Lessons from the best firms	2001	California Management Review
	Handling Toxic Emotions: New Challenges for Leaders and their Organization		
Frost, P		2004	Organizational Dynamics
	Invisible work, invisible skills: interactive customer service as articulation work		
Hampson, I & Junor, A		2005	Technology, Work & Employment
	Emotion work, feeling rules, and social structure		
Hochschild, A	The Managed Heart: 20th Anniversary Edition	1979	American journal of sociology
Hochschild, A		2003	<i>Book</i>
Kruml, S & Geddes, D	Exploring the dimensions of Emotional Labor	2000	Management Communication Quarterly
Larson, E & Yao, X	Clinical Empathy as Emotional Labor in the Patient-Physician Relationship	2005	Journal of the American Medical Association.

Lawler, E & Thye, S	Bringing emotions into social exchange theory	1999	Annual Review of Sociology
Lawler, E & Yoon, J	Commitment in exchange relations: test of a theory of relational cohesion	1996	American Sociological Review
Leidner, R	Emotional labor in service work	1999	Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science
Morris, J & Feldman, D	The dimension, antecedents and consequences, and consequences of emotional labor.	1996	Academy of Management Review
Morris, J & Feldman, D	Managing emotions in the workplace.	1997	
Steinberg, R	Emotional labor in job evaluation: redesigning compensation practices	1999	Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science
Steinberg, R & Figart, D	Emotional labor since the managed heart	1999	Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science
Wah, L	Acquiring Peace of Mind.	2000	Management Review
Wharton, A	The psychosocial consequences of emotional labor	1999	Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science
Witz, A et al	The Labour of Aesthetics and the Aesthetics of Organization.	2003	Organization

Zapf, D Emotion work and psychological well-being: A review of the literature and some conceptual considerations. 2002 Human Resource Management Review

Appendix 3. Non-sourced articles

The following five sources, based on abstracts, were candidates for inclusion in the systematic review. However, these articles were not available on databases and it was not possible to source them from the British Library in time for inclusion in the review.

Emotional Labor Demands and Compensating Wage Differentials. By: Glomb, Theresa M.; Rotundo, Maria; Kammeyer-Mueller, John D.. Journal of Applied Psychology, Aug 2004, Vol. 89 Issue 4, p700, 15p;

To Be Fully There: Psychological Presence at Work. By: Kahn, William A.. Human Relations, Apr 1992, Vol. 45 Issue 4, p321, 29p.

The interplay of gender and affective tone in service encounter satisfaction, Anna S Mattila, Alicia A Grandey, Glenda M Fisk. Journal of Service Research : JSR. Thousand Oaks: Nov 2003. Vol. 6, Iss. 2; p. 136

The Role of Emotions in Service Encounters. By: Matilla, Anna S.; Enz, Cathy A.. Journal of Service Research, May 2002, Vol. 4 Issue 4

The Affective Consequences of Service Work. By: Wharton, Amy S.. Work & Occupations, May 1993, Vol. 20 Issue 2, p205, 28p,

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