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**Emotional Labour and Valued Social Identity in Hospitality Workers;
an Hermeneutic Exploration**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Sheffield Hallam
University for the degree of Doctor of Business Administration

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CONTENTS

Chapter		Page Number
1	Introduction to the Research	5
	The Research Topic	5
	The Phenomenon of Emotional Labour	7
	Identification with Emotional Labour in Hospitality	8
	The Research Question	10
	Contribution to Knowledge	12
	Theoretical Perspective and Research Structure	13
2	Review of Underpinning Theory	15
	Introduction	15
	Service Delivery	15
	Emotional Theory	22
	Emotional Labour in 'The Managed Heart'	24
	Emotional Labour and Authenticity	29
	Implications for My Research: Part 1.	32
	The Influence on Identity	35
	The Expression of Self in Emotional Labour	37
	Managing Emotional Labour in Service Roles	40
	Psychological Consequences of Emotional Labour	44
	Implications for My Research: Part 2.	49
	The Influence of Leadership and Organizational Culture	52
	Leadership & Followership	54
	Hospitality Organizational Culture	57
	Emotional Labour in the context of Culture	60
	The Meaning of Work & Hospitality	63
	Implications for my Research: Part 3.	67

	Conclusions	72
3	Research Methodology	75
	Introduction	75
	Ontology: The Philosophical Position	77
	Positivistic Ontology;	77
	Post-modern Ontology	80
	Critical Ontology	83
	Epistemology: The Methodological Choice	86
	A Hermeneutic Approach	90
	Methods selected to conduct the Research	95
	Interviews and Work Histories	96
	The Participants	102
	Data Interpretation	105
	Ethical Considerations	110
	Conclusions	112
4	Research Discourse	113
	Introduction	113
	The Researcher as Participant	115
	The Participants	117
	Themes from the Participants Narratives	128
	Identification with the Role	133
	Finding Meaning and Authenticity in the Role	146
	Conclusions	153
5	Critical Review of the Research Discourse	155
	Introduction	155
	The Attraction to Hospitality	156
	Identification with the Role	161

	Finding Meaning and Authenticity in the Role	167
	Conclusions	174
6	Research Conclusions	175
	Introduction	175
	Conclusions from Interpretations	176
	The Act is our Reality	185
	Implications for Professional Practice	187
	Practical Implications for the Organization	187
	Practical Implications for the Individual Service Worker	191
	Practical Implications for the Researcher	193
	Research Limitations and Further Research Opportunities	194
	Closing Thoughts and Personal Reflections	196
	References	199
	Appendices	209
	Appendix A: John McGirl Biography	209
	Appendix B: Participant Solicitation Letter	212
	Appendix C: Participant Screening Guide	215
	Appendix D: Participant Interview Guide Version 1.	217
	Appendix E: Transcript Samples	220
	Appendix F: Interview Schedule	245
	Appendix G : Screening Interview Notes	246
	Appendix H: Interview Consent Form	250
	Appendix I: High Involvement Checklist	251

Introduction to the Research

This chapter describes my research journey and discusses the paths that have led me to my eventual choices in terms of methodology and methods. It introduces the research question and the contribution this work is intended to make to knowledge, as well as the theoretical perspective from which the research was conducted

The Research Topic

When it was time to consider a research topic for my DBA, I thought about my experience in the world of work and where I felt I could make the most meaningful contribution. My entire career has been spent in the business of hospitality and I see myself, first and foremost, and as a Hospitality Professional and an expert in the business of delivering excellence in guest service. It is important for the reader to understand at this point that I do not call myself an 'expert' in this world of hospitality without substantiation. In Appendix A. (p.205) a personal biography can be read, which I believe demonstrates the extent of experience that I have had as a professional in this field and also provides a perspective on the many thousands of workers I have been engaged with. This involvement has been in the form of colleague, manager, trainer, mentor and friend and in many cases has allowed me to experience intimately the influences of hospitality work on the lives of a diverse range of people.

I value my identity as a hospitality professional and I have come to know and understand others who have also formed a social identity in this way and who feel completely authentic in their service roles. I decided that I could use this research opportunity to access these paradigms and develop a deeper understanding of how we come to have this authentic presence in the act of serving others. This is important to me because I believe that that world of work would be a better place if emotional labourers could openly embrace the values and ethics of hospitality in its most fundamental sense and find valued social identity in the production of this work.

As I began to review the body of literature on hospitality work, it was surprising for me to find theoretical works which challenged the notion of authenticity in the delivery of great customer service. This is the case beginning with Hochschild (2003) and further discussed in Wharton and Erickson (1997); Wharton (1999) ; Ashforth & Humphreys (1993); Leidner (1999); Morris & Feldman (2008); Bolton & Boyd (2003) and Steinberg & Figert (1999). In some cases, theories go so far as to posit this world of work as a metaphoric 'psychic prison' (Morgan, 2006) where workers are induced to fake their responses to customers in a management controlled culture inducing stress and emotional dissonance with harmful consequences for the incumbents. This introduced a very different reality from that which I had experienced and caused me to reflect on how these versions of reality had come to be presented by the researchers in these referenced works.

The Phenomenon of Emotional Labour

As I was forming my initial thoughts on the subject from the literature, I was introduced to the phenomenon of engineering emotions as a theoretical construct. The subject of engineering emotions in the workplace was introduced in a seminal piece of literature which defined the concept of 'Emotional Labour' as labour which; *'requires one to suppress or induce feelings in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others'* Hochschild (2003, p.7).

This work by Hochschild began the dialogue about private and commercial uses of feeling and opened up the debate around what happens when workers rule their feelings for specific outcomes as defined by the organisation/employer. It is important to understand that my reaction to this work and the subsequent debate it had generated was critical from the outset. I am in many ways a product of that very thing; engineered emotions, and as such am significantly influenced by my own experience of the positive impacts this experience of work has on development of social identity.

Identification with Emotional Labour in Hospitality

My work with hospitality employment has been very fulfilling and I have seen individuals I have worked with, myself included, find personal and professional growth through a strong sense of identification with the work of serving others. It seemed to me that these, largely critical, theoretical works referred to in Pg 7. and the theories that ensued were missing a key perspective. The works were produced largely by interpretations from ethnographic studies by academics that had not had the lived experiences of their subjects. In a more recent review of literature on the topic (Lynch, Molz, McIntosh, Lugosi and Lashley, 2011), the issue of limited interaction between academic fields of study around hospitality and society was discussed.

Academic works related to the topic of hospitality tend to fall into either the social sciences or managerial sciences framework, with ensuing definitions of hospitality ranging from a moral and ethical responsibility to the provision of food, drink and accommodation as a commodity. The perceived lack of interdisciplinary conversation between these schools of thought is posited as a missed opportunity to impact current societal issues related to the field of study. This presented me with an opportunity to bring other interpretations to this body of theory, reflecting on the continuum of theory, social scientific and managerial.

These interpretations are formed from the narratives of individuals who, like me, are a product of that world of intense emotional labour in hospitality and have their own versions of reality regarding development of identity within it. For this reason, I selected participants for the research who strongly identified with the work of emotional labour in hospitality and valued its influence in their personal and professional development. This intentional selection of like-minded individuals who co-created the findings of this thesis is central to the work. Collectively we represent another voice in the debate, not presented as objective analysis from the outside looking in, but subject to our own internal realities. The realities are explored in the critical realm and positioned in the context of the field of study.

These internal realities are explored in the hermeneutic tradition, through interpretation and reflection on the participant's life and work histories in hospitality together with my own extensive pre-understanding of the subject phenomenon. My methodological choices will acknowledge this and make optimal use of that pre-understanding in the interpretation and reflection on the participants own experiences. I make no claim that this work will give voice to any universal truths. The subjective nature of this research work and the socially constructed truths is posits are revealed clearly throughout. The credibility of the research participants and their experiences together with my own experience and subject matter expertise provides the authority to make a claim that the conclusions presented can make a meaningful contribution to business practice. This contribution will come from a discussion of practical implications from the research, for organisations to consider in the recruitment, development and engagement of service workers.

The Research Question

Having provided this background to my discovery of the research topic, I would now like to move on to discuss the research question. This research will explore the experience of emotional labour through the eyes of hospitality worker's (the participants) and the eyes of the researcher in order to develop an understanding of how these lived experiences influence the development of a valued social identity. This is important because customer service industries and the hospitality industry in particular, struggle to attract and retain career professionals who value the act of providing service to others.

The customer service industry invests heavily in securing and building the right talent to deliver customer service yet hospitality jobs remain among those with the highest turnover and lowest job satisfaction. Recent U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics data show that the voluntary turnover rate in the lodging and food-service industry is 58.8 percent, which is 24 percent higher than retail trade and 54 percent higher than health-care services, which also employs a large number of low paid hourly workers in service roles (US Bureau of Labour Statistics, "Job Openings and Labour Turnover Report," January 2012).

According to a UK labour report (People 1st, 2013, State of the Nation: Executive Summary; Hospitality & Tourism) , 50% of people employed in the hospitality sector are part-time, transient workers, compared to an average 28% in the rest of the economy. The UK industry experiences higher turnover than other sectors and reports indicate that skills shortages are most chronic in areas of interpersonal skills, particularly communication with customers. As a result employers make substantial investments in customer service training. An extract from the same report states; *"Overall, sector employers reported that customer handling skills (61 percent) most commonly needed improvement, which was also the number one skills concern for the future."* (People 1st, 2013. P2.)

These reports both indicate that new entrants into the industry make largely transitional career choices and do not appear to identify positively with the emotional labour work they produce. This research will explore a key question regarding drivers of these issues: *What antecedents may influence the phenomenon of hospitality workers finding valued social identity in the work of emotional labour?* By exploring the life and work histories of the participants, this research aims to uncover the nature of those influences that have built positive connections for those who, like me, identify so strongly with this type of work.

In pursuing this research question it is important to understand what the intended contribution to knowledge will be. In developing further understanding of how individuals find valued social identity in the work of serving others we can potentially make a contribution to the growing desire for human interaction in our consumer driven society. A contradiction of the increasingly automated world of customer service where is that no matter how good the system, people still want a friendly human voice and a personalised service experience (Albrecht, 2002). The work of providing customer service and engineering one's emotions to satisfy the emotional needs of a customer (emotional labour) is difficult and often stressful work. It is traditionally associated with low rewards structures and minimal recognition in terms of professional acknowledgement. Still, society's need for the consumer experience is ever-growing with increasing expectations for high customer service levels in the globally competitive marketplace. In the US alone for 2009 services accounted for 79.6 percent of U.S. private-sector gross domestic product (GDP), or \$9.81 trillion. Services jobs accounted for more than 80 percent of U.S. private-sector employment, or 89.7 million jobs. (<http://trade.gov>; 2012)

Contribution to Knowledge

My intention in pursuing this research work is to uncover enhanced value propositions for hospitality workers (and by extension other service workers) in the work of serving others. In so doing I would aim to offer the industry and its constituent's different perspectives for increasing hospitality workers participation in the world of work and in society at large. These perspectives would offer service organizations insights on the issues surrounding increasing employee engagement for improved customer service.

The service industry continues to invest heavily in securing and developing talent (ASTD, 2005) for the service behaviours that will fulfil their customer service mission. This investment is unlikely to pay off if workers do not engage with the organizations mission in a meaningful way and identify with the service role they have been selected and prepared to fulfil. I anticipate that developing further understanding of how individuals form identities in the work of emotional labour will contribute to business practice in several ways. I see potential applications in the selection and on boarding of new-hires and throughout talent management practice as well as in approaches to reward and recognition. All of these processes in the employee life-cycle may contain practical opportunities to seek out, enhance and validate an individual's sense of self as expressed in the work of service delivery.

Theoretical Perspective and Research Structure

When it came time to consider the theoretical perspective and my research methodology, I thought first about my pre-understanding at the outset of this research journey and my initial reaction to the literature on Emotional Labour referred to on Pg 7. It is for that reason that I settled on a critical standpoint to approach the research; to challenge my own pre-understanding while developing a critical understanding of the participants who, like me, place value on their identity as hospitality professionals in the production off emotional labour.

In the critical theory perspective the base assumptions are that the subject's decisions may not be in their own best interests. Their individual realities are considered distorted by subjectivity and power influences from the organisation or prevailing social context. Taking this perspective allows me to stand back from the assumptions I have made in years of working with talent within this industry in order to critically question the relationship between emotional labour and valued social identity. In this ontology I found an alignment with my own perspectives on reality, taking a critical approach allowed me to conduct in-depth exploration of the emotional labour phenomenon as seen through the inner realities of the research participants. In considering methodologies to further facilitate this exploration, the primary consideration was to adopt a reflexive, interpretive approach and optimise the exploration of hidden meanings within the research findings. This approach is consistent with the perspective of the managerial control literature which will be reviewed in the following chapter, in that it examines the influence of controls exercised through the organisation, its culture and its leaders.

These considerations lead me to hermeneutics as a suitable methodology for uncovering this subjectivity and for developing a plurality of understanding to accommodate my own reflection and interpretations along-side those of the research participants.

The hermeneutic manner of research allowed for my own pre-understanding and subjectivity to remain central to the research work; it is revealed throughout, allowing the reader to observe it and make their own assessment of the impact on my presented thesis. This approach influences the style of writing that the reader will experience in that it brings our collective experiences, my own and the participants, to the forefront and meaning is shaped in this way. The critical debate is formed through positioning these experiences alongside existing theory and uncovering other hidden meanings that may exist in our shared understanding.

The field work is conducted through semi-structured interviews with 10 participants who were purposely selected to mirror my own experience and pre-understanding through a screening process. This intentionally narrow sample allowed for the voices of others like me to be narrated for critical interpretation and reflection within the hermeneutic circle as discussed in the previous paragraph. The resulting discourse is intended to allow the reader to access a co-created version of reality; co-created because I am active in the discourse, exploring shared understanding with the participants while critically examining meanings in the context of the theoretical chapter.

In closing I invite the reader to share in my personal reflections from the research journey and how these explorations of meaning may have application in the practical context of business.

Review of Underpinning Theory

Introduction

As I reflected on my chosen research topic, I considered areas of knowledge which I might build on through review of literature. I set about to explore further the literature on phenomena such as service delivery, hospitality, emotions in work, social identity and the meaning of work. The following chapter will discuss how the texts reviewed have furthered my understanding and the implications of these revelations for interpretations of meaning in the following discursive chapters. The format is arranged as a three part review, with each part followed by a discussion of implications for my research.

Service Delivery in Hospitality

I began with a review of the phenomenon widely referred to as “service excellence”, (Johanson and Wood, 2008) touted by many hospitality organisations and brands in their customer promise or value proposition and measured by organisations worldwide that provide quality ratings for hospitality establishments such as AA, Michelin, and Fodor. The expression implies that the person/s delivering service in these organizations will be excellent at taking care of its customers. Global brands such as Disney, Starbucks, Marriot, Ritz Carlton and British Airways have defined themselves on this basis. Carlson (1987) coined the phrase ‘Moment of Truth’ where he describes the defining moment for the brand promise in the emotional elements of an interaction between service deliverer and customer rather than in the physical product or act of service itself.

Johanson and Wood (2008) showcase service excellence at the Ritz Carlton hotel group and speak to its many accolades. They describe the service environment as genuinely warm, gracious and courteous, and attribute the achievement of excellence to daily global reinforcement with its staff (referred to as Ladies and Gentlemen) of the group’s customer service values.

The customer service industry invests heavily in securing and building the right talent to deliver this level of finely tuned emotion in delivery of customer service. An ASTD (2005) report states that US corporations spend the greatest proportion of their training dollars (18%) with the intention of building customer service behaviours and in so doing driving up the value proposition for products and services. The importance of the personalised service element is addressed by Reich (2002) where he discusses the increasing phenomenon of paying for attention. He posits the human desire for attention as a deeply rooted, visceral need stemming from our primal needs as we look to others in terms of protection, safety and survival.

Reich discusses how, in the 21st Century lifestyle, the need for personal attention can become a problem. The structure of lives, work, and the advent of technology leaves little time. The breakdown of the nuclear family and the creation of virtual communities can result in increasing isolation. Reich points out one of the contradictions of this increasingly automated world is that where companies have tried to go to fully automated customer service they have found, no matter how good the system, people still want a friendly human voice and personalised service. Ritzer (1996), also discusses the nostalgia surrounding real hospitality, particularly in economically developed societies where commoditisation is the norm and service interactions are increasingly superficial in nature.

This intense form of personal attention has become the essence of luxury; time lavished on the customer by another human being and this is the fundamental service concept at the heart of the hospitality industry. The hospitality industry has come to rely upon a shared paradigm around what constitutes service excellence from the customer's perspective.

Global service industry icons such as Disney, Marriot and Ritz Carlton Hotels espouse the same beliefs that excellence in customer service delivery is defined as:

- Greet & Smile – make a great First Impression
- Maintain Positive Eye Contact/Voice Tone throughout
- Anticipate Needs; Offer advice, expertise on product/services represented
- Take ownership of customers issues, resolve problems
- Get it Right On Time/First Time.
- Have a professional Personal Appearance
- Leave a great lasting impression/ Deliver the WOW!

(Disney, 2001)

These attributes of the service experience represent a shared paradigm of the fundamentals of customer service excellence. They describe Hospitality as an emotional experience, and require hospitality providers (service workers) to adjust their emotions accordingly. The following definition of memorable service was once forwarded to me and has since typified for me what service at the exceptional level looks like and how one creates it;

“a level in which service is infused with love, care, warmth, empathy, and creativity. The service is characterised by staff doing things spontaneously to touch the hearts of the guests. The intangibles of service play a far greater role here than ever before in the hotel industry. In other words, people don’t remember what you do or say, but they remember the feelings you create”

McAlpine P, (2006)

In the world of hospitality we refer to the customer as guest and either explicitly through job title or implicitly through job definition the service provider is expected to host this guest. It is in this hosting the delivery of service excellence occurs. In Gunnarsson & Blohm (2013), hosting is described as sharing one’s creativity and ingenuity with others and in doing so, provided an inner experience that makes them feel welcome.

It is a highly personal experience depending on the person, situation and context and as such requires the host to see the person in everyone they meet and respond to them accordingly regardless of function by greeting, being friendly, listening and responding to their needs with an attitude of caring. Gunnarsson and Blohm posit that in order to be effective at hosting others one first had to appreciate oneself, by doing so we are open to sharing a part of ourselves with others and seeing others as an extension of ourselves.

This broader definition of hosting is closer to the Derridean (Derrida & Dufourmantelle, 2000) philosophical stance of hospitality as openness to others. Derrida's requirement for absolute hospitality requires that the host open the door unconditionally to not only the foreigner but to the absolute unknown anonymous other. It speaks to a break away from the body's primitive instincts towards threat and protection and an acceptance of the other as guest. The paradox with this philosophical position is that by any filtering or selection of invitees to share hospitality and by excluding others we are violating the most fundamental principles of hospitality. If others have lost their right to hospitality in the radical sense by introducing such laws which limit the basic welcome and place jurisdiction on it then the relationship is established subject to laws or conditions of hospitality. From this point of view the guest, even though is well received, remains a foreigner. The requirements of unlimited hospitality are that one gives the new arrival one's home and oneself without asking name or compensation of fulfilment of the smallest condition. Derrida posits this law as defined by all philosophy (Plato; Crito, the Sophist, the Statesman and Apology of Socrates; and Sophocles; Oedipus at Colonus) and Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian traditions and across society.

It would appear then, that a dilemma exists between the requirements of unconditional hospitality and on the other hand hospitality which has laws and established practices: one would seem to corrupt the other. To offer the gift of hospitality without reservations; not asking name or where you come from or simply keeping silent and tending to the needs of the other while offering up self and home is absolute.

The conditions and norms of hospitality however do expect use of the name and interest in the person and that expectations be set around what constitutes the hospitality experience. All of these leads to a question about the notion of absolute hospitality – why even ponder it or aspire to it if it is so utopian in nature? : Derrida would have it that by engaging with conditional hospitality the concepts of absolute hospitality, though still inaccessible, may be approached within realistic moral and ethical considerations.

In Lugosi's (2008) discussions on forms and manifestations of hospitality, he posits that this more existential form of hospitality, referred to a "meta-hospitality" is emotional in nature. This form of hospitality is differentiated from the more transactional, means to an end, service encounter to one in which hospitableness is an end in and of itself. Lugosi further describes this form of hospitality as demonstrated by an "overt willingness to create a shared space where participants become part of a contextually defined social entity" (Lugosi, 2008, p4). Lugosi describes these spontaneous formations of a shared social space as 'communitisque' experiences, where participants become fully immersed in an inclusive, open and honest way in a co-created experience and in doing so create a shared emotional space.

In the commercial context, Gunnarsson & Blohm (2013) posit that when service workers, paid hosts, understand that for that guest they are the business and that how they act in accordance with the service promises made by the organisation will represent the service experience for that guest. In organisations that get it right, it presents as a values driven culture which reinforces being part of a team with a shared understanding that everyone serves someone else in the work they do even if they do not directly face a guest. Gunnarsson & Blohm also acknowledge that not everyone will feel that way, in many organisations people go to work who do may not like dealing with people and still do it every day. In simple terms they suggest that doing what you have been chosen to do with a good attitude and being aware of where you fit in to the bigger picture of a productive economy is part of life, one's ability to see this is key to choosing your attitude.

In this context successful hosts see the world in a positive light, they focus on the right things that are happening displaying high positive affectivity.

Bell (2009), questions what compels the act of hospitality in an examination of the proliferation of hospitality sites that typifies contemporary living. Bell questions how any fixed meaning can be assigned to hospitality when it take such diverse forms. He cites even the 'Holy Trinity' (p21) of food drink and accommodation is contestable with so many and varied forms of giving and receiving. Bell also discusses the insertion of money into the equation and the implications of this in terms of motive, introducing the term 'calculative hosting and guesing' (p22) to describe the calculated expectations regulating the commercialized hospitality experience. Bell (2007) also discusses the nature of hospitality in term of mobility, and posits that hospitality is defined by temporality, the guest being one who arrives and leaves, the host remaining fixed in the context of a hospitality encounter. The reality is, in this context, that the host can be become a guest when arriving elsewhere and the guest can become host when receiving in a fixed location; hence roles are constantly interchangeable and defined by the situation and context versus having fixed assignment to the person specific. In the case of a hospitality worker who forms social identity around the role of emotional labourer, there may be implications for this identity from these experiences as guest.

The field of hospitality studies is addressed by Lynch et al, (2011) in the opening edition of an interdisciplinary journal which brings together theoretical works in multiple academic traditions, namely, social sciences and managerial sciences. Within these academic traditions hospitality can be defined on a broad continuum from a moral and ethical human responsibility to the transactional provision of any combination of food, drink, entertainment and accommodation. Exploring the nature of hospitality in the context of all these aspects would appear to offer up significant opportunity for contributions to learning; from commercial, commoditised hospitality, to reciprocal hospitality to unconditional hospitality. In reality hospitality is as much about the disciplines inherent to the delivery of service as it is about the cultural and societal conditions which make it meaningful.

Brotherton and Wood (2007), in a social and economic exchange definition of hospitality, discuss reciprocity. In the commercial context this reciprocity can be seen in the expectations put upon the customer in order to be served, economic or social in nature. The customer's payment and/or willingness to submit to a regulated service experience results in them receiving the desired service product; the host in return delivers the expected product and conforms to the regulated pattern of behaviour expected in the encounter.

Albrecht (2002) discusses service management in these commercial hospitality settings and brings attention to the challenges organizations face in serving customers effectively and efficiently. Albrecht posits that the capabilities to manage the delivery of such reciprocal experiences versus the delivery of commodities requires both a familiarity and a comfort with intangible outcomes. These intangibles in the service experience are driven by emotional responses. Emotion is open-ended, created by social factors, and yet for the business of service to be successful, emotional labour requires management for specific outcomes. There exists a body of research (Hochschild, 1983; Wharton, 1993; Morris and Feldman, 1996; Grandey, 2000; Kim, 2008) which points to potentially negative consequences from this management of emotional labour for individuals engaged in service delivery, and this will be a significant area of review in this chapter.

Before further examining these concepts of emotional labour it appeared that developing a deeper understanding of where emotions come from and how they may be shaped would be a good place to continue the literature review.

Emotional Theory

Established theories on emotions date back to works in the late 18th and early 19th century by revered social scientists such as Charles Darwin (1997), William James (1983) and Sigmund Freud (1989), whose theories are collectively described as Organismic Theories (Hochschild 1983).

These theories have in common that they position emotions as a biological response, individual and passive in nature. Freud (1989) describes emotion in terms of a libidinal Discharge. His theory singled out anxiety as the model for all other emotions and saw emotional release as an outlet for pent up libido. Darwin (1997) in a similar vein saw emotion as largely instinctive, a gesture or common expression of biological instincts. James (1983) described emotion as a psychological process, the brains conscious reaction to visceral changes. All of these positions are centred on a fixed state theory of emotional existence. In this perspective, emotion is assumed to have prior existence and introspection is seen as passive. These theories share the belief that social factors trigger biological reactions and would cause automatic emotional responses to situations such as in the work setting.

This concept of an instrumental stance towards feeling implies that emotion has a presence or identity independent of the person that it is in. The language of emotion, even today, supports that perception i.e. we fall 'in' love or are gripped 'by' fear, in some cases emotion even has a residence; we describe love as being 'from' the heart, or fear as being 'in' the pit of the stomach. This foundational body of theory does not recognize emotion as a subjective experience.

The view of emotions in the subjective stance, is expanded on in the works of Interactional Theorists (Mead, 1969; Dewey, 1989; Gerth & Mills, 1999; Goffman, 1999). These theories acknowledge that emotion involves some biological content however question if feeling is something 'present' with prior existence. Interactional theorists see emotion as induced by cognitive will and point to reflexivity in the expression of emotions.

In these theories, emotion is not fixed, social factors are part of what creates the emotion and therefore emotion is open-ended. In 1922, Dewey (1989) developed the situational model which presented emotion as being organised on the spot or in the specific situation or social context where a response was required.

Mead (1969) put forward the schema where self is divided into 'Me' and 'I'. 'I' being the spontaneous and uncontrolled self and 'Me' being the reflective and controlling self. Gerth & Mills (1999) focus on the interaction of gestures and other responses to self and how these interactions shape and define emotion. Goffman (1990) brings the focus clearly onto the response in situation and posits emotions as displays to others determined by sets of social rules. In this respect Goffman uses the metaphor of acting and sees the self as a preformed character.

A further search for literature on this phenomenon of acting in the workplace lead me to a seminal piece of literature on the engineering emotions at work which I will now review in some detail.

Emotional Labour in 'The Managed Heart'

The notion of engineering emotions in the workplace was the subject of a piece of literature which posited the theory of 'Emotional Labour' as labour which; *'requires one to suppress or induce feelings in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others'* Hochschild (2003, p.7). This seminal work by Hochschild began the dialogue about private and commercial uses of feeling and opened up the debate about what happens when workers rule their feelings for specific outcomes as defined by the organisation/employer.

This work and the continued debate around it will provide much of the theoretical basis for my research and for the critical stance underpinning my methodology. That is not to say that critiques of labour in the service industries originated entirely from this point. Prior to Hochschild's seminal piece on emotional labour, critiques of autonomist labour originated from the 1970's where the phrase Affective Labour originated (Hardt and Negri, 2004). In these definitions affective labour is seen as labour that stimulates or manipulates affects, with good attitude and social skills as a pre-requisite.

Affective labour is often juxtaposed with emotional labour in theoretical discussions of emotion work, however in its broadest context affective labour refers to manipulation of 'affects' which can be physical or mental in nature. In Hochschild's definition the emphasis is more around feelings and emotional states as a form of induced labour.

In the 'Managed Heart' Hochschild claimed 3 antecedents for Emotional Labour to be present;

1. The worker faces the Public in the exercise of their job-role
2. The worker produces an emotional state in another (customer)
3. The employer through training and supervision exercises a degree of control over emotion in the worker

All three require that the workers are placed in the public domain and as a result, Hochschild positions as subject to being processed, standardised and subjected to hierarchal controls. Hochschild's bases her work on the interactional theorist view of emotions, in that they are susceptible to being re-shaped or, in the context of emotional labour work, disguised.

The act of disguising what we feel in order to present differently to others is therein defined as 'Surface Acting'. In a more profound way, Hochschild (2003, pg.49) also defines the ability to disguise our feelings even from ourselves as 'Deep Acting'; when we convince ourselves not to feel a certain way so that we do not even have to pretend with others. In deep acting, the author presents that reality of what we ought to feel versus what we actually feel as a form of inner struggle in that we know what we should feel but can't feel that way. The inherent conflict is described as trying to 'be' a certain way and, is so doing, creating a form of emotional dissonance. The premise in these theories is that the 'labour' of emotion becomes much harder in instances of surface acting; however the internal dissonance is potentially less as emotion remains at the surface. It is not transmuted into 'real' feeling as is proposed in the concept of deep-acting; therefore in surface acting the individual's true self is not altered.

In a more recent study, Chu, Baker and Murrmann, 2012, further examine the impact of emotional labour on job satisfaction and exhaustion or the phenomenon of burnout. In this quantitative study using empirical evidence from a two-dimensional factor structure, they examined associated antecedents and consequences of emotional labour reflecting differences between surface acting and deep acting. The study proposes two antecedents of emotional labour as affectivity and empathy. Affectivity being defined as an individual's propensity to react to social factors in a particular way and empathy as reaction of an individual to the observed experiences of others. The research proposes that individual differences in these antecedents account for variations in the individual performance of emotional labour and responses to the experiences of surface and deep acting.

Hochschild also discusses factors that may influence an individual's ability to suppress or induce feelings. Factors such as gender, class, status, beliefs, sexuality may all be at play as antecedents to the engineering of emotions in as much as they may be indicators of an individual's empathetic capabilities.

Hochschild's attention to gender's importance is consistent with approaches in future debates and literature. Morris & Feldman (1996) propose that women will have a greater frequency of emotional display than will men.

Women are expected to be more adept at feelings and the term 'mothering' is gender specific with all the emotional expectations attached. Men on the other hand are expected to be in control of feelings in order to exercise authority.

Hochschild's (1979) other works take issue with this commercial logic and its implications for the standardisation and trivialisation of the dignity of women.

Thoits (1989) conducted feminist research in the context of emotional labour being gendered. This work put forward the theory that women are positioned as sexual objects and men as authority figures, therefore different scripts are constructed for emotional displays in male and female. Other work on gender difference and the responses of women versus men in emotional roles (Bulan, Erickson and Wharton 1997), indicated that women may feel they can be more authentic in service roles. Men appeared to seek authenticity more in other components of the work and valued the emotional component more only when other areas were not engaging. While the literature offers interesting insights in this regard, I will not be specifically addressing gender or sexuality differences in my research sample, the sample will be intentionally diverse in all regards.

Basil Bernstein's (1975) study of British families in the context of family control systems compared middle class and working class families and the effects from nurturing in these environments on feelings. In middle class families Bernstein found a more personal approach to control focused on managing feelings and emotional displays. Control tended to centre on feelings rather than rules, choices in how to react were discussed and explanations were provided to promote understanding. In working class families by comparison a more positional approach to control was found.

The focus was more on managing behaviours than feelings with more use of formal rules and reliance on status orientation to achieve control. The advent of internet based communication and its globalisation effect has opened up the dialogue on feelings to a wider demographic and made the dialogue less in the exclusive domain of the middle and upper classes of Bernstein's original study. The understanding of an individual's social background and upbringing is considered in my research, though I believe that lines across traditional 'class' boundaries may have blurred more in the changing world since Bernstein's works were first presented.

In Hochschild's work, the phenomenon of 'feeling rules' surrounding right or wrong feelings is further defined as being determined by the appropriate authority which can be an institution, organisation, culture, nation, family etc. The exchanges of gestures (emotional displays) in this context are seen as the outward manifestation of paying respect to these rules. The displays of emotions are seen as forms of payment (appropriate emotion) or non-payment (inappropriate emotion) of latent dues. In terms of status that has potential significance in that the lower in perceived status the more contribution (expression of appropriate emotion) may be expected in terms of payment.

