CONSEQUENCES OF EMOTIONAL LABOR:

AN EXAMINATION IN A FOR-PROFIT ORGANIZATION

by

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(Under the Direction of J. Kevin Barge)

ABSTRACT

Current theory and research fails to articulate and explain fully the simultaneous oppressive and liberating aspects of emotional labor. Originally conceptualized by Hochschild (1983), employees experience emotional labor when their organization dictates how they are to feel and express emotions in return for a wage. While the original conceptualization recognized emotional labor could be either oppressive or liberating, it did not theorize emotional labor as having simultaneous oppressive and liberating qualities. This study investigates the antecedent conditions, display rules, management strategies and consequences of emotional labor in a hotel by utilizing a qualitatively driven interview method that solicited recalled conversational episodes. Results show that antecedent conditions and display rules created controlled employees who managed episodes by suppressing emotions. The consequences shared this theme of control by benefiting the organization and harming the employee. Implications for future emotional labor research and limitations of the present study are also detailed.

INDEX WORDS: Emotional labor, Organizational communication, Creativity, Constraint, Emotions, Emotion management

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DEDICATION

To my late grandmother, Gladys, who hopefully would be proud and gave me the ability to succeed in graduate school.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

EMOTIONAL LABOR, CREATIVITY, AND CONSTRAINT

Among organizational communication researchers, the study of emotion in the workplace is still an under-explored, yet vital, aspect to our understanding of organizational life. Tracy and Tracy (1998) observe that the recent *Handbook of Communication and Emotion* (Anderson & Guerrero, 1998) "does not include a single article about emotion in organizational life" (p. 391). The general trend among organizational researchers is to focus on the "rational" side of organizations and ignore the construction of the "emotional" side (Putnam & Mumby, 1993). The experiences, consequences, and communication of emotions in the workplace need to be further researched to better understand organizational life.

One important exception to this lack of research into emotion in the workplace is emotional labor. The experience of emotional labor in the workplace has been articulated as an act that employees perform in service-related industries when an organization dictates how emotions should be expressed in return for a paid wage (Hochschild, 1983). Originally, the consequences of emotional labor, oppression and liberation, had been viewed independently with a focus on the oppressive consequences (i.e., Conrad & Witte, 1994; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989). A recent shift in research has occurred where scholars now acknowledge that both consequences exist as a result of emotional labor, yet they fail to conceptualize them as occurring simultaneously (i.e., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Shuler & Sypher, 2000; Tracy & Tracy, 1998).

I begin by summarizing emotional labor research from Hochschild's (1983) original conceptualization to contemporary research and conclude by arguing that the oppressive and liberating aspects of emotional labor need to be viewed as occurring simultaneously within the construction of emotional labor. This chapter: (1) articulates some of the antecedents of emotional labor, (2) highlights how employees in service-related organizations cope with and manage the emotional demands of their job duties, (3) summarizes the oppressive and liberating consequences of emotional labor, and (4) presents three research questions that inform the present study.

Emotional Labor and the Managed Heart

Hochschild (1979, 1983) originally defined emotional labor as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" that is "sold for a wage" (p. 7). Hochschild (1983) argued that emotional labor occurs in the public context, whereas emotion work and emotion management are performed in private contexts. For example, in a work setting where an employee is receiving a wage and feels empathic, yet needs to appear distant and cold towards a customer, the employee experiences emotional labor. Similarly, in a home setting, a father may love his child and want to be supportive but needs to discipline his child as a result of the child's bad behaviors. Since this occurs in the private context of the home, it is considered emotion work and not emotional labor.

Hochschild's (1983) argument is that the wage being received pressures people to conform to the rules in the organization of how to express emotion. Hochschild (1983) does not argue that emotion work or emotion management, the experience of insuring that one's private emotions are consistent with social norms, is an oppressive act. However, Hochschild (1983) does argue that when "a profit motive is slipped in under acts of emotion management" (p. 119),

and when the acts are performed in a commercial or public setting, employees potentially "give up control over *how* the work is to be done" (p. 119). This has led several researchers to argue emotional labor is primarily oppressive (Morgan & Krone, 2001; Shuler & Sypher, 2000).

Hochschild (1983) argues that service-related industries provide a rich site for emotional labor research because employees are constantly interacting with customers, and this interaction is generally controlled by the organization's culture and rules making it possible to explore how individuals negotiate the relationship between their "true self" and their "false self." Hochschild's (1983) original work, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*, examined the emotional labor that flight attendants experienced at Delta and the negative emotions felt by bill collectors. For example, a flight attendant is told by the airline that she needs to be nice and express happiness with a smile to passengers. She may be rather upset and angry with the passenger, illustrating her true self, but needs to express this positive emotion, which is her false self. The flight attendant then begins to negotiate between her true self and false self.

The way that service workers know how to experience their emotions appropriately is determined by the feeling rules that constitute the organization. These feeling rules are generally dictated through formal and informal practices perpetuated by the organization culture. It has been argued that employees react to the feeling rules set forth by management through *surface acting* or *deep acting* (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983). Stemming from a dramaturgical perspective, surface acting occurs when an employee displays emotions that are not deeply felt. As an actor, the employee will fake or feign felt emotion and express emotion, thus complying with the organization's mandates. For example, a customer service employee

who is speaking with an irate customer will likely feel anger and hostility towards the customer but will express happiness and concern for the customer.

Deep acting has been characterized as either active or passive. Active deep acting occurs when an employee attempts to "actually experience or feel the emotions that one wishes to display" (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p. 93). Hochschild (1983) states that the Delta flight attendants were taught how to reframe the concept of "work" into the concept of "home." This reframing led to employees treating their customers as if they were guests, thus benefiting the organization and the passengers. The employees were taught how to reframe their work experience through a reliance on past experiences.

Hochschild's (1983) conceptualization also allows for employees to authentically experience the emotions that the organization dictates. Kruml and Geddes (2000) argue that this occurs through passive deep acting. When an employee feels happy when interacting with a customer and this emotion reflects what is required by the job task, an employee is said to be performing passive deep acting. This employee is not likely to believe that he or she is acting, but Kruml and Geddes (2000) state that "although employees are displaying their true feelings, there is still exertion involved in the display" (p. 12).

Elaborating Emotional Labor

Three lines of inquiry characterize organizational behavior and communication research on emotional labor. First, research has examined the causes or antecedents of emotional labor. Second, research has explored the ways that employees manage the experience of emotional labor. Third, research has focused on the consequences of emotional labor (i.e., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Ashforth & Tomiuk, 2000; Conrad & Witte, 1994; Fineman, 1993; Krone, et al., 1997; Pogrebin & Poole, 1991; Pringle, 1988; Rafaeli, 1989; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Rafaeli

& Sutton, 1989; Sass, 2000; Shuler & Sypher, 2000; Tolich, 1993; Tracy, 2000; Tracy & Tracy, 1998; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989).

Antecedents of Emotional Labor

A major research area has focused on exploring the antecedents of emotional labor. Four major antecedents of emotional labor have been identified in the literature: (1) display training, (2) display latitude, (3) customer affect, and (4) display rules (Hochschild, 1983; Kramer & Hess, 2002; Kruml & Geddes, 2000; Rafaeli, 1989; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989; Tracy, 2000).

Display training, or the training that employees receive on how to display their emotions, has been explored by numerous researchers (i.e., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1979, 1983; Kruml & Geddes, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). This method of training encourages employees to actively deep act and usually occurs during employee orientation. However, it can also occur while employees perform their daily work. Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) demonstrate that new Disney employees receive this kind of training through lectures at Disney University and in handbooks. The metaphors that these employees hear emphasize "the display of good cheer and the skilled utterance of social amenities," thus teaching the Disney employees how to act their emotions (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987, p. 27). Hochschild (1983) detailed the training that new flight attendants received at the beginning of their employment on how to feel and display the appropriate friendly emotion directed towards passengers. The training received by the flight attendants affected how these employees surface or deep acted while on the job.

Display latitude is also cited as a primary antecedent of the experience of emotional labor. Hochschild (1983) observes that when employees have more room to negotiate how they may display emotion in an organization, lower levels of emotional labor are experienced. Kruml

and Geddes (2000) note “Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) suggest this is because at least some of workers’ authentic selves are allowed into the encounter” (p. 27). When an employee feels as if he or she has control over their expressed emotions that emotional labor is less likely to be experienced as oppressive. However, even when employees have greater latitude in negotiating how they choose to express emotion to customers allows employees experience emotional labor differently, it still causes emotional labor. When employees feel as if they have latitude over the control of their expression of emotion, emotional labor is experienced as less oppressive than when an employee is given little or no control on how to express emotion.

One under-explored antecedent of emotional labor is customer affect. Kruml and Geddes (2000) observe that when a customer expresses positive emotion, an employee is likely to express positive emotion as well. Customer affect influences how much pressure an employee will feel to act. If a customer is expressing happiness, it has been suggested that the employee will feel the need to express a congruent emotion that is consistent with display rules in an organization. This experience is considered a less oppressive form of emotional labor. Hochschild (1983) examined this antecedent by illustrating how a passenger commented to a flight attendant that she should be smiling. This resulted in the flight attendant feeling the need to express more positive emotions. This act directly affected how the flight attendant managed and experienced emotional labor.

Display rules also drive the experience of emotional labor, but the amount of research exploring the relationship between display rules and emotional labor is small. Hochschild (1983) argued that the feeling rules present within an organization dictated the experience of managing emotion in the workplace. Feeling rules are typically dictated by management through supervision and detailing training and tell employees how they *ought* to feel. In her examination

of the feeling rules present at Delta, feeling rules, such as be happy in front of the passengers, drive the experience of emotional labor and have intended or unintended consequences. For example, an intended consequence of conforming to this feeling rule could be that a flight attendant provides good service by expressing positive and caring emotions toward passenger. However, an unintended consequence may be that the flight attendants feel pressure to act, which could result in high turnover.

Contemporary researchers have extended Hochschild's (1983) understanding of feeling rules for a variety of reasons. The main concern with the idea of feeling rules driving emotional labor is that a feeling rule only dictates how an employee ought to feel in a service encounter (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989). As a result, contemporary communication research tends to study display rules versus feeling rules. What is missing from this concept is how an employee actually feels in a service encounter *and* how he or she expresses the emotion. A display rule accounts for both the feeling and the expression of emotion. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) state that a display rule "refers to behavior rather than to internal states" (p. 90), which should be the focus of examining how rules are enacted and communicated among employees.

Rafaeli and Sutton (1989) adopt the notion of display rules in their work on emotional labor and articulate three types of norms that drive display rules: (1) societal norms, (2) occupational norms, and (3) organizational norms. Societal norms are socially agreed upon behaviors by a larger culture, usually dictated by the customer, and may vary across cultures. For example, Chinese factory managers experience and express emotionality differently than Western managers. Chinese managers are more likely to reason through their emotional experiences by thinking about why they are displeased and angry, whereas Western managers are likely to only express the emotion. Chinese managers express emotionality differently due to the

societal norm of using reason to understand emotion instead of using the Western norm of venting or suppressing emotions, which presupposes that emotionality and rationality are separate (Krone, Chen, Sloan, & Gallant, 1997). Occupational norms, or norms expected for the occupation, vary across various industries. Hochschild (1983) illustrated the presence of occupational norms through her research showing that the public expects flight attendants to be pleasant and that bill collectors are expected to be unfriendly and harsh. Finally, organizational norms, which are the focus of most emotional labor studies, include the informal and formal rules created within a specific business or organization that dictate how employees should display emotions.

The focus on organizational norms and how they drive emotional labor usually focuses on formal practices. Hochschild (1983) details the orientation practices and employee review process that dictates the display rules. Rafaeli and Sutton (1989) mention the training programs that potential Santas attend to learn to smile and be jolly. Supermarket clerks are also formally taught how to display positive emotion through orientation practices (Rafaeli, 1989). Tracy (2000) examined how posters and posted rules on a cruise-ship dictated how cruise ship employees should interact with the vacationers. While the cruise ship employees received orientation, they also were bombarded posters on how to express emotion toward the passengers, such as “We always say please and thank you” and “Always greet passengers; say hello ma’am good morning sir” (Tracy, 2000, p. 107). This led to employees feeling like they were being bombarded with instructions, which led to complaining among the employees (Tracy, 2000).

Rafaeli and Sutton (1989) contend future research needs to focus on the informal practices used in organizations to dictate the display of emotion. A notable exception to the lack of research conducted in this area is Hochschild’s (1983) examination of Pan American

employees. She examined the informal practices developed by Pan American Airlines that help them determine which potential employees during the interview process are able to express positive emotion to complete strangers. Pan American recruiters would place potential employees in the same room and instruct them to introduce themselves to each other while they completed some paperwork. This allowed the recruiters to assess which employees were able to express emotions in a way that paralleled the organization's expectations (Hochschild, 1983). The recruiters, not the human resource department, created this informal practice. Recruiters believed that they were more capable of hiring employees that could perform their job tasks well, including expressing emotionality correctly, using this process. Further exploration is needed to understand how employees socialize and reinforce the display rules present and how selection plays a role in how employees follow display rules.