This has particular significance for the hospitality industry where there are rules surrounding the status of server and the served, with the expectation that the server contributes more in term of display of appropriate emotion. Whereas in our private lives we can check-in or out of an emotional response and question the going rate of exchange i.e. why should I feel that way or that much? In the commercial world that choice may not be an option.

The expectation in the Hospitality sector is that we obey the feeling rules of the organisation when it comes to interaction with customers (Kuenz, 1995, Leidner 1999). The exchanges in this world become much more uneven, given the expectation that the customer is always right (even when he/she is wrong). The emotions that arise in common interactions such as anger, resentment etc., must remain hidden even in cases where the server feels personally affronted or disrespected.

In these instances, where feelings are required to be measured and regulated according to rules of the service environment, emotions become potentially commoditised. This is where Hochschild (2003) points to the separation of feelings from actual display becoming difficult to maintain over long periods with the potential for emotive dissonance. In Hochschild's work with Flight Attendants she observed trained displays of emotion as transmutation of true feelings and concluded that this added to emotive dissonance. In addition, the separation of private from public self-became further compromised when the service company or service environment added stress on the service worker and made it harder to deliver. In these instances, Hochschild concluded that surface-acting displays became mechanistic and service delivery may appear robotic or fail completely.

I understand from lived experiences that, for some people, 'being' a certain way comes easily and appears authentic; the 'act' becomes sustainable, even under pressure or stress. This is a key area for reflection and critical interpretation and there are several insightful theoretical pieces on the impact of emotional labour on individual authenticity that I will now review.

Emotional Labour and Authenticity

It helps to first return to Hochschild's (2003) work which characterises feelings in the context of emotional labour as:

- Subject to rules of mass production
- Things to be engineered: A smile, a relationship, a mood
- Belonging to the organisation and less to the self

This positioning of the commoditisation of feelings is hard to reconcile with any notion of authenticity. To be authentic implies truthfulness and genuineness, engineering emotions to fit purpose would appear counter to these qualities as feelings become a commercial commodity. In this perspective, the commodity of feeling becomes subject to laws of supply and demand; when companies compete in terms of service quality versus price the pressure is greater on the display of required emotions. The search for this 'commodity' starts even at the recruitment and selection stage when appropriate service responses are sought out in selection methodologies. As an examples the Ritz Carlton group (Cooper, 2006) discussed how open-ended questions are used in interviews to determine how well a potential employ understands the guest's expectations and can relate to the Ritz Carlton values. Additionally, for employee selection the Ritz-Carlton uses the services of a company called Talent+ to develop an ideal "profile" for each service position. They believe this adds objectivity to the selection process, and helps assure that new employees will bring full commitment to the Ritz-Carlton tradition and service.

This approach to recruitment and selection sets the scene for the delivery of emotional labour and the associated trained responses. A further challenge Hochschild suggests is in that these trained responses have an expectation of reciprocal response; service workers want to have a reciprocal response to their display of friendly and caring emotions with their guests. Where guests display inappropriate emotions of anger or unfriendliness the service worker is required to manage their potential reciprocal feelings.

This managing of emotions can sometimes manifest as patronising, much like an adult would respond with a child guest who was not behaving correctly in their home.

Hochschild positions these instances of parental like responses as examples of deep-acting. The service workers potential feelings of dislike or resentment are so transmuted that they can only express responses as they would with a child. Ex: "Sir, I understand that you are upset, however raising your voice is not going to help me to help you, which I would really like to do if you will allow me". Wharton and Erickson's (1997) work measured these trained displays of what they termed 'inauthenticity' to determine the potential impact on workers.

Inauthenticity in this regard refers to scripted requirements for responses to customers which make the worker appear to have genuine feelings such as concern or happiness when they may in reality have no such emotional response; they are faking it. Their analysis found only limited conditions under which a workers sense of being authentic in the work of emotional labour became an issue for them. They found the measure of authenticity by the worker was more closely associated with how well she/he handled people than in any other general area of contact and these findings are expanded on further in a later section of this review.

In Reich (2002) we read about the future of success in the service economy as the world increasingly turns to paying for attention. As the demand for this form of emotional labour increases, the idea of commoditisation in feelings becomes something to be further reconciled with. Few of us have the option or desire to live as Rousseau's 'Noble Savage' (Dryden, 1672) without the filter of feelings and acting out only on instinct. Our increasing preoccupation with managing emotions to correspond with the feelings of others in many forms of human interaction is likely to continue challenging definitions of authenticity. The view could be taken that it is a genuine or authentic act for a service worker to fake reciprocal emotive responses in order to relate better to a customer and create a good customer service experience.

Cederström, and Fleming, 2012, refer to this increasing preoccupation with internalizing workplace values for perceived authenticity in more extreme terms in their depiction of 'the working dead'. In this rather damning critique of the modern workforce, personal intimacy and notions of authenticity are posited as being colonized by management; workers are so deeply immersed in the required values and display rules of the workplace that they have become willing slaves to management control. To illustrate their version of reality, modern icons of high-street hospitality and customer service such as Pret a Manger and Starbucks are described as places of forced happiness (Myerscough, 2013) where heavy surveillance and assessments coerce workers into the dominant service culture. This view has attracted some populist attention (Noah, 2013, Resnikof, 2013) and is consistent with a highly critical perspective on the growth of emotion labour.

Fineman (2003) describes the phenomenon of corporate emotion-prescriptions as often very explicit standards of emotional performance required for specific outcomes. In this regard, he draws parallels with more highly skilled professions such as medicine and law. In these professions emotion rules are specific to the job role and are understood as professional requirements i.e. listening attentively to a patients concerns even if they are completely wrong in their assumptions, or taking a client seriously even if there remarks are unbelievable. If this '*mask*' (Fineman, 2003 Pg.37) is removed it can damage the professional relationship irreparably. In this regard, if the emotional labour fails so does the professional. As individuals shape themselves in these ways to conform to the expectations of the profession, there are potential implications for the formation of individual identity. This influence on the formation of personal identity and the consequences for psychological well-being is an area to be explored in the next section of the underpinning theory review. Before continuing with that exploration, I will discuss the implication for my research from those works reviewed thus far.

Implications for My Research: Part 1.

The expectations set by businesses in definitions of service excellence are that people involved in the delivery of high standards of hospitality will do whatever it takes to make it a great service experience for the guest. Hospitality expectations are often clearly defined by management in the service promise to the customer which clearly indicates how the service provider is expected to behave in order to meet those expectations. The expression “Moments of Truth”, in this context is used to define interactions which are largely managed as service outcomes, where the worker delivering this ‘moment’ is required to display emotions dictated by the organization. It appears paradoxical that this truth is found in the display of emotions that may then be false, as in acted out for the guest, and this paradox is what much of my research will explore.

Hospitality also has its own meaning in the social science world. Derrida’s (2000) law of unconditional hospitality is so utopian in nature that it appears impractical to consider in the context of service delivery. It may be however that, while these concepts of absolute hospitality are inaccessible, they do provide for important moral and ethical considerations. The reality of Derridean hospitality, unconditional, boundless and unquestioning is unattainable in the world of commercial hospitality which is, by its very nature, conditional and governed by economic exchanges and regulated expectations from host and guest throughout the experience. This ethic of hospitality and openness to the other may not however be so ephemeral in the context of a value or virtue. In this way, the fundamental ethic of unconditional hospitality may still present, even in the context of the commercialised transaction. Gunnarsson & Blohm’s (2013) discussion of the host sharing a part of themselves and seeing others as an extension of themselves appears to provide further support for this philosophical stance. Distinguishing in this way between the more mundane and the more emotional aspects of the hospitality experience facilitates deeper exploration of the emotional labour phenomenon and how it can be transformative in the delivery of service excellence.

Lynch et al (2011) provide the definition of 'embodied hospitality' (pg 15). This posits that hospitality is offered to and by embodied subjects and thereby is laden with all the power relations that typify human encounter. In the context of my research, hospitality is provided at work where the delivery of service from host (employee) to guest and is often highly regulated by the host's employer. The definition of calculative hosting (Bell, 2009) fixes the identity of the host in the emotional labour (Hochschild, 2003) setting and is particularly interesting to my area of research as I explore the formation of social identity in the this context. The emotional labour produced by the host in this setting will be the subject of further literature examination and critical review throughout this work.

The interactional theories and in particular the work of Goffman describe much of the underpinning definitions for the use of emotion in the context of service delivery. The ability to master ones emotions becomes a requirement for the service worker to be effective in delivering high levels of service. This engineering of emotion for desired effect in others is consistent with the metaphor of acting as used by Goffman. Understanding why and how an individual might be more or less pre-disposed to the engineering of emotions in the work of emotional labour has potentially compelling implications for the development of identity. I understand from lived experiences that, for some people, living out these service expectations and related behaviours appears to come easily and be delivered with authenticity. The background and upbringing of research participants may need to be understood in this regard; the propensity towards acting out the required emotional displays as theorized in the literature may be rooted in these experiences.

In my experience, being successful in the hospitality industry requires one to be adept at managing feelings; this can become second nature or in Hochschild's language a form of deep-acting. I have personally experienced this development over time and seen the impact even on the private self and on interactions with different groups of friends and family. In some regards they become like an extension of this body of customers, and emotions may be managed accordingly.

I had not previously regarded this tendency to display the appropriate emotion that the situation demands from a critical perspective or seen it in conflict with personal authenticity. More recent critics of this developing service economy and its increasing demands on emotional labour (Cederström, and Fleming, 2012, Myerscough, 2013, Noah, 2013, Resnikof, 2013) raise serious concerns with what they see as exploitative and invasive organizational requirements that impact both the public and private aspects of workers lives.

As an observer and participant in this 'acting' environment, I have come to see the mastering of emotions as a valued professional and life skill, key to successful relationship building. I had not hither-to considered it an organizational demand that I was being subjected to. This view is consistent with Fineman's discussion of the phenomenon. *"We have to learn what emotional face is appropriate and when: we have roles to play at work and these roles have emotional scripts attached to them"* (Fineman 2003:23-24). The professional nature of mastering emotions as discussed in Fineman's work could also be applied to less-skilled roles such as service delivery in hospitality. The engineering of emotions in these roles is a professional expectation and therefore the mastery of it is part of the professional skill set. Mastering the game, understanding it as a performance is one way in which the worker maintains control in that they own their emotional act and chose to be a professional. This will be an area of exploration in my research in order to develop understanding of how participants feel about the requirement to follow scripted displays of emotion and how these behaviours may be impacting our private lives.

In exploring Hochschild's definitions of surface-acting and deep-acting and the continued debate we are exposed to theories that have implications for damage or violation of a supposed pure form of 'self'. I will now explore, starting with a review of identity literature, the concept of self and related psychological implications in the context of emotional labour; understanding that the idea of a 'true-self' is difficult to reconcile in the subjective world.

The Influence on Identity

In Ashforth & Humphrey's (1993) research into the influence of emotional labour on personal identity, their propositions indicated that where the emotional labour performed was consistent with a valued social and/or personal identity it may lead to enhanced psychological well-being. Conversely they found that if the emotional labour is inconsistent with a valued social and/or personal identity (or identities), it may lead to emotive dissonance and/or losses of one's sense of authentic self. They propose that the more central a given role to a person's identity, the stronger the association with that person's emotional well-being. It is in this theoretical discovery that my fundamental research question began to evolve regarding antecedents to the work of emotional labour aligning with a person's valued social identity.

Personal identity (sense of traits, abilities etc.) and a social identity (affiliations, roles etc.) are amalgamated in Ashforth & Humphrey's (1993) work under the definition of 'Self-Concept'. This research proposes that consistency of the emotional labour performed with a person's concept of self has positive self-implications; conversely where emotional labour requires one to act out in way not consistent with concept of self the effect can be negative and potentially harmful to the self. Role and Social identities as described in Burke and Stets (2009) combine to form our concepts of self, our job role therefore becomes bound up in how we self-identify. Ashforth & Humphrey's (1993) see this phenomenon as particularly true in emotional labour roles where emotions are expected to be engaged which in turn requires identification with the role requirements.

Watson (2009) distinguishes between self and social identity in his concepts of human identity. Human Identity is defined as a notion of who or what an individual is in relation to others. Self-identity refers to internal identity and is something to be worked at. Social identities are the cultural, discursive or institutional notions of who or what any individual might be.

Watson further classifies 3 forms of Social Identity:

- Category; Class, Gender, nationality/ethnicity
- Formal/Role: Occupation, rank, citizenship
- Local/Personal; what others make of the person

This opens up something of a “chicken or egg” paradox in this phenomenon. Which comes first; the identity that is already pre-disposed to the work of emotional labour; or the work of emotional labour shaping an emerging identity? Those answers are less clear in the literature and Watson (2009) posits that it begins with the understanding of who am I?; the need for the social researcher to bring forth how and by what individuals are formed in all aspects of human identity and in so doing, surface what is taken for granted.

In Adams (1996), the process of this formation is posited as a contradictory relationship between the factors of agency and communion; on the one hand individuals seeking to be unique in their identity while on the other a need to feel connected to others. This ability to see the self as significant to oneself while also mattering to others forms a foundation to the concept of self-esteem. Adam's also points out that the formation of identity is an ongoing process that can be altered through self-awareness, where incongruity occurs between the self-as-known and the ideal self. This construct of the self as a person-in-context allows for influences at the macro (cultural/economics/political etc.) and micro (beliefs, signs, social interactions) level to shape the ongoing formation of identity.

It appears from this literature that emergence of one's sense of self in the context of emotional labour may be regulated by one's cultural, discursive or institutional (Watson, 2009) environment which is explored further in the following literature.

The Expression of Self in Emotional Labour

The form of emotional labour required in the hospitality environment is made up of very specific emotional display rules which have been generically defined for all service encounters. Ashforth & Humphrey (1993) refer to display rules in the context of service and uses Parasuraman, Suraman & Berry (1990) 10 dimensions of service efficacy:

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Tangibles | 6. Courtesy |
| 2. Reliability | 7. Credibility |
| 3. Competence | 8. Access |
| 4. Security | 9. Communication |
| 5. Responsiveness | 10. Understanding
of Customer |

These dimensions qualify service as predominately a social encounter, often with engineering of emotions as a prerequisite in the level of care and concern required for the customer.

As discussed earlier, the increasing expectations of customers place ever greater demands on the emotional labourer to deliver these generally accepted norms for what constitutes 'good' service. The premium in the encounter is placed on the behaviour displayed by the service agent. Goffman & Erving (1990) discuss the common techniques people employ to manage expression in social roles as analogous to a stage performance with the self as actor. The 'front' we put on is composed of elements of theatrical performances; dramatic realisation; idealisation; reality & contrivance; staging. All contrive to make up the social expressed personality and its' interaction with society. Goffman and Erving propose that the extent to which an individual deeply involves his/her ego in this performance influences the formation of the individual's social identity. Individuals are inclined toward maintaining a single definition of a social situation, and this is largely influenced through the impression we make in that situation.

As with an actor in a performance, a definition of the situation has to be expressed and the expression has to be maintained, often in the face of multiple disruptions.

This analogy to acting is widely accepted for the expression of self in hospitality emotional labour roles. Disney (2001) for example refers to the workplace as a 'stage' and uses the term 'cast-members' when referring to employees. This concept of being 'on-stage' is pervasive throughout hospitality when speaking about the front of the house guest spaces, I have used it personally in all the organizations I have worked in. It implies that we will act in a pre-determined way as defined by standards or rules of service when we go on-stage and provide service.

Fineman, (2000) discusses restaurants and bars as a stage on which clients establish and reinforce social status, the supporting actors are the service staff who must act in accordance with the expectations set for its clientele. Goffman looked specifically at the efficacy of service provision and the ability of the service provider to influence the customer often with just the use of non-verbal's and the impressions service workers make. Ashforth & Humphrey's (1992) propositions indicate that where this expression of emotion is perceived by the audience as sincere, then compliance with display rules for the service worker will be positively associated with task performance. They also conclude that, over time, identification with the role will induce alignment between the expression of emotion and the experience of real emotion, and in so doing influence the emerging identity of the service worker.

Grandey, (2003) also discusses the dramaturgical perspective and this way of thinking about service encounters as performances directed by an organization. Grandey recognizes that in these performances workers are also required to follow scripted display rules for the expressions of self. In Grandey's work deep and surface acting in these performances are examined as determinants of both job burnout and the quality of affective delivery to customers. In contrast to Hochschild's (2003), Grandey hypothesises that deep acting and identification with role can reduce instances of emotional dissonance.

These conclusions further hypothesise that positive reactions from customers to instances of deep-acting may restore an employee's emotional resources in a way that surface acting cannot.

How organisations channel these various efforts to encourage identification with the service role is the subject of further literature review in the following section.

Managing Emotional Labour in Service Roles

Leidner's (1999) research on the control of labour in service roles is focused on frontline service workers and referred to in Macdonald and Sirianni (1996, pg. 3) as '*the emotional proletariat*', whose service work is characterised by significant employer intervention, monitoring and supervision. Leidner identifies the means of managing this interactive service work in the areas of:

- **Selection:** employers try to select service workers that have the desired traits based on appearance, background, questioning and/or testing;
- **Training & Indoctrination:** employers use orientation programs to indoctrinate service values and promote the desired service culture;
- The programs are designed to win trust and emotional identification, attempting to win hearts and minds, and are often followed by regular energiser campaigns throughout the employee lifecycle;
- **Scripting:** Scripting of speech, body language and movement is a common form of emotional regulation in the hospitality sector. Service workers are scripted to use emotional labour to create the appearance of 'personalised service';
- **Feeling Rules:** like scripting, feeling rules are used to guide service workers in their treatment of customers. Often presented as psychic strategies to help control impulses that would otherwise end up in service failures or worse; Ex: being taught strategies to deal with rude and obnoxious customers;
- **Monitoring:** surveillance systems, such as direct oversight by supervisors, telephone monitoring, tracking or response time, customer feedback systems etc. The extent of monitoring will often be highly dependent on the presence and success of the preceding approaches (Selection, Training & Indoctrination, Scripting & Feeling rules).

These methods and means are presented by Leidner in the context of controlling emotional labour. The nature of service work, particularly in the hospitality sector, is relatively routine and predictable. The variable factor in the work routine is largely the interaction of the customer.

The ability of the organisation to control the response of service workers in service transactions is seen as fundamental to business success. Leidner places emphasis on the willingness of the worker to regulate their feelings. In more recent works (Chu, Baker and Murrmann, 2012; Johanson and Wood, 2008) increased emphasis is placed on providing training in the management of emotions for hospitality workers. This goes beyond the scripting approach and provides specific training on problem-solving, and empathetic skills such as listening, it also provides support for job-related stress with training in specific coping strategies.

The ability to interact effectively with customers is often the key area of focus in selection criteria and also in the design of reward and recognition programs such as commission and gratuity structures in the hospitality industry. The base assumptions in these approaches are that some individuals will be more pre-disposed to these requirements for regulation of feelings than others. In Johanson and Wood's, (2008) study of 72 high-end hotels, they found that Human Resource Managers were using personality testing, situational interviewing, and work sample evaluations to select frontline employees. They also reported having specific measurement tools to assess employee's delivery of emotional labour with associated recognition and reward structures.

In Leidner's (1999) study of McDonald's workers he did find some instances of resistance to forms of display regulation, where workers intentionally did not smile or say scripted service phrases, however in general this was not the case. These findings surprised him, in that he expected to find workers who would be indignant to this over-regulation of emotion and scripting, and the ensuing inferences for their intelligence and personal dignity. There are various ways to interpret this, one could conclude that these workers had been well selected for fit, or that they were well managed and incentivised to produce these responses; or some combination of both. The interpretation is significantly influenced by how we view the interplay of emotional labour work with concepts of self. In either case it appears that the subjects of this research by Leidner came to employ various strategies to express themselves in a healthy way and in so doing to preserve self.

This ability to validate themselves in the role, appeared in the literature to be influenced by the reactions of others; customers, peers and in particular the workers manager.

Leidner is much concerned in his work with what he sees as damaging implications from this limited autonomy for the individual service worker. He takes issue with this form of emotional labour management and the implied justification for organisations to manipulate social rules for the purposes of managing behaviour. He cautions on the dangers that he posits are inherent in an instrumental approach to human personality and in an organisations attempts to shape the employees selves. While recognising the benefits to providing tools and techniques to manage customer interactions, Leidner points to corresponding risks for interpersonal respect and the norms of individual autonomy.

An alternative view of this comes from Paules (1992) findings with service workers (diner waitresses in this case) who, she concludes are not demeaned by these regulations of emotional displays required in their work. Much of their job satisfaction was, in these findings, derived from the subject's identification with the use of emotional labour in the control of customer's behaviour. As described earlier in Wharton (1999) it appears that the negative consequences of over-regulation in emotional labour were mitigated by the social nature of the work and the 'feel good' factor of helping others.

In Morris & Feldman's (2008) study of the consequences of emotional labour they found that the level of intensity of the service provider's emotional labour had a direct correlation to the level of conflict between what was expected of them and what they actually felt. An example of this may be evident in studies of EuroDisney's (Loveman & Schlesinger, 1992) initial poor performance, which was partly attributed to the lack of expressive emotion display by service workers.

The conflict workers had with the requirements of an overtly 'Americanized' display of emotions in a European setting was difficult to overcome at first.

The ability of the employee to self-monitor was eventually found as most effective at managing emotional displays as was the selection of employees who were better able to control expression of emotions. In the more recent work by Chu, Baker and Murrmann, (2012) they present an alternative view. The posit that selection of employees who are more pre-disposed to caring for customers may not always result in the best outcomes as their need to satisfy the customer may result in emotional exhaustion and burn-out as typified in Hochschild's (2003) deep acting. More emphasis might be placed on developing the emotional management skills for success in role for example, developing surface acting skills and strategies to cope with challenging customers.

The implications throughout the literature continue to point to psychological consequences from emotional labour which I will now explore further in the following discussion of literature.

Psychological Consequences of Emotional Labour

Wharton (1999) examined the experiences of workers who perform emotional labour and made comparisons between performers and non-performers of emotional labour to better understand the consequences of emotional labour. Her work examined the conditions under which emotional labour may be positive or negative and the variations between workers that condition their responses to emotional labour. Wharton found it important to distinguish between emotional labour as the managed instrument of emotion for the purposes of effective job performance versus work feelings or the consequences of social interaction at work. This led to her own definition of emotional labour for the purpose of her research;

“Emotional labour refers to the effort involved in displaying organisationally sanctioned emotions by those whose jobs require interaction with clients or customers and for whom these interactions are an important component of their work”

Wharton (1999, p.158)

Wharton uses Hochschild's work as a base reference in the research and focuses on the inherent issues that stem from the employers, rather than the workers themselves, dictating the terms of emotional display. In terms of negative psychological consequences, Wharton comments on Hochschild's work and the implied interference with the workers ability to balance the competing demands of the self and the work role.

Hochschild's greatest concerns were related to the potential feelings of inauthenticity when the worker feels that they are acting out to the demands of the job and not the demands of the self with proposed implications for emotive dissonance and burnout. Wharton's (1993) work in this area found that emotional burnout was not substantially more or less attributed to emotional labour (EL) work when compared with other types of labour.

Other factors, including autonomy, work conditions etc. appeared to have greater influence on the burnout phenomena than the requirements of EL. The research actually found higher levels of satisfaction in EL workers when compared with other workers which did not have an EL component.

The conclusions from this research indicated that EL per se was not strongly related to either positive or negative reactions to job satisfaction. In addition Wharton and Erickson (1997) measured inauthenticity to determine the potential psychological impact on workers. Their analysis found only limited conditions under which authenticity in EL became an issue. The measure of authenticity was more closely associated with how well a worker could handle people than in any other general area of contact. This is consistent with Paules (1992) who emphasised that this projection of manipulated feeling was often done knowingly and in the best interests of the individual, without negative consequences in terms of feelings of inauthenticity. Overall it would appear that Wharton's analysis of burnout, job satisfaction and authenticity support Hochschild's work on the potential for negative psychological consequences in EL. It differs in that Wharton's work posits that these consequences may only occur under limited conditions. Wharton also points out the potentially positive effects of fusion in self and work role found in their comparison of EL work and non EL work. The research point to higher levels of job satisfaction as interaction with others increase and workers feel at ease with effectively handling others and they actually begin to value that ability.

Bolton & Boyd's (2003) study involving airline cabin crew (as in Hochschild's seminal work) also points to limitations of feeling rules in controlling emotional performance. They found that ultimately, though the organisation may script and prescribe the customer service requirements, it is largely the service worker who controls the means of production and who calibrates the extent to which emotion is regulated. In moving on from Hochschild's work Bolton et al introduce the significant role of the actor (service worker) in defining the emotional agenda. The authors concluded that most of their subjects were very aware of their role obligations without necessarily buying into required company norms in emotional display.

This theoretical position would imply that the a much smaller proportion of feeling rules and associated emotional regulation comes under the influence of the employer organisation than originally proposed in Hoshchild's work. In Brookes (2009), defence of Hochschild's emotional labour concepts he refutes Bolton's et al's claims that Hochschild fails to acknowledge the extent to which emotion workers are in control of their own means of production. Brookes posits that Hochschild does acknowledge the presence of employee solidarity and resistance as controlling influences and does posit the transmutation of feelings as an unstable condition subject to the inherent antagonism of the wage for labour relationship. Brookes stresses that Hochschild's theories are more concerned with the exploitative nature and potential human cost of emotional labour as grounded in Marxist theories of wage-labour and alienation, and less concerned with concepts of agency.

There is strong recognition in all these research works and their critiques regarding the aspirations of organisations to regulate the emotions of their service workers. The debate continues as to whether these aspirations lead to harmful transmutation of feelings in service workers as posited by Hochschild. There are more recent approaches to the management of emotional labour which suggest that workers fine-tune their skills to mix and manage emotions according to diverse sets of social rules, not just those prescribed by the organisation. Developments in the hospitality sector indicate an increased recognition of the importance in allowing service workers to manage their own terms of emotional display. The Ritz Carlton hotel group which boasts some of the highest rated hotels in the world (AA Triple Diamond, Travel & Leisure World's Best Hotels 2013), built their service culture on a service credo that became a doctrine for every worker, a highly scripted and managed approach.

In recent years the same organisation has further evolved its' service philosophy and added 'The 6th Diamond' (Ritz Carlton, web) which talks about 'mystique' and 'emotional engagement' and moves its service workers away from the more scripted approach to a deeper emotional connection with the guest.

This Ritz Carlton evolved approach allows the service worker greater latitude in defining the service experience based on their interpretation of the customer and the circumstances. The focus is on giving the service worker the knowledge and the skills to interpret their unique guests' needs and mirror responses accordingly rather than be scripted by singular response.

The extent to which workers have control over their own work and the related impact on authenticity are areas that Wharton' et al studies have left open for further research. Wharton recommends that future research should be less polarising on positive versus negative outcomes of EL on psychological well-being in the worker as both outcomes may be associated and emerging in any individual worker. Rather pay attention to coping strategies that exist to negate the impact on authenticity of scripted displays of emotion and disregard the notion of emotion management as a deviant process (as per Hochschild's and other previous research) but as a normative process in the emergent definition of authentic self. Steinberg & Figert (1999) in their review of emotional labour since the Managed Heart, commented further on the ethical issues that are raised in these studies but still remain relatively unexplored – i.e. the impact of the service industries ever more sophisticated tools for creating “inauthentic authenticity” (Steinberg & Figert, 1999, p.23) . They see this lack of attention to the subject as being compounded by the relative invisibility of EL as a job requirement and lack of recognition for the significant effort involved. This has been somewhat addressed more recently in works by Chu, Baker and Murrmann (2012) and Johanson and Wood, (2008) whose research acknowledges the requirement for hospitality organisations to develop clear strategies for individual workers in the management of emotions at work.

Morris and Feldman (1996) also focus on the failure of previous research to distinguish between emotional labour and emotional dissonance i.e. one does not necessarily lead to the other. Implicit in most EL research up until this was the assumption that emotional labour involves the active management /suppression of feelings in order to be effective.

This does not allow for instances where the service worker genuinely feels and so expresses the emotions desired by the organisation in which case emotional dissonance is not present. Morris and Feldman's work further contends that the any negative impact on psychological well-being is potentially mitigated by the extent to which the role and its emotional demands are internalised by the service worker. This role and agency of the employer organization in this internalisation is the subject of the next section of this literature review.

Before continuing with that exploration, I will discuss the implications for my research from this review of the theories on the phenomena of self in the context of emotional labour.

Implications for My Research: Part 2.

There are several key considerations for my research from these theoretical positions which will shape how I explore emerging identity in the context of emotional labour as a lived experience.

It would appear that the emerging self in service workers has the potential to be influenced by how others value their emotional engineering. In the case of hospitality, the more emotional labour is valued by others (Guest, Manager, Peers), the more the service worker potentially validates themselves in the role and as a result increasingly acts and feels this way. How the work environment enhances this sense of self and sense of belonging to others may be particularly meaningful. Integration in the social context has further implications for the development of self-concept, and can be seen as an ongoing process rather than having a fixed end point.

As hospitality workers engage more with the world of emotional labour they also become more adept at putting on the act. The proposition in these works (Grandey, 2003; Wharton 1999; Bolton & Boyd's, 2003) is that primary socialisation is much more at play in the formation of an employee's emerging social identity. In Hochschild's definition of deep-acting, it may follow that, as the acting becomes 'deeper' there is also the potential for the concept of self to be validated and potentially emerge stronger. The theoretical works further imply that the negative effects of emotional labour proposed in Hochschild's (2003) work may be moderated when there is alignment with sense of self. It appears that deep-acting in the work of emotional labour may be connected to role validation and enhanced self-concept all of which has implications for emerging identity.

The discussion in literature then turns to the degree of influence an organisation can exert on workers finding this alignment through management control means such as recruitment, selection, socialisation; all reinforcing the need for internalisation and compliance with display rules.

As I have previously stated, my pre-understanding regarding potential negative consequences from the work of emotional labour is more concurrent with the interpretations from Paules (1992). This work theorizes that role validation is potentially enhanced through mastering the work of emotional labour and the engineering of emotions.

This takes us back to the earlier discussion of the 'chicken or egg' dilemma and gives more credence to the idea of individuals being pre-disposed to self-identify with the work of emotional labour rather than the work of emotional labour shaping the emerging self. It is my experience that, in the supervision of service work, there is a perceived legitimacy for management intervention in workers feelings, attitude and demeanour. There are significant implications in Leidner's means of managing service work, and all of the methods described are commonly used by leading world class service organizations who, in my experience, attribute much of their success to the employment of such programs and interventions. The routine nature of tasks within the service sector together with this supervisory intervention for emotional regulation would imply an environment of limited worker autonomy and open up the emotional labour debate.

The seminal research from Hochschild et al on emotional labour contends that the psychological well-being of a service worker is potentially adversely impacted by emotional dissonance in two primary areas; emotional exhaustion and job satisfaction. In the first instance, it appears from the expanding body of continued research that there is the potential to mitigate negative impacts of emotional exhaustion when role internalisation occurs. The more internalised the role, the less emotional work is involved since the service worker is using less effort to manage emotion. In the second instance, further research offers that job satisfaction is potentially positively impacted where the service worker sees the required role demands as integral to achievement of important goals and derives satisfaction from the achievement of those goals. This suggests that it is not the expression of emotion regulated by the organisation that creates dysfunction in the workers, it is the expression of emotion that is not felt or sincere that creates the dissonance and the resulting concerns.

The ability of the worker to have greater control of their responses in the emotional labour context appears to add to this enhanced internalisation. As discussed in the Ritz Carlton (web, 2013) example, leading organisations in hospitality appear to be following this approach. This is consistent with my experience over the past five years, as I have witnessed an emerging trend as the rest of the industry follows suit. There appears to be a general movement or recognition that this freedom to dictate the terms of emotional display leads to a better and more authentic result for service delivery.