Experience and Management of Emotional Labor

Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) expanded our understanding of emotional labor by illustrating how organizations attempt to control employees' expression of emotion. The control that management exercises, combined with feelings expressed in the role of a worker, results in the experience of emotional labor as emotional harmony, emotional dissonance, or emotional deviance (Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987).

Emotional harmony occurs "when expressed feelings are congruent with experiencing emotions, feeling rules," and the worker's expectations of how he or she should feel (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987, p. 32). This experience can be a result of a good match between employee and employer, much like Ash (1984) found in her analysis of Mary Kay Cosmetics, which discovered that the employees sought out a job in which the organization's display rules matched their personal display rules. However, Hochschild (1983) argues that an employee may identify "too

wholeheartedly with the job" (p. 187). This can to lead to burnout because the employee may be unable to separate "work" from the "self." This type of employee is likely to identify with the display rules present within an organization and have little or no awareness of a false self (Hochschild, 1983).

Another potential result is emotional deviance, which occurs when "expressed emotions clash with local norms" (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987, p. 33). Examples of emotional deviance occur when employees express emotions that contradict the emotional display rules set forth by management and the organization's culture. For example, when an employee at a supermarket knowingly violates a rule of expressing happiness at the check-out lane and expresses sadness or anger, an employee is experiencing emotional deviance. Hochschild (1983) mentions that emotional deviance can lead to unemployment and estrangement from work duties. Usually cited as an oppressive result of the experience of emotional labor, this result also illustrates how employees do have a choice in how they choose to act out their emotions in the workplace.

Emotional dissonance results when expressed emotions are congruent with display rules present in an organization but are inconsistent and clash with internal feelings (Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). This results in employees faking their emotional displays in "bad faith" or "good faith." Faking in bad faith occurs when employees display fake emotion, yet "believe that such acting should not be part of the job" (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987, p. 32). Faking in good faith occurs when employees display fake emotion yet understand that the emotional display is an important aspect of the job requirements. Hochschild (1983) argues that faking in good faith causes the estrangement between the "true self" and "fake self." While this action can lead to burnout, as well, Hochschild (1983) believes that this reaction at least allows for some negotiation of the self into the work role.

While research has been conducted that examines how people manage emotional experiences or choose to experience emotion, little research has been conducted on the explicit strategies that employees use to manage their experiences of emotional labor. How an employee chooses to manage their emotions has a direct impact on how they experience emotional labor. Furthermore, how an employee experiences emotional labor depends on how they manage emotion. The research on this subject illustrates that most coping strategies for emotional labor are context-bound. Other than Tracy and Tracy (1998) and Shuler and Sypher (2000), no other research has explicitly examined the ways in which employee cope with the experience of emotional labor.

In Tracy and Tracy's (1998) examination of 911 call centers, seven different emotional labor strategies emerged: (1) nonverbal expression, (2) giving the caller advice, (3) upping a call's priority rating, (4) self-talk, (5) evaluative talk about a caller, (6) joking, and (7) storytelling. Each of these strategies assisted the 911 call center employees in the management of their emotions while talking with a caller *or* after the call had occurred.

Several strategies help 911 call center operators manage emotional labor during phone calls. By using a nonverbal cue, such as eye rolling, during a particularly annoying phone call, an operator can avoid expressing frustration, an inappropriate emotion in this work environment, but can cope with the acting process that the operator is forced to perform. Two methods that assist in giving the operator more power in the interaction are giving the caller advice and upping a call's priority. Through these methods an employee can cope with the emotion of feeling powerless because of being physically distant from a caller, but can also cope with the emotional demands of the organization (Tracy & Tracy, 1998).

After a phone call had completed, operators used the remaining strategies to cope with emotional labor. Self talk, "the notion that a person can change their emotion experience by thinking about it differently" (Tracy & Tracy, 1998, p. 403) was used by many employees when they got angry or sad from receiving a call about someone being shot in a drive-by shooting. Most of the operators recognized the need to be empathic with the callers but knew to "avoid taking it personally" (Tracy & Tracy, 1998, p. 403). Another strategy employed by the 911 call center operators, evaluative talk, occurred after a phone call and was used to be evaluative, sympathetic, and/or critical of a caller. Viewed as a strategy that allowed operators to be empathic toward a caller, evaluative talk allowed for the operators to "(re)appraise the appropriate emotion to be felt in certain situations" (Tracy & Tracy, 1998, p. 404). Lastly, joking and storytelling, which usually are difficult to distinguish from each other, operate as coping strategies in different manners. Joking and storytelling as cathartic strategies are generally used as a way to make sense of a specific situation or to laugh about a serious event, such as a death, so as to not become too emotionally involved after the phone call has ended (Tracy & Tracy, 1998).

The other main research study that has examined the strategies that employees use to manage emotional labor was also conducted in the context of 911 call centers. Shuler and Sypher's (2000) analysis suggested three ways that employees experience and manage emotional labor. First, the operators viewed their emotional experiences and the labor that they experienced as comic relief (Shuler & Sypher, 2000). This strategy mirrors Tracy and Tracy's (1998) joking and storytelling strategies. By viewing their emotional experiences as funny events, the operators were likely to experience the oppressiveness of emotional labor to less of a degree.

Second, the operators viewed their emotion work as an adrenaline "fix," meaning that the employees viewed the stressful aspects of their work as problem-solving activities that provide excitement for the day. When a caller expresses concern that they are having a heart attack, an operator will feel the need to be calm and sympathetic, as dictated by the display rules present. However, the operator also likely feels sad or scared by the experience. After deciding how to manage his or her emotions, the operator can view this experience as an "adrenaline rush" (Shuler & Sypher, 2000).

The final way in which operators at the 911 call center viewed their emotional labor work was through viewing themselves as altruistic service providers. The 911 call center operators sometimes viewed themselves as doing good deeds for people for the sole sake of doing good deed for people (Shuler & Sypher, 2000). By viewing themselves as altruistic service providers, the call center operators effectively coped with their experience of emotional labor.

Consequences of Emotional Labor

Researchers have also viewed the oppressive and liberating consequences of experiencing emotional labor. While originally conceptualized as both oppressive and liberating, researchers began by only invetstigating the oppressive consequences of this phenomenon. Eventually, researchers recognized the limitations to this approach and began to examine the liberating aspects as well, thus recognizing the importance of Hochschild's (1983) original conceptualization.

Emotional Labor as an Oppressive Act

Some researchers interpreted Hochschild's (1983) conceptualization of emotional labor as an oppressive act that leads to negative consequences, such as emotional numbness, self-estrangement, cynicism, self-esteem maintenance, feeling like a "phony," physical illness, guilt,

and burnout (Pringle, 1988; Rafaeli, 1989; Shuler & Sypher, 2000; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989). The majority of research completed on emotional labor after Hochschild's (1983) conceptualization focused on the results and consequences of experiencing emotional dissonance and faking in good faith. This research has led to viewing the experience of emotional labor as an oppressive act that is fundamentally harmful to service-related employees.

Hochschild's (1983) examination partially focused on the consequences of emotional labor for service-industry employees. One potential result of experiencing emotional labor is burnout. After faking emotions while at work, employees will potentially "grow accustomed to a dimming or numbing of inner signals" thus losing the ability of interpreting of their world (Hochschild, 1983, p. 188). When employees suffer from burnout at work, they are likely to leave the company and seek for employment.

Van Maanen and Kunda's (1989) analysis of Disneyland employees focused on the negative consequences of emotional labor, which can include physical illness, emotional numbness, guilt, and burnout. When an organization's rules result in guilt and burnout, emotional labor can be viewed as an oppressive act that is fundamentally harmful to the employee. After greeting park guests on a ride and complaining of being tired of smiling, a park operator at Disney is likely to feel guilt for uttering this phrase (Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989). In addition, by following the display rules and being constantly watched by supervisors who enforce the display rules, employees at Disney also reported burnout (Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989).

Rafaeli's (1989) investigation of the role of supermarket cashiers in Israel examined the stress and struggle that the employees face in service-related encounters primarily because of display rules and cultural norms within the organization. One way in which emotional labor is

oppressive is because of the nature of forced service encounters. In Rafaeli's (1989) study, employees experienced different types of strain. First, employees experienced stress and social frustration because of the nature of their interactions. The employees were unable to develop a social network with customers "as the result of very short, superficial interactions with a long line of only vaguely familiar people" (Rafaeli, 1989, p. 267). Second, because of rules set forth by management, employees sometimes sent emotional signals that contradicted what customers wished for, thus leading to conflict. Rafaeli (1989) attributes this to the employees need to focus on "immediate, current demands of customers and the formal, but, remote influence of management" (p. 268).

Combined with Hochschild's (1983) investigation of flight attendants, this line of research tends to examine the emotional dissonance dimension of emotional labor while avoiding a discussion of how emotional harmony and emotional deviance are experienced as emotional labor in service-related organizations. In addition, most of the initial research on emotional labor focused on the negative aspects of presenting a "fake self" while expressing emotion, while ignoring the positive or liberating aspects of this phenomenon.

Emotional Labor as a Liberating Act

Based upon the initial research after Hochschild's (1983) conceptualization of emotional labor, researchers began to view the more positive or liberating consequences of emotional labor. Despite the focus of initial research, Hochschild's (1983) argues that emotional labor is not solely an oppressive act. Kruml and Geddes (2000) contend that "emotional labor can actually be good for the employee, depending on how it is enacted" (p. 12). Research in the 1990s gradually began to accept Hochschild's (1983) idea that "emotional labor is potentially good" (p. 9). Hochschild (1983) argued that emotional labor is potentially good because customers do not

want to “deal with a surly waitress, a crabby bank clerk, or a flight attendant who avoids eye contact in order to avoid getting a request” (p. 9). Hochschild (1983) argued that the display rules present within an organization assist employees in completing their job tasks, which benefits the organization and the employee. Employees are given guidelines that allow them to understand how they should interact and communicate with their customers through display training. Recent research has begun to examine the potentially beneficial results of experiencing emotional labor, which includes task effectiveness, self-expression, positive interactions with customers, and personal enjoyment in performing emotional labor (i.e. Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Conrad & Witte, 1994; Sass, 2000; Shuler & Sypher, 2000; Tolich, 1993; Wouters, 1989).

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) argue that the experience of emotional labor assists in employees’ task effectiveness. They argue that “by fulfilling social expectations, emotional labor makes interactions more predictable and avoids embarrassing interpersonal problems that might otherwise disrupt interactions” (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p. 94). Task effectiveness is considered a positive function of emotional labor when the target of the emotional expression perceives the expression to be sincere (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989). When an employee agrees with the display rules dictated by management and enacts these emotions in good faith, an employee will believe that they can successfully manage interactions with their customers.

Self-expression, another potential positive potential consequence of emotional labor, is the ability to express an aspect of one’s authentic self. While emotional labor is inherently dictated by display rules, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) argue that there is a “certain degree of latitude in how they are enacted” (p. 95). Sundstrom (1986) argues that the ability to identify with one’s work and personalize this experience will lead to job satisfaction. Thus, the experience of emotional labor in the workplace allows for a degree of negotiation with how the

display rules will be enacted, which, in turn, can lead to a level of self-expression that liberates the employee.

Emotional labor can also facilitate cooperation among employees. Sass' (2000) analysis of emotional labor as a cultural performance within a nonprofit nursing home illustrates how emotional labor can have this potentially beneficial result. Sass (2000) argues that courtesies in the workplace set by display rules foster cooperation, and that emotional labor can be a positive experience when employees deeply identify with their role within an organization and have control over their emotional management. One potential explanation for this finding is that emotional labor is experienced and performed as an altruistic act that benefits the client or customer (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Shuler & Sypher, 2000).

Emotional labor can also result in employees viewing their jobs as altruistic service. Emotional labor has been viewed in 911 call centers as an act that "is also intrinsically connected with the best and most rewarding part of the job" (Shuler & Sypher, 2000, p. 52). Viewing the experience of emotional labor has led to an understanding that employees can potentially seek out occupations that require emotional labor for altruistic purposes. At the 911 call center, employees were believed to have found an occupation in which they had the ability to assist people in emergency situations. One 911 call center employee stated, "there's some gratification with…the fact that you know you did it (your job) well, that you helped" (Shuler & Sypher, 2000, p. 76).

Tolich's (1993) examination of supermarket clerks' performance of customer service foregrounded emotional labor as an experience that can lead to liberating emotions. Tolich (1993) illustrates that employees feel an altruistic component to customer service through assisting customers. His analysis that employees express happiness towards customers because

they want to "simply have fun" (Tolich, 1993, p. 374) appears to be an oversimplification of this phenomenon. While "having fun" is potentially a liberating result of experiencing emotional labor, Tolich's (1993) argument is that the employees are experiencing autonomous emotion management or the self-regulation of emotions. However, because of the display rules dictated by management, those employees felt able to "simply have fun" while at work and partially viewed their job as altruistic service.

Reconceptualizing Emotional Labor as Creativity and Constraint

There are two theoretical issues that merit attention in the current emotional labor literature. First, the existing theory and research views the consequences of emotional labor as either creating constraints for communication or as creating opportunities for communication but not both simultaneously. If we are to view emotional labor as concurrently creating constraints and opportunities for subsequent communication, then we need to examine how such constraints and opportunities simultaneously become constructed in conversational episodes. For example, an employee at a 911 call center may be told to always express empathy or positive concern with all people who call. This rule may become rather constraining such that the employee may "grow accustomed to a dimming or numbing of inner signals" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 188) especially when the operator is faced with unnecessary calls to the center. This experience may lead to an estrangement with the operator's true self, thus leading to job burnout, as argued by Van Maanen and Kunda (1989). However, the operator may also increase his or her task effectiveness by expressing empathy and positive concern for a caller. By continuously expressing positive and helpful emotions, the operator may be able to conclude the call in a more effective manner than by being rude to the caller, as an argument may arise between the two individuals. The operator subsequently may be able to handle more phone calls during an hour.

Consider an example of a front desk clerk at a hotel where the employee may interact with a guest who has had a pleasurable stay at the location and is checking out of the hotel. However, the clerk may be feeling somewhat ill and not want to follow a display rule that dictates that clerks at the front desk should continuously provide warm, positive, and helpful service. In this customer-service encounter, if the clerk follows the display rule he or she may feel constrained such that he or she gradually becomes emotionally numb throughout a day of expressed feigned emotion as argued by Hochschild (1983). However, this experience is simultaneously helpful because the clerk can continue to provide solid customer service for the organization and will still be employed by the hotel. By not following the display rule while being ill, the clerk risks being terminated from the hotel for providing insufficient customer service.

This approach differs from previous research in that most emotional labor research has traditionally focused on separate conversational episodes to describe the opportunities and constraints created through the practice of emotional labor (i.e. Ashforth & Tomiuk, 2000; Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli, 1989; Shuler & Sypher, 2000; Sutton, 1991; Tolich, 1993; Tracy & Tracy, 1998; Tracy, 2000; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989). Van Maanen and Kunda (1989) focused on the constraining consequences of being employed at Disneyland, whereas Shuler and Sypher (2000) focused on the playful sides of managing emotional labor experiences. While Tracy and Tracy (1998) argued that either positive or negative consequences occur simultaneously, their study focused on creative consequences of emotional labor. To view emotional labor episodes as simultaneously creating constraints for future communication, it is necessary to explore both in one’s analyses.

Second, little research has focused on the relationship between antecedent conditions and management strategies. As stated earlier, display training, display latitude, customer affect, and display rules are generally considered to be the major antecedents of emotional labor (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, Hochschild, 1983; Kruml & Geddes, 2000, Morris & Feldman, 1996; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). With the exception of Tracy and Tracy (1998) and Shuler and Sypher (2000), emotional labor research has traditionally focused on the constraining and opportunistic aspects of emotional labor, while avoiding a discussion of specific strategies that employees utilize. Without this theoretical move, we fail to examine the process and social construction of emotional labor.

What is required to address these two limitations is a theoretical perspective that: (1) views conversational episodes as simultaneously constraining and opening up possibilities for action, and (2) addresses how antecedent conditions are related to how employees strategize during interaction. Such a perspective is offered by Eisenberg and Goodall's (2001) perspective that organizational communication is a process of balancing creativity and constraint. From this perspective, organizational members are continuously attempting to develop distinct identities while attempting to participate in a controlling and organized system. The act of communication "represents individual's attempts to do something new and creative" while reflecting "historical constraints of prior contexts" (Eisenberg & Goodall, 2001, p. 30). Wentworth (1980), based on Gidden's (1979) structuration theory, argued that whether "people are either inherently constrained or inherently creative does not offer a complete characterization of the relationships between individuals and society" (Eisenberg & Goodall, 2001, p. 28). Viewing experiences as concurrently creative and constraining offers a more complete picture. Thus, Eisenberg and Goodall (2001) argue that communication is the "moment-to-moment working out of the

tension" between organizational constraint (or antecedent conditions) and individual creativity (p. 28).

A focus on balancing creativity and constraint directs our attention to antecedent conditions and how they may influence strategy selection. Eisenberg and Goodall's (2001) approach to organizational communication as balancing creativity and constraint, assumes people are always acting from a set of antecedent conditions. In other words, organizational members enter organizational environments with prior lived experiences that affect future organizational interactions. From this perspective, it becomes important to explore how antecedent conditions affect the management strategies that employees utilize to cope with experiences of emotional labor.

This approach addresses the two aforementioned concerns as follows. To fully conceptualize the opportunistic and constraining aspects of emotional labor that drive future communication, we must shift our analytical focus to conversational episodes. By doing so, we need to clearly identify the relationship between antecedent conditions and management strategies employees utilize in experiences of emotional labor. Eisenberg and Goodall's (2001) approach considers conversational episodes as interactions where employees have prior lived experiences and antecedent conditions and struggle with balancing individual identity and organization constraints. Conversational episodes, therefore, become a site where a researcher can identify how employees attempt to manage the simultaneous constraining and liberating aspects of experiencing emotional labor.

Statement of Research Questions

Two major limitations appear in the emotional labor theory and research. First, most research has failed to report in detail the implicit or explicit display rules and antecedents that

drive the negative/constraining and positive/liberating aspects of emotional labor. Display rules are norms set by organizations that dictate how employees should express emotion in the workplace (Kramer & Hess, 2000, Tracy, 2000). Kramer and Hess (2002) argue that more research is needed that examines display rules in organizational settings because we need to "gain a better understanding of the role that communicating emotions plays in organizational settings" (p. 78). This is especially relevant for the study of emotional labor because display rules dictate whether employees should mask, cover-up, or change their felt emotions though the process of emotion management (Kruml & Geddes, 2000).

Emotional display rules are a direct cause of the emotional labor that employees experience within an organization. Ashforth and Tomiuk (2000) explain that emotional labor is "the act of conforming (or attempting to conform) to display rules or affective requirements that prescribe on-the-job emotional expression," (p. 184). However, most research does not recognize display rules as an antecedent of emotional labor. For example, Kruml and Geddes (2000) detail some of the antecedents of emotional labor as being display training, display latitude, and customer affect, yet display rules are not considered to be an antecedent of emotional labor. Therefore, it is also necessary to examine the emotional display rules that cause the constraining and liberating aspects of emotional labor. Based on this research, the following research questions are posed:

RQ1: What is the relationship between antecedent conditions of emotional labor and the strategies that organizational members use to manage emotional labor in the workplace?

RQ2: What is the relationship between display rules and the strategies that organizational members use to manage emotional labor in the workplace?

Second, the majority of emotional labor research treats the consequences of emotional labor on the employee as either positive or negative but not as having concurrent positive and negative effects (Ashforth & Tomiuk, 2000; Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli, 1989; Shuler & Sypher, 2000; Sutton, 1991; Tolich, 1993; Tracy & Tracy, 1998; Tracy, 2000; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989). Initial research using Hochschild's (1983) conception of emotional labor conceptualized emotional labor as creating constraints on behavior that lead to negative consequences. Recent research has suggested that emotional labor may have positive and liberating consequences (Conrad & Witte, 1994; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Sass, 2000; Shuler & Sypher, 2000; Tolich, 1993). For example, Shuler and Sypher (2000) examined the ways employees at 911 call centers view the playful sides of emotional labor work. Other researchers have examined the playful sides of emotional labor and contend that it needs to be viewed as a positive or liberating act that assists employees in the management of their emotions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Conrad & Witte, 1994; Sass, 2000; Tolich, 1993).

Previous research on emotional labor has focused on either the negative/constraining or positive/liberating consequences of emotional labor work. Hochschild's (1983) main concern is that emotional labor causes "estrangement between what a person senses as her 'true self' and her inner and outer acting. In addition, Morgan and Krone (2000) state that with this "professionalism" that there is a constraint present for actors to perform a particular role. What is significant about previous studies on emotional labor is that researchers tend to view the consequences of emotional labor as negative/constraining or positive/liberating, rather than viewing emotional labor as creating both types of consequences simultaneously. Eisenberg and Goodall (2001) observe communication is a process of balancing constraint and creativity in conversation. The way we communicate creates both constraints and opportunities for our future

communication, identity, and relationships. Similarly, it makes sense that emotional labor would open and close off future opportunities for communicating and relating. Thus, the following research question is posed:

RQ3: What is the relationship between the strategies that organizational members use to manage emotional labor in the workplace and the consequences of experiencing emotional labor?

CHAPTER 2

METHODS

A large hotel in the southeastern United States served as the research site. This hotel, which is given the pseudonym, "Athena," is a customer-service oriented organization. Emotional labor researchers typically study such organizations because strict display rules regarding the experience of emotional labor are usually present. This chapter details the research site, the research protocol, and the data analysis procedures.

Research Site

The Athena is a large hotel, which has 308 rooms with a full-service restaurant that is open for lunch, breakfast, and dinner. The Athena has approximately 15,000 square feet of meeting space and regularly coordinates on and off-site catering events. The busiest times for the hotel are during the local university's football season and during the local university's spring graduation according to the Director of Food and Beverage, the Director of Sales, and the Director of Human Resources. According to company materials, the hotel experiences over 100% turnover, meaning that positions throughout the hotel are continually vacated and filled throughout the fiscal year. Organizational members at the hotel are employed in eight departments: (1) guest services, (2) housekeeping, (3) engineering, (4) food and beverage, (5) accounting, (6) administrative, (7) management, and (8) sales (see Appendix A for an organizational chart).

The following departments have employees who experience daily customer-service interactions: (a) guest services, (b) housekeeping, (c) food and beverage, and (d) sales. First,

guest services employees are responsible for managing the front desk for guests who are checking-in and checking-out of the hotel, handling any room-type issues that may arise, and making and canceling hotel reservations. Housekeeping employees are responsible for cleaning the hotel rooms and public spaces, and sending dirty laundry to an off-site facility. Food and beverage employees are responsible for the restaurant kitchen, waiting tables, performing standard room service, and tending the bar. Sales employees are responsible for booking and organizing meetings for wedding, reunions, corporate events, government events, sporting events, local university events, as well as making group reservations for the hotel and contacting new and existing clients each financial quarter.

Research Approach

A qualitative approach using an interview technique was employed to collect and analyze data at the Athena for two reasons. First, the majority of emotional labor research has been qualitative and interpretive in nature. For example, Tracy and Tracy (1998) examined the emotional experiences of 911 call-center operators and the rules for expressing and feeling emotion in the organization. The researchers used participant observation and interviews to address their research questions. Hochschild's (1983) initial work on emotional labor also employed a qualitative approach utilizing field notes and interview methods. Rafaeli (1989) also used a qualitatively driven approach using field notes and participant interviews to understand the experience of emotion in supermarket clerks. Given that the goal was to understand the experience of emotional labor in a for-profit organization using recalled conversational episodes and that most emotional labor research is conducted qualitatively, a qualitative research method seemed appropriate.

Second, the focus of this study is on situated performance where employees recall and recount past emotional experiences at the workplace. Field research, in the form of interviews, is one way to focus on such organizational events (Singleton & Straits, 1999). According to Singleton and Straits (1999, p. 323), field research is appropriate "(1) when it is essential to preserve 'whole' events in all their detail and immediacy (Weick, 1968); (2) when a situation is complex . . . (Weiss, 1966); and (3) when the focus is on the relationship between the person *and* the setting . . . (Weick, 1968)." When examining individual experiences of emotional labor, it is necessary to detail the complex events participants experience and focus on the work context at that point in time. Considering the goal of understanding the complexity of how employees perceive their own emotional experiences in situated performances and using interpretations of their behavior and use of language, an interview method seemed appropriate.

Data Collection

The Director of Human Resources was originally contacted by the primary researcher and his advisor to see if the Athena would be willing to have this study completed on their premises. After consent was obtained by her, the primary researcher met with the managers of the hotel to see if consent could be obtained from the four customer-service oriented departments. The managers from the four departments agreed to allow the study to be conducted in their respective departments. After this meeting, the primary researcher met individually with the four departmental managers to negotiate interview times. The managers requested that the interviews be conducted during the employees' regular shifts at the Athena in order to minimize disruptions to work. 25 English-speaking employees were randomly selected from a roster of all employees at the Athena who were involved in customer-service interactions: (1) guest services (n = 6, 3 males, 3 females, 6 Caucasians, average tenure with the Athena = 5.5 years), (2)

housekeeping (n = 1, 1 female, 1 African-American, tenure with the Athena = 14.5 years), (3) food and beverage (n = 9, 3 males, 6 females, 3 Caucasians, 3 African-Americans, 3 Hispanics, average tenure with the Athena = 3.6 years), and (4) sales (n = 9, 1 male, 8 female, 9 Caucasians, average tenure with the Athena = 3.2 years). The interviewees represented at least 30% of the employees in their respective department. The sole exception to this standard was for the housekeeping department where only one employee was interviewed. This was due to the fact that that the other 38 housekeeping employees spoke Spanish as their first language and a translator was not available. One food and beverage employee refused to participate, and one employee's interview was not analyzed due to the participant's lack of English language skills.