The role and agency of organization in this role internalisation and in particular the influence of leadership and culture is further explored in the following discussion.

The Influence of Leadership and Organizational Culture

There are well developed bodies of theory on the influence of organizational drivers on employee commitment (Lencioni, 2002; Collins, 2001; Tourish & Pinnington, 2002; Rickards, 2006; Bennis, 2006; Fineman, 2003; Block 1996; Peters & Waterman, 1982). One of the areas I will explore is the phenomenon of leadership in organizations and the role of leadership and organizational culture in influencing individuals to shape their responses for the required customer service delivery. This review of theories in organization and leadership provides the opportunity to reflect on and challenge the truths I had come to accept regarding the working of leadership and organizations and opens up the area for critical review in my research findings.

The late 70's and 80's saw the advent of new leadership models focusing on the transformational nature of leadership, and the importance of vision and mission as articulated by the leader in order to foster motivation and commitment. In the companies studied by Peters and Waterman (1982) these charismatic, visionary leaders are idealised and the success of the company is largely attributed to the transformational leaders ability to shape vision and mission and build lasting cultures around shared values and business objectives. Clegg (2006) reminds us that much of the intellectual impetus for the type of works popularized in Peters & Waterman (1982) came from the seminal work on political leadership by James Burns in 1982 in which he developed the concept of transformational leadership.

Burns contrasted this with what he termed transactional leadership in which each leader: follower interaction is more of a reciprocal event with explicit or implicit terms of exchange. Transformational leadership develops the more holistic shared culture and mind-set as embodied in the impact on followers of great historical and political leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr and Mahatma Gandhi, Napoleon, Machiavelli and the infamous Adolf Hitler.

Transformational leadership continues to dominate the field of leadership literature. Riggio (2009) explores the traits of transformational leaders in a discussion of how this type of leader inspires, empowers and stimulates followers to exceed emotional labour expectations. The implied effect on followers is that they have higher levels of work satisfaction and strive to be the best that they can be. Zaleznik (1989) questioned this continued fascination with the idea of transformational leadership and its mystique as a possible hangover from childhood longing for heroic figures and parental dependency. Critchley & O'Brien (2003) concluded from their study of a number of business managers challenging the myths surrounding transformational leadership that successful leaders were more often 'ordinary heroes' who listened well to their people and built meaningful relationships.

These sources of theory around transformational leadership often assume that leadership is embodied in a person; the Leader. The role of a leader in influencing individuals is well recognised, however more recent studies in leadership question the definition of leadership as being fundamentally centred in an individual. Gemmill and Oakley (1992) argue that this over reliance on a person as leader rather than Leadership as a function or process can induce a learned helplessness and dependency in followers. This opens up a discussion on how leadership is distributed which I will explore in the following section.

Leadership & Followership

Shein (1992) proposes that the stability of personal leadership is much dependent on the upward flows of consent and legitimacy from followers. This introduces the phenomenon that leadership legitimacy may also be given by followers to persons other than the appointed or formal leader. Followers can attribute leadership to others that are important in their social network, or that demonstrate credibility, expertise or authenticity. The idea of leadership in the form of one person, a Leader, in contrast to leadership as a distributed social process is thereby introduced. This implies that organizations might take a lead from the experiences and inputs of those who are closest to the customer and allow this distributed form of leadership to occur. Roberto (2005) warns against the blind acceptance of the prevailing conventional wisdom, and points to monumental failures such as NASA's fatal Challenger crash; Coca Colas disastrous attempt to change its classic formula and Hall and Fishers doomed attempt to scale Mount Everest. Roberto asks why didn't leadership listen to followers and in fact allow them to "take the lead". The excessive deference to appointed leadership in these cases had tragic results.

Clark & Rickards (2006), address this issue as the dilemma of trust, and places trust versus control at the heart of the leadership debate. Using Dirks & Ferrin (2002) definition of trust as the intention to accept vulnerability, fundamental to this trust is the belief from the leader that people want to make the right choices. If that trust exists, then an environment of healthy conflict is more likely to prevail as conventional wisdoms will be open to being challenged. Lencioni (2002) also places trust at the foundation of the functional organization and in particular working teams. In an environment where absence of trust prevails, members of the team will conceal their mistakes from each other and in particular from the leader and will hesitate to highlight opportunities that might be perceived as weaknesses. The resulting dysfunctional behaviours prevent leaders and followers from tapping into each other's skills and experiences.

The customer service experience is defined by the customer and their interpretation of the service received. As previously discussed, Carlson (1987) coined the phrase 'Moment of Truth' to describe the reality of the customer experience. This 'Truth' in the customer service experience hinges on the actions and behaviours of the customer service provider, usually a follower. This implies a requirement for empowerment at the point of delivery and the concept of empowerment is a key element of major hospitality organizations service philosophy; the idea that the service provider should be "free" to do what it takes to satisfy the customer at the point of contact. The concept of empowerment requires a trusting culture, where leaders generate trust in followers and followers are trusted by leaders.

Dirks & Ferrin (2002) provide a framework for trust in leadership using the antecedents of leader actions and practices, follower propensity to trust and other leader/follower relationship attributes to influence outcomes and followers intentions. Clark & Rickards (2006) propose that trust based leadership requires that the team leader attempts to align individual needs with team tasks and responsibilities. This positioning takes the core concepts of shared vision and mission beyond the alienation and self-deception posited in leadership myth theories (Gemmill and Oakley, 1992 & Tourish and Pinnington, 2002). If we believe that the human condition is caught up in a search for meaning and purpose then the ability of leadership to relate to individuals own sense of meaning and purpose is potentially a route to engaging employees in the customer service experience. Clark & Rickards develop the idea of alignment further in what they describe as the phenomenon of 'join-up'. The focus here is on partnership, where the individual has a choice, and alignment is response based rather than demand based.

Bennis (1999), discusses further the requirements of followers and how leadership serves the needs of those followers, through providing a sense of purpose. This entails defining the meaning of the work performed, the difference it makes to others and the positive outcomes derived from successful performance. Bennis, supports the position that fundamental to this is the leaders ability to generate trust and foster an environment of openness.

Ulrich (1997) and Collins (2001), whose books remain among the most popular, #1 bestsellers in US mainstream leadership reading, both emphasise above all other things the personal character of the leader. Collins's level 5 leadership, holds the mix of personal humility and professional will as the most demonstrated qualities for sustainable leadership. Ulrich's personal characteristics for leaders of integrity and trust are cited as fundamental for the definition of Results-Based Leadership (Ulrich, Zenger, Smallwood 1997).

The transparency of leadership roles in our mainstream westernised corporate culture leaves little room to hide. Service employees expect that what is asked from them by leadership in terms of commitment, behaviours, attention to customer needs etc., is something that the leadership themselves demonstrate consistently. Employees now have increased access to check this consistency through open media and the disclosure requirements of today's corporate ethics. Pearce (2000) discusses further the effect of media and technology and how individuals are more and more enamoured with the image of leaders "*scrubbed clean*" (Pearce 2000, p.8).

Much of this review of theories on leadership positions organisations as cultures built by leaders. This research work views the hospitality organization as a culture and explores the individual worker experiences of emotional labour within that culture. I will now turn to a further exploration of hospitality organizations as leadership driven cultures to contextualise that discussion.

Hospitality Organizational Culture

In the hospitality organization, leadership effectiveness is often measured in terms of the service culture as demonstrated by the shared level of commitment to guest satisfaction. The ability of leadership to create or shape a culture that drives excellence in customer service is the focus in much of the iconic service brands that dominate today. Customer service organizations such as Disney, Marriot, Ritz Carlton and Nordstrom, have driven their organizations consistently around this theme. Many organizations continue to emulate these models in their attempt to build strong service cultures and develop the leaders to shape them. Collins and Porras describe them as '*Culture-like Cultures*' (2002, p115), and the Disney Institute, (2001) is a text-book example of how culture is shaped to drive this quality of service. Tourish and Pinnington (2002) question this corporate cultism and the role of the transformational leader. They point to the lack of attention given to naturally occurring dysfunction in these organizations, and the potential dangers of ignoring the realities of internal dissent. The pressure is to conform to the vision, mission and values as espoused by the leader(s). They suggest this pressure can activate a process of self-deception, a false sense of meaning or purpose in adopting the organizations mission.

At the extreme they suggest the 'Hitler' influence by way of example, which implies that an individual's own moral compass could be so dramatically shaped by the influence of this cultism. Gemmill & Oakley (1992) also represent the strong view of the leadership myth theorists, and see much of this focus on the Leader as a form of social defence or psychic prison for followers. This challenging view of leadership proposes the great leader myth is an issue of social concern in that followers look to this messianic leader to emancipate them from their fears, anxieties and struggles. This notion of alienation is consistent with Burrell and Morgan's (1979) paradigms as represented in Johnson and Duberley (2000, p. 76).

In these paradigms, the Radical Humanist would potentially see the doctrine of transformational leadership as a prison that restricts followers from alternative realities of interaction with customers; The Radical Structuralist may view the same notion of leadership as essentially dominating and exploitative.

Many of the organizations that I have worked with in the service industry aspire to this culture of aligned vision, mission and common purpose around customer service goals. The common belief is that this is not only possible, but essential for organization success. The majority of these organization's vision and mission statements are written to reflect this imperative, beginning with the omnipotent "We will...." – "we" being all the members of the organization (See examples in Figure 1.)

Figure 1. Mission Statements – Various Sources

Waldorf Astoria:

"We will create the moments that build memories and shape a personal Waldorf legacy – We are focused on building memories and emotional connections with all of our guests. These experiences will help shape our guests personal Waldorf legacy. This will also shape our Team Member legacies as well"

Ritz Carlton

"The Ritz-Carlton Hotel is a place where the genuine care and comfort of our guests is our highest mission. We pledge to provide the finest personal service and facilities for our guests who will always enjoy a warm, relaxed, yet refined ambience. The Ritz-Carlton experience enlivens the senses, instils well-being, and fulfils even the unexpressed wishes and needs of our guests."

Mandarin Oriental

"We will strive to understand our client and guest needs by listening to their requirements and responding in a competent, accurate and timely fashion. We will design and deliver our services and products to address their needs. In fact, we are committed to exceeding their expectations by surprising them with our ability to anticipate and fulfil their wishes."

Organizations invest heavily in recruiting and/or developing these transformational leaders to build cultures of service excellence to deliver on these promises. The challenge occurs when followers still show up with the attitude that this is just a job; and they are unable or unwilling to make the mission their own and engineer emotions accordingly. The significance of culture in shaping the emotional labour agenda is the subject of the following section.

Emotional Labour in the context of Culture

Customer service organizations such as Hospitality are predominately studied as cultures. Iconic service cultures such as Disney (2001) have powerful preservation tendencies for their culture with the associated symbolism, metaphors and narratives hard-wired into the business. Peters and Waterman (1984) brought the notion of culture as a “hard” business issue to the attention of many global businesses. Their study was a comprehensive review of lessons learned from Americas best run companies such as Disney and one conclusion was that: *“Excellent companies are marked by very strong cultures, so strong you either buy into their norms or get out”* (Peters & Waterman 1982 p.29). This notion of buying into the hospitality industry’s strong cultural norms for emotional displays has implications for the development of individual identity and as such requires a deeper understanding of literature on this topic.

Organizational culture is a widely reviewed topic and definitions here also are many and varied. Lee (2003) provides a definition that captures a broad spectrum of theory: - *“Culture is the artefacts, socifacts and mentifacts of a people”* (Lee 2003, p.195). Artefacts refer to the physical objects of culture such as dress codes, office plans and titles, those things, which are tangible and visible. Socifacts refers to the social behaviours evident in the organization, how people interact, rituals, customs and practices. Mentifacts refers to the way people in the organization think, how they make sense of issues, the values and beliefs they espouse. Schein (1999) warns of the danger in oversimplification of organizational culture as “the way we do things around here” and stresses that to have real impact leadership must understand and manage culture at the deeper levels. Schein further articulates 3 levels of culture:

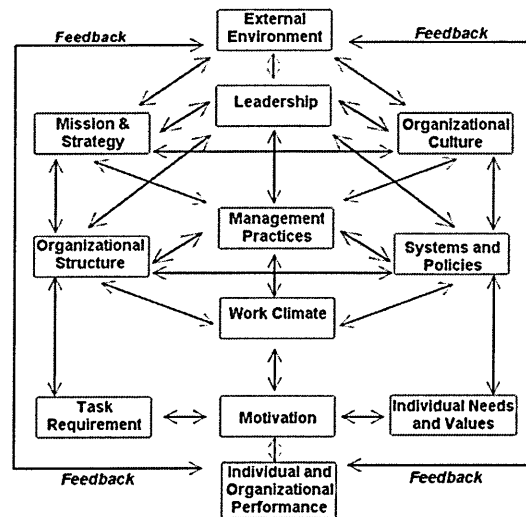
1. Artifacts: the tangible, physical evidence of “the way we do things around here”, that which is in the Public domain
2. Espoused values: Often typified as the stated vision, mission, and values of an organization
3. Underlying Assumptions: the taken for granted, often unconscious beliefs deeply imbedded in the organization

Morgan (1996) sees all theories of organization as based on metaphors and therefore challenges that there can be no correct theory to apply in organizational modelling. Metaphors such as The Culture, also The Machine, The Political, The Psychic Prison and others are easy to relate to as we look at organizations, and metaphors in general become a significant influence on our ways of thinking and how we come to understand. The predominance of the metaphor and its associated sets of conventional wisdom, can be misleading as it often ignores other realities of the organization. In the case of my research area, where the organization metaphor is likely to be that of Culture; I might ignore the existence of rational systems for structure and process. If that were so, the lack of attention to these potentially vital elements could be detrimental. Similarly in the critical stance the organizational metaphor used in my research might be the Psychic Prison, in which case I might ignore the real opportunities for individuals to find true meaning and purpose in their hospitality work.

Shaw & Price (1998) recognise the power of organizational metaphors in representing the organization to the eyes of the beholders, and giving them the ability to see beyond the world of objects. Blumer (1969), used the term "Symbolic Interactionism," to describe how employees as members of an organization give meaning to situations. In Blumer's definition there are 3 basic assumptions behind symbolic interactionism; people act toward things on the basis of the meanings they give to those things; the meaning of these things is taken from the social interaction that surrounds them and these meanings are then further modified through the encounter.

My research into individual's affinity with emotional labour requirements may have to consider the organizations implicit and explicit use of symbols and how the service worker interacts with them. From a more practical perspective it may also be relevant to develop understanding of other organizational variables at play. The Burke-Litwin Model of Organizational Performance and Change in Fig 1. (Burke W. 1992) attempts to diagrammatically represent interrelationships of organizational variables and show the dynamics of the organizations behaviour and change.

Figure 2. Burke Litwin Model of Organizational Performance and Change



Burke, categorizes the organizational variables into transformational and transactional Factors. Transformational are the interactions of external environment, mission, leadership, culture, and structure of the organization. Transactional factors are management practices, systems, climate, performance, tasks/abilities and individual needs and values within the organization. In my organisational development consultant role, I have used this model as a basis to map-out the core object elements of organization and discuss the interaction of these variables in the context of developing the organisation and its people. In the context of my research topic I will consider both the transformational and the transactional factors as areas of exploration in order to understand the influence from these variables on workers in emotional labour. In this respect, these models might prove to be effective tools to provide a blueprint for discussions on organizational influences.

The discussion of how individuals find meaning in organisations and buy-in to the dominant culture, weaves through much of these theoretical propositions. To gain more understanding of how individuals might find meaning and purpose in organizational efforts and in the work of hospitality I now explore literature on meaning in work and on the meaning in hospitality.

The Meaning of Work & Hospitality

Pataki's (2004) examines the meaning of life through the lens of work as interpreted from Viktor Franklyn's (1997) experiences of working in a Jewish Concentration Camp. The experience of the camp is made analogous with the human condition where each of us has our own inner concentration camp, which we must deal with as full human beings. The implication from this analogy is that if we miss the opportunity to 'live' in our working lives we become confined in a 'concentration camp' reality of work.

The author suggests that finding meaning in work-life is fundamental since an individual's will to meaning illuminates life over all other wills. The emphasis in the work is placed on freedom of response. The choosing of one's attitude in any given circumstance being man's last remaining freedom; just as Franklyn's illustrates his choice to find meaning and purpose in the hellish experiences of life in the camp. In this regard, Franklyn's work defines being of service as having the deepest meaning for human realisation. He holds that the rituals of hospitality and caring for others reflected in today's hospitality industry have rich roots in meaning. Buddhist traditions hold the roles of cook and temple-cleaner as the most important members of the community; honed by humbleness and attention to detail they create meaning in the simplest tasks of providing service to others. In the context of emotional labour this has particular relevance since much of what is asked of service workers is to choose the right attitude, an attitude of willing service and hospitality in any given situation.

This will towards meaning is positioned as the highest of human needs in Franklyn's work, higher than Freud's (1989) will to pleasure or Adler's (Nietzsche, 1976) will to power, both of which he claims are manifestations of something missing; attempts to cover up a void of meaning. The author goes so far as to position the will to meaning as a moral compass pointing us to a true north from within. Work, presented in this context, is a reflection of meaning in our lives and we cannot create an absolute boundary around it rather, it is suggested, we seek to find alignment and purpose in the work.

In Ashfort, Blake & Mael's (1989) previously discussed theory of Social Identity, there is a corresponding discussion of individuals' enhanced satisfaction when finding this sense of alignment between personal needs and organisation needs. This concept of alignment is further expanded in Minzberg's (1992) Missionary Organisation which describes a place where individuals strongly subscribe to organisations values and beliefs. The organisation becomes a vehicle to achieve personal goals. Minzberg posits that as individuals classify themselves in social categories it is possible for individuals to define themselves in terms of the role they work in, even if they sometimes disagree with the organizations prevailing values, strategy etc. In this way the organisational role can help the individual answer the question "who am I?" and potentially provide a layer of meaning in their lives.

Being a Hospitality Professional is a common form of social identification for those who pursue a career in this field. In Siby (2009) Hospitality is simply described as openness to 'the Other'. To further deconstruct hospitality the works of philosophers Derrida and Levinas are explored by Siby (2009) and provide interesting insights. Derrida (2000) describes the concept of 'hostipitality'; a play on the word hospitality that describes the paradox that is implied if hospitality is to welcome guests then hostility is intended towards unwelcome guests. His work decries the normal idea of conditional hospitality as opposed to the notion of hospitality as limitless and boundless, this being effectively the duty of all humanity. Levinas (Siby, 2009) also addresses hospitality as an ethical concern, a human responsibility; in essence a global definition for whole nations to open their doors to others. The concept of hospitality to 'the Other' is opened up in these works and as such hospitality has a much broader meaning in that this cohabitation and sharing the world is now positioned as an ethical consideration. It has strong moral overtones in this regard, and is further positioned in the faith context, where the stranger is a Jesus like figure, one to whom all are obligated. This ethos presents a radicalisation of hospitality in which both philosophers contest any notion of reciprocity; hospitality is unconditional. Barnett (2005) discusses this unconditionally of hospitality further and references Derrida's reflection on Levinas's work in that some 'corruption' of this unconditionally is required.

As discussed earlier in this chapter (p17), there is a natural compulsion to develop effective, conditional laws of hospitality, without which the purity of Levina's notion of hospitality becomes an unattainable, impotent desire. Opening up towards others becomes a part of the conditional laws of the Hospitality business and is so doing individuals may form a social identity around being 'in' hospitality. Social identity in this scenario is potentially constructed in relation to this 'other', defined as the guests we serve and can give meaning to how service workers identify and differentiate themselves from those not working in hospitality. These constructs from social identity theory appear to imply complete regulation of self in order to obey the laws of hospitality. The antecedents to that self-regulation as described in the emotional labour phenomenon are a key area for further exploration particularly in the context of an individual's will to meaning as described by Franklyn.

Patakos (2004) see's these relationships with customers weaving together meaning. He cautions that if the focus in service work becomes only on a transactional outcome that this can disconnect the work from its potential meaning. The paradoxical danger presented is that if we so fervently seek something in terms of an outcome we risk neglecting relationships.

In this case the ends do not justify the means as the experience for the individual worker will suffer. This presupposes a view of work as having a mission rather than a series of tasks. This mission may be an expressed or implied element of the psychological contract (Rousseau, 1995) formed between employee and employer in the hospitality industry.

How well an organization articulates what the individual is signing up may be a key determinant of success in the role as posited in Rousseau's discussion of the psychological contract between employer and employee. This would imply that fundamental questions need to be addressed in the contracting stage of the employment relationship regarding the nature of emotional labour and the individual's openness to serving others and desire to see satisfaction in fulfilling the needs of others.

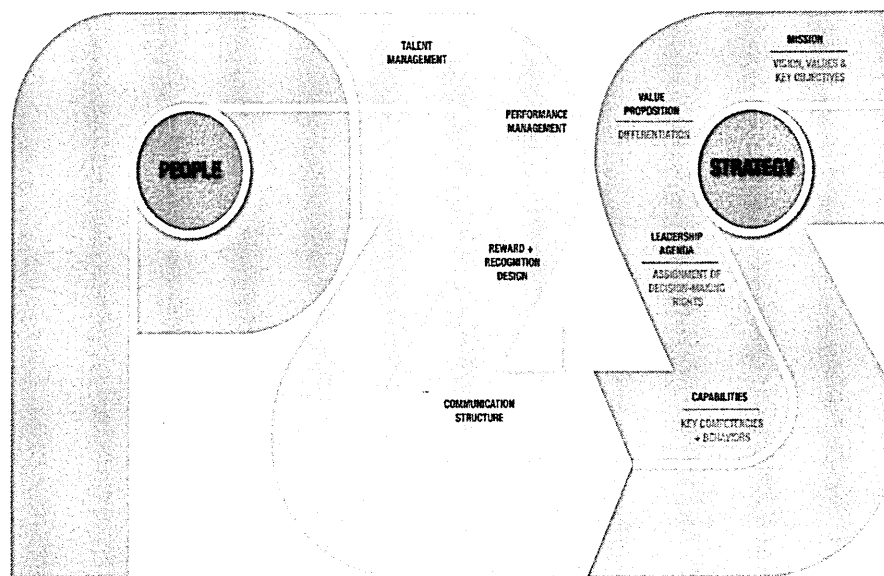
This discussion of literature on leadership, organizational culture and the finding of meaning in hospitality work concludes this review and I will now discuss the potential implications of these three bodies of literature for my research.

Implications for my Research: Part 3.

This review of literature opened up an interesting area for continued exploration regarding those factors which influence the degree to which service workers internalise emotional display rules. There is much to be understood regarding the influences of regulating factors and in particular organizational and leadership influences. My pre-understanding of leadership's influence on individuals, particularly as it relates to embodiment of the service excellence culture, will feature in the research discourse. As background, it is interesting to note that over a period of 3 years from 2004 to 2007, I was partner in a business called 'People2Strategy'. This was a business founded on the idea that there was an organizational model that, if adopted, could achieve alignment of people to customer service strategies. The model we developed is depicted in Figure 3.

This period in consulting allowed me to test and reflect on many assumptions about the nature of customer service organizations and what organizations can do to engage workers with their service delivery promise.

Figure 3: People2Strategy Framework



(Detailed in Appendix J, p.252.):

- Clarity of Mission, Vision, Values
- Leadership Role, Style and Processes
- Organization and Work Design
- Recruitment, Retention and Development
- Performance Management Systems
- Rewards Systems
- Communication Systems
- Physical Work Layout

Leaders I have worked with in development with this model often lamented the fact they have put all the required architecture in place, the mission, vision, values, strategy etc. and still people have not “signed up”. Much of the premise for the model in Fig. 1 came from US based transformational leadership and organizational theories such as the works of Peters, Waterman, (1982), Collins, Porras (1997), Ulrich, Senger, Smallwood (1999), Block (1996), and Collins (2001). While many of the interventions with this model were successful as regards a specific projects’ objectives, I did have a growing sense of unease with its propositions that people can be organizationally “aligned”. It was my experience that people are not so ready to ‘sign-up’; I find that even more evident with the newer entrants that I experience in today’s work force. The workforce is more inclined to ask ‘why should I?’; ‘what’s in it for me?’ (Alsop, 2008), rather than except traditional cultural norms in organizations and power roles of leadership. Schien’s (1992) thoughts on the sharing of power & control, encouraging leadership as a social process throughout the organization, appears to resonate well with the evolving business environment we experience.

In seeking to understand further the influences that are at play in shaping workers identification with emotional labour roles one has to consider how organizational leadership has interacted with that development.

Leadership in this regard may be understood as a system within the organization and its culture or in the person of a managerial or influential figure.

From the critical standpoint, I will be required to consider the transformational leader phenomenon, particularly as it relates to the hospitality industry where, as previously discussed, a holistic shared mind-set around service excellence is prevalent. The focus in my research is on those workers who have 'signed up'; individuals who, like me have bought into their respective organisation/s drive for service excellence and accepted those leadership doctrines that govern the working world of hospitality. The theories that propose a form of exploitation is occurring within the cult-like cultures of these organizations, and the related social concerns are themes that will need to be surfaced in my research. If, as these theories suggest, individuals are being coerced by leaders into adopting organizational mission as their own and to live out related values, then we are deceiving ourselves by subordinating our own sense of purpose to that of the organization. This positioning has echoes of the earlier discussions in this review on authenticity and Cederström, & Fleming's (2012) portrayal of the 'working dead'. The theories discussed in this chapter would further point to personal damage for the service worker in this forced reality regarding the customer interaction in that it disallows the individual to have their own version of that reality.

This dilemma turns the focus on the relationship between leader and followers and how consent might be manufactured in this relationship as the literature also suggests. The notion that to lead effectively is also to follow resonates with my own experience in leadership. The ability to influence individuals in creating extraordinary customer service experiences requires the appointed leader to be connected with the service provider's reality. In my experience, this is particularly true for the hospitality industry where the visibility of leadership in role-modelling the service commitment of the organization is particularly powerful. In my experience of leadership in the hospitality sector I have found that establishing trust requires a high degree of authenticity from the leader. Workers also expect leadership to be completely accessible to the customer, to engage with customers, and to treat employees in many ways consistent with the way we treat customers.

This is manifested by our responsiveness to their needs, our care and concern for their challenges (professional and personal) and our ability to deliver on the promises we make to them. This is also manifested in our ability as leaders to provide for individual personal and professional growth. In particular the ability to mentor and invest time in individuals has, from my experience and observations, been fundamental to authentic, trust based leadership.

In my research it will be important to understand what constitutes leadership in the context of organizations for the research sample selected. Also to explore the nature of the relationship with leadership in terms of trust and power sharing, and how leadership systems or individuals have influenced an individual's workers potential for alignment with the organizations statement of purpose. The prevailing approaches to theory in organization and leadership for the hospitality industry follow mainstream alignment frameworks and transformation leadership principles. These frameworks are presented as almost programmable with attempts at replicating leading organizations cultures through institutionalized learning such as at that provided by The Disney Institute or the Ritz Carlton Leadership Centre. The metaphor of the service organization as a culture is one which will be applied in my research. This is consistent with my OD/HRM ontology and finds favour with the sociological school of organizational theory. The research discourse will likely address understanding of cultural objects and symbols and how they might influence hospitality workers identification with the work of emotional labour. It would appear that engaging the 'hearts and minds' (origin not confirmed) of the workforce may however, be more influenced by the ability to identify with the purpose of the work and in so doing find it worthwhile; i.e. make a connection in the work with who they are and what's important to them.

Reflecting on some of the 'things' that have particular symbolism in hospitality organisations such as corporate statement of brand promise, scripted displays, access to executives etc. it may become more evident how meaning is assigned by different members of the sample. For example, in the hospitality industry we place great emphasis and meaning on the Brand Promise.

It is often displayed proudly in guest and employee areas and constantly quoted in training and employee communications. The statements more often than not assume that the employees are making this promise to the organizations customers. At various times in my own progression from front-line employee to executive leadership, the symbolism of these statements has been present, but in different ways. For a front-line employee the statement can symbolise a management edit; a standard that must be upheld or even an impossible pipe-dream based on the resources management provide to deliver and the customers they are serving. On the other hand it can symbolize a true meaning, which helps to give purpose to the job role. As we move through the ranks, the symbol of the service promise itself may remain constant but our view of how important it is to delivering that promise may change significantly; either way it remains a powerful symbol, positive or negative.

In this review, the antecedents for identification with the work of emotional labour appear to be bound up in the ability to self-identify with the work. This self-identification can become a driver for the expected norms in attitude and behaviour. If, as the literature posits, individuals tend to choose work activities congruent with their identities, then a potentially virtuous cycle of internalisation and adherence to required hospitality values may exist. These concepts also imply that workers in the service industry who see the meaning in their work as a mission to serve others may be more apt to internalise the emotional labour role. The supposed inspirational qualities of work in this context have further implications for the emerging identity of the service worker. These theories lead us to believe that social choices frame personal choices and our identities become bound up in these choices we make. In this apparent spiral where continued role internalisation leads to more congruence with one's concept of self, there is an implied corresponding path to finding meaning in the work. This concept of work providing alignment with individual's search for meaning at a point in time may also have practical implications for selection, orientation, training, work organisation, and socialisation. To sustain that alignment as people's needs and desires change remains the challenge for organisations and for leadership.

Conclusions

The dangers heralded by 'The Managed Heart' (Hochschild, 1983) resonated strongly within the social science field since it articulated so well the phenomenon of Emotional Labour and the inherent issues associated with this potential commoditisation of feelings. The impact on individual authenticity and the potential for emotive dissonance are the subject of much debate in the literature reviewed. The counter-balancing factors appear to be associated with how well the service worker feels they can handle people and the extent to which they identify with regulating their own emotional displays.

In the literature reviewed it is suggested that the effects of engineering emotions have implications for the emerging social identity of the service worker, however the nature of this interplay remains relatively unexplored in social research. The influence on emerging identity appears to be further impacted by alignment of individual personal goals with an organisations required outcomes in the role. In addition, providing an environment where the worker can calibrate the extent to which their emotions are regulated appears to have implications for higher levels of role internalization. Potential antecedents for individual proficiency in the regulation of emotion are an area for critical review in my research. It is my experience that organizational and managerial interventions aimed at achieving this proficiency in emotional regulation are prevalent throughout the employee lifecycle in the service sector.

The literature points to the ability of the service worker to self-monitor and self-control regulation of emotional displays and to experience greater individual autonomy as an antidote to the potentially damaging psychological consequences of emotional labour. These prescribed ideal working practices sit, for the most part, at odds with the predominant current practices for managing service workers in the hospitality sector. There is recent evidence in the sector of changing practices to give more latitude to workers as referred to earlier in this chapter (p45) with the Ritz Carlton (2013) group.

Allowing service workers greater latitude in defining service behaviours and emotions for the situation they are in at any given time appears to have implications for greater authenticity in the service experience. Exploring the role of leadership and culture in this emotional regulation leads to a more critical review of traditional transformational leadership approaches. The perceived challenge with leadership in the hospitality sector continues to be around engaging employees and 'getting them' to own the customer experience; all of which implies that the leader must be out in front 'Leading' the organization and his/her followers. Theories of leadership as a distributed function appear to allow for front-line employees to take leadership at the critical point of service delivery, and open up alternative frameworks for organizational effectiveness. The concept of the appointed Leader's primary role as steward to the service culture, building trust and partnerships, may not be as dramatic as the implied heroism of the transformational leader, but may be more sustainable.

A predisposition to the tenants of hospitality and the propensity to find meaning and authenticity in the work of providing service would appear to be influencing factors in role internalization and identification. The review of basic human will and the meaning of work in people's lives would imply that all humanity has this innate need to serve others and find purpose in the work they perform. What differentiates those who find this purpose and excel in the work of emotional labour may have further implications for the development of valued social identity. These interpretations from the literature open up opportunities to explore how the emerging social identity of individual service workers may be influenced by the emotional labour they provide.