Each employee's interview was conducted on-site in a place where the employee worked. Guest services employees were interviewed in the office space behind the front desk. The housekeeping employee was interviewed in the housekeeping offices located on-site. Food and beverage employees were interviewed in an office located between the kitchen and the restaurant. Sales employees were interviewed in their individual offices located behind the front desk. All interviews were conducted in a closed room, meaning that other employees were not able to hear the contents of the interview.

All organizational members completed a consent form (see Appendix B). They were informed that participation in this project was completely voluntary and that they could withdraw their consent at any time during the research process. Upon completing the interview, they were debriefed on the purpose of the research, and given information on how to contact the researcher and obtain the results of the study.

Interview Guide

After consent was obtained, the organizational members were interviewed about their daily duties utilizing a semi-structured interview guide (see Appendix C). The interviews collected first-hand accounts of conversational episodes with guests, customers, or clients and lasted for 26 minutes on average.

The interview guide (see Appendix C) was divided into two sections: (1) orientation questions, and (2) emotional labor episode questions. Orientation questions inquired into the members' roles (What is your role?), daily activities (What is your typical day like?), and typical work events (What are some of the challenges of working at the Athena?). The purpose of these questions was twofold: (1) to build conversational rapport with the participants, and (2) to have participants describe their daily working activities. Emotional labor episode questions asked participants to describe specific occurrences of emotional labor in the workplace and the consequences of their actions. These questions asked each participant to detail the antecedents, experiences, management strategies, and consequences of emotional labor.

To answer RQ1 and RQ2 about how display rules and antecedents dictate the strategies used by staff members to manage the experience of emotional labor, questions were asked about how they managed their emotions, how they learned to manage their emotions in the workplace, and where the organizational member learned how to respond and feel in different work situations (see questions 12-18). Follow-up probes were used when further explanation or clarification was needed for clear and complete data.

To answer RQ3 about the opportunities and constraints that were created by the ways that staff members managed emotional labor, participants were asked questions about recent experiences of emotion in the workplace, how the managed the experiences, and when they

learned to manage it in the way they did. Furthermore, participants were asked to detail the positive and negative aspects that were created in the way they managed the episode (see questions 12-14 and questions 18-21). Follow-up probes were used when further explanation or clarification was needed regarding a participant's response.

Data Analysis

After completing the interview, detailed thoughts and reactions to the interview in the form of field notes were produced within 24 hours. The field notes summarized themes that emerged from the interviews, as well as any general observations about the Athena that were observed during that day's visit to the site (i.e., signage about employee behavior). After each interview was transcribed, the transcript was given a code to insure that the participants' responses were kept confidential.

After the interviews were transcribed, specific episodes of emotional labor were identified. According to Gumperz (1972), conversational episodes are "communicative routines which [the participants] view as distinct wholes, separate from other types of discourse, characterized by special rules of speech and nonverbal behavior and often distinguished by clearly recognizable opening or closing sequences" (p. 17). Each episode that was identified told a story about what happened in the episode, what emotions were felt by the employee, how the employee's emotions were managed through a specific strategy, how the organizational member knew how to manage their emotions in this manner, and the consequences of how the organizational member managed their emotions. 41 conversational episodes were identified from the interviews. An individual case study was then produced for each conversational episode that described the antecedents, experience, management, and consequences of emotional labor. The case study detailed the experience of emotion in the workplace, the strategies the staff member

used to manage this experience, any apparent consequences of experiencing emotional labor, as well as any emerging themes. See Appendix D for an example case study.

Second, similar to Tracy (1998), an inductive method was utilized to capture specific areas of the experience of emotional labor. Through *open coding*, or an unrestricted analytical process in which categories are identified through examining the text, the data was initially analyzed (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002; Strauss, 1987). Paralleling the individual case studies, four specific areas were coded in the text. Themes within each of the following areas were identified: (1) antecedents of emotional labor; (2) display rules present in the organization; (3) management of emotional labor; and (4) consequences or results of their experiences and management of emotional labor. The following four-step process was used. First, the case studies were randomly divided into thirds. Second, based on one third of the case studies, a coding scheme for the four areas present in the individual case studies was developed by identifying categories within the areas. For example, customer affect was identified, coded, and defined as an antecedent condition. A second researcher trained in qualitative methods reviewed the case studies and coding and determined the assertability of the analysis. Third, once the initial coding scheme was developed, this process was repeated twice for each remaining third of the individual case studies by applying the updated coding scheme to the case studies. Through this process, new themes emerged that elaborated the original coding scheme. For example, originally identified as customer affect in the first round, negative customer affect emerged as a separate theme and positive customer affect was not identified. Fourth, the final codes for the individual case studies were assigned once the coding scheme was completed.

According to Lindlof and Taylor (2002), "the process of integrating categories starts with what is called *axial coding*" (p. 220). Axial coding allows for higher-order relationships among

categories to be established. In the present study, contingency tables for each of the relationships present in the research questions were initially constructed (i.e., antecedents and management strategies, display rules and management strategies, and management strategies and consequences). These contingency tables were used to explain the relationships among antecedent conditions, display rules, strategies, and consequences. Lower-order themes of how specific codes within specific areas were related to each other were initially explored by using the contingency tables. For example, the relationship between negative customer affect as an antecedent condition and shifting responsibility as a management strategy was analyzed. After this process, higher-order themes were identified, such that overall relationships between the two areas emerged. For example, control was coded as a theme of antecedent conditions and was related to a management strategy that exemplified the suppression of employees' true feeling of emotions. See Appendix E for a specific explanation of the construction of the contingency tables and how they were used for analysis. After conducting this analysis, an analytical memo detailing the overall relationships among the areas was developed. A second researcher trained in qualitative methods analyzed and examined the contingency tables to determine the assertability of the results. Revisions were made to the final analytic memo based on this conversation.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

This chapter reports the results for each of the research questions posed in Chapter 1. For each research question, the relevant components, such as antecedent conditions, display rules, management strategies, and consequences, are explained and the significant relationships are detailed.

Research Question 1

RQ1 is, "What is the relationship between antecedent conditions of emotional labor and the strategies that organizational members use to manage emotional labor in the workplace?" To answer this question, the antecedent conditions and the management strategies were articulated and the relationship between the two explained. The results suggest that antecedent conditions create controlled employees who are willing to suppress true or felt emotions when they conflict with organizational expectations.

Antecedent Conditions

Five antecedent conditions that drive the experience of emotional labor were identified: (1) training, (2) negative customer affect, (3) job identification, (4) organizational values and polices, and (5) previous work experience.

Training is defined as initial training employees receive in the form of general orientation, on-the-job training, or departmental meetings. In general, employees at the Athena indicated that they received a general orientation; however, most employees were unable to articulate what specific information was gained from training that guided their experiences of

emotional labor. For example, Eddie, a Caucasian front desk employee who has been employed at the Athena for two years, stated, “We did, like, American with Disabilities thing, then front desk training, telephone training, emergencies, MOD [manager-on-duty] training,” and indicated that this training taught him how to respond to challenging situations. John, a Caucasian sales manager who has been employed at the Athena for two and a half years, said he had “emergency training here at the hotel, um, sales training, um, reservations training, um, ya know.” Yet, he could only articulate that the training, in general, affected his experiences at the Athena. John and Eddie are illustrative of the two types of employees at the Athena who recognized that training affected how they experienced emotional labor at the Athena but could *or* could not recall specifically how.

The second antecedent condition, negative customer affect, is defined as the perceived negative emotional expression by a guest, client, or customer, which is communicated to the employee. Previously identified as the antecedent condition of customer affect by Kruml and Geddes (2000), negative customer affect influences how much pressure an employee feels to express emotion that is congruent with expressed emotion by a customer, client, or guest. For example, employees at the Athena reported a range of expressed emotions by the customers, client, and guests, which included “rage,” being “mad,” “anger,” and “rudeness.” Furthermore, customers, clients, and guests that were intoxicated were included in this theme because their intoxication generated negative employee emotions and affected subsequent employee communication with the guest. For example, Scott, a Caucasian front desk employee who has been employed at the Athena for four months, described an intoxicated male who entered the hotel lobby and recalled “I saw him coming in on the security cameras, jumped up, walked up

front before he got there," thus expecting a challenging situation to ensue because of the guest's intoxication.

Third, the antecedent condition of job identification is defined as a strong affinity for the characteristics of the job tasks. Comments that an employee wanted a job in the hospitality industry, wanted a job in a certain department, and enjoyed working with clients were considered to reflect job identification because the employees had a pre-existing desire and motivation to work in customer service interactions and fulfill their job's roles. For example, Rachel, a Caucasian sales manager who has been employed at the Athena for approximately three years, commented "I enjoy working with customers," whereas Eva, a Caucasian front desk manager who has been at the Athena for six years, commented that she was drawn to working in a hotel because it "looked interesting." These employees strongly identified with their job due to a pre-existing desire and motivation to work in customer service interactions, which appeared to drive their experience of emotional labor.

The fourth antecedent condition, organizational values and policies, is defined as those influences on employee behavior determined by the organization including cultural beliefs, commitments, and formal policies and procedures. This antecedent condition was reflected in the employees' recognition of the: (1) value of repeat business, (2) knowledge about the mission statement, and (3) awareness of informal rules generated by management regarding procedures. Employees recognized that the role of repeat business was important to the hotel management and that they had to feel and express emotion that would foster guests', clients', and customers' desire to return to the hotel property. For example, Betty, a Caucasian server and bartender in the hotel restaurant who has been employed at the Athena for five months, recalled "he'll maybe tell other people, and they tell other people and you lose business" if a negative event occurs during

a guest's experience at the hotel. Betty recognized that if she treated an intoxicated guest rudely that he may not stay at the hotel and may express his displeasure with the Athena to other potential guests.

Knowledge of one aspect of the hotel's mission statement, "Please People at a Profit," was recognized by employees as meaning that part of their work experience was to consistently please the customers. For example, Christina, a Caucasian reservations agent who has been employed at the Athena for a year and a half, stated "you have to take care of the guests, but you have to do it at a profit, so I can't just be handing out the hotel's money." This pre-existing knowledge of this aspect of the hotel's mission statement made Christina recognize that she was operating under a set of guidelines that dictated how she could feel and express emotion.

Finally, Athena's management communicated rules regarding job procedures. These included specific directions not to serve alcohol to severely intoxicated guests and rules that dictated the distribution of hotel rooms during football season. For example, Alexis, a Caucasian reservations agent who has worked at the Athena for six months, recounted that "I was really angry that, ya know, he had been, we had been put in this situation by the conference people and our sales department" when booking rules changed for a conference that was going to be held at the hotel. Alexis recounted that this rule negatively affected her interaction with a caller who was attempting to book a room.

The last antecedent condition, previous work experience, is defined as prior work experiences that shape how employees experience emotional labor with customers, clients, and guests. Employees utilized previous work experience to generate templates for subsequent interactions. For example, Catherine, a Caucasian sales employee who has been employed at the Athena for three years, stated, "I've always been in sales and marketing in some shape or form,

so I've gone to lots of different sales trainings and that type of thing before I came to work here." She further explained that previous work experience has generally helped her when dealing with challenging situations at the Athena.

Management Strategies

Four management strategies were identified as helping Athena employees manage emotional labor: (1) shifting responsibility, (2) doing the job, (3) differentiating between public and private spaces, and (4) leakage.

The first management strategy, shifting responsibility, is defined as changing the locus of the problem from the employee's behavior to either: (1) company policy, (2) the actions of another employee, or (3) the behavior of the customer, guest, or client. First, some employees reported shifting the blame to company procedure and protocol. For example, Scott, a Caucasian front desk clerk who has worked at the Athena for four months, explained to a guest that he was not able to cash a check until the morning shift, which resulted in the guest becoming upset. Scott recalled that "for the entire time at the desk, [my tone] was truly, simply, apologetic" despite feeling upset as he was yelled at by the guest. In this episode, Scott shifted the blame arising from his inability to please the guest to company policy, thus attempting to minimize the emotional dissonance that he was experiencing.

Employees also shifted the responsibility of the problem by overtly blaming another employee at the Athena in conversation with the guest, client, or customer. For example, Marilyn, a Caucasian guest services supervisor who has been employed for a year and a half recalled that she was feeling frustration during a conversational episode with a guest whose room rate had not been changed. In this situation, a front desk employee on an earlier shift lost a room rate card. Marilyn recalled saying to the guest, "Oh, I apologize because that employee should

have put it back in there. Because he didn't, this has left a little bit of a mess for us to clean up, and I do apologize." Through this blame, Marilyn was able to divert any negative emotionality from the guest to an absent third party, which allowed her to manage the episode of emotional labor.

Finally, employees at the Athena reported placing blame on the guest, client, or customer or attempting to justify their behavior through self-talk during the conversational episode. As an example of placing blame, Jennifer, a Caucasian reservations agent who has worked at the Athena for five years, recalled a conversation with a male caller who did not understand why his membership benefits for the hotel did not guarantee a hotel room on sold-out dates. Jennifer recalled thinking, "Read your priority club benefits. It's not my problem. I didn't feel for this person. I'm sorry your mad, but touché." Through emotionally venting internally during the conversational episode, Jennifer was able to manage her emotions yet conformed to organizational expectations of customer service interactions.

Some employees reported justifying the behavior of the guests, clients, or customers during the conversational episode as a form of coping with the emotional demands of the job task. Erik, a Caucasian server who has been employed at the Athena for three months, reported thinking that "they were probably just exhausted from the whole week of taking care of" the children, when recalling an episode involving a table of adults and children who were upset with the slow service in the hotel restaurant. By justifying the parents' behavior, he was able to "write off" the personal attacks that he received during the episode.

The second management strategy that emerged from the data, doing the job, is defined as identifying with one's job position and either acting in ways that reflect its duties and responsibilities, or justifying those duties and responsibilities to others. This occurs through a

separation between the *self* and the *job role*. A typical statement by employees that reflects this strategy is, “It’s not personal. It’s business.” It is typically associated with emotional coolness or the expression of professional calm behavior. Some employees reported justifying their behavior or feigning of emotions by believing that they were fulfilling their job duties. For example, Rachel, a sales manager who has been employed at the Athena for three years, stated that she keeps it in her mind that she is a reflection of the hotel’s reputation in the community, no matter what challenging experience is occurring. Thus, Rachel justified her behavior with a difficult client by believing that she was solely fulfilling her job duties by feigning emotion.

The third management strategy, differentiating between public and private spaces, is defined as an explicit recognition by the employee that certain negative emotions towards customers, clients, or guests cannot be expressed in public spaces but can be expressed in private spaces, typically through venting. Some employees state that the nature of customer service led them to suppress their true emotions toward customers because they conflicted with organizational display rules. However, they subsequently reported going to a private space, either a back office or home, to emotionally vent about the challenging conversational episode. For example, Catherine, a Caucasian sales employee who has worked at the Athena for three years, recalled telling other employees at the Athena that “[you can] share your true feelings with either your co-workers or your spouse once you get home that night, but you just can’t share them at that moment” in conversation with a client.

The last management strategy, leakage, is an explicit verbal or nonverbal statement that by revealing an employee’s true inner emotions regarding a situation violates organizational display rules. Employees at the Athena rarely reported leakage. Leakage was reported only in those instances where they were reacting to an extremely angry or intoxicated guest or customer.

For example, Alison, a Hispanic server who has been employed at the Athena for six months, commented that "I had a big party of black people and they were so mean to me because they note my accent. They were laughing about it. They were so mean." She further explained that her face became red and she nonverbally expressed her anger to them, but she still felt that her verbal expression should comply with organizational display rules.

Relationship Between Antecedent Conditions and Management Strategies

No specific relationship emerged between particular antecedent conditions and individual management strategies. There are two possible explanations for not finding specific relationships between particular antecedent conditions and individual management strategies. First, participants typically cited multiple antecedent conditions when describing episodes. This created overlapping antecedent conditions within situations making it difficult to ascertain specific relationships. A second possible explanation is that the reported episodes are viewed as normal disruptions to work and are considered routine and typical. When employees encountered normal instances of emotional labor, they drew on resources that reinforced organizational norms to guide their responses: past training, prior work experiences, job identification, and organizational values and policies. What is important to this relationship is that employees were not receiving pressure to deviate from normal expected patterns of behavior in the organization. In these situations, employees were likely to use management strategies that resulted in them hiding their true or felt emotions when they conflicted with organizational expectations, and it did not matter which specific strategy they used, so long as it hid their emotions. Thus, the choice employees have when managing emotional labor is whether to suppress or leak emotions that conflict with organizational expectations, which appears to center on the perceived normalcy of an event. What is intriguing about the relationship between antecedent conditions and

management strategies is that the antecedent conditions (training, job identification, organizational values and policies, and previous work experience) created controlled employees in normal situations except in extreme situations which involved extreme negative customer affect.

To explain how the antecedent conditions were relied on in normal situations, two examples are detailed which illustrate employees using different strategies that resulted in them hiding true emotions to manage similar and normal situations. For example, interacting with intoxicated guests was a normal challenge experienced by some employees at the Athena. In one situation, Betty, a Caucasian bartender who has been employed in the hotel restaurant for six months, recalled an episode in which company policy would not allow her to serve an already intoxicated guest. In this situation, she explicitly told the guest, "we're liable [for you]." Betty relied on job training and identified with organizational values and policies as antecedent conditions. To manage the episode she shifted responsibility to company policy, thus she was willing to suppress true emotions of frustration for the benefit of the organization. By being able blame the company policy as a coping strategy, she was able to change the locus of the problem; the problem became a *company* problem and not a *personal* problem. However, in a similar situation, Rich, a Caucasian restaurant employee and room service attendant who has worked at the Athena for a year and a half, recalled having a conversation with an intoxicated woman in the bar who vomited on her table. Rich reported that he could not express his feelings of disgust and anger with the intoxicated woman and her friend "probably cause they would have complained," thus privileging the organization's expectations. In this situation, Rich had training and previous work experience as antecedent conditions which he relied on when managing the episode by differentiating between public and private spaces. Thus, in these two events, two employees

experienced normal disruptions to work, had antecedent conditions that dictated how they should respond to normal events, and managed the episodes differently. However, they were able to manage a normal disruption by suppressing their true emotions by shifting responsibility and differentiating between public and private spaces for the benefit of the organization.

Another normal disruption to work was interacting with upset clients in the sales department. In one situation, Catherine, a Caucasian sales employee who has worked at the Athena for three years, was managing an off-site catering event for a university function. In this situation, Catherine received a phone call from her contact informing her that the linens for the dining tables were badly wrinkled. In this situation, Catherine recalled, "We didn't have time to get more linens, my contact was ballistic, and ya know, it's like the bumper sticker says, *Poo Happens*." Catherine relied on the antecedents of previous work experience and organizational values and policies in this situation to manage this normal disruption by doing the job. However, Janet, a Caucasian sales manager at the Athena for seventeen years, reported a situation with an upset client who was a travel agent who wanted the rates for hotel rooms to be lowered. In this situation, Janet recalled thinking, "There's part of me saying, well, ya know, you're a travel agent, well, whoopdeefrickin do" and she had "a rather irritating voice." In this situation, Janet relied on previous work experience as an antecedent to deal with normal disruptions. However, she managed the episode of emotional labor differently than Catherine by shifting responsibility through blaming the client. Regardless, in both situations they managed the episodes similarly in that they suppressed true emotions that conflicted with organizational expectations.

Leakage occurred in moments of extreme hostility, abuse, and rudeness and was associated with a specific management strategy. In these situations, employees abandoned control and normalcy. Employees managed their emotions through leaking emotions that

conflicted with organizational expectations. For example, Christina, a Caucasian reservations employee who was working at the front desk and has worked at the Athena for a year and a half, reacted to an intoxicated guest in the lobby by verbally expressing anger and annoyance to him. Christina explained that the intoxicated male could not find his friends and wanted to find out what hotel they were in. At this point, she attempted to call various hotels in the city at which the intoxicated male picked up the phone and began screaming. Christina recalled, "I ended up talking to him like a child," in which she further stated in the interview that if "you act like a child, you get treated like a child, and I think because he had been drinking it impaired his reasonable thought. He just couldn't grasp the concept that there's not an endless supply of hotel rooms."

In another recalled conversational episode that involved leaking emotions, consider the previously discussed episode reported by Alison, the Hispanic server who was insulted by a table because of her accent. In the eyes of Alison, she was faced with a situation where they were personally attacking her, yet she felt controlled by the organization because she experienced two antecedent conditions: (1) training, and (2) organizational values and policies. She stated that she had to smile "because you have to do it when you are working and serving people." In turn, to cope with this experience, Alison recalled leaking her true emotions through nonverbal cues because of the extreme negative affect that was communicated to her by the customers.

Scott, a Caucasian front desk employee who has worked at the Athena for four months, is another employee who managed an experience by leaking recalled an evening while working with another employee at the front desk. Scott remembered seeing an intoxicated male enter the hotel lobby. At this point, Scott attempted to book a room for him, but the man did not have any identification or credit cards. Scott recalled the man stating to him that he should be happy that

he has not tried to kill him yet, at which Scott ordered the man to leave the hotel by verbally yelling. In this situation, Scott felt like his life was threatened, thus was unable to adhere to organizational expectations that were created through the antecedent conditions of training and previous work experience.

Research Question 2

RQ2 is, "What is the relationship between display rules and the strategies that organizational members use to manage emotional labor in the workplace?" This section details the display rules present at the Athena and the relationship between display rules and management strategies. The results suggest that the organization's attempts to control employees by creating display rules that lead employees to suppress their true or felt emotions when they conflict with the organization's display rules and expectations.

Display Rules

There were a variety of organizationally created display rules that were explicitly communicated through organizational signage and directives. First, there were signs in various offices throughout the hotel that state "10-4." According to the Athena's management, employees were required to smile and make eye contact with guests, clients, or customers within ten feet and say something to them at four feet. Second, employees were also told to "welcome the guest with a smile and a sincere greeting" in the employee handbook which is detailed during employee orientation. In addition to this directive, the employees were told in the *Standards of Conduct* in the employee handbook that the "use of profane, discourteous, abusive or rude language or actions toward co-workers, guests or others will not be tolerated." Finally, according to a sales employee, they were taught to L(isten), E(mpathize), A(ct), and P(roduce). Through

these directives in the handbook, signage, and training, employees were being controlled by the organization.

The rules that were dictated by the organization through the signage and employee handbooks paralleled the five display rules that emerged in interviews: (1) be concerned, (2) be empathetic, (3) be professional, (4) be happy and (5) be nice. Display rules are organizational rules regarding how employees should feel and express emotion in the workplace (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989). The display rules were either explicitly related, such that management has dictated the rule to its employees, or socially created, meaning that employees created the rules among themselves.

The display rule of *be concerned* regards employees being required to feel and express concern to guests and is exemplified through being apologetic or expressing compassion or caring feelings. Employees reported that they believed that the Athena required them to display and express emotions in a concerned manner in order to "please the guest" or reinforce the notion that "the guest is always right."

Be empathetic dictates that employees should make attempts in understanding the customer's, guest's, or client's feelings. What is interesting about this display rule is that empathy is not considered an emotion; empathy is a way of understanding someone else's emotion (Planalp, 1999). However, when asked, "What feelings does the Athena expect you to express in this type of situation" during the interviews, some employees responded with the statement "be empathetic" or "be empathic." Thus, the employees in the organization may have believed that empathy is considered an emotion or being empathetic becomes a rule for *how* to express and feel emotion.

Be professional dictates that when interacting with the guests, employees should behave impartially and in a pleasing manner. As Kramer and Hess (2002) explain, professionalism may also be described as expressing emotions professionally. Again, while this rule is not about a specific emotion, employees believed that being professional was an expectation from the management for how to feel and express certain expected emotions. Certain employees commented that professionalism is closely related to being *courteous*, thus, this display rule dictates guidelines for *how* to express emotions, not *what* emotions to express.

Be happy and *be nice* emerged as two closely related display rules about specific emotions that are expected to be felt and expressed when working at the Athena. In a customer service setting, it is not surprising that employees believe that they are expected to be happy and perform their emotions in a nice manner, considering their role in the organization is to provide friendly service to the customers. The Athena's management and employees, who place importance on repeat business as a way to stay financially solvent, believe that providing friendly service is necessary. This resulted in the display rules of being *happy* and *nice*.

Relationship Between Display Rules and Management Strategies

Much like the relationship between antecedent conditions and management strategies, no specific display rules were related to individual management strategies. There are two possible reasons for this finding. First, employees cited multiple display rules for each episode. By citing multiple display rules, such as be happy and be professional, no clear relationship between individual display rules and individual management strategies could be found. For example, Alexis, a Caucasian reservations agent who has been employed at the Athena for six months, recalled, during a phone conversation with a guest who was inadvertently booked at an incorrect

hotel, that she was told by the management of the Athena to “be happy” and “be empathetic” when interacting with the customers.

Second, these rules seem to fit the prototypic image of courteous and personalized service articulated by Zabava (1999). In other words, employees acted happy and performed this emotion in a professional, empathetic, concerned, and/or nice manner. Though each display rule is distinct, they meld together in a single meta-display rule of *be courteous*. Given their strong connections with one another, it is not surprising that individual differences due to different display rules did not emerge.