There are areas that this review of theory does not adequately address, some more applicable in recent times. The effects of globalization and open media, the knowledge worker phenomenon and the increasing complexity of the work environment are organizational factors that may not fit neatly into some of the alignment models discussed. The challenge, as I see it, is that the prevailing organisational models appear to illicit a prescriptive response to issues that may be best served through a discursive approach and my research methods will be guided accordingly.

The forces of the changing workplace may require new approaches to organization already alluded in the prior chapter's discussion of distributed leadership. The core ideologies of trust, partnership and collaboration in the distributed leadership model draw attention to the evolving ways in which workers construct versions of events and how they process that information. This discursive approach in organisational theory may open new paradigms for understanding organisations and their development in the social context. There are implications in this development of theory for workers in emotional labour within the hospitality setting. As individuals are empowered to take more ownership of their own emotional agenda, their concept of self in these roles is potentially influenced. This will be a primary area for exploration in the research discourse.

A closing quote from Hochschild describes the phenomenon that primed this literature review and frames the continued debate over the impact of managed emotion on the personal identity of those who produce emotional labour;

"In the end, it seems, we make up the idea of our "real self", an inner jewel that remains our unique possession no matter whose billboard is on our back or whose smile is on our face. We push this "real self" further inside, making it more inaccessible. Subtracting credibility from the parts of our emotional machinery that are in commercial hands, we turn what is left into who we "really are". And around the surface of our human character, where once we were naked we don a cloak to protect us from the commercial elements"

Arlie Russel Hochschild (2003, p.34)

Introduction

It was necessary to develop a broad understanding of methodological considerations in order to settle on my eventual methodological choices. Developing understanding about the concepts of ontology and epistemology while narrowing down my own considerations of reality within those concepts was an important journey for me and one I will take the reader through in this chapter. I did eventually settle on conducting the research from a critical standpoint using a hermeneutical approach. This allowed me to access the subject matter making the most use of my own pre-understanding alongside the narratives from other participants and in contrast to other research works that I had reviewed in the literature.

In these seminal works by Hochschild (2003); Wharton and Erickson (1997); Wharton (1999); Ashforth & Humphreys (1993); Goffman & Erving (1990); Leidner's (1999); Thoits (1989); Morris & Feldman (2008); Bolton & Boyd's (2003); Steinberg & Figert (1999), the researchers examined the experiences of workers who perform emotional labour through many different lenses. Much of the research calls into question whether workers who perform emotional labour display more negative job-related reactions than workers who do not. The literature goes on to explore factors that might modify those reactions. The base assumptions relate to negative consequences such as burn-out and fatigue attributed to emotional inauthenticity. The debate is often highly critical in nature and conducted from the viewpoint of researchers who have conducted their research from outside the issues.

The research methods preferred are more often case studies or other field work, ethnographic in nature (Hochschild, 2003; Leidner, 1999; Bolton & Boyd, 2003). Some use empirical methods in a more quantitative, positivistic stance (Morris & Feldman, 2008. Chua, Baker, Merman, 2012), or detailed discourse analysis (Wharton and Erickson 1997; Ashforth & Humphreys, 1993).

In these works the reader is invited to explore theory derived from analysis of the research subjects through external observation and data collection. I saw an alternative approach to exploration of these topics in order to develop knowledge of other realities. It would require taking a view from the inside looking out, through the internal realities of individuals who, like me, have lived inside the experience. I anticipated that this approach would allow me access to experiences of emotional labour in the lives of individuals with whom I shared a common pre-understanding. In the critical, hermeneutic stance this opens up reflection on and interpretation of these experiences while challenging base assumptions in the construction of their meaning. In order to understand how I arrived at these methodological choices, I must first describe the philosophical considerations along the way.

Ontology: The Philosophical Position

Positivistic Ontology:

Johnson and Duberley (2000) describe this ontological perspective as having its roots in the early philosophers such as Descartes(1637), Locke (1690), Bacon (1620) and the rationalist, empiricist view of knowledge during the period known as The Age of Enlightenment. In this period spanning the late 17th through 18th century and also known as 'The Age of Reason', the search for truth became characterised by rationality as opposed to the irrationality and emotionality of the dark ages. This turn-away from the dogma of superstition and mythology that had reigned over knowledge in ancient and medieval times heralded the beginning of modern thought and practices.

Aspects of this era remain embedded in western cultures today, and still form the dominant epistemological ontology in current management & scientific research methodologies although hardly anyone openly applies the positivistic label to their own work (Johnson and Duberley, 2000).

In considering my research work, which is clearly a subjective piece, the methods used for data collection and analysis have their roots in these founding positivistic research principles. The positivist ontology sees reality as a concrete structure and believes natural laws provide the basis of all explanation; therefore measurement and definition of objective criteria characterise these research methods. The positivist emphasis is on measurable and quantifiable data, and leads to methodologies in this approach to research being typically quantitative in nature. This rational, objective approach to reasoning presented challenges for me as a researcher. The potential limitations for further hypothesis and the search for conclusions are at odds with my style of reasoning. In the social sciences, I believe subjectivity has its place and that natural reasoning is a product of the persons who are seeking to understand.

The positivistic ontology however does extend beyond this logical positivism from the Age of Enlightenment and Johnson and Duberley (2000) provide that the work of Karl Popper (1959) accommodates the notion of conjecture into the positivist view. Popper's view is that observation and deduction may form theory but theory remains conjecture and is only accepted knowledge until it is refuted in continued findings. Therefore no knowledge is infinitely conclusive, all knowledge is conjecture. Increasing the amount of empirical evidence just brings us closer to the truth or as Popper (1959) defined it as "truthlikeness" or verisimilitude. Even with this enhanced view, the issues with this ontology remained significant for me, in that it looks to external realities and empirical evidence to form knowledge, even if the knowledge is not deemed to be final or conclusive.

I have stated my belief that the knowledge and truths to be found in the understanding of emotional labour and social identity are not fully formed from external observations. Accessing the internal realities of the participants in this world of work provides an avenue for an alternative interpretation of meaning. Laing (1967) in Johnson & Duberly (2000) posits that human action has an internal logic of its own which must be interpreted to make it intelligible. I believe there are other realities to be accessed through the narratives of the research participants. These realities are to be found inside lived experiences and all that the participants bring to interpretation of meaning; pre-understanding, life history, situational awareness, and motivational drivers. The quantitative methods which typify the positivistic ontology such as structured observations/ interviews, surveys, experiments and content analysis focus on measurement (Collis & Hussey, 2003) and data reduction to form theory. This logical structure to the research process as described by Bryant (2008) establishes theory through mapping cause and effect in order for concepts to be rendered observable and to establish validity.

In the literature referred to in my opening chapter such as Morris & Feldman (1996) such positivistic approaches provide data to inform and reveal knowledge. I respect this methodology and its place in terms of contribution to knowledge.

Through my research findings, I am not seeking to establish some version of universal truth, but to reveal thematic interpretations from participant's experiences. Gill and Johnson (2002) discuss the constraints that this highly structured approach may place on the research design and I would not want to separate the social context of the research subjects from the data collected in an attempt to render the data purely objective. This would also inhibit the ability to bring in the influence of my own pre-understanding which I believe cannot be separated from the data. It is in taking this different approach to the methodology that I believe I will make a meaningful contribution to the established theory on the research topic.

Post-modern Ontology

The positivist ontology has its roots in the Modernist epoch with its aims to develop order in an unstable world. Consistent with this ontological perspective, Modernism links truth with rationality, it claims reason and logic as the final arbitrators for right beliefs and sees universal truth discovered and proved through rational endeavours (McAuley et al, 2007). The Post-Modern view looks at the other end of the spectrum; beyond human intellect and rational processes as the sole determiner of truth. It gives heightened status to emotions and intuition for a more holistic view of truth, and opens the door to the role of phenomenology and the hermeneutic (McAuley 2004) which will be discussed further as my methodology of choice. By contrast with the Modern movement and in response to it, the Post-Modernist movement is characterised by attempts to describe a condition, or a state of being, and follows a subjectivist, reflexive epistemology.

Johnson and Duberley (2000) describe the post-modern world as pluralist, celebrating diversity and seeing knowledge forming as essentially constructivist in methodology; the world is a construct of our own concepts and social realities and we structure it through discourse. The post-modernists view discourse as the means by which all understanding is developed. All that is written, spoken or thought about the topic influences and ultimately shapes its meaning. Foucault (1977) also introduces the concept of power into the discourse, in that the exercise of power (command of knowledge) furthers knowledge and subordinates those who have no legitimate claim to that knowledge. Those that do have legitimate claims and command of the knowledge are further empowered. In this way everything becomes relative, as it is driven by the dominant discourse at the time and subject to constant change as the balance of power shifts. The truth-effect produces reality and so the world is viewed as a social construct.

For my own research sample, I eventually settled on participants experienced in hospitality who have developed a high sense of self awareness and legitimacy as service professionals.

Exploring experiences with these participants lead to a co-creation of understanding and collective interpretations which are brought forth throughout the discourse and, the truth-effects generated are constructed through these interpretations. I could have selected other participants in hospitality who did not share my strong identification with these roles. There would certainly have been realities from their interpretation that could add other perspectives to meaning. The methodologies used in the other reference literature (Hochschild; 2003, Wharton and Erickson, 1997; Wharton, 1999; Ashforth & Humphreys, 1993; Leidner, 1999; Morris & Feldman, 2008; Bolton & Boyd, 2003; Steinberg & Figert, 1999) have used these more inclusive approaches in order to test their hypothesis in a broader sampling. I was concerned that broadening the sample to individuals who did not share my sense of identification with the role would limit my ability to reflect within the hermeneutical circle. I believe that there is a dominant discourse to be heard from a like-minded sample that allows for important meanings to be revealed and can address a key gap in the literature.

Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Lowe (2002), discuss the role of the researcher in the context of this form of social constructionism as appreciating the different constructions and meanings that people place upon their experiences. Deconstruction allows the researcher to explore and explain why people have different experiences and how they come to place meaning in those experiences. There is no search for external causes and fundamental laws, rather an exploration of why some interpretations become dominant and others not.

Having posited that, I would not use the label 'post-modernist' to characterize this work; however I did see the value of the ensuing research methodology as part of the approach to my research topic. The emphasis in this research approach is on how individuals come to interpret and construct their world, which describes well how I access data with the participants in this work. From a methodological perspective, the exploration of prevailing social constructs and their genealogy; understanding of truth-effects and the deconstruction of language are compelling concepts that appear to fit well with my ontological leanings.

The challenge I find hard to overcome in the pure 'post-modern', reflexive epistemology is the issue of relativity and the presumed absence of any fixed meaning. While I see myself as interpretative and subscribe to the social constructivist view, I also acknowledge that, for others, there exists the presence of an objective world with structured positivistic frameworks and this would need to be reflected in my research methodology choices.

Critical Ontology

Critical theory appeared to deal effectively with the issue of relativism as it pervades the post-modern, phenomenological approach. It provided an element of objectivity and appeared to allow some progress beyond an eternal circle of reflection. Habermas's work (Johnson & Duberly 2000:117) on how our deepest seated motivations influence our cognitive processes was helpful to me in understanding how to reconcile the subjectivity of emotional labour (a socially constructed reality) with the objectivity of the participants and my own values and drivers (pre-determined perceptions). This reflexive process described by Kant (1724) signposted me toward a more transformational development of meaning with the intention of making useful, applicable contributions to knowledge.

As emotional labour is largely a product of organisational effort, a means for understanding the influences of organisations and organizational culture was also appropriate in my research. The reality of hospitality organizations is that they are structured and to work within them there is a requirement to fit into the culture. Critical theory takes a psychoanalytical view of organizational culture. Freud's psychoanalytical approach seeks to uncover those deep seated, unconscious forces that compel human behaviour. Johnson & Duberly (2000) discuss psychoanalytical approaches in the context of organizational culture, as seeking to understand the healthy versus unhealthy organisations by uncovering the same deeply rooted drivers of organisational behaviour. In the same way the critical, psychoanalytical framework would assist in my research to uncover hidden meaning in the work of emotional labour, as I reflected on the participant's accounts of service displays and behaviours.

Hardy & Clegg (1997) rooted the critical approach to research in Habermas's (1974) emancipatory principles; seeking to unmask domination in the context of organisations. Research in this arena aims to reveal hidden power structures and examines how consent is manufactured. Ontologically, the researchers see themselves as agents, with their ensuing theories appearing to tell the participants what to do/feel and how to act.

Participants (referred to as subjects in the context of this ontology) who do not respond to this “emancipation” are seen as still trapped in the psychic prison of the organization. This is reflective of the approach found in much of the emotional labour literature (Hochschild; 2003, Bolton & Boyd, 2003; Steinberg & Figert, 1999)

This underlying aim of critical theory is then to liberate people from this presumed exploitation and domination by management. This was an important consideration for my research. In examining the participants and my own thought processes, I had to consider if we were subject to some form of distorted reality shaped by the organizational influences we had experienced. As stated earlier, in the critical theory perspective the base assumptions are that the participant’s decisions may not be in their own best interests. Their individual realities are considered distorted by subjectivity and power influences from the organisation or prevailing social context. This describes the prevailing view across much of the literature I have reviewed in the theory chapter on the topic of emotional labour. The base assumptions in much of the research works referenced earlier are again consistent with these emancipatory principles. (Hochschild; 2003, Bolton & Boyd, 2003; Steinberg & Figert, 1999)

The concern for me with this overriding assumption is that the participants are potentially marginalised, in that the complexity and diversity of individual responses to organisation may not be heard in the general call for freedom from domination. Allowing those individual responses to be heard in a more democratic voice, without the filter of the dominant narrative was a key consideration for my methodological choices. Johnson et al (2006) propose a potential solution to this dilemma in Habermas’s (1974) ‘ideal-speech situation’ where coercion, duplicity and distortion are removed from the discourse and consensus is induced in an environment of truly democratic social relations. The reality of an ideal speech moment without distortion may be unrealistic for my research which takes place in the context of the highly managed culture of commercial hospitality.

In attempting to access an 'ideal speech situation' with the research participants, I did see an opportunity to reveal distortion or bias as it may occur during the interviews from the influence of the culturally dominant narratives that we all have in common.

Critical realism was another ontological position to consider on the critical continuum. This ontology has its roots in a more pragmatic, realist view of the world and moves beyond the pure social construct of meaning in critical theory in that it requires some validation of that truth in practice. In Bryman (2008:14), Bahsker (1989) establishes a relationship with the positivistic view where the critical realist seeks out empirical evidence. While still following social-scientist ontology the critical realist uses objective, external realities to categorize and understand knowledge. The difference from the positivistic stance is that the critical realist accepts that the categories and external realities they use are likely to be provisional. In practical terms, this approach implies methodologically, that findings are somehow tested with a selected group to demonstrate the existence of these 'realities'. This was unlikely to align with my research position in as much as I am concerned with revealing individual constructs of reality rather than testing pre-determined constructs with a participant group.

This brought me back to critical theory which Putnam et al (1993:227) describe as the '*ability to participate in the human struggle*', I believe ontologically, this spoke to my understanding as I approached the research. The concerns I had with the underlying emancipatory principles of critical theory could be overcome by viewing these as criterion to be considered rather than a dogma infiltrating the whole work. In my understanding, the critical theory perspective brought together some elements of positivism in the consideration of a real external world together with some elements of post-modernism. Adopting this framework in my research would facilitate a form of democratic co-creation with the participants in the construction of meanings.

Epistemology: The Methodological Choice

Having established a research question and an ontological base in Critical Theory, it became clear that this undertaking would be a qualitative piece of research. Alvesson & Skoldberg (2000) point out that a qualitative research approach allows for the researchers construction of what is explored to be more visible as interpretive possibilities are uncovered. Given my own pre-understanding and history with the research topic this is a key aspect of the methodology.

The implications of a critical theory approach with its focus on exposing interests and enabling emancipation through reflexivity are described in Johnson and Duberley, (2000:191) as '*Epistemic reflexivity*'. The two main characteristics of a reflexive methodology are further described in Alvesson & Skoldberg (2000) as careful interpretation and reflection. This means that all references to data are considered the result of interpretations, there can be no exact mirroring of a relationship between empirical facts and the research outcomes. While examining participant's responses it becomes necessary to treat the data as a starting point in understanding meaning. This influenced my approach to methodology and methods and several qualitative methods are consistent within this reflexive approach. These include ethnography, action research, grounded theory, case study, discourse analysis, and hermeneutics. The approach that I eventually settled on was hermeneutics; however there are elements of all the approaches considered that have relevance and helped in the formation of the eventual research positioning.

Brewer in Cassel & Symon (2004) provides that ethnography allows the researcher to access the subjects' social meaning through familiarity with their social setting. The emphasis is on entering into the lives of those studied and experiencing reality as the participants do.

Alvesson & Skoldberg (2000) point to the subjectivity of the researcher in ethnographic studies and concerns with the totality of the researcher's voice in speaking for the participants; they point to an ensuing danger that all other voices may be blocked. In the seminal work on emotional labour by Hochschild (2003), the researcher appears to take this subjective position in representing the voices of the workers.

There is no doubt that I have lived in the research environment which would appear to lend itself well to an ethnographic experience, (Alvesson & Skolberg 2002, Gill & Johnson 2002, Cassel & Symon 2004) however any methodology adopted would need to assist me in exposing my own involvement with the topic to be credibly interpretive and reflective. In addition, I was committed to finding alternative credible methodologies to those already used in the development of dominant theory in order to surface other voices like my own. For these reasons, ethnography in its pure form was not the methodology of choice; however some of the concepts associated applied to my work. The features of Action Research as a methodology also had initial appeal on the basis that the methodology is located in natural social settings and has an action orientation for all participants in the research (Gill & Johnson, 2002). Hospitality is a naturally occurring social setting for me, and lends itself well to the methods described here.

The ability to evaluate consequences of interventions in these work roles has potential value in the understanding of factors that influence emotional Labour and social Identity. Coghlan and Brannick (2001) define the action research cycle as defining and diagnosing the issues then planning, implementing and evaluating actions. This implies that there are specific outcomes to the research event in terms of an end result with some change having occurred through the research intervention. As previously stated, my intentions are not to provide specific resolutions or affect change as a direct result of the research method in itself. I would not be interacting with the environment directly or encouraging the participants towards any actions that might require subsequent evaluation.

Having come to that realization, I turned to Grounded Theory as another potential methodology widely used as a framework for interpreting qualitative data (Bryman, 2008:541). The founders of the approach Glaser & Strauss (1967) formulated a methodology for generating theory out of data also known as analytical induction (Cassell and Symon, 2004). This alternative development of theory through inductive and deductive thought as described by Collis & Hussey, (2003), takes a logical descriptive path. The methodology involves significant data collection and triangulation from which develops concepts or themes and eventually theories. The focus in data collection is on note taking and the immediacy and depth of the notes is the key to grounding the theory. This purity of adherence to the data collection and its coding as grounding for theory was problematic for me. In my research approach the role off prior knowledge and pre-understanding is significant and in fact was critical to uncover. In addition, my interaction with the existing theory on the research topic is central to the interpretive process.

The use of case study as a research strategy was also given careful consideration, as the research topic could lend itself to a review of emotional labour in the context of a particular organisation. Eisenhart (1989) provides a roadmap for building theory from the case study approach and provides several illustrative examples of the case study in practice. Multiple methods also apply here however the underpinning process of triangulation takes place in a single setting; the case. As with grounded theory the analysis of data is central to the case study approach and detailed write-ups of field work are a critical component. A fundamental difference in the case study methodology is the comparison of emergent concepts with literature and the requirement for consideration of the full theoretical context to the case subject. The resulting richness of this approach with its intensity of examination within the case were initially compelling features and I can see why it appears so dominantly as a methodological approach in existing theory. I determined that in order to access meaningful interpretations I would engage with a variety of participants across differing organisations.

This would root the research in multiple individual stories from diverse experiences and states of mind rather than intense theoretical sampling and triangulation from observation within a specific case setting.

These same choices led to a consideration of discourse analysis as a potential approach. The role of language and how individuals use it in specific social contexts figures largely in my research approach. The methods used in discourse analysis examine closely what people say and how that language plays a part in constructing their version of social realities. Critical discourse analysis as referred to by Dick in Cassell and Symon (2004) particularly focuses on why individuals use language to construct their worlds in different ways. Foucault (1977) suggests that discourses prescribe appropriate behaviours in a range of social contexts; by examining the discourses and their social domains the researcher can develop understanding of the subject's construction of meaning.

Alvesson & Skoldberg, (2000) question whether, even under optimal circumstances, statements from people will provide sufficient, unproblematic insight. The language itself has to be treated only as an entry point into the understanding of the individual's realities. The pure form of discourse analysis with its singular focus on the uttered word would prove a limitation as speech acts constituted only part of the overall study in my work; critical discourse analysis did however provide some interpretative framework for my interview data.

A Hermeneutic Approach

Having visited all of these approaches I eventually settled on Hermeneutics as the closest fit to my epistemological stance; that is not to say that any one description of Hermeneutics completely captured my way of thinking about the proposed research. It was apparent however that, in all the methodologies considered, the methods associated with hermeneutics had the most alignment with my research aims. In the hermeneutic approach the researcher lives in the research, it starts with a hunch which leads to a journey of exploration. In hermeneutics the researcher acknowledges that truth becomes a property of one's state of mind; it has a subjective probability as one also accept one's own infinite lack of knowledge. The researcher settles for a high degree of explaining power while seeking for more truth and accepting new, evolving, truths.

The term Hermeneutic Circle (Heidegger, 1927) defines how the researcher moves through this interpretive process, accessing pre-experiences to increase depth of understanding until reaching a meaningful interpretation which makes sense for the individual. Heidegger (1927) described all understanding as defined by and through interpretative influences and that our existence as beings is shaped by all our pre-understanding of the world through practice, culture, environment and historical frames of reference.

This, in particular resonated with me as it appeared to accommodate the extensive pre-understanding I have of the subject and how that might be meaningfully accessed in the research journey. It also supposes that the researcher's very state of consciousness has intent; it is directed towards something. While hermeneutics may well be among the most subjective of the interpretivist approaches (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000), it is also true that all research is influenced by the researcher and claims of universal truth are in the eyes of the beholder. In the case of my research I claim to be a subject matter expert on service excellence and I also come from the same background and share many of the same perspectives as my participants.

Adopting this approach would enable me to look beyond the proclaimed truth in my research narratives and factor in pre-understanding or preconception to interpret meaning.

I acknowledge that the resulting interpretations bring my experience into the dialogue and allow this experience to shape the eventual development of meaning. Paul Ricoeur (1967) believed that bringing experience into language did not change the language into something unintended, rather that it made the language come alive and have meaning. In Ricoeur's more recent interpretation and development of Husserl's (1859-1928) work on Phenomenology, he elaborates on how we develop meanings through practice, culture, environment and historical frames of reference including religion and art. Ricoeur's discussions of storytelling and the narrative function of language resonated particularly with my research aims. Story telling; 'heroic moments' in service and 'life-changing' service encounters are used extensively in the dominant narratives of hospitality and give meaning to the phenomena of emotional labour. Stories, such as these, are told by participants in my work and as such play a significant part in the research discourse.

Gadamer (1975) also proposes that we share truth through common signs or language, and that language and understanding are fundamentally co-joined; we 'are' language – it defines us and our own truth. Gadamer states that *"Language is the universal medium in which understanding occurs. Understanding occurs in interpreting"* (Gadamer 1975:118). As such in linguistics and reading, language and interpreter engage in a dialogue. Ricoeur (1967) refers to this as the Hermeneutical Conversation which describes the understanding we take from text/words that attract us; we then take the position that the text has meaning or truth. This points away from an objective world, and points to truths in phenomenon such as emotional labour as an expression of how individuals experience the world. *"In naming things they are called into their thinging. Thinging, they unfold worlds, in which things abide and so are abiding ones."* (Heidegger 1976:199). I entered this research believing that there are truths to be found in emotional labour and development of identity beyond the objective data of the dominant research.

I believe that there exists in the range of individual experiences, other subjective meanings which are to be accessed through a more democratic form of individual expression. If as Wittgenstein (Grayling. 2001) postulates, language is just a game and meaning is solely dependent on intent, then we are required to accept that there is no final “truth” in language. The intent of the originator of the language or text rather than the language itself becomes a core focus for understanding in the hermeneutic research approach.

Alvesson & Skoldberg (2000) further define the hermeneutic methodologies in the context of objective and alethic hermeneutics. McAuley (2004), discusses the parallels in the objectivist approach to the natural sciences, making it a hermeneutic methodology that might be more acceptable as ‘proper science’. Alethic hermeneutics takes a much less grounded approach, and describes a research methodology that looks more to the whole rather than any polarity between object – subject. The underlying aims of the research in Alethic hermeneutics are to uncover or reveal what is hidden, forgotten or repressed in the holistic subject and its narratives. As previously stated, my research is intended to present other realities from the accepted knowledge on the research topic and in so doing attempt to recover meaning that may have been lost in interpretation for any number of reasons. As such, my research journey is more likely to follow the alethic hermeneutic vein as an open exploration of hidden meanings and layers of interpretation from the participants understanding of the phenomena in question.

McAuley (1985) explains that individual’s common-sense understanding provides the reference for much of the phenomena that occurs in individual lives to the extent that we no longer process them in our thoughts, or question their meaning or correctness. In McAuley’s practical guidance on hermeneutics as a research methodology, he provides examples of subjects (actors) in a piece of research exploring the implications of what they say and listening to their own understanding of the issues under investigation.

This process of facilitating the participants understanding of how they have shaped their inner realities and the resulting languages' and behaviours was a compelling proposition for my research and describes well the interview approach I adopted. The approach also significantly involves confronting one's own preconceptions and assumptions just as the participants confront theirs. In my research, this was accomplished through reflection on the interview transcripts, post-interview, to examine how my assumptions were leading the dialogues and challenging these assumptions through the reflexive process.

McAuley (2004) aligns this facilitation of self-discovery in the research methodology with the principles of psychoanalysis. Using these approaches, the researcher facilitates the individuals in developing self-insights to uncover what may be illusionary aspects of their interpretations on reality, and reveal deeper underlying drivers. This form of facilitation is evident in my research narratives, where probing questions allowed me to challenge participant's responses and ask the respondents to examine the realities behind their assumptions, even as I examined my own. In this way we developed shared interpretations of meaning through critical examination of our pre-understanding.

The term '*The Hermeneutics of suspicion*', is used by Alvesson and Skolberg (2000: 94) to describe such psychoanalytical approaches in research methodologies. This description of researcher in the psychoanalytical context helped further to shape my approach to interviewing the research participants and push for hidden meaning while challenging, through my own reflections, any assumptions that were located in my priori understanding. McAuley et al (2007) refer to these psychoanalytical approaches as developing a reflexive understanding and locate it ontologically in the realm of critical theory. Alvesson & Skoldberg (2000) similarly locate the use of psychoanalysis and hermeneutic approaches as a critical, reflexive methodology.

Hardy & Clegg (1997) caution that research approaches in the critical realm may have the potential to marginalise the subject individuals, in that the underlying call for emancipation may not sufficiently consider the complexity and diversity of individual responses to social and organizational settings. To counteract this, Hardy & Clegg (1997) suggest that the researcher must demonstrate that they have struggled with the knowledge and pursued a pluralistic debate with the knowledge itself to ensure that the ensuing theory recognises itself and its limitations. This can be accomplished in the hermeneutical approach which provides for a high degree of debate and reflection within the circle of hermeneutical understanding. It is also influenced by the methods used to conduct the research and how these methods facilitate this circle of reflection.

Methods selected to conduct the Research.

Bryman (2008) outlines the main steps of a qualitative piece of research which provided a general guide. Having determined the general research questions, the selection of research methods became the next key consideration. The main body of work consisted of conducting the research through the chosen methods to reach interpretations from the relevant data and then locating this data in the context of a conceptual/theoretical framework. The nature of the hermeneutic circle positions data as emergent and reflexive and there can be no definitive track, therefore the methods reflect that reflexive process. McAuley (2004) reminds us that in the hermeneutic journey there are no facts only interpretations therefore the processes along which this hermeneutic work would be conducted became core to the determination of professionalism in the research and to the potential for acknowledgement of its outcomes.

Other significant works in the field of Emotional Labour have used varying methods to complete the research. Hochschild's (1983) research is one of the main theoretical works for my literature review. Bryman (2008) discusses Hochschild and subsequent researchers on the topic and their methods, which ranged from direct and participant observation, structured and unstructured interviews, document analysis, and in later examples (Leidner, 1999) ethnographic studies. I did consider also a survey or questionnaire approach, but given the nature of the research, I felt that deeper exploration of meaning would be achieved through a more personal approach with each of the participants selected.

As discussed in previous sections on overall methodology, I had discounted ethnography for this study, however methods associated with ethnography such as participant observation were still considered. I was, however more interested in the subject's own interpretation of their social settings and world of work rather than any observations from seeing the subjects in the actual settings. Observation as such was not likely to assist this exploration and my own understanding of this world of work is already present as I have personally lived it and continued to be resident in it.

Interviews and Work Histories

The initial collection and interpretation of data would come directly from the participants. This lead me to interviews as the method of choice, used in the context of a life/work history story. Locating the interviews within the context of a life/work history accommodates the reflexive, interpretive approach. Musson (2004) also provides that life histories recognise the collusion of the researcher in the research process in that the researcher needs to bring to the surface theories both explicit and implicit which are in his head. Bryman (2008) refer to Faraday & Plummer (1979:776) for a definition of the life history interview as documenting the *'inner experience of the individuals, how they interpret, understand and define the world around them'*. This had meaning for my research as I sought to understand what had shaped the research participants attitudes and perspectives on emotional labour. I was particularly interested in this aspect of their social development. The full life history interview requires the subjects to reflect back on their entire lives. I chose not to follow that approach in its entirety as the process would be exhaustive and unnecessary to accommodate the interpretation I was seeking.

Watson (2009:62) discusses using life stories in identity work as a means to consider the influence of organizational components on people's identity. He cautions the researcher to consider that identity is only partly shaped by the experience of work and therefore to see organizational involvement as only one source of identity. In order to locate the participant's self-identity in the broader context of their lived experiences outside of the work setting, I would need to open up the discourse to include other critical life experiences that had shaped attitudes or given meaning to the work of emotional labour.

In listening specifically to the narratives from the participant's development into and through the hospitality industry I began the collection of data and opened up the reflexive process to explore how these interpretations have been formed.

Musson (2004) provides that the challenge for the researcher in this process of listening and recording is to surface the basic, implicit assumptions and explain the relationship while retaining the integrity of the original narratives. The participant's and the researcher's stories narrated in this form can in effect become research outcomes in themselves (Watson 2009). This was an important theoretical discovery for me, and helped with my hitherto struggles for the context of presenting my research conclusions. It opened up the notion that participants and I could, in effect, be co-creating our version of truth through the vehicle of the research process.

As individuals we all have narratives in our heads and are engaging to some degree in those narratives which are available around us or imposed by any number of influences from social pressures to mainstream advertisement or even employer requirements. In the hospitality industry the narratives around what makes excellent customer service are constantly imposed through training and reinforcement in various mediums. This further highlighted the importance of identifying through the research what was actually occurring; i.e. were we responding to a subjective world imposed upon us or were we creating our own science around the phenomenon?. This question has specific application to my selection of participants for this process of co-creation. I set about to select individuals who had formed common narratives to those that I had shaped through my lived experiences and would self-identify with the valued role emotional labourer.

I selected 10 participants from hospitality companies who were completing studies at a local hospitality college. This selection of 10 participants was as a result of conducting initial 'screening' interviews with a total of 15 individuals who met the criteria for participation and expressed interest in the research work.

The criterion established was very straightforward. Candidates were asked in a solicitation letter (Appendix B. pp.212) to express interest if they were career hospitality professionals, with a passion for Guest Service and a minimum of 4 years work experience in a front-line guest service role.

These criteria were intended to select out exemplary guest service employees who have consistently displayed the guest service behaviours that typify excellence in service delivery. They would be employees who are, for example, recipients of service award programs that existed within their current organisations recognition structures.

The decision to take this purposive sampling approach (Bryman 2008) was based on the need to select only participants whose experience would be relevant to my research questions. It was intentional to select participants who would mirror my own experience and perspectives on the nature of guest service. I recognise the limitations of selecting a sample of participants who were so closely aligned with my own beliefs and perspectives on the work of hospitality and who shared this valued identification with the work. By widening the sample to include participants who were not so aligned, it would have presented an opportunity to explore the interpretations of meaning from contrasting experiences and potentially present more critical findings. I purposefully did not do this as it was my chosen approach to access the realities of an aligned cohort and allow this to be the dominant discourse on which to critically reflect. I do also acknowledge that accessing the realities of a less aligned or disaffected group of hospitality workers is an area for further exploration and has the potential for further valuable contributions to meaning.

The selection of appropriate candidates was achieved through the screening process and as a result, number of candidates who initially expressed interested were not included in the sample as they did not share a common perspective on the role and its contribution. An example of the screening form used can be found in Appendix C (pp 215.). This semi-structured (King, 2004) interview approach allowed me to determine if the candidates who had responded to the initial solicitation were a good fit.

Several candidates were not selected for a number of reasons. In one case the initial respondents saw his current guest service role as unimportant and merely a means to an end in order to rise into management roles;

“I will be more comfortable to teach in University, to manage something important, but this, I cannot describe really that it gives me more. I can go again to some manager position and the server position was just part of the way to get there, but then I realized that nobody is waiting for us, and the next class... they told us do not expect to be a manager, do not apply to be a manager – I hated that I spent two years preparing to be a manager” Notes from Candidate A.K.

In other cases candidates did not display a clear affinity with guest service work and as such I was unable to establish the necessary relationship to access their subjective realm and follow the hermeneutical circle. (McAuley et al 2007:40);

“I’m Enjoying FIU and keen to get qualified so can I can get more into running the business side. Working in Guest Relations...right now I see as a necessary experience but not really fulfilling....It does help me understand the customer and I love to see the way some of my co-workers handle guest issues; I know the front of house is not for me” Notes from Candidate A.A.

I concluded that while these candidates had responded to the request, their interest in participation was more related to career progression, personal education or simply a means to network. None of these reasons were necessarily a disqualifier, however the key characteristic I was seeking, that of affinity and identification with the work of serving customers appeared to be missing. As described in my methodology chapters, the research aims to find hidden meanings in the participant’s interpretations while reflecting on and challenging my own assumptions regarding the nature of emotional labour and its relationship with social identity. In order for those hidden meanings to be accessed I concluded that I would start out with a sample who shared a common subjective interpretation to my own. This common understanding between researcher and participants was necessary to co-create a version of meaning that could be critically interpreted. The critical debate would come through a high degree of reflection within the circle of hermeneutical understanding as the interpretation of the data ensued.

I did start out with a general idea for a sample size of 10-12 for my research and was happy to receive 15 viable candidates after the initial solicitation. King (2004) provides that the number of interviews selected is a matter of research logistics and the overall aim is to provide closure so a starting point is desirable but it will be open-ended. In this case the eventual sample of 10 was open ended and I had left an option to revisit.

Having conducted and transcribed the semi-structured interviews over a period of several months it was clear that I had more than sufficient data to facilitate interpretation. The semi-structured interview approach accommodated this relatively small sample due to the nature of the in-depth and probing questions used. This approach initially facilitated my need to explore the research topic from the perspective of the subject and their lived experiences. King, (2004) points out that this style of interview is most suited to research where a study is focused on the particular meaning of a phenomenon to the participants.

The context of emotional labour and also that of a valued social identity were both unknown phenomena to the participants; using this iterative approach allowed for an exploration of meaning that was adaptive to their development of understanding.

The research interviews involved the use of an interview guide (King, 2004) as demonstrated in Appendix D (pp.217). listing topics to cover in the course of the life/work history interview. This guide remained iterative in nature and developed as interviews progressed and additional relevant questions emerged. As I reflected on the responses to questions from participants and on my own observations, the interview questions expanded from this original guide and this iterative process continued throughout the interview series to accommodate my ongoing reflections. The interviews were recorded digitally (with permission of the subjects) and then transcribed along with the notes taken during the interview. The amount of information received in the recordings and the 10 full transcripts was significant and at first overwhelming.

Two examples of transcripts are presented in Appendix F (pp. 245), and size of the transcripts varied between 3,800 to 4,500 words. Transcripts were not written up for the initial 15 screening interviews however extracts from notes and observations are provided for in Appendix H (pp.250). I had anticipated the challenges in analysing the data collected due to the unstructured nature (Collis and Hussey: 2003:169). As Robson (Robson, 1993:370, cited by Hussey and Hussey, 1997) points out that *“there are no clear and accepted set of conventions for analysis corresponding to those observed with quantitative data”*.

Interviews took place at a variety of locations. Initial screening interviews were conducted on the University Campus in the library area to provide an initial secure and legitimate introduction environment. The more in-depth, secondary interviews took place in a setting chosen by the participant which I approved as conducive to taping. A schedule for these 10 interviews is attached in Appendix G (pp.246). The digital device used was discreet and high-quality to allow for meetings in coffee-shop locations as a small micro-phone could be attached to the participants clothing. This allowed for the interviews to remain informal and follow a semi-structured flow as discussed in Bryman’s (2008) tips and skills for interviewing in qualitative research. All of the final participants were interviewed twice; the initial screening interview to determine fit, and the secondary in-depth life/work history interview. Initial interviews were relatively brief lasting 30-45 minutes with secondary Interviews taking longer usually 60 to 90 minutes.

The Participants

The 10 participants selected were recruited through the Florida International University School of Hospitality. The selection criteria required a minimum of 4 years worked experience in a front-line Hospitality role. 15 candidates were interviewed and after discussion 10 agreed or were selected to participate who met the required criteria. In addition to the basic entry requirements, I was looking for individuals who shared my passion for the service industry and who socially identified as a hospitality professional, taking pride in their abilities to provide high levels guest service. This was evidenced through their enthusiasm and immediate connection with me and with the research themes in our initial screening interviews, interview notes from a selection of these interviews are presented in Appendix H (pp.250). The initial screening interviews were very informal 30 minute meetings during which I just asked them to tell me about themselves, how they got into hospitality and what they enjoyed about the work. The key factors in determining if they were a good fit for this research related to their awareness of the connection to hospitality, how that had formed and the presence of a clear sense of identification with the role. It was important that they appeared to value the skills they had formed and saw themselves as professionals; also that they had an authentic sense of self in the roles. I determined this by asking open ended questions and probing their feelings towards the work of serving others. The following extracts from my interview notes in Appendix H (pp.250). provide further insights into why some of the candidates were not selected;

“Note: Came across as means to an end; just a job – more focused on the way he was treated rather than the experience with the customer. Didn’t appear to like being a server and signed up for this interview as he was really looking to network and build his contacts. Appeared not to really like customers from some of the service examples he provided. Did not appear to make a connection with the hospitality side of working in the business – did not identify as service professional.” Researchers notes on interview with Candidate A.K.

“Note: Career focused, wants to be managerial – appeared more analytical in approach to the environment rather than have any passion or emotion around it. Saw working in the service side as a necessary study of the customer in order to market to them, did not discuss any particular desire to continue serving in any way. Impressed with what can be accomplished by servers and appear to understand the important of the role but does not appear to personally identify with the role of service.”

Researchers notes on interview with Candidate A.A.

I needed to feel a clear sense of connection with the individuals, see that we shared common values and beliefs around hospitality practices and the professional nature of the service job role. This was important to the hermeneutic nature of the research; in order to develop secondary interpretations from the research themes, I intended to use my own reflections alongside these individuals' interpretations. In order for me to develop that understanding we had to share this common ground and build understanding together on how we had formed this strong identification with emotional labour. The main body of interviews were conducted over a period of 60-90 minutes and took the form of a life and work history. The interviews were semi-structured and allowed the subjects to describe what was important to them, however were guided to explore how the initial attraction to the industry/role had formed; how that connection was deepened; and what, for them, constituted authenticity in the job role.

The candidate mix was very diverse in age, gender and ethnicity as well as in lived experiences, a full roster of the final 10 participants is available in Appendix G (pp.246). All were working in hospitality while completing their Hospitality degree's at the graduate level and none were full time students. I recognise that selecting a sample who were all completing degree level programs also introduces a limitation to the research in that it would imply that all of these candidates have developed the capabilities to achieve higher learning. I believe that I had not selected participants who were more advanced in their learning and who has been exposed to theoretical propositions around hospitality, the quality of our discourse would have been compromised.

It was in this combination of hospitality work experience and education that I was able to draw on critical perspectives from the participants and access relevant meaning.

Data Interpretation

I adopted a 'general analytical procedure' for the interpretation of data (Collis and Hussey: 2003:263). This involved forming some initial development of key concepts and themes as presented in the diagram in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Key Concepts and Themes



At the beginning of the process it was beneficial to establish a simple coding system for each concept/theme identified and extend this same coding system to the findings from the interviews conducted. The process of further data reduction involved grouping these themes into appropriate categories by establishing links Bryman (2008:554) also refers to these approaches as 'Thematic Analysis' or 'Narrative Analysis', and provides a framework approach which allows for grouping of central themes or narratives that assisted with the organisation of data for my purposes.

Alvesson & Skolberg (2000) further discuss interpretations from this data in the hermeneutic stance and provide that there is a primary and secondary level of interpretation. The primary interpretation in my data began with the text from the transcripts. I highlighted what I considered meaningful based on the research aims while revealing the explicit assumptions that were manifested. I followed the general principles of Alvesson & Skolberg's (2000) pattern of interpretation. This approach involves creating a ...*coherent whole of partial interpretations*, Alvesson & Skolberg (p128), which in turn provides a means to understanding the deeper interpretation from the text of the transcripts.

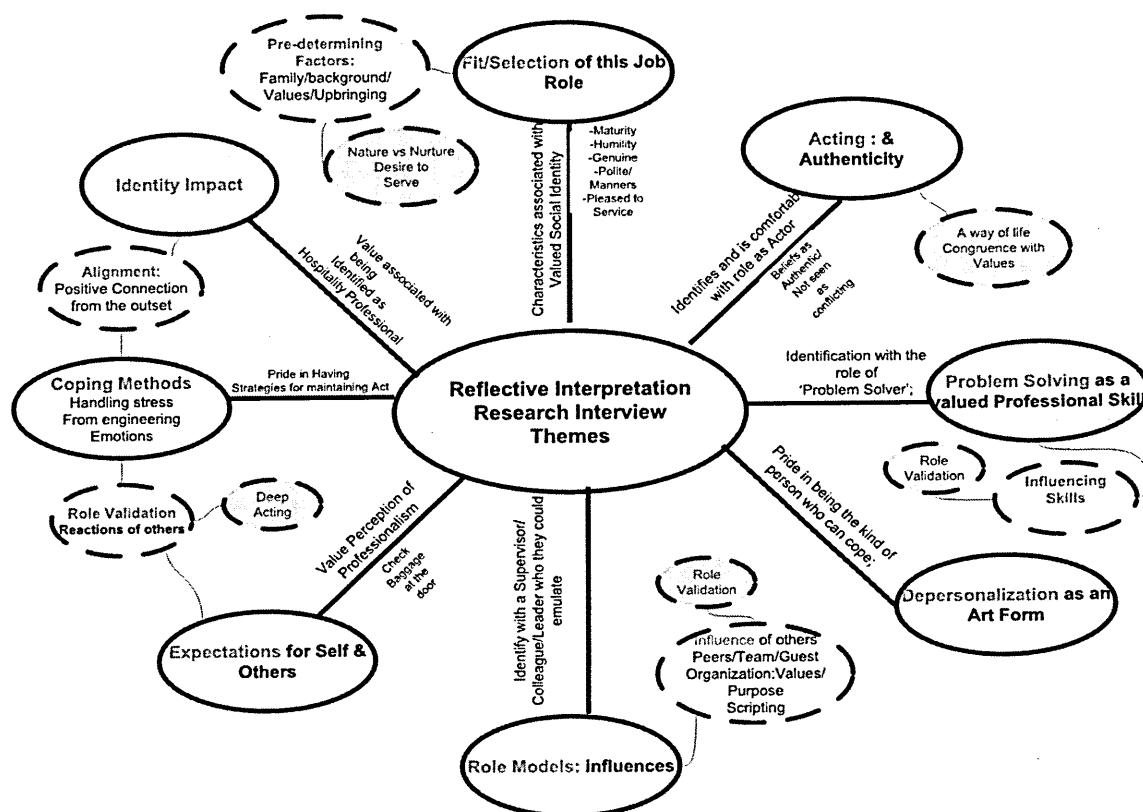
In reviewing the text I made further notes and interpretations including stating my own preconceptions and entered into the reflexive dialogue. The reflexive dialogue occurs where the researcher enters into a reflection on the narrative and critically explores emerging themes for secondary interpretations. The table in Fig 5... Demonstrates how these themes were organized under three main headings with notes from the participants and secondary interpretations from the researcher.

Fig 5. Summary of Thematic Interpretations from Interview discussions

PARTICIPANTS	Interpretive Themes from Co-created Meaning	AUTHOR
The Attraction to Hospitality & The Work of Emotional Labour		
Family Background	The context of hospitality in the home, the environment in which one is raised and the values that are instilled around service/serving others. Experiencing positive impacts of being off Service to others and understanding how that brings influence to the provider of service. Experiencing the act of service as a positive/ both in the 'act' itself and the acting of it.	Strong Guest values in upbringing
Values		Compulsion to serve others in family tendencies /humility
The Show/Theatre		Form of escapism from the mundane
Positive reinforcement		Alignment with personal values Humility, Empathy, Caring
Influencing People		Empowerment/realization
Career Choice		Not Planned – more iterative
Identification with Role		
Innate Characteristics	Experiencing a sense of vocation and deep professional affiliation with the work of emotional labour and its outcome to serve others Role validation emerging through experiences with influencing people; Managers, Peers, Guests Not experiencing dissonance with engineering emotions, strong professional association with act of engineering feeling to produce desired outcomes gives it authenticity; have coping methods for 'attitude adjustment' when challenged.	Pride in ability to serve
Role Validation/Positive reaction from experiences		Association of professionalism with the role
First Impressions/Training Management/Org Culture		Experience of Management/Peers and strong identification with like minded people
Finding authenticity in Acting to induce positive service outcomes		View of 'acting' as the norm, no dissonance with authenticity
Experience of dissonance and coping strategies		Negative view of dissonance ; indication of alignment issues/FIT
Finding Authenticity & Meaning		
Comfortable in the experience of 'the show'	Fit is a pre-requisite, there are values and characteristics that have to be in place to build on in order to develop into role Then alignment is strengthened by experiencing congruence; if all other indicators are that the work of emotional labour is mean and believed in then the provider is further empowered Finding meaning in the work gives it its authenticity and is what makes the act sustainable;	Find meaning and purpose in the work
Empowered by the experience of positive outcomes		Comfortable with the paradox of Acting and Authenticity
Experiencing congruence in Organization Culture		Act only sustainable if meant ; therefore experienced as genuine in intent
Experiencing congruence in leadership and systems for reinforcement		

During this primary interpretation stage, I did surface themes which were coded by key-words, and grouped accordingly for further exploration as demonstrated in Figure 4. The original text however remained in play throughout the interpretive journey, as new relationships and contexts revealed themselves and gave reason to circle back into the primary text as illustrated in the mapping of themes in Figure 6. below.

Figure 6. Map of Themes



In the secondary or more often sub-interpretation (Alvesson & Skolberg 2000) , themes such as the authenticity of the narratives, my own bias, and the more implicit assumptions were explored. This more deliberate assessment of plausibility in the interpretations opened up more vistas of interpretation and was challenging and often frustrating as contradictions emerged and required further exploration both with the literature and through my own internal debate in the hermeneutic stance. This occurred for example in the exploration of acting and authenticity.

The theme emerged concurrently and implied a contradiction, upon secondary interpretation and review in the literature this theme took on new meaning in the context of acting authentically and became a central concept in the development of understanding.

The same process of interpretation and sub-interpretation was used to interpret my own self-reflections gathered in the interview as I met with the participants. This text was consolidated into a format similar to that of the transcripts and facilitated this pluralistic interpretation to occur in the hermeneutic loop. Appendix F. demonstrates how this notation was presented in the transcripts and this also allowed for a form of triangulation to occur in the data collection.

Bryman (2004:700) defines Triangulation as *'the use of more than one method or source of data in the study of social phenomenon so that findings may be cross- checked'*. Seale (1999) locates the idea of triangulation in the positivistic, empiricist realm with its focus on validity and reliability of the data. In a qualitative, interpretive approach the concept of a single valid position is not acknowledged, particularly in the hermeneutic perspective. Seale places triangulation in a paradigm that fits the constructivist epistemology by viewing it as a method to lend further credibility to the realities presented rather than claiming them to be 'valid'. There were several potential approaches to triangulation that may have been relevant to my research. In the iterative process of developing understanding from the interview data Musson (2004) suggests setting up a series of oppositions ; within the subjects construction or account of the issue; between different subjects accounts and between the subject and researchers own account. All of these opportunities existed in my data and were explored accordingly, examples of which are provided previously in Figure 5., pp 107.

Ethical Considerations

As the research work developed, the ongoing interpretations from text became increasingly theory laden, and as such it became apparent that the realities eventually presented would be entirely socially constructed (Alvesson & Skolberg, 2000). This presented an ethical dilemma as it opened the research environment to potential bias in the presentation of the researcher's subjective interpretation. This placed a requirement that all of my interpretations be clearly noted as subjective as the various themes developed. This remained an important ethical consideration throughout and in noting these interpretations it also helped me to keep track of the interpretive process as demonstrated in Appendix F. (p.221) which shows how patterns of exploration were followed within the transcripts.

Other ethical questions arose from my declared role as co-creator of meaning in the hermeneutical stance. During the interviews, I would also on occasion share my experiences and thoughts on the issues under discussion. This allowed the participants to identify with me and also contextualise our discussions around the phenomena in question. Johnson and Duberley (2000), discuss where the researcher might bring an awareness of their own background and philosophical position into the research as necessary relative to its aims. The ethical dilemma occurs where this creates an environment where the participants are lead into a shared mind-set around the phenomena rather than an unfiltered, independent view. I remained very aware of this dilemma throughout the discourse and attempted to ensure the integrity of the participants narrative by structuring questions that allowed for the participants own experience of the phenomena to be independent of my influence. The transcripts presented in Appendix F. illustrate this and the pure form of narrative from these transcripts allows the reader to experience an unfiltered perspective. The co-creation of meaning occurs more in the secondary interpretations and is clearly called out.

I cannot however say that there is no possibility that the participants might have been influenced in their responses by my own experiences as shared. I can only say that that was not the intention of sharing experiences, these were intended only to give context and empathy to the dialogue and allow the participants to access their experience accordingly.

Bryman (2008) discusses Deiner and Crandalls (1973) four areas of ethical principles. I have taken these principles into consideration throughout the research journey and in particular as regards the participants and their involvement in the research discourse. The nature of the research was unlikely to cause harm other than in the area of confidentiality and this was addressed up front as part of the informed consent documentation. Important ethical considerations were discussed with the participants to ensure their confidentiality was protected in the narratives and that they are fully informed of the extent and implications of their participation. This was also reinforced by the signing of an interview consent form, an example of one such completed form can be found in Appendix I (p.251). As demonstrated individuals have indicated where they wish or do not wish to have their name used in addition to other uses of the data. The participant's privacy was also respected accordingly. Participants were fully and truthfully informed through-out the research regarding the nature of the research its aims this began with the initial solicitation and selection screening as demonstrated in Appendix C (p. 212). and was again documented in the consent form at Appendix I (p.251).

Conclusions

In selecting research methodologies, I have attempted to locate my research work in the wider context of good research design while developing my own understanding of the implications of the various methodological choices.

I had established from the outset that my research approach would be in the qualitative, inductive mode. Although I subscribe to an objective world, I believe that this world is to be found through individual's own constructions of reality and as such this lead me ontologically to critical theory. In this ontology I found an alignment with my own perspectives on reality.

A primary consideration from the outset was to adopt a reflexive, interpretive approach and optimise the exploration of hidden meanings within the research findings. In Alethic Hermeneutics, I found a perspective that described well these considerations and also took into full account my own significant pre-understanding and priori knowledge on the topic. I anticipated that the holistic nature of this exploration in the hermeneutic tradition will introduce other worlds to contrast with my world and call into question my own constructions of reality; this was particularly compelling for me in this choice of over-arching methodology. I use the term 'over-arching' because there is no pure form of methodology to be followed here; as my journey above describes, approaches from several methodological leanings crept into my work.

In terms of the overall methodological approach, Alvesson & Skolberg, (2000) provided a road-map which describes well the reflexive interpretive journey ; start with data construction and systematic interpretation within the context of existing academic theories and underlying assumptions; follow with a more critical form of interpretation in the critical hermeneutics mode; add another layer of more reflexive interpretation of the text itself and locate the researcher's voice and other voices represented outside the participants own. I believe my research has followed this path and in doing so will provide valuable insights into subjects already rich in meaning.

Introduction

The work of emotional labour in hospitality job roles is about delivering service to customers or, as they are more commonly known in the industry, guests. To be successful it requires the worker to enter a shared paradigm regarding what constitutes service excellence and deliver accordingly. In the literature exploration I discussed the investment the service industry makes in developing the required behaviours to deliver the much sought after 'personalised' service experience. The resulting engineering of one's emotions to bring about desired states in others is at the core of what the Hospitality industry expects from its workers.

In this chapter I present the research discourse which is made up a review of the narratives as transcribed during the research interviews, with observations and development of initial themes. The chapter begins with a brief synopsis of the participants and their life histories as they relate to working in hospitality. This includes my own background as a participant in creating the discourse. The discourse is then developed out under 3 main thematic headings; Attraction to Hospitality, Identification with Hospitality Job Roles and Finding Meaning and Authenticity in Emotional labour.

In the discourse on Attraction, I seek to understand the individual's paradigms and how they came to master the requirements of emotional labour and this is the place I started my journey of exploration with the research participants. This leads to a rich discussion of how we were brought up and our early attraction to hospitality and the requirements of hosting. In the discourse on Identification, the journey then leads us into discussions of why we appeared to so readily identify with the work of emotional labour and find affinity with it. This lead to further discussions about the professional nature of the work and ability to commit deeply to its requirements in order to find meaning in it. The final discourse on Meaning develops out our understanding of being authentic in these work roles and how we come to find meaning in its labour.

The starting point of exploring how individuals were attracted to the industry emerged in the hermeneutical process was not necessarily where my conversations with the participants began. In subsequent reflections on the narratives the themes were consistent and Attraction seemed like a good place to start describing our co-created meaning. I will use the term co-created meaning to characterise the process by which the hermeneutical journey occurred. As stated in the methodology chapter, this sample of participants were selected for the reason that we, together, shared a common paradigm around the phenomenon of service excellence in hospitality.

The conversations that ensue give voice to our understanding of how we came to find a valued social identity in being a part of this the service phenomenon and the associated emotional labour outputs. In order to allow for a democratic form of discourse to be seen by the reader, the chapter describes the narratives shaped by the participants without interpretation, just observations. This will be followed by a critical discussion and positioning of these elements in the hermeneutical stance in the following chapter.

The Researcher as Participant

I grew up in a small, working class town in the rural part of North-West Ireland. My family circumstances were humble and we lived simply. My first experiences of hospitality writ large was when we had visitors. I looked forward to those occasions, everything was different from the hum-drum of life for a short time; we were 'putting on a show' – it was exciting, energising. It opened a window into other worlds; world's seemingly more gracious where personal interactions became more open and pleasant than the rather harsh realities of our day to day lives.

My parents instilled in us a great respect for visitors, and everyone who came to visit was treated with the same reverence. The best china came out; cakes were presented, everything in sight, including us children, was rendered spotless. It felt like we were putting on a show, and our attitudes and behaviours were adjusted accordingly.

Grand conversation was had, great manners were evident and great care was taken to please the visitors and ensure that everyone had a good time. Upon reflection, these were indeed the best of times, and while it may all seem a little pretentious in retrospect; when you lived inside that world, these bright intervals in our lives were meaningful and allowed us to live out our other happier selves if only for a brief while. I remember wanting it to be like that all the time as a child, and through books and eventually television programs imagining myself in a lifestyle full of grand hospitality.

I also visited Hotels often as a young child. My father worked on a laundry van and in the summers and holidays I was always on the road with him. We would go to Hotels for pick-ups and deliveries and I would often wander out to the 'Front-of- the- House' and was intrigued by everything I saw; the way people spoke to each other and greeted guests, the lovely manners of the staff, the intensity of the back of house and the overall atmosphere of hospitality. I eventually did get a part-time job while still at school in my first hotel and revelled in it all. It was an exotic world to me then and so different from the other workplace references I had; farms, factories, supermarkets, these were mundane workplaces to me, but Hotels were windows to another world.

Once behind the curtains of that seemingly exotic world, it became even more compelling to me as I lived out the daily dramas of servicing the guest needs even at the most entry level roles where my career began. I found I had natural affinity with anticipating guest needs and delighted in exceeding expectations, whether it was the way I served a meal, pulled a pint, delivered a tray or eventually checked a guest into their room. I quickly acclimated to this environment where guests were revered and the duties of every employee were to make the guests feel great about their experience. I also identified with the challenges it presented, with being the kind of person who can handle those challenges and deal with people in all situations with the goal of having them walk away satisfied and happy with their experience.

It was no surprise then when I chose to go to college to study Hospitality. My years studying hospitality while also continuing to work in Hotels were very rewarding and completely confirmed my career decision. I quickly moved through the ranks in International 5 Star Hotel companies, before moving into the Cruise Line business and pursuing a management career.

The Participants

As I got to know each of the participants, I began to think of them each with their own unique characteristics in relation to the research topic. I assigned them each a pseudonym synonymous with those characteristics which I began to use when referring to them. The following is a brief overview of each participant and their life story in the context of hospitality written under the respective pseudonym.

Participant No. 1, Mr. It's a Choice

This participant grew up in Mexico in a privileged family. His father was an international businessman who travelled the world and often brought his family with him. In his home they entertained a lot formally and informally, they had servants and where taught always to appreciate and respect the work of this staff; in fact he spoke very warmly of them, considering them family. He grew up around the house with the children of these servants and learned to be humble and appreciate the simple things in life through these experiences. When entertaining the household would take on great energy and excitement and everyone would get involved preparing rooms for guest to stay in, planning meals and fun things to do; it was always something he looked forward to and in which he always had a part to play, helping in the preparations with the staff and his mother together with his siblings. He spoke fondly of those times and the great pride that they family took in welcoming guests and see how much they appreciated their hospitality.

One of his other great memories from growing up was staying at fine Hotels and Resorts in cities throughout Latin America, North America and Europe. He was fascinated with what he saw as the artful way in which these experiences were crafted and the attention to detail that was evident in service delivery. He took time to speak to service staff wherever he stayed and often got a privileged look behind the scenes in the company of staff that befriended him. He recounted occasions when his family would be enjoying the hotel facilities while he would be in hidden in the Room-Service pantry fascinated by the orders coming in and going out and the intensity of it all.

He chose to attend hospitality school in America with his families' full support and to realise his passion for the world of hospitality. When we met, he was working as an Events Manager at a boutique hotel in South Beach, Miami while completing his graduate degree program at FIU. I characterised this participant as 'it's a choice' because he constantly talked about the choice's people have in how they view the work of serving others. He often related this to the experiences he had shared starting with those servants in his family home, through to people of all walks of life he had met in hotels throughout his formative years and more recent career. Here he saw examples of people who took pleasure from the art and profession of serving others and chose to see themselves in that context.

Participant No. 2, Ms. Authentic

This participant grew up in China where she lived in a major metropolis area with her parents. Her mother and father worked very hard and their family time was spent around meals. They always took time to prepare meals and there was a formality to the meal service which was something she enjoyed and appreciates still; taking time to have good manners and care for each other around the meal table. Her first introduction to hospitality outside the home was during vacation to other cities in China and she was not impressed with the hospitality she experienced there. Her experience of hospitality was much stronger in the home than in outside settings and she was usually disappointed in the way others treated her and her family while in Hotels. She still finds today in China the service in regular 3-4 star Hotels is cold and impersonal and that you have to stay in luxury properties to experience excellent service as per western expectations. Her parents wanted her to come to America for her college education and she chose to study hospitality at FIU because they had an international program and good relations in China. While working in American Hotels for the past 4 years she loves the work and takes the profession very seriously. She is bothered by others who do not and sees training as ineffective if people do not have a genuine interest in serving others and see the value in that work. She has brought with her from her family in China a love of hospitality and thinks for her team-mates at work who share her passion as an extension of that family.

Participant No. 3, Mr. Positive

This participant grew up in the US. His father had a plumbing business and had a great work ethic which he taught to his children. Had no connection with hospitality in the formal sense and talked about his childhood very positively with a close-knit family environment. His first meaningful experience of hospitality was working a summer job while at school as a cabana boy, taking care of the cabana guests at a local beach club. He still maintains this was the best job ever and has so many happy memories of great times, making a lot of money for a young man and meeting a lot of cool and interesting people. He got to know the guests very well over the years he worked there, all through college from age 16-21. It felt like family and he learned how much the simple things mattered, remembering names and kid's names and likes and dislikes, sports teams of interest etc. Did well at school and got into a good college for his undergraduate program together with some good friends. Wasn't sure what he wanted to do considered law and finance, but two years in to college he lost 3 of his best friends in a tragic accident and really became disconnected.

The experience of loss caused him to reflect on his life and purpose and he knew that his heart was not in it so he gave up on college and moved to a resort area and got a job in a Hotel. He felt at home in this environment and realised that this is where his passion was. He decided to go back and finish his undergraduate program in hospitality at FIU while working and when we met had commenced on his graduate degree. In the 5 years since moving to Florida he has progressed from being a valet to becoming Guest Relations Manager. His personal philosophy on the work of serving others was that you had to find positive energy in the work to be effective. He looks for this in every hire and requires candidates to spend a shift with him to observe their energy level before committing to hire.

Participant No.4, Mr. Humbled

This participant grew up in the Czech Republic in the post-communist years and lived with a single parent, his mother, and her sister in an urban setting where they shared a small apartment. Though they had very little in material value the family had a lot of pride and were very aware of good manners and correct behaviour. He was constantly coached on his manners and appearance by his Mother and Aunt and encouraged to be presentable and professional from an early age. He was fortunate to finish schooling and go to a state college to study business. He was able to get an early start in an import business and became financially relatively successful even at an early age. As he became more affluent and had the opportunity to travel, he experienced hospitality in different countries and was impressed by the experiences in particular the level of service and attentiveness that made him feel special. He married and before starting a family decided he did not want his children to grow up in what he saw as a depressed and inhibited local culture with which he had become increasingly disaffected. He had family in America and was sponsored to go there as a student. When deciding what studies he would undertake he settled on Hospitality as he found he had an affinity with environment from his travels and wanted to learn more about the industry and potentially make a career in it.

After starting at FIU he got his first true hospitality position as a server in local upscale country club. Initially he struggled with the role, having been a manager and successful businessman in the past he found it hard to serve. He resented how some guests spoke to him and how he was ordered about by supervisors and told what to say and do and how to be all the time. He did however come from a family upbringing where good manners and being nice were highly valued, so he found himself slipping into the role eventually and finding that he actually was very good at it. As his proficiency developed he found he was enjoying it more and more and actually realised over time that this was the first type of work in which he really found satisfaction. He found that doing what it takes to make people happy and finding ways to establish rapport with even some of the most difficult guests made him happy and he enjoyed being part of a team.

One of the most important truths he shared was that he was humbled by these experiences after realising that in serving others and taking care of people he could in fact find meaning in his own life and work. When we met he has been promoted to supervisor and was finishing his degree with an ambition to be hired by an international hotel company as a management trainee.