As a result, there is a more general relationship between the meta-display rule of being courteous and selecting management strategies that privilege organizational interests and minimize personal interests. The control that was created by the organization and its employees in the form of display rules resulted in employees using coping strategies that mirrored this theme of control or compliance (shifting responsibility, doing the job, and differentiating between public and private space). In turn, this resulted in a privileging of the organization’s expectations of expression of emotion over true or felt emotions. This led to employees enacting management strategies that mirrored the theme of suppression, except in situations involving extreme negative customer affect. At the Athena this was especially true because the majority of the employees recalled conversational episodes where they experienced emotional dissonance or a situation where expressed feelings were congruent with display rules or norms but were inconsistent with internal feelings.

Research Question 3

RQ3 is, “What is the relationship between the strategies that organizational members use to manage emotional labor in the workplace and the consequences of experiencing emotional

labor?" This section details the consequences that were present in the Athena's culture and the relationship between the management strategies that employees utilized and their consequences. The results suggest that the management strategies associated with suppression yielded consequences that were beneficial for the organization and simultaneously harmful for employees.

Consequences

Six consequences of managing emotional experience emerged: (1) employee relief, (2) envisioning future business interactions, (3) positive business outcomes, (4) detachment/constraint, (5) positive employee emotions, and (6) negative employee emotions.

The first consequence that emerged from the interview data was an explicit statement by employees at the Athena that they felt relief after a conversational episode concluded. Usually this was the result of employees being thankful that an episode had concluded. Employees reported this consequence in a variety of contexts: (1) upset clients, (2) angry customers via the telephone, (3) intoxicated guests, and (4) check-in and check-out problems.

The second consequence, envisioning future business interactions, is defined as using the conversational episode as a learning experience that allows the employee to create a template for future interactions. Employees reported that the conversational episodes resulted in them creating, changing, or reinforcing their expectations of similar and general experiences at the Athena when interacting with guests, customers, or clients. Sarah, an African-American room service attendant who has worked at the Athena for ten years, recalled a situation involving a guest who was upset with two meals that she received from room service. Sarah now finds that she has changed her behavior by being a "little bit stronger towards guests, a little bit more, um, relaxed," meaning that she now takes time with guests to offer food suggestions as they order

room service to make sure that they are pleased with the type of food that they order. In this episode, Sarah recounted that she now uses the experience as a template for general contexts when dealing with upset clients.

The third consequence identified by participants was positive business outcomes. Employees reported that certain results assisted in the continuing operations of the business through: (1) fostering continuing patronage of the Athena, (2) generating positive customer affect, and (3) the ability to return to the job. First, employees reported that one consequence of managing emotional labor in the way they did provided the Athena with repeat business and capital. For example, Gladys, an African-American cook who has worked at the Athena for twelve years, recalled that she had a customer who called her everyday wondering what food it going to be served in the restaurant. Everyday he came to eat in the hotel restaurant and proceeded to complain about the food and the price. Gladys recalled during the last time she interacted with the customer that she had to be accommodating and be pleasant towards him, which resulted in the guest's continuing patronage of the restaurant. This, in turn, benefited the financial situation of the Athena.

Second, employees reported that they perceived the customer, guest, or client experiencing positive emotions, such as happiness, as a result of their behavior. For example, Nick, a Caucasian front desk employee who has been employed at the Athena for twenty-two years, recounted a situation in which a guest was unhappy with the number of beds in his hotel room. Nick recalled finding him two connecting rooms for his family, which Nick believed led to the customer feeling positive emotions, "When he walks away happy and you walk away, everybody has a good feeling." These positive emotions benefit the organization because

employees reported that a happy guest could lead to repeat business for the Athena, an important financial result.

Finally, employees explained that by managing the conversational episode in the way they did facilitated their ability to return and focus on the job. This was articulated as not allowing the situation to disrupt the flow of work by keeping one's focus on fulfilling job duties enabling the continuation of business operations. Eddie, a Caucasian front desk employee who has been employed at the Athena for two years, explained that the hotel has a two-night minimum policy during football season. According to Eddie, if a guest misses the first night of the hotel stay, the reservation is cancelled so the Athena can accommodate more football fans. During the last football season, a male guest entered the lobby and wanted to check-in on the second night of his stay, in which the guest became "very upset" when he was not given a hotel room. Eddie proceeded to make him a hotel reservation at another hotel and believes that by following this procedure that he "dissolved the situation" and was able to return to other job duties.

The fourth consequence, detachment/constraint, is defined as employee feelings of detachment from their true self or feeling bound after the conversational episode. Consistent with Hochschild's (1983) original argument that employees feel estranged from their true self, this consequence appeared in situations in which employees were faking true emotions. Much like previous research that has identified emotional burnout and guilt as a result of experiencing emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989), Rich, a Caucasian server and room-service attendant who has been employed at the Athena for a year, recalled interacting with two customers who believed that Rich had taken down their order incorrectly. After this conversation, Rich recalled thinking that he was behaving and communicating according to hotel

policy but that he wanted to "just lose it, I guess you can call it, and just, like, tell the guy off." In this situation, Rich experienced detachment from his true self by privileging the organization's interests over his own.

The fifth consequence, positive employee emotions, occurs when employees experience positive emotions such as happiness, pride, and feeling good. What is intriguing about this consequence is that emotions of happiness or pride are always the result of completing the job task or making the guest happy or pleased with the Athena. Stacey, an African-American housekeeper who has worked at the Athena for fourteen and a half years, reported that when dealing with a room-type issue with a guest "it makes you feel better, ya know, that you helped someone in some way, and it felt good then. It made my day golden." In another recalled conversation, Eva, a Caucasian front desk manager who has been employed at the Athena for six years, recalled a challenging situation where a female teacher was unhappy because the rooms for her students were not connecting. After accommodating the guest's request to have hotel rooms that were closer together, Eva recalled feeling "pretty good" because the customer was thankful and appreciative. While these employees were experiencing positive emotions, the positive emotions were a result of benefiting the organization by having happy or professional employees who made guests happy.

The final consequence identified by employees was negative employee emotions. This consequence is defined as felt emotions by an employee that consisted of: (1) anger, (2) frustration, (3) being upset, (4) nervousness/worry, and (5) anxiety. Marilyn, a Caucasian guest services supervisor who has been employed at the Athena for a year and a half, experienced frustration after a conversational episode with a guest who was unhappy that the indoor pool was not working. Marilyn recalled her frustration and anger by stating that "they just don't look past

what they're dealing with, and they don't see why it happened. All they know is that it happened and it shouldn't have and they want you to fix it, and they don't care why or how or what the circumstances are." Scott, the front desk employee who detailed an experience with an intoxicated guest, recalled that after the conversational episode in which the intoxicated male threatened Scott's life that he felt nervous and anxiety after the episode as a result of managing the conversational episode by contacting the police department.

Relationship Between Management Strategies and Consequences

It appears as though employees at the Athena have a pro-organization bias such that the management strategies privilege organizational over individual interests. The majority of management strategies enacted at the Athena were the result of controlled employees who, in turn, suppressed true emotions for the benefit of the organization. Whether it's surface or deep acting, this acting resulted in consequences that were generally beneficial for the organization. Logically, management strategies that share a common theme of suppressing emotions that contradict organizational norms should yield results that are beneficial for the organization. However, in a few instances, employees identified consequences that were harmful for them, which is consistent with previous emotional labor research (Pringle, 1988; Rafaeli, 1989; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989). Four consequences experienced by employees at the Athena were beneficial for the organization: (1) envisioning future business interactions, (2) positive business outcomes, (3) positive employee emotions, and (4) employee relief. Two consequences experienced by employees at the Athena were harmful for the employee: (1) negative employee emotions and (2) detachment/constraint.

Envisioning future business interactions solely benefits the organization because employees are better able to anticipate how to manage specific or general challenging problems

in the future. As a result, the organization benefits from the employees act because the employee's ability to deliver high-quality customer service is enhanced. For example, Diana a Caucasian front desk employee who has been at the Athena for a year and a half, who used management strategies associated with shifting responsibility to the guest, recalled an episode with band members who would not check out of the hotel. After this episode, she reported using the experience as a template for future interactions with bands that check into the Athena, such that when she has bands check-in that she tells them, "Ya know, check-out is at 11?" and that "You find yourself really stressing that when you check them in."

Positive business outcomes in the form of financial considerations, positive customer affect, and the ability of the employee to return to the job is considered beneficial for the organization because they all allow for financial survival for the organization. Some employees reported that they believed by suppressing their true emotions that conflicted with organizational expectations and display rules that they made the customer happy, which led to the possibility of repeat business and good word-of-mouth advertising for the hotel. For example, Christina, a Caucasian reservations manager who has worked at the Athena for a year and a half, reported a situation with an upset client, "He got angry with me when I told him he couldn't have his money back." In this situation, she shifted responsibility by blaming company policy and justified her actions as just *doing the job*. However, the sole consequence that she reported was that she had a calm and happy guest at the end of the conversation and that the Athena was able to keep the customer's money. Thus, Christina's act of compliance with the Athena's expectations resulted in consequences that were beneficial for the organization in the form of positive business outcomes. Furthermore, the only form of financial consideration that may be

beneficial for an employee is a paycheck, which was only reported in two recalled conversational episodes by a single employee.

Positive emotions felt by the employee are considered beneficial for the company because a happy employee is a controlled employee who pleases customers through satisfying a client's needs and not their own. A controlled employee yields financial benefits for the organization in the same way as other consequences. For Stacey, the African-American housekeeper who has worked at the Athena for fourteen and a half years and reported that making a guest happy made her day "golden," copes with an experience of emotional labor by separating her *job* and *self*. Thus, through Stacey's actions, which illustrate being a controlled employee, the consequence of positive emotions appeared. However, the positive emotions that Stacey felt benefited the organization in that Stacey was a pleasant employee who was attempting to keep guests happy at the Athena.

Relief felt by the employee is considered beneficial for the organization because when an employee experiences "relief," they are able to recognize that the conversational episode has concluded. Though this appears to be counterintuitive, a statement of an employee feeling relief illustrated that the employee was able to persevere and struggle through an episode usually leading to a happy guest. Furthermore, the employee was able to return to their job and yield financial benefits for the organization. Considering that the majority of the employees who experienced relief felt that the guest was happy after the interaction, relief benefits the organization.

Consistent with other research (Hochschild, 1983; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989), experiencing emotional labor results in employees feeling negative emotions, which are considered harmful for the employee. A controlled employee who suppresses true emotions is

likely to feel burnout, guilt, anger, nervousness, and anxiety (Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989). Negative emotions could harm the organization if employees expressed these emotions to guests, customers, and clients. At the Athena, employees hid their true emotions as the majority of employees experienced emotional dissonance. For example, when experiencing a challenging situation at the restaurant, Andrea an African-American cashier who was has worked at the Athena for six years, recalled shifting responsibility to the guest and selecting the management strategy of following procedure when attempting to get a customer to sign a receipt. During this episode, Andrea felt intense negative emotions but suppressed her true emotions and was "upset" after the episode concluded.

Experiencing detachment or constraint after a conversational episode is consistent with Hochschild's (1983) original conceptualization of emotional labor. Employees who follow organizational display rules and cope with the emotions in ways that result in suppressing emotions, as in the Athena, may experience feeling fake. This detachment from their true self may benefit the organization in that the employees are being controlled, thus yielding financial benefits for the organization. Consider Diana, the Caucasian front desk employee who has worked at the Athena for a year and a half, who experienced a challenging situation with Asian guests who did not speak English. She reported feeling detached from her self by stating that "you've got this smile screwed on your face," yet she recognized that her actions benefited the organization through financial considerations by having a happy guest and a happy employee. However, this result may lead to burnout and may explain the high turnover of employees in customer service generally and at the Athena specifically, which is around 100% every financial year.

However, this analysis does not take into account the concurrent nature of the consequences. 32 out of 41 conversational episodes only listed positive business outcomes as a consequence. This suggests that employees do not associate the experience of emotional labor with either positive or negative personal consequences. Moreover, in nine out of 41 episodes, employees identified harmful personal consequences. Of these nine episodes, five had employees reporting the episode as also having a beneficial business consequence. These employees could see how they were harmed and how the business benefited from their actions. In the four remaining episodes, employees solely detailed harmful personal outcomes.

What the current analysis suggests is that employees experience emotional labor by privileging the organization over themselves. In a majority of the episodes recalled, employees can only see how emotional labor benefits the company. In the remaining episodes, where the employees do see some personal harm, a few recognized the benefits to the organization. The fact that a small number of employees only see the harmful personal consequences of emotional labor illustrates how such work and consequences are taken as normal.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the data from the research questions, discuss implications for future research, and to present the limitations of this individual case study at the Athena. First, this chapter summarizes the results of the three research questions. Second, this chapter articulates five implications for future research. Third, this chapter presents three limitations of the present study.