Participant No. 5, Ms. Golden Rule

This participant grew up in Jamaica in a large, close knit family that was very spiritual and much of family life centred on their faith. Growing up much of her social experiences were through the church and social gatherings where there was a great spirit of joy in coming together and feasting while celebrating; these were some of her fondest memories. She became a wife and mother at a young age and her ex-husband was a controller in a local 5 star resort hotel. She visited him there often even though she did not work there and fell in love with the environment. She worked in a retail for an electronics company, and when she spent time at the hotel it seemed such a different and exotic work environment where everyone was so gracious and warm and friendly. Her own work environment seemed dull by comparison.

As a Christian, she also was drawn to a world of caring and saw how many of her village friends who worked in the hotel had more of a sense of purpose in her work. It was hard to get into those jobs however as people just didn't leave and when they did, they had a family member lined up to replace them. Her opportunity to work in Hospitality came when she moved to America with her kids to live with a family member. She started working as a housekeeper in a local hotel and signed up for classes at FIU. She loved the work and the studies and quickly was recognised for her guest service skills and moved to Front Office. When we met, she was still at the same hotel, now as General Manager, and was completing a graduate degree at FIU having attained her under-graduate degree. She simply stated that her approach to working in hospitality was always to live by the Golden Rule; treat others as you yourself would like to be treated.

This value she attributed to her strong faith and belief that every person regardless of their approach to you was a person in need and your job, as a hospitality professional, was to listen and to help. In addition to working and attending school, she was actively involved in developing young under-privileged youth at a local vocational college. Her belief was that many of these young people could grow in their self-esteem and find a sense of purpose in the work of serving others, as she had experienced.

Participant No. 6, Mr. Alignment

This participant grew up in Cuba part of a large family. Life in Cuba was always a struggle, just to have the basics, but his recollections of growing up were largely positive and he spoke of the influence his father and grandfather had on him. He recalled their positive outlook on life despite the hardships and their refusal to dwell on issues which they could not influence. This taught him to look for ways to make things better and find happiness rather than dwell on negativity and he adopted this as a personal philosophy. After leaving school he found work in local resort hotels and really enjoyed meeting the international guests and learning about life outside Cuba. He got a big break when he was able to get employed on a cruise ship and this really opened up his perspective on hospitality and career options. He found that he was very adept at dealing with even the most difficult guests and finding ways to make them happy. His worked with guests to get them to look at the positives while finding a solution for the things they were not happy about with the product or service.

Eventually, he was able to get to America and claim refuge. He became part of a strong Cuban-American society in Miami and was helped out by a lot of people along the way. He worked in all areas of hotels while studying at FIU and attaining his degree in Hospitality. When we met, he was taking his final classes while working in the Front Office at a local hotel. He continued to have a very positive outlook on life in general and on the opportunities ahead for him. He talked a lot about people that had influenced him at work, colleagues and managers who had been role models for him in hospitality and given him many learning opportunities.

I call him Mr. Alignment because his frame of reference was around finding what made you happy, and looking for alignment. He looked for this not only in himself but also for his guests, in trying to find out what they were looking for in the service experience and aligning to that wherever possible.

Participant No. 7, Mr. Empathy

This participant grew up in a bustling US city, an only child of a single parent. He says himself as shy and somewhat withdrawn child growing up. He did not have a lot of exposure to the hospitality industry as such since they did not stay at Hotels growing up and did not have the means to experience a lot of service environments outside the home. At the age of 14, a friend told him that a local café was looking for help as a dish-washer and that he should come and work for an evening there. His mother encouraged him to do, as he spent a lot of time around the apartment and she wanted him to get out more. He did go and work and was at first overwhelmed by the intensity of the kitchen and the pace of the service. After that first night he found himself excited and energised by the prospect of working there again. He did go back and was eventually encouraged to go out front and work the service counter and the tables. He was surprised to find how good he was at it, and how the customers warmed to him. He stayed there all through his remaining school years and became a favourite of the customers, all of whom he got to know and thought of as family. The café became an extension of his home and he grew in self-esteem through these experiences and became socially confident and comfortable even with large groups of people.

He described this time in his life and development as Karate Kid training, learning how to act in situations where he felt completely inept, such as approaching a table of customers and interrupting them to take an order or addressing groups of people in a noisy, bustling atmosphere. He learned not to judge people by outward appearances, some of his customers were grumpy and irritable and appeared to be angry or impatient when they came in. He learned not to be put off by these outward displays and to just be sincere with people and take time to connect.

The same difficult people pretty much adopted him as their grandson over the years he was there and he recalled crying when he learned that an elderly customer passed away or worrying about them if they did not show up at their usual time. His personal philosophy on being a server was that some days you just had to be the punching bag, and that was alright because you could help that person feel better by just listening and being empathetic, as long as you did not take it personally. When I met him, he was completing his graduate degree at FIU, while working full time in the corporate office of a large hospitality company, but also part-time evenings as a server and bartender.

Participant No. 8, Mr. Showman

This participant grew up in a suburb of an American city, one of three siblings in an African American family. His father was a sales person and travelled extensively and he recalled growing up listening to the many stories of his travels and being fascinated by the experiences that he had on airplanes and in hotels and restaurants as conducted business. His father was a great storyteller and loved an audience. He recalled growing up in a household with strong family values and traditions, respectfulness and good manners were insisted on and meal-times were the culmination of that in his mind. When his father was home for the evening meal it was always a little more special and they would often spend the whole evening at the meal- table, telling stories, playing board games and card games after dinner was cleared and they all has fulfilled their roles and duties in the clean-up.

He spoke fondly of those experiences and believed that they were foundational for him, he also spoke of his own young family and how he tried to keep those traditions going even with the many distractions of the computerised age. His entrance into hospitality as a career was through part-time work as a bus-boy and eventually server while going to college. He started with a business degree but changed his major to hospitality after 2 years when he decided that was where he wanted to be. Both his siblings pursued careers in business, sales and marketing, one of them in the same company as his father.

He pursued the hospitality path because he found that he enjoyed the service environment and constant contact with people and could not see himself in an office environment. He talked about the service environment like it was a performance and how much he loved the show-like atmosphere where the single goal was to have every customer leaving satisfied. When I met him he was an event manager at a local conference and banqueting venue and was undertaking his graduate degree at FIU.

Participant No. 9, Ms. Attitude

This participant grew up in the UK, where she lived in a suburb of London with her parents and one sibling. Both parents worked in hospitality, her father as a catering manager and her mother as restaurant manager. Her recollections of growing were of a happy, constantly active home, parents working odd hours but always connected and cheerful and focused on keeping the children involved with lots of outside the home activities. Her brother and she were very close and as they grew older and more independent they would take care of the house and prepare meals together and had a lot of fun doing it. Their parents encouraged them to experiment with food and they would often put on evenings featuring different ethnic foods. They loved company and they often had friends and family around the house, it was a very social home and both siblings played an active part from an early age in entertaining people. She did her undergraduate degree in hospitality in the UK and spent her several winters working as a 'chalet-girl' at Ski resorts in Europe taking care of families and couples on ski vacations.

After leaving college in the UK she worked as a travel rep for a tour company in Spain, hosting vacationers at various beach resorts. This was the most intense service experience and a big contrast to working at the Ski Resorts where most guests were very easy to deal with. The guests staying at the beach resorts could be demanding and rude and often behaved very badly. She discovered that she had a talent for dealing with these guests and unlike many of her work-colleagues there she did not suffer from the burn-out and negatively that they manifested.

This positive attitude was picked up by management and she was promoted to a trainer for the new reps focusing on customer service skills and managing behaviours. When I met her she was working as a Training Manager for Cruise Line while and considering a graduate degree at FIU. Her personal philosophy on service was that it was about choosing your attitude. Her life lessons had taught her that you can choose the attitude that you take to any given situation in the service environment and that as a professional service provider you make that choice every day.

Participant No. 10, Mr. Values

This participant grew up in Italy in a city environment. His father was a successful business owner and his mother also helped with the business from home when he was growing up, he had a twin brother.

His recollections of growing up were of a structured family life, with very busy parents who organised their life around the business. They were thought from an early age to respect others and be mindful of people's time. The business was a wine exporting company and as a result they would spend much time in the wine regions of Italy where that also had a summer home. This lifestyle also involved a lot of focus on food and a central point of most days was the evening meal which most often included extended family and friends. His favourite recollections of growing up were around these occasions and the exact nature of the choices that were made, considering each guest that would dine, their likes and dislikes. He recalled the excitement of shopping for ingredients at local farms and suppliers for products such as olive oils and cured meats and produce.

Through these experience's he learned the value of taking the time to things correctly and really understanding what kind of experience you were trying to create for guests. The difference between a relaxed family gathering and a more formal occasion with a specific objective in mind such as a business dinner or a celebration. His brother became very involved in the business as did he for a time however he did not feel satisfied in the world of commerce and eventually left to do an apprenticeship with a well-established chef.

He valued this experience however found that he enjoyed the front of the house more and the direct interaction with the guests. When I met him he was working on board a cruise ship as a Maître d and attending a management development program at FIU. His personal philosophy on the service environment was that you had to create value for the guest throughout the interaction and you did that through anticipating and understanding individual guest needs.

Themes from the Participant's Narratives

As I talked with the participants about their foundational experiences with service work we often found that we shared a common language and understanding of how we were attracted to the Hospitality world. The themes that emerged from discussions on what had attracted them to the industry often centred on discussions of early life experiences and formative first jobs. Employment in the service industry was more often an iterative process initiated by a casual or a transitory introduction to the world of hospitality. A common theme that emerged in the discussions was around an early identification with the role, the environment and the nature of the work which quickly formed and lead to more affirmative decisions about career choice. There was a common reference to family influences and elements of hospitality or 'guest' focus that were strong in their upbringing; typified by the following quotes from the participants;

"I learned that from my Grandmother, and I've always kept that as a standard from my first table to the last and it's always worked because people can see if your fake or not. You can't fake a smile" (Mr. Choice)

"You have a choice; I started studying hospitality for my personal satisfaction because I always lived in a happy house. I am going to be the first one in my family that is going to have a career – a university career. - I hope I can make hospitality better. My father taught me if you want to be the person who sweeps the streets, be the best one. Whatever you want to be, be the best one. Make the best of it" (Mr. Alignment)

The participants talked a great deal about family influences and in particular the need to help others and make them happy as a value grounded in their experiences of family. One participant attributed his attraction to problem solving in the context of hospitality to this value instilled in him from childhood. He acknowledged that it had taken him many years to realise that connection and understand why this work made him happy. In this case he was very aware of the career choices he had made and why; this was not the case with all of the participants.

In other cases that realisation had come through other forms of discovery and was not so apparent in our conversations. Another participant from the Caribbean took it to a more spiritual level in the following quote and related the attraction to a desire to service others;

“You know about the history of hospitality. Pilgrims in Israel... so I think that is our purpose, my purpose, to make things better.” (Ms. Golden Rule)

This participant took great satisfaction from creating a sense of caring for others in settings away from their home. In another case the participant thought of the work-group in her setting as a family who worked together to take care of their guests, just as she had experienced as a child growing up in China where a guest coming to the home was a great honour;

“I grew around this in my family – I always think that I am a part of a group. At home I am a part of my family, and at work I am a part of the teamwork. I am always a part of a group. Some people may just think they are an individual, not a part of some group. I think this is the link” (Ms. Authentic)

One participant from a more privileged background grew up in South America with servants and as a result had an immense respect for those who served others. He talked about how he admired their humility and found his own sense of that when he first worked with other service workers in hospitality and this attracted him to stay in the industry. He made a clear connection with the professionalism of the role and wanted to advance that in his career;

“To me it is a person well-dedicated. It is someone that is very motivated, not just there as a job. They have to be smiling, so hard-working, show that they actually care about the guest. Growing up in Mexico we had people in our home; you would call them servants, but for me they took care of us like the meant it and it really impacted me to see this professionalism.” (Mr. Choice)

And then there was the 'All-American Boy' who grew up valeting and bussing tables through school and college and felt such a strong connection with the positive energy of the roles. He quickly came to understand after attempting two years of a law degree that his heart was in hospitality. He came to realise that the most positive reinforcing life experiences he had had were centred around his hospitality roles and had to, in his words, "*get over himself*" (Mr. Positive) and except that a career in Hospitality was "*good enough*" for him;

"If work was just a means to an end I could have been a Banker, I could have got my law degree.- I could be making my millions – the way I look at it you're going to spend most of your life working you might as well enjoy it. Also I get to work in an environment that the guests are working to put themselves in; 80% of my time is spent in the environment that everyone else is trying to spend 20% of their time in, so it's a winning thing!" (Mr. Positive)

Despite being a culturally diverse group, a theme that ran throughout the conversations was around finding a positive connection with the hospitality role; however we came to be in it. We appeared to find alignment between values we had formed and the production of emotional labour in the service of others. In this context, it appears that the putting on of an act came easily to the participants as the following quotes from responses on how they felt about acting illustrate;

"I don't know – it's a good question...I know it was definitely in me – did the industry bring it out in me more? - Probably. It works for me – why would anyone want to be unhappy? : I don't understand why it wouldn't work – why not put on the act?" (Mr. Positive)

"It is not that hard. I will pretend, professionally; yes, even if it means nothing. It may appear to mean nothing to the person you have never seen before, but you create the ambiance" (Mr. Humbled)

In contrast, some participants also described experiences of co-workers who appeared misaligned with the work as follows;

“this smile can be trained; they can smile in front of the guest, but the guest can tell this is not from the heart.... some people have to really work for it, to those people it is just a job and whether they work very hard or not, they cannot do very well. You can improve something, but you cannot change the personality of this person.” (Ms. Authentic)

“A lot of people just do it because they need to; as to what it does to them, I think it will, over time, show for the guest. it is against the person they are, ” (Mr. Choice)

These experiences are described by participants when contrasting their attraction to the work of hospitality with the observed experiences of other workers who do not appear to be comfortable in their work. The participants appeared to be attracted to the industry because, in one way or another, they found alignment with the values of service and the required emotional engineering for service outcomes. The attraction to the industry for these participants appeared to be grounded in the desire to be part of a service orientated culture with all the requisite requirements for scripted behaviours and emotional displays.

The engineering of emotions for specific service behaviours as described in Hochschild's (2003) definition of emotional labour is associated with positive personal experiences in these narratives. There are many factors to consider in how this early identification with the requirements of service work might be influenced and it does appear that how an individual is raised plays a significant role. The words of one participant describe well this perspective;

‘It is like the nature versus nurture argument. The way you are brought up has a huge part in the way you are. The way you are can either help or completely not help you in this industry. I think it has a large part to do with whether you are going to be a very good worker or not. Some people can learn right away what people like to hear. I know they are very sociable people. Sociable people may be able to connect to people quicker than other people might.....

I think some people may have an advantage over others in the industry who maybe did not learn their manners, or weren't taught how to present themselves when they were brought up. How to speak, how to talk to people. To a certain degree, all hotels teach you all those things in orientation. They do fill you in on all of those things, but at that point when you are already working it is already hard-lined into you; otherwise it can be just something on the surface. Something they learn, something they are doing, because they were taught to do that." (Mr. Choice)

Identification with the Role

Making a connection with the work of emotional labour and finding identity through that work emerged as a strong theme in the discussions as participants shared experiences of finding personal alignment with the work of hospitality. How identity may be influenced in this way and what antecedents might be relevant became a significant part of the continued dialogue and will be explored in this section of the research discourse. Themes emerged around professionalism and pride in the work. Participants discussed finding role-models and a sense of belonging that re-enforced their alignment and validated them in these roles. A theme also emerged around coping with the stresses of the work and how finding purpose and value in the work itself enabled the service provider to deal effectively with the demands of serving even the most difficult guests.

Having said that, the participants readily recognised in some work colleagues a dissonance with the work and had witnessed them struggle with the act of service, and the requisite engineering of emotions. Their views on why this occurs gives further insight into their understanding of role identification and will be discussed in this chapter. The discourse now turns to this discussion of 'who am I?' as it relates to being in this service environment. I begin with my own experience and continue with a discussion of the participants accounts.

On reflection, I do not recall any personal struggles or feelings of dissonance with adapting my personality, moods, behaviours and even feelings to fit the hospitality experience I was creating. I quickly came to value these abilities as part of a highly professional set of capabilities which I extended beyond the workplace into all of my life experiences. I also acknowledge that these abilities have impacted both my career and my personal life and that by allowing myself to embrace fully the values of hospitality I believe I have achieved many successes. My own experience in this regard has significantly shaped my beliefs about what it takes to be successful and fulfilled in hospitality roles. To be effective in these roles, I believe an individual must have a strong social orientation and enjoy being in the company of others.

They must also have a strong tendency towards helping others, and be driven by the need to assist other people in achieving their expectations. I believe an individual must value a happy, positive environment and be energised by such an environment. I also believe that they have to see themselves as influencers and identify with the ability to handle people well, take pleasure from that self-image and aspire to be more successful at it. During my many experiences of training and developing hospitality workers, I recall one particular incident which typified for me the importance of identification with the hospitality role. I was training a group of Hotel Staff on a new initiative for a region of the UK sponsored by the local tourism board. We had a discussion about the need for hospitality professionals to adapt their behaviours and manage responses to guests' expectations. One individual a 'Hall Porter' in his 40's who had spent all his working life in Hotels was particularly unresponsive and at times negative, even bitter about Guests and how they abused staff etc.

I took him aside after the training and had a counselling session, and he told me how much he hated his job, how false it felt, how he struggled every day. He had several personal problems as a result and had really begun to dislike people. He also resented the implication that he should have to alter his personality in order to fit the service model. I felt really badly for him as he was quite miserable and we continued these talks as the week went on as I was resident in the Hotel where he worked. I realised that my training tools and techniques were not going to work for him because he did not believe in any of it; he did not see a purpose in what he did, it was just a job, a means to an end. Of course I asked why he stuck it out and he replied that he had been there from leaving school and knew nothing else.

When I asked what he did admire in the world of work he replied that he had come from a family of blacksmiths and forge workers and felt that was 'real-work'. This type of work had all but disappeared in that part of the world so he saw the service industry as his only alternative to unemployment. After our talks he actually came to the realisation that he was making himself and others miserable; he did resign and went on to other things.

This is an extreme case of dissonance in an individual who appeared to be unable to identify with any sense purpose and meaning in the work of serving others. It does however illustrate a version of reality that I have formed from working with individuals that some alignment with the service role needs to be present in order for individuals to present an authentic version of them-selves. This will be discussed later in the next chapter as a significant theme.

As my career expanded into Hospitality Training and Human Resource Management I have been increasingly intrigued with this issue of individuals finding a fit with customer service roles. Much of the programming I have developed has been centred around helping hospitality workers find meaning and purpose in their work through connecting personal mission, values and aspirations with the work they do in providing excellent service to others.

In my own case, I don't remember ever having to think about it, I always switched moods when I went into work and was energised by the anticipated challenges and how I would deal with them. I recall when I worked front desk in a 5 star hotel we would have a shift briefing and go through VIP arrivals and any anticipated problems etc. I would happily take the check-in for the more demanding guests or those with expectations that we were challenged to meet and would think through how to turnaround those situations, develop strategies etc. I played it out in my head and thought about the scenarios – my responses, gestures, looks etc.; it was akin to rehearsing for a play, (but with a lot of 'improv' as you couldn't script the guest!).

A win for me was a guest smiling and ready to enjoy their stay; I don't want to sound overly magnanimous in this, the satisfaction was as much from the personal feeling of success and professional pride I took in the outcome as it was making the guest happy. Quite frankly, many of these people were not that likeable, spoilt, rude etc. In some ways my ability to 'manipulate' the situation was in itself a kind of corrective coaching; music to my ears was expressions like: 'Thank you so much for taking care of this and I'm sorry if I was out of order earlier – I do feel much better now....'

It was these successes that in many ways propelled my career and lead me into roles training others to develop successful guest service skills and behaviours. Even though my career has taken me to a very different place, many of the same people strategies also apply in my role today as I prepare for the executive boardroom or a challenging employee relations intervention, in fact any area where I need to use influencing skills to achieve win-win outcome.

I also understand that being a hospitality professional has shaped my social identity and the way I interact with others in and outside of work; I naturally look for ways to serve and am always 'present' in that regard. On a recent vacation with my family we spent a few days hiking in different groups. Towards the end of the trip a woman in one of the groups asked me what I did; did I work in some sort of caring profession such as nursing. I said no I was in a corporate role and asked her why the question. She replied that she and her husband had observed me these past days and noticed how I was always looking out for people: letting others pass, helping less able people over hurdles, passing refreshments etc.; they remarked how 'on' I was all the time. I would love to say this is down to being just a wonderful human being, but I know this sense of responsibility for others is more about my identity as a professional in hospitality. My wife tells me often; 'you're not at work now' when we are out and about; you don't have to let others pass and hold the door for everyone, I get chastised for constantly being 'on'. As I reflect on that phenomenon, I also understand that being 'off' for me requires solitude or contact with only very close family. Any contact in the broader social domain causes me to react in the identity of service professional and focus on trying to make sure people are having a good or happy experience.

Our ability to deeply engage in the act of providing service does not appear to be in conflict with feelings of authenticity or demands of the self. The shared experience of seeing the act as a valued professional and broader social skill appeared to be grounded in a common understanding of the purpose of the act. In other words, the end i.e. a happy guest, justified the means i.e. engineering emotions for a specific outcome.

One participant describes it thus;

“I like to surround myself with positive people; I understand we deal with difficult people and situations every day, but I don’t see it as you put it (...is it just an act?) – I see it as problem solving; producing a good experience for the guest, the more you experience that – it gives you more ammunition and the more experience you have the less shocking things become; I think that at hotels you are exposed to things that the average person is not exposed too – yes the first time may be disturbing, but you become more equipped to handle things in a more natural way” (Mr. Positive)

The same participant also shared that he was always trying to fix things for people, even outside work. He relayed how one friend confided in him after one such attempt how it bothered her and his reaction to that;

“I get it – I know that there are things out there that can’t be easily fixed – different people hold different events important to them; it’s hard for me to rank tragedy – but breaking up with a boyfriend – I wanted to help move her on, fix it – it was hard for me to dwell in the negative”. (Mr. Positive)

In reflecting on these broader experiences with the participants, we found that our social identification with the hospitality role appears to be associated with an ability to see ourselves as professionals, and how we find value in the professional skills associated with emotional labour; even outside the workplace. There was evident pride in each person’s account of how these professional skills had formed. In the delivery of service the participants openly acknowledged the requirement for engineering of emotions and commonly referred to this in the context of ‘acting’. As I explored that concept further and explained the phenomenon of deep vs. surface acting (Hochschild, 2003), there was a very definite and consistent reaction across the entire group.

Deep acting was viewed as a highly valued and respected professional skill whereas surface acting was not viewed as sustainable or professional in the Hospitality context, as one participant observed;

“I want to say they (surface actors) die inside, that is maybe too much, but if it is so against the person you are...of course a lot of people do it because they need too...but I think it will show over time” (Mr. Values)

It is also true that the participants recognised the reality of dissonance in others, and we spoke of experiences with work colleagues who seemed at odds with the role, the following are illustrative quotes from discussions;

“Personality. It comes with you and it comes with how you can manage your emotions. ; . We have to go back to what we said about people wanting to be there or not wanting to be there. If you are a natural, then you are going to manage better. If you are not, you are going to have more trouble managing the situation.” (Mr. Empathy)

In these discussions the theme emerged that where there was not alignment with the requirements of emotional labour, the work environment could become an oppressive and unfulfilling place. A common theme developed as a result of these discussions around the shared understanding that in the ‘act’, although engineering emotions, the participants do not see this as a surface gesture. They value the development of a deep and authentic delivery presence with their guests. In exploring further the influences that strengthened this sense of identification with the role several other themes emerged.

The influence of the participants’ direct manager, the work-team, the guest and the organisational culture (values) all surfaced throughout the discussions. Several of the participants had a manager/supervisor/leader story to tell when asked about influences; good and bad. For the most part it was a positive influence with stories of individuals who had role-modelled the behaviours and demonstrated advanced skill sets in handling guests. This resonated with the participants and further enhanced the identification with the professional nature of the role.

The following participant's comments illustrate this:

"I wanted to be like him (former manager) for sure – but more in his style, I tried to take a little from all styles" (Mr. Humbled)

"I remember him (former manager) always talking to the guests and the guests always laughing...60% of the time they had a complaint and still the guest was laughing; he turned around their frustration" (Mr. Empathy)

The stories indicated that participants aspired to have the influencing skills of these managers and identified with them as positive role-models. In several cases the manager took a more active role in enabling the participants to enhance their skills through specific training and mentoring activities. More often the discussions centred on the subject's identification with the manager through observation of specific actions and behaviours when engaged in guest interactions. In addition to managers, individual colleagues within the work-group were often referred to as peer influences as the following quote illustrates;

"For example, they can teach you how to deal with difficult situations. When you do something wrong, they can teach you how to make things better. And how to prevent the situation from happening away" (Ms. Attitude)

In the following quote, the participant's ability to see other colleague's sense of purpose in the role appeared to impact how positively she viewed the requirements of emotional labour;

"Well they have to be real, because people know when you're faking it. You definitely have to love what you're doing and definitely show that to your guests, that's what really attracted me to working in the industry." (Ms. Golden Rule)

By contrast, participants recognised the signs of emotional dissonance in others, and shared the opinions that these individuals were not comfortable in the role and therefore not effective as the following quote illustrates;

“I always had a good time and would come out feeling happy and good. My colleagues would go in unhappy and say they only made so much and be down; they didn’t get the good vibe from the customers. I think you almost got to take the attitude that if I only made so much then next time I’ve got to try harder. You can’t make the person you tipped you short bother you, just move on from one table to the next.” (Mr. Empathy)

This stratification of those effective at guest service and those not was a common topic of discussion and the differentiation was commonly measured in terms of the apparent authenticity of the individual. It was interesting to see how strongly participants felt about the issue of ‘fit’ for hospitality role and the importance of having people who had the right personality often defined as a ‘people person’. There was however more than just identification with individuals evident in this strengthening or reaffirming stage of the subject’s affinity with hospitality. The sense of team or shared purpose and values appeared to be a contributor also, as one participant reflected;

“At work I am a part of the teamwork. I am always a part of a group. Some people may just think they are an individual, not a part of some group. I think this is the link”
(Ms. Authentic)

The requirement to support the team and work collaboratively for positive guest outcomes was an attractive aspect of the job role and participants attributed a growth in valued social identity to this particular cultural influence. The influence of peers in learning and valuing the interpersonal skills required for mastering emotional labour appeared to be significant and often even more dominant in conversations than the influence of the manager. A particular area of discovery for me was the influence of the Guest or Customer in the shaping of valued social identity.

The role of the guest was often referred too. In one case a participant talked about emotional labour in hospitality as a partnership between service provider and guest; working together to create the service experience, as follows;

“You know people are anxious; people want to get to their rooms, whatever. So if you recognise it is a tense situation and ask your guests to be understanding. To say to them: “I realised you need to get to your room but please recognise that I’m here by myself and I’ll do my best to get you to your room as quickly as possible.” The more understanding you are the easy the process will be. It’s a partnership! if you make them an active participant, I think the experience will go over much smoother” (Ms. Golden Rule)

The participant went on to talk about how her learned experiences such as this gave her a confidence with handling situations and people that she did not realise she had and has since come to value this ability highly. How the guests helped her and other participants to come to this realisation was a frequently discussed topic; both through positive and negative interpersonal transactions. The participation of the customer in role validation is further illustrated in the following quotes;

“They (customers) wanted people to speak to and I guess the every-day bus boy became the family person; it was kind of cool, I really liked that aspect. It made me open and as I kept working I realised that I could really speak to people. It was cool as every person has a story and what made me good at being a waiter or bartender or anything I did in a restaurant was being able to find that one thing to communicate on. I had a great experience.” (Mr. Showman)

“I’m creating memorable experiences for people, and that’s important to me... am I saving lives? no, ...but I’m creating an environment for people that they desire and need; they tell me that from their experiences and I know it makes a difference” (Mr. Positive)

It would appear from these experiences that the extent to which the worker felt engaged with their customer/s and their ability to interact with them authentically, influenced positive identification with the work of emotional labour. This sense of satisfaction derived from influencing others and becoming effective at problem resolution was probably the most significant theme that ran throughout the dialogues. All the participants had come to this realization in one form or another and had a level of consciousness about the contribution the development of these influencing skills had made to the formation of their sense of self. This was expressed as increased confidence, professional pride and increased sense of self-worth or the feeling of making valued social contributions as illustrated in the following quotes;

“In the restaurant industry it’s a great scope of real life. You’re going to interact with people, be in team work areas, assisting when you’re not busy and ask for help. I love what the restaurant industry and the friends I’ve made have incorporated me to who I have become. And that’s one of the reasons I became a manager to help people go through the same phases as me” (Mr. Empathy)

“So I am doing it for my satisfaction, but the pressure of studying and knowing.... I hope I can make hospitality better. You teach people if you know how to. You teach them how to be better. That is what I want to do. That is my purpose.” (Mr. Alignment)

“I always have a sense of accomplishmentYou’re my guest in my house and I’m going to give you the best service experience that you can have.” (Ms. Golden Rule)

The value placed on these skills appeared to be a factor in helping the participants to overcome the negative stress aspects of emotional labour such as rude, demanding guests or service failure scenarios. When asked about coping strategies for these negative stress aspects of the work, participants referred to these as a set of professional capabilities of which they were proud.

They spoke off the ability to remain calm, empathise with the guest, work towards resolution and 'win' over the guest as highly satisfying and found their coping mechanisms in this professional detachment from any personal inferences from the guests emotions, as these participants experiences reflected;

"...engage the guests and at the same time you have to take your emotions out of it – can't take it personal, .there are rude, nasty people so you have to take emotion out of it." (Ms. Attitude)

"I understand we deal with difficult people and situations every day, – I see it as problem solving; producing a good experience for the guest, the more you do that – it gives you more ammunition and the more experience you have the less shocking things become" (Mr. Showman)

"Before you start a shift, leave all you bad stuff at the door. It's like a stage; leave it at the back door. If you come into work in a bad mood it affects others, come in and have a good time and the night flies' by" (Mr. Empathy)

When discussing these skills as learned behaviours we talked about the contribution of scripting to the development of skill. All of the participants had experienced some form of training, and in some cases more advanced scripting, and attributed varying levels of value to it. The participant's view tended to be that these interventions helped with tangible skills, offering lists or methods rather than shaping the ability to engineer emotions. The internalisation of emotional engineering for positive guest outcomes was more attributed by the participants to a relationship with a valued sense of self.

An important underpinning influence identified by all participants was that of basic fit; the key requirement of being a 'people person'.

This assumed requirement was an important area of exploration as all participants typically opened the dialogue by stating in one form or another that you had to have the right personality to be successful as a starting point as typified by the following two quotes;

“I think we have a lot of sophisticated tools in terms of testing and profiling. But definitely you have to be a people person, I think everything else you can be trained to do that but you can’t be trained to be a people person.” (Mr. Values)

“..., you know there are people that work in the industry that shouldn’t be, but they still do, and they put on a face and as soon as the guest walks away, they start cussing.” (Mr. Alignment)

When challenged on that assumption, participants gave examples from their experiences of individuals who could and did complete the essential requirements of the job. With all of the same influences, they could not however be as effective as others who had the ‘right personality’. This right fit phenomenon was described as the ability to show genuine care and concern and be happy or authentic in the role of serving others. From the participant’s perspective it was interesting to explore how they believed they personally had formed this ‘right personality’ or become ‘people persons’. The insights varied considerably.

A theme did emerge around upbringing and the values that were instilled during the participant’s childhood development and in the context of family. The development of these social skills, described in some cases as manners, were reflected in the following observations:

“It’s a matter of how you were brought up, I think some people may have an advantage over others in the industry who maybe did not learn their manners, or weren’t taught how to present themselves when they were brought up. How to speak, how to talk to people.”
(Mr. Values)

“I was influenced not only by my family, but the way my family was. Always a happy family, always smiling. I had a very good childhood. It was in Cuba, but when you are a child, if you have good parents, you can be happy anywhere in the world” (Mr. Alignment)

“Hospitality was important in my family; our life centred around the table – while our Mother cooked we all set the table and waited for Father to come home; it was exciting and fun” (Ms. Authentic)

These stories and others and their attributed significance in the lives of these participants spoke to shared beliefs amongst the group around how individuals are shaped in the world and how this makes them less or more likely to find identification with the emotional labour requirements of Hospitality.

Finding Meaning and Authenticity in the Role

Paradoxically, in a dialogue about authenticity, the construct most often used by the participants for the service delivery phenomenon was one of 'Acting' and it is through this lens that we often explored their experiences.

Being 'on stage' is a classic guest service mind-set used in the Disney (2001) model of service but widely adapted throughout the hospitality industry. The idea of acting in service roles is, in my experience, a shared paradigm amongst hospitality workers. The participant's dialogue often revealed their presence in this paradigm; seeing themselves in their service roles as actors as the following participant observations illustrate;

"Well, all the best workers put on a show – I can tell you right now they (Mexican Servers) are great at it. Maybe there might be a language barrier, but with the American guests they act out as a completely different person." (Mr. Choice)

"Hard thing about this business – have to be emotional and high energy; it's like Theatre, service is Theatre I was thought, It like a theatrical experience; engage the guests and at the same time you have to take your emotions out of it – can't take it personal there are rude, nasty people so you have to take emotion out of it." (Mr. Positive)

"Because you say "Hi, Welcome" then they ask for something else; If that was just on the surface then you're going into "I don't know that's not my job"; if you're in the act then you make it happen for the guest. So they can tell; our guests are very savvy these days." (Mr. Humbled)

"The smile should be there, its part of the act, it is essential for the customer. Just like the shirt should be clean, the smile should be there." (Ms. Attitude)

“One of the things, whether it be positive or negative, you learn to manage your emotions. You learn to maintain yourself. I think the most difficult one is the negative one. If you have a positive experience you can reflect that on the guest, you can smile more, etc. Try not to show your emotions when you don’t have to, keep up the act. I have seen people cry at the front desk, sometimes because of work-related issues. But you have to go to the back. Don’t show that to the guests.” (Mr. Choice)

As we explored this paradigm, I raised the potential paradox of being an authentic self in the production of this labour which was, by their own definition, often an act. Thematically, the participants understanding of what constituted authenticity emerged as the ability to make a connection with people through the experience of the service encounter, rather than in the transaction itself. Authenticity then, in this paradigm, was expressed more as empathy and this empathetic presence appeared as central in the participants reasoning for identification with the work. The engineered smile, required show of concern, scripted welcomes or salutations were not perceived by any the participants as incongruent with genuine service delivery when speaking of themselves. They perceived these as professional skills honed to enable connections with guests and in so doing enhance their experience of hospitality.

Participant did relate experiences of past and present colleagues who struggled with the emotional displays required for the role. The discussions in these dialogues centred on the act not being sustainable when it was not meaningful for the service worker. The anecdotal incidents to illustrate this were often told in a sympathetic mode, pitying the struggling individual who could not adapt to the requirements, one participant reflected as follows;

“- of course they are doing it for a specific reason – whether they need the job or they want the job ; they of course do all the basic things,. ; once you start asking them more of what they have to do – go above and beyond, then they start getting bothered. They just want to do their job; they do not want to have to do anything extra’” (Mr.

Alignment)

In my earlier discussion of identification with role, I alluded to the potential for true dissonance if an individual is not suited to the work (my hall-porter case still haunts me). In my personal experience, this unfortunate case was an exception. For the most part I have observed in individuals an ability to readily engineer their feelings when are interested in making the guests happy. The participant dialogues would posit that continued identification with this work of emotional labour requires a fundamental orientation towards people and social settings; a natural curiosity around people issues and an interest in problem solving to establish harmony in the hospitality context. The participants appeared to attribute their own version of meaning to these requirements as the following narrative's indicate;

"I was always taught, treat the person you are serving as it was your very own Grandmother, and I've always kept that as a standard from my first table to the last and its always worked because people can see if your fake or not. You can't fake a smile." (Mr. Values)

"You have a choice. You can be in hospitality, or you could not. I started working in hospitality for my personal satisfaction. So I am doing it for my satisfaction, I hope I can make hospitality better. You can teach people if you know how to. You teach them how to be better. That is what I want to do. That is my purpose. I believe that should be the purpose of every person in hospitality. Make things better" (Mr. Alignment)

There appeared to be a belief amongst the participants that individuals who were struggling to self-identify with these roles had not come to a realisation regarding a core purpose in the work. The participants related this core purpose as creating great hospitality experiences for guests in the following observations;

"We have to go back to what we said about people wanting to be there for the guests or not wanting to be there. If you are a natural in hospitality, then you are going to manage better. If you are not, you are going to have more trouble managing the situation" (Mr Values)

“I think it is related to what we said before; if somebody behaves badly and you still have to be nice, of course you do not like it, but you are a professional for the Guest and so it is okay.” (Mr. Humbled)

“.....You’re my guest in my house and I’m going to give you the best service experience that you can have.” (Ms. Attitude)

The discussion of the individual’s own values and how they were related to the values of Hospitality ensued. Values such as humility, respect for others, dignity and compassion were referred too. One participant described it as the ability to experience the vulnerability of others and relate to that, as well as experience one’s own vulnerability;

“I think if we show them us being vulnerable it calms the situation down, you get an active participant in the experience” (Ms. Golden Rule)

Vulnerability in this comment was expressed in the context of a participant exposing her own emotions to a guest who was getting angry; letting the guest know that the server is really trying to help but cannot assist if being intimidated. This theme around a genuine care for people and how they are made to feel in the service experience emerged very strongly. In reflecting on the dialogues this sense of being of service to people appeared to provide the participants with purpose and meaning in the work. This notion of individuals coming into hospitality roles with a desire to serve is much bandied about in the hospitality world. It is often used as a descriptor in hospitality recruitment briefs attempting to have individuals self-identify with these roles as the following examples demonstrate;

“Our guests expect an extraordinary vacation experience, an essential part of which are friendly crew members who represent our company well, and who have a positive, service-oriented attitude at all times. If you enjoy being around people, you already know that courtesy and a big smile can go a long way. Delivering the Wow to our guests begins with the basics - just be yourself charming self!”

http://www.royalcareersatsea.com/pages/gold_anchor

“... We accomplish this (service experience) by being genuine and authentic with all of our guests, providing True Waldorf Service. These three main principles help guide us:

- 1. Create the moments that build memories and shape a personal Waldorf legacy – We are focused on building memories and emotional connections with all of our guests. These experiences will help shape our guests personal Waldorf legacy. This will also shape our Team Member legacies as well.*
- 2. Bring out the best in ourselves and our guests – We are at the highest level of hospitality and must ensure our actions personify the highest levels of professionalism. When we are at our best, we are able to help our guests and fellow Team Members be at their best as well.”*

<http://jobs.hiltonworldwide.com/en/our-brands/waldorf-storia/?cntry=worldwide>

As I discussed these statements of mission in the participant dialogues, we found alignment in much of our paradigms around the service excellence phenomenon. Our comments are consistent with these role specifications and the aspirational qualities of hospitality summarised from these recruitment briefs as follows; *“Bring out the best in ourselves and our guests”; “Delivering the Wow”; “Create the moments that build memories”; “We are able to help our guests and fellow Team Members be at their best...”*. These descriptors align with the themes that emerged through our dialogues and speak to the aspirational nature of the work so often sought out in hospitality professionals. In cases where this connection is not felt, the participants could struggle with staying in the role as one participants experience demonstrates;

“when I first started at <Hotel> the interviews were tough to get – felt privileged to get one – first day was excellent at orientation – everything was done for you – made to feel comfortable.;then I started to work the first day and it was like ‘just get to work’ – painted a nice picture, reality was different – no one took the time – me and this other guy in the same position : sitting at our desks back to back – we looked at each other – had an aha moment not in a good way –

I said we need to look out for each other – get each other’s back, so formed good relationships with people there, but as far as the company was concerned – from day 2 impression was terrible – they didn’t care for us; plus no reward and recognition – I don’t need a lot but there was no thank-you. ...I wasn’t there very long” (Mr. Positive)

In this experience the individual was seeking alignment with an expected set of values, values which he could identify with. This need for alignment with values in the hospitality world speaks to a job requirement that goes beyond performance of tasks. This idea that there is something more profound, a fulfilment that provides for greater meaning and purpose in the role is evident in several of the participant’s reflections;

“I’m creating memorable experiences for people, and that’s important to me... am I saving lives? no, ...but I’m creating an environment for people that they desire and need.” (Mr. Positive)

“I hope I can make hospitality better. You teach people if you know how to. You teach them how to be better people. That is what I want to do. That is my purpose. I believe that should be the purpose of every person here. Make things better” (Mr. Alignment)

“It is still the way I am. It really does touch people... what a hospitality worker needs to have. To me it is just, you know, my dad always told me you do what you want to do. I love doing it.” (Mr. Empathy)

“To me I think we have a bigger purpose in life and being from a Christian background, I think about what impact I am going to make on mankind, not necessarily globally but just the people I’m around in work.” (Ms. Golden Rule)

These reflections were elicited in response to questioning on why the participants identify with the work of hospitality. An aspirational theme emerges around delivering service in hospitality which goes beyond the inherent transactional tasks.

The participants recognize that there are organisational forces at play in their drive to deliver great service. In these narratives the organisation is positioned more as an enabler that develops and facilitates the innate desire to serve rather than the architect of that desire. The following comments reflect this observation;

“Some people can learn right away what people like to hear. I know they are very sociable people. Sociable people may be able to connect to people quicker than other people might.how to speak, how to talk to people.

To a certain degree, all hotels teach you all those things in orientation. They do fill you in on all of those things, but at that point when you are already working it is already hard-lined into you” (Mr. Choice)

“You know I have friends that have been in the Industry just as a waiter because they love that position. They don’t get tired of it. Some people like to talk a lot and some people know the ins and outs of the Industry. Some of these people love what they do and are content and then there are some people driven by the money and move through pretty fast” (Mr. Values)

“It is possible with training (to get the required behaviours): and for some people, even though they cannot do it naturally, it doesn’t mean they don’t take care of their customers. You can improve something, but you cannot change the personality of this person. “ those kind of training systems can improve the employee, but most of them I think are influencing improvement in the technical parts of the job. But emotionally, I think the result is not there – you cannot control, I think it is the short term – yes; in the long term I do not think they cannot change the person’s stewardship (Ms. Authentic)

Individuals and organisations that deliver excellent service consistently rise above all others and live up to the promise of creating memorable hospitality experiences. I don’t believe anyone who has experienced that level of service will tell you that it didn’t feel great even though the feeling was bought and paid for.

Conclusion and Summary of Themes

In this chapter I have presented the main thematic elements of the research discourse, summarised under three areas of exploration; attraction, identification and meaning. My own experiences have been presented alongside the experiences of the participants in order to illustrate how the discourse was shaped and the influence of my own responses, preconceptions and assumptions on the narratives.

In the discussions of attraction to the industry and the work role the themes that emerge include formative experiences in family life with hospitality values and positive associations with hosting guests. This orientation towards pleasing others necessitated adopting the requisite behaviours that would lead to positive interactions and outcomes and this putting on of an act appeared to come easily to the participants. This affinity with the environment and the work of hospitality promoted ease of assimilation into the work when the opportunities presented themselves. This affinity was explored further in the discussion of identification with the work of emotional labour, as a further theme emerged around developing professional pride in being a problem solver for others. Participants also identified with the work through observing role models in managers and in colleagues whom they admired. The connection was strengthened further as participants developed meaningful relationships with guests. The role of specific interventions through scripting and other training methods was discussed as valuable for technique however, thematically, the ability to commit deeply to the act of service appeared to play the most significance in identification with role. In the further exploration of authenticity a theme emerged about seeing the act as authentic because it was done with purpose and meaning. The act was seen as real because of its intention to serve others and in doing so connect with personal values.

This chapter and the themes explored reveals a common understanding of meaning between the participants and myself around much of the phenomena. The following chapter will reveal multiple interpretations of these narratives from a critical perspective and also examine critically the nature in which this shared version of reality was created.

Introduction

In this chapter, I will enter into a critical review of the research discourse engaging with the participant narratives, the understanding of myself as the researcher and the perspectives of the imagined reader (Alvesson & Skolberg, 2000). This exploration will create dialogue with the theoretical knowledge discussed in the previous chapter as well as introduce new theoretical concepts raised by the debate. It will also consider methodological aspects in how the research was conducted. The critical perspective assumes that participants are subject to some form of distorted reality. The intention in following this approach is to further deconstruct the participant's experiences, uncover hidden meanings and show how consent may be manufactured through hidden power structures. In the preceding chapter participants voices are heard free from other dominant narratives other than the researchers own pre-understanding. This chapter will critically examine my influence in the creation of the meanings that have been given to these phenomena as I explore the context of the narrative and the dominant discourses in which much of the language is grounded. The discussion will follow the same three areas of exploration used in the preceding chapter; attraction, identification and meaning.

The Attraction to Hospitality and the role of Emotional Labourer

To interpret the participant's formative experiences of hospitality I begin with an exploration of the meanings to be found in our apparent ease of assimilation into the world of guest service. The narratives spoke of this initial attraction to hospitality forming from an alignment with participant's personal values around hospitality, seemingly rooted in formative experiences from the home and family settings.

I shared my own experiences of growing up in an environment where the guest in our home was revered and life was conducted differently in the anticipation and in the experience of having visitors. Participants shared similar experiences of family influences and finding an early identification in the act of serving others. Following the psychoanalytical principles of self-discovery (McAuley, 2004), I attempted to look below the surface level of the narrative and develop understanding of this espoused identification. The dominant narratives of the service industry as typified in Disney (2001), have long described and reinforced scripted values for guest service. It was apparent in the discourse narrative that we had all been subjected to these well-established paradigms of service values. In organisational life there is pressure to conform to the stated vision, mission and values of the organisation as discussed in Tourish and Pinnington (2002). In hospitality this also dictates the requirements for emotional display as discussed in Fineman (2003). In reflecting on our formative experiences it is possible that we are projecting these dominant service values which we have been subjected to onto our early life experiences as we describe them in retrospect. This creates a challenge in determining critical meaning from descriptions of these early experiences, as the language of the discourse is heavily grounded in these dominant hospitality industry narratives.

In searching for potential hidden meanings in the narratives, it is also possible to consider that experiences of hospitality were so valued in that they allowed a form of escapism from the mundane.

In my own experience, putting on the show of hospitality provided distraction from other less satisfying elements of life and potentially made me more susceptible to Hochschild's (2003) world of deep-acting. In convincing myself to be a certain way in order to produce a state of happiness in others, it is probable that I was suppressing other feelings such as boredom, and frustration even on occasions envy at others lifestyles. The participant sample for this research were intentionally a diverse group in terms of age, gender, ethnicity and socio-economic factors, as such reasons for attraction to the industry varied. In some of the participant's stories, the attraction did appear to be initiated by that same desire to escape to a perceived better place, for others it was more of a deliberate choice based on an affinity with the work and the environment. Where the research discourse did develop a consistent theme was in the participants subscribing to a common set of feeling rules (Bernstein 1975, Hochschild, 2003). The phenomenon of feeling rules, describes rules which are determined by some form of authority in the subjects social world; family, culture, nation, organisation or institution may all set these rules at one time or another. How these rules were established in our early development has potential implications for our later ease of adoption into the role of service provider and our ability to handle people effectively in the hospitality setting.

The requirement to subscribe and react to feeling rules involves organising one's emotions in response to social situations and in so doing sets the stage for Goffman's (1990) metaphor of acting; seeing the self as a performed character. From the participants narratives it emerges that we learned from early experiences of life that pleasing others in the context of social settings may require putting on an act; adjusting emotions and responses to get the desired hospitality effect for the valued guest. In Chu, Baker and Murrmann's (2012) discussion of the antecedents to positive identification with emotional labour, this propensity to react to others in a social setting is described as positive affectivity. When paired with an ability to respond empathetically to observed experiences in others these two characteristics, positive affectivity and empathy, appeared as strong factors in individual orientation toward the work of emotional labour.

Wharton and Erickson (1997), discuss this ability to handle people and social situations as an antecedent to higher job satisfaction in service workers, which would imply that workers are willing to apply the discretionary effort required. The environment of forced happiness as described in more contemporary theories, (Cederström, and Fleming, 2012; Myerscough, 2013; Noah, 2013; Resnikof, 2013) does not contemplate this willing participation from a satisfied worker in creating the service ambiance required by dominant organisation. These theories describe exploitative practices where the organisation coerces workers into internalising service values subordinating any personal sense of purpose to the organisations stated mission and values. In disallowing the worker to have their own version of reality for this world the organisation is posited as violating rights to individual autonomy and self-direction. In the narratives I describe situations where I have experienced service workers who are at odds with the prescribed requirements of the hospitality world and appear disaffected as a result. As stated in the methods chapter, the research participants were purposefully selected for their strong sense of identification as hospitality professionals, a paradigm which I as the researcher share. The critical perspective might challenge this social identity as a form of distorted reality imposed on us by hidden power structures. This perspective would have us trapped in our psychic prison (Morgan, 1996) and unable to contemplate that this world to which we have been attracted may be fake; a state of forced happiness as called out in the cynical views previously referenced (Cederström, and Fleming, 2012; Myerscough, 2013; Noah, 2013; Resnikof, 2013).

My reflections on the participant's narratives and the subsequent interpretations point to other realities in the attribution of meaning to this world and how we are attracted to it. Blumer (1969), suggested that as workers begin to interact with the world of work they give meaning to situations based on social interaction and how they encounter others in the societal context. This meaning becomes our version of reality in that socially constructed world, we buy into the culture and establish ourselves within its norms. Workers in the hospitality industry are attracted to this industry for many reasons, at the entry level it is largely unskilled labour requiring minimal education background or certification.

It is likely that a percentage of this population may not be the right fit for the work of serving others and remain at odds with its requirements. Unable to attribute meaning to the world in which they have entered, these workers may indeed be in a state of forced happiness, coerced daily into the routine of service provision.

In Derrida (2000) the concept of hospitality as a moral and ethical consideration is discussed, this posits that all humanity has an obligation to serve others. The application of Derridian hospitality is certainly not realistic in its purest intent, however the underlying values associated with this ancient philosophy (Plato; *Crito*, the *Sophist*, the *Statesman* and *Apology of Socrates*; and Sophocles; *Oedipus at Colonus*) appear completely lost to this disaffected work group. They appear to see the work of service as a burden, considering its affects menial and an imposition on their individual autonomy and in some cases their personal dignity. In contrast other workers, such as the participant group, appear to find alignment with these values. In Gunnarson & Blohm (2013) discussion of hosting, they discuss the need to first appreciate oneself and have a positive self-identification with the work of serving others. They suggest that service workers can choose their attitude to the work, and that to do so empowers the worker to have control over their means of production and to be open too sharing one's self with others in the Derridean context.

If we take the position that it is an imperative of our human nature to serve others, as Derrida and the ancient philosophers would have it, then why do some workers struggle so while others, such as the participants, become so attracted to the work? ; This question opens up the nature vs. nurture debate already introduced in the theoretical chapter; which comes first; the identity that is already pre-disposed to the work of emotional labour; or the work of emotional labour shaping an emerging identity? For the purpose of this review I will adopt the position that both nature and nurture are essential and inseparable in human development (Goldhaber, 2012) however the relative contributions differ in each setting and the chicken-and-egg paradox enters the exploration.

Pinker, (2004) posits that much of the variance in personality and behaviour is attributed to socialisation, acquiring the skills and values needed to thrive in a given cultural setting. This is consistent with the views of others (Grandey, 2003; Wharton, 1999; Bolton and Boyd, 2003) in that primary socialisation is a significant factor in the development of social identity. This does not factor out the influence of nature or the family environment however it does introduce the concept that there are factors unique to that individual that happen in the social settings to which they are exposed. This unique outcome of the influences of Nature and Nurture, Goldhaber (2012), may be neither chicken nor egg, his analogy suggests it introduces the concept of the 'chick'. In the case of the participants it appears that the 'chick' has developed affinity through primary socialisation with an environment of positive affectivity and has developed an empathetic nature. These factors strengthen their identification with the emotional labour role in hospitality, the following section critically explores this phenomenon.

Identification with the Role

A common theme that emerges in the discourse is the apparent absence of inner struggle or emotive dissonance in our shared experiences of regulating feelings in the work of emotional labour. In this regard our experiences are other than Hochschild's (2003) theoretical position on the negative implications for engineering of emotions. Ashforth & Humphrey (1992) posit that, as identification with the emotional labour role induces alignment between the expression of emotion and the experience of real emotion, it will influence the emerging identity of the service worker. There appeared to be a common theme across the participants in this regard with all of us sharing experiences of hospitality shaping who we have become in the social context. In taking a critical theory approach (Hardy & Clegg, 1997) to these emerging themes it is necessary to put aside my own pre-understanding and the potentially consensual environment of the research discourse and explore the themes from a more critical perspective.

In the first section of this critical review I explored how participants were attracted to the industry and surfaced the influence of primary socialisation alongside the nature vs. nurture debate. The unique combination to these factors appeared to allow us to easily assimilate in the work of hospitality. This apparent ease of assimilation into emotional labour work and contentment with its shaping of our social identity, could also be viewed from the perspective of an instrumental approach to human personality (Leidner, 1999) with broader, and more sinister implications for concepts of individual autonomy. The requirements of emotional labour are described in other theoretical interpretations as 'mandatory fakeness' (Cederström, and Fleming, 2012) where internalisation of compulsory values can so influence the shaping of individuals as to effectively colonise them under management control.

This suggests that I and my participants as co-creators of this discourse may be subject to a form of distorted reality having given ourselves up fully to the hospitality role and subjugated our true selves to this colonisation of feelings.

Our exposure to the controlling nature of labour in the hospitality industry (Leidner, 1999, Bolton & Boyd, 2003) with its strong culture of service values, scripting of emotional display rules and close regulation is then somehow at odds with any notion of a unique self. In this version of reality the social identities we appear to value may, in fact, be manufactured by hidden power structures which ultimately exploit us for organisational gain. This view supposes that our self-concept (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993) in this regard was formed by and through our experiences in the hospitality organisations in which we have worked; that we are products of the organisations that have shaped us. It does not give voice to the formative experiences that have shaped us prior to entering the world of work, yet they figure significantly in the participant's narratives.

Blumer (1969) in his discussion of symbolic interactionism posits that human beings act towards things based on the meaning they assign towards those things. This meaning is assigned through social interaction and is an interpretive process and therefore unique to each individual dependant on the factors or filters that they use to interpret meaning. These formative experiences of primary socialisation prior to entering the world of work appear to have significantly influenced the participants in their assignment of meaning with the work of emotional labour in the hospitality setting.

The requirement to internalise the organisation's values would not appear to be a matter of coercion where the individual has already assigned meaning to those values that are consistent with their own beliefs. While the nomenclature for the expression of those values may vary from organisation to organisation, the underlying principles of hospitality are consistently expressed as discussed in the previous chapter's review of various hospitality organisations service excellence statements (Fig 1. Mission Statements, pp54). Where an individual experiences inner struggle with the demands of the hospitality role, it could be a response to demands that are not consistent with beliefs that individuals have formed throughout their development. The resulting forced or surface act for this individual (Hochschild 2003) might then be interpreted as a requirement of the controlling organization leading to eventual colonisation of individual feeling.

An alternative interpretation may be that the individual who experiences this level of role dissonance has not developed the personality traits and social skills to easily adapt to the role. In order to do the job these individuals learn to surface act the skills required and through all the means of labour control (Leidner, 1999), the organisation regulates displays for specific delivery outcomes.

In my own narrative, I described the situation where a 40 year old man who I came into contact with had worked his whole adult life in guest service as a porter in a hotel. He was experiencing a level of emotional dissonance in dealing with guests that manifested itself as resentment toward the guests and was finding it increasingly difficult to maintain even a cursory surface act. The employer organisation was a well-established hotel company with highly regarded training and performance management methods for delivering service excellence which supported him. Despite the support of scripting and coaching for dealing with guest situations, there was a fundamental alienation towards the requirements of the work that appeared to be deep-rooted in the individual. I bring this example back into focus to illustrate that, even with these instrumental approaches to control there can exist a separation from the work that is difficult to reconcile.

I also acknowledge that this experience had a profound effect on me and has significantly shaped my pre-understanding of this phenomena. Up to this point, I had spent much of my formative career in hospitality training, applying a potentially instrumental approach to behaviour change in service workers. I believed that effective training could produce the desired service attitude and behaviours regardless of individual differences. Taking time and critically reflecting on this one individual's struggles was a turning point for me and shook my hitherto strong convictions around the work I was doing. A new version of reality was introduced to me in how different individuals assigned meaning to situations based on their unique perspectives and this shaped their response to any given social setting.

Goffman and Irving (1990) posit that as an individual experiences a particular social setting or situation and gives definition to it, they determine the extent to which their ego will be involved in the performance. The formation of a social identity is likely to be influenced accordingly as decisions are made on how we relate to the particular set of circumstances. In this theoretical framework, the individual described in my narrative, who engages in the task of service without involving ego is less likely to form a social identity around the emotional labour role. Paules (1992) work with waitresses in a case study setting concluded that role validation was enhanced through mastering the work of emotional labour and that there was an associated strengthening of social identification with the role. Theoretically this would imply that those who do engage ego fully in the role (as appears to be the case with the participants) are more likely to form a valued social identity around the role requirements.

This theme of mastering the work, often described by the participants in the context of becoming a professional, emerged as significant in the development of valued identity. The pride associated with being effectively able to deal with people and solve problems in the context of emotional labour was palpable throughout the narratives. This espoused self-concept (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993) as an expert in emotional labour with the requisite skills for engineering emotional displays appears to play a significant part in the participant's identification with their job roles. The implications from the narratives are that this identification with the role reduces instances of emotional dissonance (Hochschild, 2003; Morris & Feldman, 1996) from the acting out of engineered emotional displays.

Grandey (2003) goes further to conclude that positive reactions from customers to these deep emotional labours may restore emotional resources for the workers in a way that surface acting cannot. This influence of customers or guests and also the role of peers on self-identification with role emerged as a theme throughout the narratives. It would appear from the discussions that as individuals experienced different responses in social settings their identification with the role was influenced and the development of identity in this regard was an iterative process.

Adams (1996) in his discussion of the contradiction that exists between individuals seeking to be unique in their identity while at the same time needing to feel connected to others, acknowledges the existence of a self-in-context. The implications are that individuals define themselves in the context of what they are exposed to from both a macro (cultural, economic, political etc.) and micro (beliefs, social interactions) perspective. This does leave room for the organisation to take an instrumental role in individual's development of identity through the influence of management controls in the work environment although the participant's narratives did not readily acknowledge that this occurred.

There are implications for emotional dissonance from instrumental approaches towards service workers as described in the narratives by the participant's observations of co-workers and in contrast to their own experiences. Steinberg and Figert (1999) caution about the service industries use of sophisticated tools for creating "inauthentic authenticity. The overuse of scripting and 'canned' responses to situations can contribute to a forced form of surface act in the delivery of service. In these instances, the service worker may feel increasingly disassociated from the act of serving others and complete transactions without concern for the emotional experience as described by the participant's experiences with co-workers. The participants own acceptance of scripting and other means of management control as discussed in Leidner (1990) and McDonald and Sirianni (1996), indicate a willingness to allow their feelings to be regulated and in most cases, an apparent appreciation for the tools and training that they have experienced to support them in their emotional labour work.

The lens through which these interventions are viewed by the participants is bound up in their valued concept of self as a professional service provider, a concept of self that may be significantly manipulated by the organisation as posited in Leidner (1999); Cederström, and Fleming (2012); Steinberg and Figert, (1999), et al. There are corresponding challenges with much of these theoretical positions exploring the effects on individuals from the work of emotional labour. They appear to acknowledge a set of organisational conditions which predetermine if an individual will assimilate successfully into the emotional labour role and furthermore form a corresponding social identity.

The voice of the individual is increasingly muted as we theorise in this way. In applying these theories to the work setting there is a danger that we further validate an instrumental approach to human behaviour with the corresponding risks for individual autonomy even while warning of the inherent dangers. In Bolton & Boyd (2003) we are introduced to the significant role of the actor in defining their own emotional agenda. This provides an alternative view of reality where a much smaller proportion of the service workers' concept of self comes under the influence of the employer organisation.

Watson (2009) challenges the researcher on human identity to bring forth in the subjects how they are formed in their social identity and what may be taken for granted in that formation. The response to participant questions on what had made them so readily identify with hospitality work surfaced themes related to how participants were brought up, family influences and childhood experiences that they believed made them the right fit for this work of emotional labour. Their formative experiences spoke of social settings where positive affectivity and empathy (Chu, Baker and Murrmann, 2012) were valued. These positive influences appeared to lead the participants to seek out work environments and work place role-models in management/peers who demonstrated this same hosting disposition with associated competencies in deep acting (often defined by participants in the context of professionalism). The implications from this understanding are that individuals will be pre-disposed to the work environment of hospitality where they identify with the social settings of this environment based on prior, formative socialisation experiences. This identification would appear to be more driven by the individual seeking out a context in which their concept of self can be realised rather than assimilating into a self-concept defined by the employer.

The over-arching theme in this discourse on identification emerges around a shared concept of self that finds alignment in hospitality and its emotional labours and appears at ease with the corresponding requirement for the regulation of feelings. The critical review will now turn to the expanded theme of finding authenticity in the role and a deeper exploration of antecedents for role validation and identification.

Finding Meaning and Authenticity in the Role

The finding of an authentic self in these emotionally engineered roles creates a paradox in itself. The 'Noble Savage' (Dryden 1672) idiom is far from social reality; in all walks of life and work we engineer feelings at some point to achieve personal or work outcomes. I understand that the very nature of human interaction is to suppress and control 'natural' responses for those which suit the current purpose or social setting. The nature of the guest service environment brings organisationally mandated controls into this human interaction, often with scripted display rules for workers which are aimed at creating a defined guest experience. In this context the experience of hospitality can be described as an act, where everything and everyone is all about the guest and the guest needs are put before one's own. It appeared from the research narratives that the experience of the participant group was far removed from any notion of being personally inauthentic in these service roles even though they acknowledged the paradigm of acting. When I introduced the notion of an act being inauthentic, the only way the participants could relate to the phenomenon was in their depiction of others who they saw as ineffective and a poor fit for the role.

The significant commercial benefactor of this output, the employer organisation, employs various means of control (Leidner 1999) for this labour and as such has the potential to play a dominant role in its production. Several of the participants referred to the importance of feeling that the organisation's values as expressed in its culture and leadership, were aligned with a fundamental ethic of caring for the guest. This was particularly important in the behaviours and demonstrated actions of those in leadership roles and in what was, and was not, tolerated with peers. In fact one of the participants shared an experience where he had left a job because of misalignment in this regard. This alignment was referred to in the context of consistency on and off stage; in this example, the way that staff were treated behind the scenes was not in alignment with expectations set for how the guest should be treated. In discussions of leadership influences, participants embodied the concept of leader in a person.

This person, usually a manager who had influenced them and was held up as a role model for authenticity in the role, someone they wanted to emulate. The legitimacy assigned to leadership, appeared to also be grounded in leadership's ability to articulate a sense of purpose in the required work efforts. While holding individual leaders who they respected in high regard, the participants did not appear to be attached to any particular notion of a transformational leader who's set of beliefs they bought into (Clegg, 2006; Peters & Waterman, 1982; Burns, 1982; Zalzenik, 1989, Gemmill & Oakley, 1992). They also saw themselves as empowered followers (Sheen, 1992) who took an ownership approach to the guest. This may be an important point of differentiation for the Hospitality industry which shares a common mission to serve others as guests as illustrated in Fig. 1. Mission Statements, (p.59) The mission statements of these organisations have in common that they espouse core value of hospitality and openness to others (Siby, 2009) with roots in the humanistic philosophies of Hospitality discussed in Derrida (2000). The inference here is that the participants are seeking an affinity with the hospitality culture of the employer organisation based on a shared set of beliefs across the industry rather than one organisations or leaders doctrine.