Summary of the Data

The results from RQ1 suggest that the antecedent conditions that were identified emphasize controlling and constraining employees' emotions except in situations involving extreme negative customer affect. At the Athena, the majority of the antecedent conditions shared a common them of control (training, job identification, organizational values and policies, and previous work experience), which led to management strategies that moved employees to suppress their true or felt emotions that conflicted with organizational expectations. The management strategies that mirrored this theme of control included shifting responsibility, doing the job, and differentiating between public and private spaces. Given the emphasis on antecedent conditions as constraints, it is not surprising that they are associated with management strategies that reflect the organization's interests by suppressing potential negative employee emotional outbursts that may hinder the organization's goal of promoting high-quality customer service. What this result illustrates is that there is a relationship between constraining antecedent conditions leading to management strategies that reflect suppression of true emotions. The

exception to this relationship occurred when employees experienced extreme negative customer affect as an antecedent condition and managed their experience of emotional labor by leaking their true or felt emotions. Extreme negative customer affect may be liberating in the sense that it opens up the choices that employees may make and enlarges the range of possible actions to go beyond organizationally sanctioned behaviors.

The results from RQ2 illustrate that no direct relationship exists between the specific display rules of be happy, be professional, be nice, be concerned, and be professional and the specific management strategies that employees used to cope with episodes of emotional labor. This was possibly due to employees citing multiple display rules as existing in the Athena's organizational culture or because the display rules all share a common theme of the happy, professional customer service employee. Employees were controlled and constrained through the display rules at the Athena, which led to employees using management strategies, such that they suppressed true or felt emotions that conflicted with organizational display rules. With few exceptions, the display rules that the Athena created for its employees were usually followed.

The results from RQ3 suggest that the culture at the Athena privileges the organization, such that the management strategies of suppression led to consequences that were beneficial for the organization and harmful for the individual employee. The consequences that were beneficial for the organization included envisioning future business interactions, positive business outcomes, positive employee emotions, and employee relief. The consequences that were harmful for the employee were negative employee emotions and detachment/constraint. Furthermore, five of the episodes that included harmful personal consequences also included consequences that were beneficial for the organization. This is not surprising considering employees at the Athena are controlled through antecedent conditions which led to suppressing

emotions that conflicted with organizational expectations and display rules for the benefit of the organization. This led to employees experiencing consequences that were mainly beneficial for the organization.

Taken together, the results from the three research questions illustrate that employees experience emotional labor from a set of prior antecedent conditions and display rules that share a common theme of constraint. This leads employees to manage episodes through strategies that suppress employees' true feelings and emotions. Though emotional labor was conceptualized as a balancing act of individual creativity and organizational constraints (Eisenberg and Goodall, 2001), this study illustrates that employees view emotional labor as more constraining than liberating and experience consequences in conversational episodes that were beneficial for the organization and harmful for the employee.

Implications and Future Research

The results of this study highlight five implications for future emotional labor research. In this section, the five implications are detailed by examining the differences between this study and previous research.

First, this study illustrated that all employees experienced consequences that were beneficial for the organization or harmful for the employee. When asked to cite liberating consequences of emotional labor during the interviews, employees cited consequences that primarily benefited the organization but not themselves. In this study, the outcomes of envisioning future business interactions, positive business outcomes, positive employee emotions, and employee relief all benefited the organization. This is very similar to previous emotional labor research that highlighted positive outcomes of emotional labor, including task effectiveness, self-expression, positive interactions with customers, and personal enjoyment in

performing emotional labor, which all benefit the organization such that they foster financial benefits for an organization.

Previous emotional labor research has identified oppressive and liberating consequences, yet these consequences usually help the organization and not the employee. Because of this distinction between consequences for the organization and employees and the results of the current study, the past debate about emotional labor being liberating or oppressive needs to be re-addressed. What this suggests is that a clear distinction should be made regarding consequences by considering multiple levels of analysis. It is clear from this study that an individual employee can suffer from experiencing emotional labor, yet this act benefits the larger organization. However, there also may be moments where an employee benefits from the experience of emotional labor yet harms the organization. Therefore, future research should qualify statements about emotional labor as having liberating or oppressive consequences by stating who is benefited or harmed by emotional labor.

Second, the nature of the task influences the way employees manage emotional labor in possibly two ways. At the Athena, employees were usually "on stage" during customer service interactions and were unable to emotionally vent during or immediately after the episode and managed episodes in the way that they did because of the job site and tasks. This is different from earlier research that examined management strategies associated with emotional labor (i.e., Shuler & Sypher, 2000; Tracy & Tracy, 2000). For example, in Tracy and Tracy's (2000) examination of 911 call centers, the operators managed experiences of emotional labor by (1) nonverbal expression, (2) giving the caller advice, (3) upping a call's priority rating, (4) self-talk, (5) evaluative talk about a caller, (6) joking, and (7) storytelling. In this situation, employees were able to leak nonverbal cues without the knowledge of the caller and could immediately

begin to talk about the caller and joke about the situation after the event. Furthermore, the operators managed episodes that occasionally involved serious health-related episodes, thus, the need to joke, tell stories, and perform self-talk and evaluative talk about a caller became important because of the severity of the events. Furthermore, Shuler and Sypher's (2000) examination of 911 call centers provides similar management strategies of viewing a situation as comic relief, an adrenaline fix, or as an act of altruistic service. Because of the nature of managing challenging episodes involving severe health problems, 911 call center employees coped with experiences by minimizing the severity or importance of the event or justifying the act as providing altruistic service.

These differences between the present study and prior research may be due to the nature of the task. Because of the nature of the job tasks at the Athena, employees were unable to cope with an episode through leaking true or felt emotions that conflicted with organizational expectations and display rules because of the on-going "on stage" aspect of their work during the performance of emotional labor. Employees in other settings, such as 911 call centers, are able to leak to other employees because they are not interacting face-to-face with customers. Such leakage may be needed to cope with the seriousness of the events. However, employees at the Athena were usually face-to-face with customers when experiencing emotional labor and not normally managing life or death situations, which resulted in management strategies that shared a common theme of suppressing emotions. What this suggests is that the nature of the tasks associated with the job affects the experience of emotional labor. Because of this, future research should attempt to address how the differences in job sites and tasks influence management strategies and consequences of emotional labor.

Third, management strategies that emphasize employees managing emotional labor by themselves without relying on other colleagues are prevalent. This takes the form of shifting responsibility, doing the job, and leakage. For example, blaming a guest, policy, or an employee is an individual strategy such that the employees can enact this management strategy on their own. Furthermore, employees who managed episodes of emotional labor by justifying that they were doing the job enacted this strategy without seeking the viewpoints, ideas, and support of other employees. Because of the individual nature of the customer-service interaction where one employee is responsible for a guest, this suggests that the nature of the job task affects the nature of the enacted management strategies.

The Athena reported a high turnover of employees of over 100% in the past financial year, such that only a few of the interviewed employees had worked at the hotel for longer than three years and many positions were vacated throughout the year. Perhaps this is partially due to the individualistic management strategies that employees utilized. Previous research has generally focused on a variety of organizations that allow for employees to manage episodes either individually or collectively, but how this affects the management and experience of emotional labor has not been addressed. Perhaps the idea of working closely with other employees because of the nature of the job task allows for a social support system that may minimize the harmful consequences of negative employee emotions and detachment/constraint associated with emotional labor that were identified at the Athena. Perhaps a strong social support network may decrease the turnover of employees that may have resulted from the professional bias in the management strategies and consequences employees recalled. What this suggests is that future research should examine the relationship between social support strategies for managing emotional labor and outcomes such as turnover and job satisfaction.

Fourth, this study suggests people typically conform to the organization's expectations. Through the analysis, it was shown that employees at the Athena generally conformed to the controlling nature of the antecedent conditions and display rules. This resulted in management strategies and consequences that benefited the organization. In the Athena, only a small minority of employees leaked true or felt emotions that conflicted with organizational expectations and display rules. The employees that tended to deviate typically had been working at the Athena for more than four years. This suggests that organizations can initially control employees such that the consequences of their actions solely benefit the organization, but as employees become more socialized into an organization, they see different opportunities for acting and contradicting stated organizational policy. For example, Scott, the front desk employee that yelled at an intoxicated guest to leave the hotel lobby, was employed at this hotel for a year and a half but had worked for the company for approximately five years.

This suggests that the relationships among the management of emotional labor, conformity, and socialization need to be examined. For example, research has shown that employees construct different roles based on the collective or individual tactics used by an organization to socialize new employees (Ashford & Saks, 1996; Jones, 1986; Mignery, Rubin, & Gorden, 1995). Furthermore, some research suggests that there is a difference between being socialized into custodial or innovative roles (Jones, 1986; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Perhaps, in organizations that socialize employees into custodial roles, or to do what the organization tells employees to do, over time employees learn innovative roles, which permit employees to be emotionally deviant and leak true or felt emotions that conflict with organizational expectations and display rules. Thus, future research could address how these organizational strategies affect the coping strategies and consequences of emotional labor.

Fifth, considering that the display rules enacted at the Athena seemed to fit the prototypic image of courteous and personalized service (Zabava, 1999), which resulted in a meta-display rule of be courteous, Politeness Theory may show to be useful in explaining and predicting how employee experience emotional labor. Considering that employees at the Athena generally suppressed emotions that conflicted with organizational expectations and display rules, by examining situations as face-threatening acts, or times when employees "behave in a way that could potentially fail to meet positive or negative face needs" (Littlejohn, 2002, p. 109), we may be better able to understand the situations in which employees are willing to show a positive or negative face in customer-service situations.

Limitations

The first limitation of this study was that it only examined recalled conversational episodes instead of observing actual conversational episodes as they occurred in organizational life. According to Stafford and Daly (1984), people only recall 10% of a conversation five minutes after the event. However, research has also shown that people have better recall in events that are incongruent with one's expectations (Hastie, 1984; Waddill & McDaniel, 1998). Employees of the Athena reported challenging events that may have been incongruent with their expectations of their professional roles, and some employees reported that the challenging events that they experienced occurred infrequently. Even though conversational recall of the episodes has some limitations, it is mitigated by the fact that most of the recalled episodes were memorable events that employees used to create their lived organizational experiences. As a result, participant recall may have been more accurate for such events.

The second limitation of this study is that a single organization was sampled. While there are many different kinds of customer services organizations, such as amusement parks, 911 call

centers, airplane companies, and Santa Claus stations at malls, this research only examined one organization. Perhaps organizations may differ on various dimensions including use of technology to communicate and humor. For example, employees that have an ability use technology to communicate with clients may manage experiences by leaking more easily such as 911 call centers. Amusement park employees, where humor may be a natural part of the job, may use humor in situations to create a sense of employee belonging or to clarify organizational policies and values, as Meyer (2000) points out. Thus, future research should examine how the organization's culture influences the management and experience of emotional labor.

The third limitation of this study is that it was a one-shot case study. The access for employee interviews was negotiated between the primary researcher and departmental supervisors and was to be completed while the employees were on-duty. This meant that only one round of interviews was permissible. Conducting only one round of interviews did not allow the researcher to go back and check out interpretations of data or allow for the researcher to test evolving hypotheses. In qualitative data analysis, conducting multiple rounds of interviews to refine concepts and test out hypotheses and general arguments is preferred. Such a process permits saturation, which means that "new incidents add little new value to the concepts" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 110).

This limitation is partially offset by the manner in which the data was analyzed. The data was divided into thirds. By developing a coding scheme based on 1/3 of the episodes, each additional analysis of the remaining episodes allowed for the primary researcher to refine concepts and test out hypotheses to see if the coding scheme adequately captured the key concepts. As revisions were made, a form of data saturation occurred, as by the time the last third

of conversational episodes were coded, no major changes were made the type and definitions of categories.

The fourth limitation of this study is that the interviewer was not always of the same race of the interviewee. The difference in race may explain why one Hispanic employee refused to participate. However, the Hispanic and African-American employees did appear comfortable in the interviews, especially considering that two employees detailed four conversational episodes concerning racist guests or customers in the hotel restaurant. Considering that the majority of the employees were Caucasian, this limitation was only present in seven of the interviews.

The final limitation of this study is that non-English speaking employees were not sampled. In the Athena, only one of 39 housekeeping employees spoke English with the remaining employees being Spanish speakers. It is possible that the Spanish-speaking employees experienced emotional labor much differently from employees who spoke English. For example, when a guest, client, or customer is insulting a Spanish-speaking employee, the employee may be able to recognize through nonverbal cues that the guest, client, or customer is upset. While employees may recognize that there is a problematic situation with a guest, they may be unaware of the specifics of the problem because of the language barrier. Furthermore, the management strategies that a Spanish-speaking employee has at his or her disposal may be different than an English-speaking employee. For example, a Spanish-speaking employee may only be able to break display rules or leak nonverbally and not rely on other strategies during face-to-face contact with a guest, client, or customer due to the language barrier.

Summary

The purpose of this thesis was to examine the antecedent conditions, display rules, management strategies, and consequences of emotional labor in a single customer-service

situation. By using a qualitatively driven interview approach, employees at a hotel recalled challenging conversational episodes and detailed their experiences. The findings show that antecedent conditions and display rules created controlled employees who were willing to suppress true emotions toward clients and guests except in situations involving extreme negative customer affect. Furthermore, the consequences of the employees' actions illustrate a pro-business bias, such that employees recalled consequences of their actions that benefited the organization or harmed themselves. Future research should consider (1) how consequences can be perceived differently if viewed from the organization's or individual's viewpoint, (2) how job site and tasks influence management strategies and consequences, (3) how strategies for managing emotional labor relate to such topic as turnover and job satisfaction, (4) how organizational socialization leads to management strategies and consequences, and (5) how Politeness Theory may explain and predict employee behavior when experiencing emotional labor.

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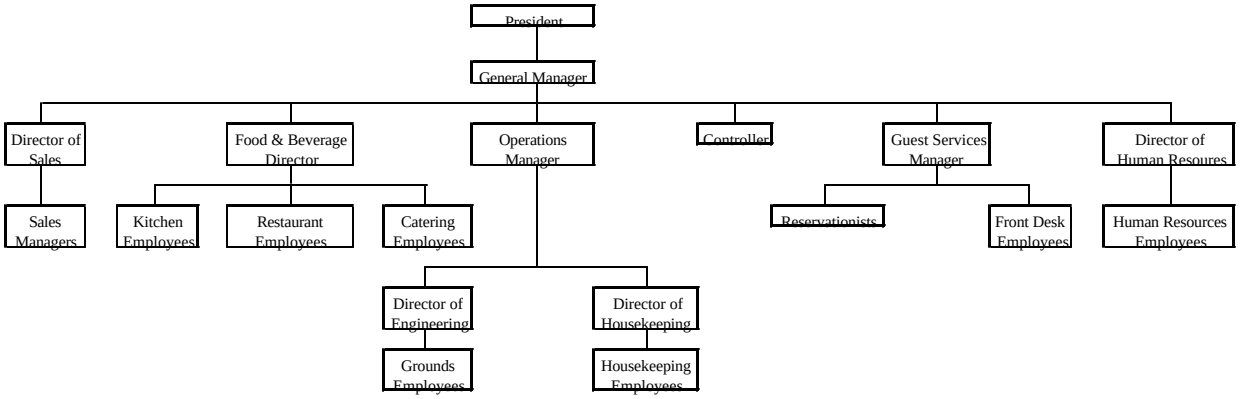
Appendix A

Organizational Chart for the Athena



Appendix B

Consent Form

I, _____, agree to participate in a research study titled "Emotional Labor in a For-Profit Organization" conducted by Richard L. Nabring from the Department of Speech Communication at the University of Georgia (583-0952) under the direction of Dr. J. Kevin Barge, Department of Speech Communication, University of Georgia (542-3269). I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can stop taking part without giving any reason and without penalty. I can ask to have all of the information about me returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The reason for this study is to examine the management and experience of emotion of staff in the workplace.

I will not benefit directly from my participation in this study. However, the results of this project should allow future researchers to understand the experience of emotion in organizational life, which may allow for better training and emotional experiences for organizational members.

If I volunteer to take part in this study, I will be asked to do the following things:

1) Allow the researcher to observe my job tasks until May of 2004.
2) Participate in a 30-60 minute interview with the researcher about emotional experiences at work.

No discomforts or stresses are expected.

No risks are expected.

The interview will be audio-taped. The researcher and researcher's advisor will have access to the audio-tapes. At any time, I can review the audio-tapes.

All information concerning me will be kept confidential. If information about me is published, it will be written in a way that I cannot be recognized. However, research records may be obtained by court order.

The researcher will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project, and can be reached by telephone at: 583-0952.

My signature below indicates that the researcher has answered all of my questions to my satisfaction and that I consent to volunteer for this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	***Signature***	***Date***

Telephone: _____
Email: _____

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Signature	Date

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to Chris A. Joseph, Ph.D. Human Subjects Office, University of Georgia, 606A Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu

Appendix C

Interview Guide

Orientation Questions:

1. What is your role at the Athena?
2. What are your duties at the Athena?
3. How long have you worked at the Athena?
4. Who do you talk to in your daily work at the Athena? What do you talk about?
5. What type of orientation or training did you receive at the Athena?
6. Do you still receive training from time to time at the Athena? If yes, what kind of training do you receive?
7. What made you choose to work at the Athena?
8. Walk me through a typical day starting when you come on-duty?
9. What are some of the best parts of working at the Athena?
10. What are some of the challenges of working at the Athena?

Emotional Labor Episode Questions:

11. What kinds of typical interaction do you have when dealing with guests?
12. Tell be about a time when you had a challenge _____. (repeat as necessary)
    - Walk me through the interaction.
    - Who started it?
    - How did you/the other person respond?
    - What happened next?
13. How did you manage the situation?
    - How did you know to manage the situation in this way?
14. What were you feeling?
15. What do you think the guest felt?
16. What feelings did you express to the guest?
17. What feelings does the Athena expect you to express in this type of situation?
    - When did they tell you this?
    - Why do you think they told you this?
18. Is what you were expressing different from what you were feeling?
    - If yes:
    - Why did you not share your true feelings with the guest?
    - What was good about not sharing your true feelings with the guest?
    - What was the downside about not sharing your true feelings with the guest?

If not:

What was good about sharing your true feelings with the guest?

What was the downside about sharing your true feelings with the guest?

19. How did you feel after the conversation?
20. How stressful was this interaction for you? Why?
21. Has this interaction affected how you interact with other guests? If so, how?

Appendix D

Example Case Study

Scott, 2/12/04, Tape 2

I. Episode Summary
   a. Scott, a front desk clerk on C-shift who has been employed at the Athena for four months, recounts a challenging experience involving an intoxicated male guest who wanted a hotel room. Scott recounts that he asked for a form of payment, and the intoxicated guest handed Scott a variety of cards, not including a credit card. After approximately ten minutes of discussion, Scott became a little irate and told the guest to give him a form of payment or to leave the hotel. At this point, the male guest began to curse at Scott and then proceeded to apologize for not killing him. At that point, Scott told the guest to leave "in a fairly non-professional manner" and contacted the cops who removed the guest from the hotel property.
II. Context Information
   a. Problem Type
      i. Intoxicated guest with no form of payment and began to threaten an employee
   b. Context
      i. Face-to-face interaction at the front desk
   c. Customer/Client
      i. Intoxicated male guest
   d. Time
      i. 2 weeks prior to the interview on a Saturday evening
III. Antecedent Conditions
   a. Previous work experience
   b. On-the-job training
   c. Drunk guest
   d. Belligerent guest
   e. Display latitude- "we got a lot more leeway at night"
IV. Display Rules
   a. Be courteous- but there is latitude according to Scott
V. Experience of Emotional Labor
   a. Emotional Deviance- Scott was courteous at first but began to yell at the intoxicated guest to leave the premises
VI. Management
   a. Overt expression- Scott screamed at him to leave the hotel
   b. Role of business- Scott recognizes that he works for a large company and that he should not be yelling at the guests

VII. Consequences/Results
   a. Fun- “it’s a lot of fun to yell at them.”
   b. Got the guest off the property
   c. Lost money for the company
   d. Shaky
   e. Nervous
   f. Reinforced preconceived ideas that there are certain people who should not be allowed to stay on the property

Appendix E

Contingency Tables Explanation

Three contingency tables were constructed to address the relationships among antecedent conditions, display rules, management strategies, and consequences for the research questions. For RQ1, a contingency table was created for the relationship between antecedent conditions and management strategies. For RQ2, a table was created for the relationship between display rules and management strategies. Similarly, for RQ3, a table was created for the relationship between management strategies and consequences. The contingency tables provided a visual portrayal of the data to facilitate examining the relationship between two of the categories (i.e., antecedent conditions and management strategies). Through a visual examination of the tables, lower and higher order themes were identified. For purposes of explication, a description of the analysis for RQ1 is provided. The following two-step process was used to construct and examine the contingency table for RQ1. The same process was also used for RQ2 and RQ3.

First, the codes from the final analytic memo were used to construct the horizontal and vertical axis of the table. Along the horizontal axis, the five antecedent conditions (training, negative customer affect, job identification, organizational values and policies, and previous work experiences) were listed, and along the vertical axis, the four management strategies (shifting responsibility, doing the job, differentiating between public and private spaces, and leakage) were listed. Each conversational episode was placed in the appropriate cell given the combination of antecedent condition and management strategy and was referenced by the case study number followed by a brief description of the management strategy. For example, in the

training/shifting responsibility cell for case study #1, the hotel employee shifted responsibility by blaming the client.

The second step involved the primary researcher visually examining the contingency table to see what, if any, relationships between antecedent conditions and management strategies existed. Two relationships were discerned. First, no employees who experienced job identification and organizational values/policies as antecedent conditions leaked their personal emotions when they conflicted with organizational expectations. Upon further examination, the episodes in which employees experienced negative customer affect *and* leakage (9, 29, 38, 40, 41) appeared to experience *extreme* negative customer affect. While leakage was also associated with training and previous work experience, it intuitively made sense that it was the extreme customer affect that promoted the leaking of personal emotions. In these conversational episodes, employees were relying on previous work experience and training as guidelines and benchmarks for what is considered extreme negative customer affect and how to manage it. This led to the conclusion that employees were leaking true emotions only in situations in which employees were experiencing extreme negative customer affect as an antecedent condition.

Second, the primary researcher examined the distribution of the remainder of the cells, which included each antecedent condition with the three remaining management strategies of shifting responsibility, doing the job, and differentiating between public and private spaces. The primary researcher concluded that the remaining codes were proportionally distributed throughout the table. For example, in the column "training," 39 episodes were listed, excluding the management strategy of leakage. 17 episodes included shifting responsibility as a management strategy (44%), 19 episodes included doing the job as a management strategy (48%), and 3 episodes included differentiating between public and private spaces as a

management strategy (8%). This proportion of distribution was similar to the total distribution of conversational episodes across antecedent conditions for shifting responsibility (40%), doing the job (52%), and differentiating between public and private spaces (8%). A proportionally similar distribution was present in the columns of job identification, organizational values and policies, and previous work experience. This similarity between columns led to the argument that employees were experiencing normal situations, apart from episodes involving extreme negative customer affect. In these situations, employees drew on resources that reinforced organizational norms to guide their responses, or the management strategies of training, job identification, organizational values and polices, and previous work experience, meaning that employees were not receiving pressure to deviate from expected patterns of behavior at the Athena. After completion of this process, a second researcher well versed in qualitative research methods examined the tables and confirmed the results with the primary researcher.

		Antecedent Conditions				
		Training	Negative Customer Affect	Job Identification	Organizational Values & Policies	Previous Work Experience
Management Strategies	Shifting Responsibility	1- blame client	1- blame client	11- blame employee	1- blame client	2- company policy
		2- company policy	3- blame 3rd party	24- shift to other employee	8- company policy	8- company policy
		3- blame 3rd party	8- company policy	3- blame 3rd party	12- justify behavior	12- justify behavior
		8- company policy	9- blame guest		13- policy	37- blame client
		9- blame guest	12- justify behavior		19- justify behavior	41- blame policy
		11- blame employee	15- blame policy		21- justify behavior	
		15- blame policy	18- justify behavior		28- blame conference	
		18- justify behavior	19- justify behavior		32- blame customer	
		20- blame employee	19- justify behavior			
		21- justify behavior	20- blame employee			
		28- blame conference	21- justify behavior			
		33- policy	21- blame guest			
		33- blame employee	28- blame conference			
		35- blame employee	32- blame customer			
		37- blame client	33- policy			
		39- justify behavior	35- blame employee			
		41- blame procedure	37- blame client			
			41- blame policy			
	Doing the Job	1- procedure	1- procedure	4- can't be bad for business	1- procedure	2- role
		2- role	6- role	10- customer service	6- role	6- role
		6- role	7- procedure	24- role	8- role	8- role
		7- procedure	8- role	27- role	12- role	12- role
		8- role	10- customer service	31- customer	15- can't be bad for business	29- procedure
		10- "customer service"	12- role	35- business	19- job	31- reflection of hotel
		13- job duties	15- can't be bad for business		21- procedure	
		15- can't be bad for business	17- role		26- job	
		18- role	18- role		25- role	
		21- procedure	19- role		28- procedure	
		22- procedure	21- procedure		32- role	
		23- job	22- procedure		34- repeat business	
		27- procedure	23- job			
		28- procedure	27- procedure			
		31- reflection of hotel	28- procedure			
		33- role	29- procedure			
		34- repeat business	31- reflection of hotel			
		35- business	32- role			
		36- repeat business	33- role			
			34- repeat business			
			35- business			
			40- role			

		Antecedent Conditions				
		Training	Negative Customer Affect	Job Identification	Organizational Values & Policies	Previous Work Experience
Management Strategies	Public/Private	13- went to private to vent	36- repeat business	4- sit in back	26- went to kitchen to vent	29- went home & complained
		36- went to back & screamed	29- went home & complained	36- went to back & complained		
		31- went to back & complained	36- went to back & complained			
	Leakage	9- express anger	9- express anger			29- annoyance
		38- nonverbal	29- annoyance			40- screamed
		40- screamed	38- nonverbal			41- "smart-ass tone"
		41- "smart-ass tone"	40- screamed			
			41- smart-ass tone			