Clarks & Rickards (2002) in a discussion of trust based leadership describes this affinity as join-up, and position it as response based. This implies that these participants are in control of how they respond to organisational mandates for adherence to company values and associated emotional displays. An alternative view of this adherence to cultural norms and expectation is that of corporate cultism with corresponding concerns for individual autonomy (Collins & Porras. 2002, Tourish & Pinnington. 2002). The pressure from leaders on service workers to conform to organisational values can orient workers into a form of forced reality, which presents an alternative paradigm in which to understand Hochschild's (2003) phenomenon of deep-acting.

In exploring the participant's experiences of conforming to the organisations cultural norms and values their responses would not imply a reality of forced acceptance.

Blumer's (1969) 3 basic assumptions of symbolic interactionism would posit that employees act towards things based on the meaning they attribute to them, meaning being interpreted from the employee's social interactions surrounding those situations. The narratives indicated that participant's recognised the organisational influences at play however the meanings they ascribed to them were more in keeping with Leidner's (1999) definitions of methods and means for service production rather than coerced requirements imposed by power structures within the organisation and its leadership. In this context the participants appeared to view the organisation as an enabler for the expression of values to which they subscribe rather than a dictator imposing its will.

Reward and recognition also appeared to play a part in the assimilation to cultural expectations and depending on where an individual sits on the hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1954) the extent of that influence may vary. I have worked in a service environment (cruise liners) where the large majority of hospitality employees come from impoverished under-developed countries where there is a constant struggle to survive. These workers are highly motivated by financial reward systems which play a large part in how management directs the work and achieves the high levels of service with the implied regulation of feeling. The participants in this research were not from this socio-economic demographic and we did not explore Maslow's lower levels of need any further in the context of this discourse. In our discussions other higher forms of recognition and incentive appeared to have played a part in the participant's role validation such as professional development and specific forms of recognition from guests, managers and work colleagues. These forms of reward and recognition further validated the participants in their concept of self in the emotional labour role through attributing meaning and purpose to the work.

While acknowledging this and all of the organisational influences, participants did not attribute fundamental meaning to them through our dialogues. Our realities regarding alignment with emotional labour spoke more to finding congruence in the work with a valued social identity, rather than organisations shaping us in these identities through instrumental approaches.

The dominant organizations significant control of its workers in the creation of the service experience (MacDonald & Sirianni 1996) was not attributed significant meaning in our shared version of reality. I did consider that we may be trapped in a metaphoric form of psychic prison (Morgan, 2006); so bound up in a distorted reality imposed by the dominant norms of the hospitality industry that we have lost individual autonomy and assumed a form of imposed social identity. This forced internalisation of compulsory values (Cederström, and Fleming, 2012) was referred to earlier in the review of the participants discourse on identification with role. In one scenario I acknowledged, as did some of the subject participants, a form of emotional dissonance occurring outside of the workplace, when this regulation of feelings spilt over into our personal and non-working lives. What emerged is that we did not easily switch off this pleasing approach in other aspects of our lives even when we felt really angry or upset about a personal or public, non-working, situation.

This finding appears to consistent with Hochschild's (2003) exploration of emotional dissonance and related concerns about the conflict between regulating feelings and the demands of the emotional self however, the setting here is not the work environment. The implication from this finding may be that our self's in different social settings knowingly manipulates feelings and responses in order to positively influence outcomes (Fineman, 2003; Wharton & Erickson, 1997), and this can create inherent conflict when the natural response is as an emotional being (Gerth & Mills, 1999; Goffman, 1990). The reality of this also happening outside the workplace appears to be bound up in our valued social identity (Ashford and Humphrey, 1993) as hospitality professionals.

The theories that warn of the dangers associated with such forced realities in hospitality work, (Cederström, and Fleming, 2012, Myerscough, 2013, Noah, 2013, Resnikof, 2013) also introduce a more cynical view to the purpose of hospitality and to the luxury experiences that we help to create in our hospitality work. These are alternative realities to the noble statements of purpose and meaning we provide for ourselves (Fig. 1. Mission Statements, p 59).

These experiences can be deconstructed to that of over-indulging already spoilt and pampered people (Albrecht, 2002., Paules, 1992., Reich, 2002) and in so doing contributing to the creation of an ever more demanding service economy. This version of reality may provide an alternative explanation for the role dissonance experienced by those service workers who participants identified as not finding a fit with the work. Individuals who were identified by the participants as struggling to find meaning and purpose in their emotional labours may be experiencing an alternative version of reality, counter to that which the dominant organisation is espousing. The worker may not see a meaningful purpose in the work if existing in this paradigm of serving over-indulgent guests without a connection to fundamental service values such as humility, respect, compassion and empathy. Chu, Baker and Murrmann (2012) posit the ability to respond empathetically to the observed experiences of others as a central characteristic in individual identification with emotional labour roles. Without this ability to connect, finding the espoused aspirational qualities in the work may be challenging and individuals may experience dissonance in the expression of unfelt emotional displays (Hochschild, 2003).

In contrast, the research participant's apparent aspiration towards hospitality values such as empathy speaks to acceptance of some universal hospitality laws or values. The concept of service to others having profound meaning for self-actualisation was explored in the theoretical review (Patakos, 2004: Franklyn, 1997). As for my own personal reflection, I had not thought of my hospitality roles in such profound terms. As this theme emerged, I was challenged to reflect further on that concept. As I reviewed such works as Sibby (2009); Barnett (2005) and their discussions on Derrida and Levinas's positioning of hospitality as an ethical concern, I did find a personal philosophical alignment with this notion of hospitality as a moral duty. In so doing I acknowledged hospitality as an ethical concern, a human responsibility to care for others as we share our world. That may be a convenient way to divine a noble purpose in life and certainly is appealing on those grounds.

In the more critical stance, I also have to acknowledge the commercial nature of the hospitality environment in which we fulfil this responsibility of caring for a monetary price with significant conditions placed around its provision. Reich (2002) & Albrecht (2002) discussion of service in the 21st century point to increasing commoditisation of personal attention and stratification of demand for this attention with the relative price tag. This appears to be a far cry from unconditional hospitality, hospitality without reciprocity, as espoused in the philosophies of Derridian et al, with their attendant, profound moral and ethical obligations. It would appear from the discussions of attraction to and identification with the work of emotional labour that our ability to see such profound meanings in this labour plays a significant role in connecting us to a sense of purpose and strengthens our identification with the work role. This virtuous cycle of role internalisation and enhanced self-concept connecting to sense of purpose is certainly attractive to the organisation that can reap the benefits from such dedicated labour. The paradoxical danger (Patakos, 2004) is that in pursuing this sense of purpose and in so wanting to be off service, we can risk neglecting these other versions of truths in the nature of these relationships. Truths such as the dominant organization's cultural norms (Minzberg's, 1992) and the influence this doctrine may have on our identification with the stated mission in the work.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, when directly questioned about the influence of organizational culture on their social identity (Ashford, Blake & Meal, 1989) the research participants shared other paradigms. They spoke of personal challenges when there was not alignment between the stated organization's mission and the reality of how stated values were lived out in the organization. Throughout the narratives, there was less significance attributed by the participants to an organization's antecedent role in the formation of the individual's identity as posited in Ginsberg's (1992) Missionary organization.

These participants may have defined themselves in the context of the work role, however this identification appears to be grounded in a will to find meaning in the work (Franklyn, 1997).

A question that arises from this conclusion is, who assigns that meaning to the work; the individual based on their concept of self in the context of the work or, is it power structures within the organisation that use instrumental approaches to manufacture consent? The answers are less clear, however the presence of a moral and ethical imperative to serve others was evident throughout the narratives. The emotional labours applied in this imperative and the associated phenomenon of acting were entirely authentic for the participants when employed in its pursuit.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have entered into a dialogue with the research discourse to provide a critical review. In so doing, I have provided a perspective on the relevant theoretical knowledge and how it interacts with the research findings. I have also explored the influence of myself as researcher and in so doing have attempted to bring understanding of my experience and priori knowledge to the forefront of interpretations. In addition I have taken the perspective of an imagined reader and critically challenged the knowledge and interpretations in that regard. This critical review leads to a series of interpretations from the research discourse that will inform my research conclusions provided in the following chapter.

Introduction

This research explores the nature of the relationship between emotional labour in hospitality work and self-concept. The research aims to make a meaningful contribution to professional practice while also building on theoretical works in the field. This chapter will bring together conclusions from the critical review in chapter 5. In doing so it will illustrate the overarching themes and contributions to knowledge as well as implications for professional practice.

The research discourse in chapter 4. Speaks to what developed as shared understanding between the participants of the phenomenon in question (I include myself in the participant reference for the purpose of this conclusion). The resulting version of reality I have referred to as having co-created meaning. It gives voice to a phenomenon that I have not found fully explored in the literature reviewed in chapter 2 and in chapter 5. That is, that deep-acting in emotional labour appears to be antecedent to a valued concept of self, a phenomenon I will characterise as 'The Act becomes our Reality'. This theme will be developed throughout this chapter which will conclude with a discussion of other learning that has occurred during this exploration as well as other vistas of knowledge for further exploration.

Conclusions from Interpretations

The critical discourse in chapter 5 has interpretations around three central themes; Attraction, Identification, and Meaning, developed from the research discourse in chapter 4. These themes emerged from the research interviews and subsequent interpretations.

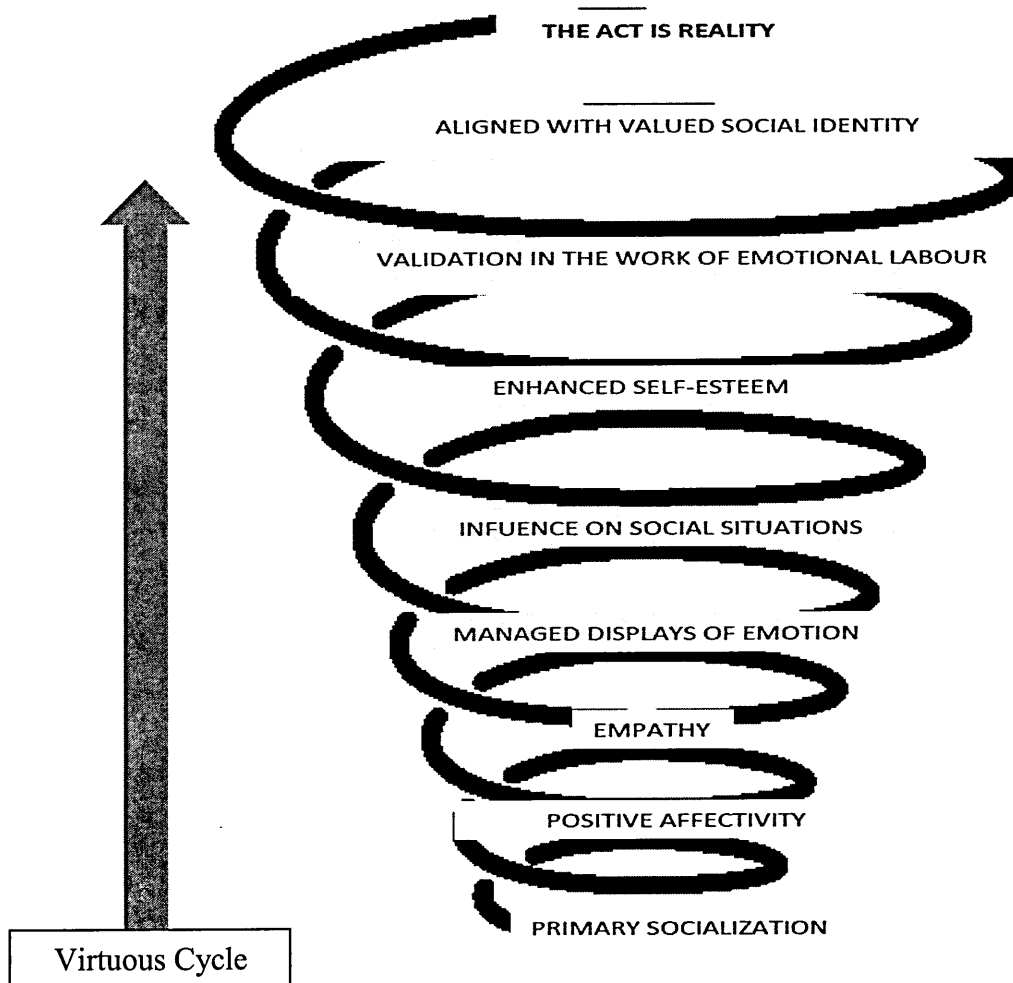
The initial interpretations and conclusions from exploration of attraction to the work of emotional labour in hospitality indicate that participants shared an affinity with the work of emotional labour and found professional fulfilment both in the 'act' itself, and in the acting of it. It became evident that early experiences in hospitality settings proved to be empowering and in some cases provided a form of escape to new, more attractive versions of reality. There was no indication of inner struggles from emotional dissonance or violation of an inner true self as posited in much of the literature on control of emotional labour in hospitality work (Hochschild 2003, Leidner 1999, Morris & Feldman 2008, Cederström, & Fleming, 2012).

There was a common theme around growing-up in an environment or being exposed to an environment, where hospitality and hosting were valued and guests/visitors were held in high esteem. The participant's early identification with these values and attraction to the social settings in which they applied appeared to positively influence their sense of self in the hospitality context. This influence from primary socialisation in settings where attributes and displays of positive affectivity and empathy (Chu, Baker, Murrmann, 2012) are valued, leads to my initial conclusions about the importance of understanding how we are shaped in this world. The feeling rules (Hochschild, 1979; Bernstein, 1975) inherent in these social settings required managed displays of emotion in order to be an effective actor. As participants honed these skills to manage emotional displays for desired outcomes and learned to exert influence on social situations, it appeared to build self-esteem and reinforce a positive sense of self. The findings also pointed to the world of hospitality providing some form of escapism from more mundane realities of existence.

The affinity with social behaviours in the hospitality setting may also be associated with less attractive social realities when not hosting others. Finding an escape in social settings where more positive personal interactions occur than those experienced in intimate family and personal relationships also has implications for future exploration.

A further conclusion is that this spiral of experience formed a virtuous cycle, as contact with the work of emotional labour increased, participants gave more meaning to the social interactions they encountered and experienced validation for their role in these encounters. A visual representation of this cycle is presented in Figure 7.

Figure 7. Spiral of Experience – Virtuous Cycle



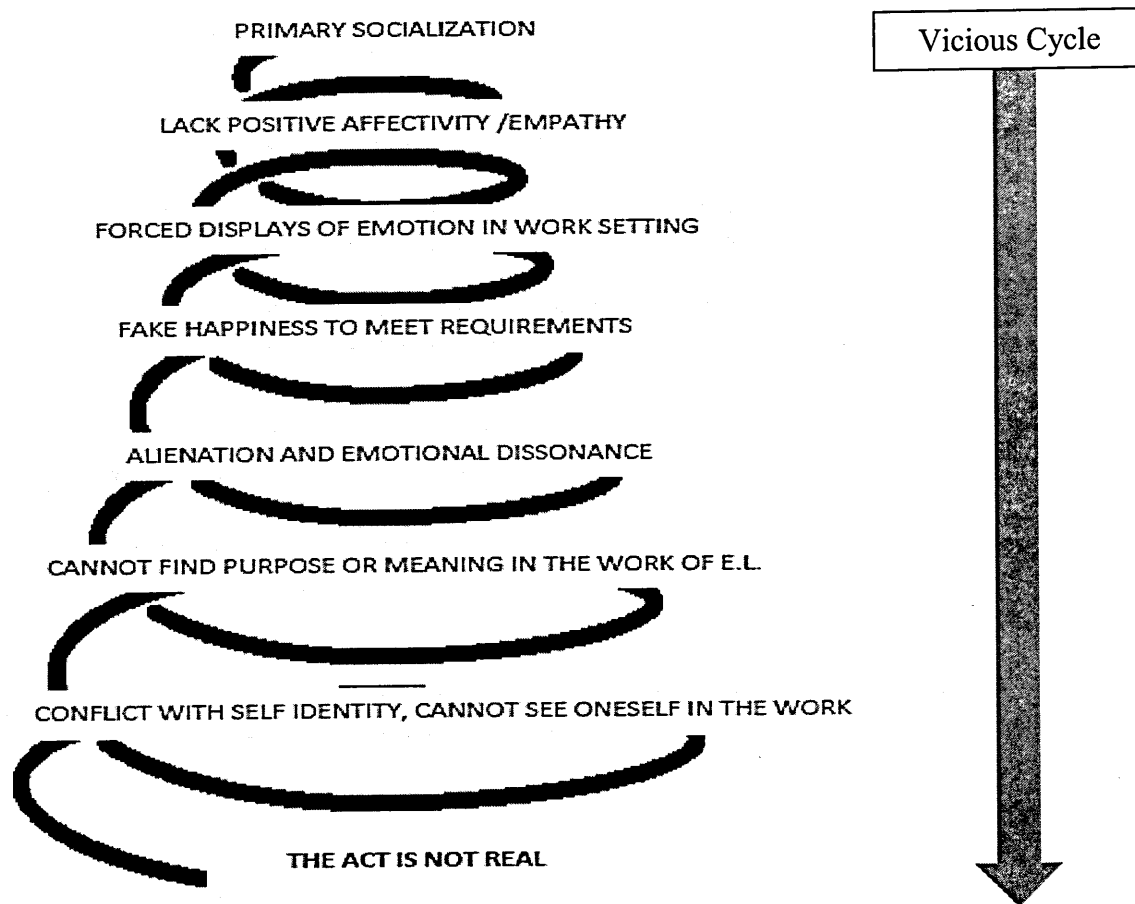
This virtuous cycle of experience presents a visual representation of the journey by which the participants appear to have come to this strong sense of positive identification with the work. It draws on the existing body of theory while presenting the experience of the participants in the critical reflexive context of the research. The cycle is initiated with experiences from primary socialisation as discussed in Hochschild, 1979; Bernstein, 1975 and Chu, Baker, Murrmann, 2012. The affinity with an environment of positive affectivity and the attendant empathetic characteristics, requires managed displays of emotions to exert influence on social situations. The enhanced sense of self-esteem (Paules, 1992; Bolton & Boyd, 2003; Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993) that results from this experience of influencing social situations further validates the required emotional labouring. As exposure to these experiences increases in the world of work the individual finds more validation in their role and this becomes bound up in their social identity (Grandey, 2003; Wharton, 1999; Bolton & Boyd's, 2003). The spiral is complete when the act becomes reality for the individual and they no longer experience separation between the self as actor and the self as host.

This metaphor of acting in emotional labour (Goffman, 1990) is used frequently in the discourse and the ability to successfully put on the act is a key antecedent to success in service delivery roles. In the virtuous spiral I also conclude that the participant's primary socialisation experiences with positive effectivity and the requirement to please others requires acting out in the role of host. In this role one becomes adept at engineering emotions in order to satisfy guests. The validation that comes from pleasing others in this role plays a significant part in development of a valued self-concept (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993).

A further conclusion from the discourse was in relation to service workers who do not share this valued concept of self in the emotional labour role. While the research did not extend to interviews with subjects from this version of reality, all of us as participants used examples of disaffected colleagues, present or past, to contrast our experiences.

The emotional dissonance felt from regulation of feelings mandated by the service environment and the negative effects so widely discussed in literature (Hochschild 2003, Leidner 1999, Morris & Feldman 2008, Cederström, & Fleming, 2012), are not ignored in the paradigm that we share. This was acknowledged as real for those people who worked in service environments and who did not value a concept of self as both positive in affectivity and empathetic to others. The conclusion here is that for these workers a vicious cycle ensues, that of faking happiness and becoming more disaffected in the work as effects of emotional dissonance lead to burnout. Unable to identify with the work and see a valued version of themselves in its labours, there is a danger that negative consequences will ensue for the individual, the organisation and its guests. A visual representation of this cycle is presented in Figure 8.

Figure 8. Spiral of Experience – Vicious Cycle



This opened up further the exploration of how individuals self-identify with the work of emotional labour with several conclusions. The research narratives indicated that the more the labour was experienced as valued, the more the participants engage ego in the role and form a social identity around it. This emerging identity as seen through the looking glass self (Goffman, 1990) is further influenced by how these regulated feelings were validated by the other actors (managers, peers, guests) in these work settings. I concluded from this that, positive associations with regulation of feeling in the expression of emotion also had implications for the emerging identity of the participants. In exploring further the participant's identification with these work roles there was no evidence to indicate that these managed displays of emotion lead to feelings of inauthenticity.

Instead the participant's experiences implied that continued engagement with this work and its requirement for engineering emotions had positive implications for self-realisation. As the participants capabilities with these deep-acting skills (Hochschild, 2003) strengthen they appear to become more embedded in one's personal identify.

This findings as illustrated in Fig 7. and Fig 8. suggest a polarity between these two experiences, one experienced as positive the other as negative. My intended approach to the research findings were to take a less grounded view, following the alethic hermeneutic style (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000) and look more to the whole than this distinctive polarity from the interpretations. In the final interpretations however, it was apparent that these experiences did follow these rather polarising spirals, one leading to positive self-validation and the other to a more negative alienation from the self in the role. I am not suggesting that individuals will not have experiences from both spirals in the same cycle of development, however I do conclude that the virtuous cycle is dominant and more likely to occur where individuals have an affinity with an environment of positive affectivity and display empathetic characteristics.

In exploring the degree to which an organization can appropriately exert influence on this development of self and the implications for personal autonomy and interpersonal respect, further conclusions can be made. Social science theory is much concerned with the potentially exploitative nature of instrumental approaches to human behaviour (Leidner, 1999; Paules, 1992; Bolton & Boyd, 2003; Cederström, & Fleming, 2012). The requirement for individuals to align personal values, behaviours and emotional displays with the corresponding requirements of the service excellence culture is undeniable and a reality which all of the participants experienced. This requirement to internalize the values of the organisation does not appear coercive in nature where the service worker finds alignment with these values and the associated requirement for regulation of feeling. A key finding is that this alignment is less under the influence of the employer than some of this literature would posit.

It would appear from my research findings that primary socialisation is more at work here. Individuals may be predisposed to identify with the organisations values and emotional labour requirements from formative experiences of hospitality as discussed in the previous conclusions on attraction to the work.

The inner struggle, or emotional dissonance, that individuals do experience in the performance of emotional labour work would then indicate an absence of alignment between the nature of this work and the disposition of that worker. A lack of the required behavioural traits and social skills may be somewhat remediated through Leidner's (1999) means of labour control in order to produce a passable surface-act (Hochschild, 2003) in the delivery of service. If that act remains counter or alien to the individual's sense of self and they continue to feel inauthentic in the delivery, it is comprehensible that they may feel trapped and experience damaging emotional consequences.

I would also conclude from the discourse narratives that there is the potential for this emotional dissonance to dissipate over time. The development of self-concept does not manifest with a fixed end state, an individual can begin to see themselves as authentic in the role over time and involve more ego in it (Goffman and Irving, 1990). This willingness to accept regulation of feelings as a professional practice can be influenced by the organisation through its culture and leadership. I conclude further from this understanding that the finding of valued identity in the work of emotional labour is an iterative process with dependencies on individuals finding alignment with their concept of self, a concept of self that has already started to take shape before entering the world of work.

The realities of the participants in this research journey acknowledge this alignment and take it deeper, pointing to more profound implications for meaning and purpose in work and in life. This exploration of meaning in the discourse and the implications for authenticity is where the final conclusions are drawn. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the participants' positive experiences with deep-acted allowed for an authentic version of self to emerge in the delivery of guest service.

In this paradigm, the means of control for emotional labour imposed by the dominant service excellence culture are accepted without question and welcomed as professional standards of practice; the organization's role is accepted as a facilitator, validating this authentic self-concept for the worker. The hermeneutical process kicked into high-gear with these discoveries on the research journey, with much of the participant discourse having multiple interpretations leading to deeper reflections. It began with interpreting how this way of being appeared to provide for an authentic presence in the service work.

As discussed in the previous conclusions on attraction to and identification with the work of emotional labour, an antecedent to forming affinity with this work is in alignment with values and shared beliefs of hospitality cultures. I can also conclude from the narratives that this alignment has to be lived out in the actions of the employer and the leadership, as demonstrated not only in what they say but in what they do and do not tolerate. Where there is incongruence between the stated and the lived out values there is likely to be a negative response from workers whose self-concept is bound up in the role. The conclusion is that workers are looking for validation that the labours they provide are authentic in their intent and although emotional displays may be engineered for desired outcomes, there is a genuine intention to serve others in doing so. This intention to provide a positive and fulfilling service experience for the guest is the end that justifies the means, i.e. the regulation of feelings. I conclude further that workers want to believe that their labours have purpose and meaning and this belief is antecedent to authenticity in the production of emotional labour.

A perceived challenge for leadership in the hospitality sector continues to be around engaging employees and 'getting them' to own the customer experience. This implies that the leader must be out in front 'leading' the organization and her/his followers. The voice of the worker is potentially muted as we theorise in these instrumental approaches to the management of human behaviour. I found that where the service worker possesses a valued concept of self in the labour, the work of leadership has the potential to become more distributed.

As service workers see themselves owning the guest experience rather than being 'owned' in providing it they become empowered to deliver great guest service. In my research of the literature on leadership and culture, this simple statement found in the Philippine Land Reform Act, resonated with meaning; *"Just because you own the land doesn't mean you own the People"* (Block, 1996, p.17). There is no doubt from the research discourse that we all had experiences of individuals who struggled with the emotional labour aspects of the work and appeared to resist the perceived controlling influences of the employer organisation.

My findings would indicate that the issue of concern is less about the organizations dominant culture creating a form of psychic prison in which these individuals are unwittingly owned. This ignores the finding that individuals can and do make a choice in coming to this work and to an organization with which they find alignment. The concern in that context should be more related to individuals finding connection to a sense of purpose that enables them to find authenticity in their emotional labours. These findings do not ignore the reality that organisations stand to benefit significantly from having a thus aligned workforce, however the introduction of individual choice implies more of a partnership in that success. The research confirms that organisations invest heavily in achieving this level of engagement, and my own experience as a HR professional is consistent with these findings. My conclusion is that in order for this join-up (Clark & Rickards, 2006) between worker and organisation to occur, there has to exist a shared understanding of the employment relationship as a partnership with a common mission in its endeavours.

The phenomenon of join-up implies that there exists within an emerging concept of self, a will to find meaning. It also implies that meaning is found in the work setting and that work can also give purpose for life itself. The will to meaning described by Franklyn (1997) surfaced in the discourse narratives as a strong driver for identification with the work of emotional labour. The meanings that were attributed to the work were grounded in philosophical constructs for hospitality (Siby, 2009) as a moral and ethical imperative to serve the other.

The significance of this for hospitality work in particular, leads to the following, final conclusions.

The Act is Reality

The belief that there exists a core purpose in providing hospitality and in its emotional labours is a primary antecedent to deep-acting requirements. In this paradigm, a way of being can become a way of life, as such I characterise this phenomena in terms of **the act becoming the reality**. In interpreting this phenomena, I have named it and in so doing given it a version of meaning that speaks to the experiences of the research participants.

I believe in naming this phenomena I have made a meaningful contribution to knowledge. This contribution builds on the knowledge presented in my review of underpinning theory as presented in chapter 2. The theoretical constructs around this phenomena of acting in emotional labour and the implications for self-concept have not, to my knowledge, been attributed this version of meaning in previous research works. In the meaning which we, the participants, have constructed for our lives, the acting part of emotional labour is not separate from our reality. While acknowledging the professional nature of engineering emotions for desired outcomes we see these actions as real, an extension of our true self and we experience the requisite act as authentic. In the seminal literature on the nature of emotional labour by Hochschild (2003) and in subsequent debates, the phenomena of surface and deep-acting are discussed in terms of both positive and negative implications. The consequences for identity are also heavily debated in the literature (Ashforth & Humphrey's, 1993; Grandey, 2003; Chu, Baker and Murrmann, 2012; Johanson and Wood, 2008; Steinberg & Figert 1999; Wharton, 1999).

The words used in these existing bodies of theory to describe emotional labour imply pre-mediated intent such as to regulate feelings or to engineer emotions. The base assumptions in these theoretical positions is that workers in emotional labour are acting out required emotional displays and this act is something separate from the persons true self, something induced or engineered.

The theoretical construct that we have co-created does not separate the act from the person's reality when that person's concept of self finds alignment in the purpose of the work and gives meaning to it. In our context, there are no clear lines between who I am on and off stage, our identities are formed around this valued concept of host and this self-identification becomes a part of our whole being. This means that we are hosting in our whole life experiences, the act is not restricted to our lives in work settings. We become adept at engineering emotions and find the act comes naturally to us as we host others in a variety of social settings. The extension of this concept of self reaches into all of our lived experiences.

I also accept that this is open to other interpretations with implications both positive and negative. The host's primary concern is to provide hospitality to others, and to be of service in all aspects of human interaction. This paradigm implies that existence itself may become an act and as such that there is a true self which is repressed or denied by our acting. The concern is that in acting out to illicit the desired responses from others we hide our true feelings and are in danger of living a fake version of life (Cederström, and Fleming, 2012). I have struggled with these implications and in my deepest reflections questioned the progress of my own life and what valued truth I may have lost in adopting this concept of self. I have reflected on the participant's narratives and the lived experiences of many colleagues and friends who share this social identity. I have concluded that I cannot know what I have lost as I have no sense of it, nor do I experience a sense of loss in the shared experiences of the participants. What we do experience in this innate response of regulating feelings and living the values of hospitality is positive validation from being of service to others.

The implications of these interpretations for professional practice are the subject of the following discussion.

Implications for Professional Practice

As I consider the practical implications from these conclusions, I see application in the context of the organization, in the context of the individual and also in the context of myself and my professional and personal practice. In order to discuss these implications in practical terms I will address each separately.

Practical Implications for the Organization

I find implications from these interpretations for Human Resource Management in Hospitality and related Customer Service organisations along all of the employee life-cycle from hiring, to on-boarding, reward & recognition, performance management, training & development and succession planning. These implications will be discussed in the following overview.

I have found through this research that there may be an opportunity to develop further the profiling of hires into the hospitality industry in order to evaluate a candidates likelihood of positive self-identification with the requirements of emotional labour. It emerged that participants learned from early experiences of life that pleasing others in the context of social settings required putting on an act; adjusting emotions and responses to get the desired hospitality effect for the valued guest. The research suggests that an individual's lived experiences in specific hospitality orientated social settings and their self-identification as host in these settings may have value as a predictor of fit. Lievens & Chapman (2009), discuss the increase in use of predictive tools in HRM for recruitment and selection. Such tools date back to measures of service orientation such as the Hogan, Service Orientation Index (Hogan, Hogan, and Busch, 1984) which defines service-orientation as *"the disposition to be helpful, thoughtful, considerate, and cooperative"* (p. 167). This index is measured using an 87 question True/false questionnaire.

Other predictors of social skills are increasingly embedded in personality tests (Witt & Ferris, 2003) and emotional intelligence tests for selection purposes, suggesting a link between an individual's social identity and their aptitude in emotional labours. The more specifically traits associated with an individual's host identity can be broken down and understood, the increased likelihood is that these traits will be identified in the selection process. While testing is not conclusive or the only source of information for final selection in the recruitment process (Lievens & Chapman, 2009), it can provide reliable information for assessment of candidates in the screening stage to determine fit. Recruitment methods involving situational judgement tests (Motowidlo 2006) and managers conducting behavioural interviews might also seek to draw out from lived experiences how candidates have responded to the requirement for regulation of feelings and their affinity with those requirements. In particular, a candidate's orientation towards positive affectivity and empathy appeared to strengthen identification with the emotional labour role. In the literature review (pp. 28) I discussed Ritz Carlton's approach to behavioural interviewing and their use of specific profiles for employee selection. This attempt to select individuals who can be authentic in their service delivery while mastering the art of hospitality has become a benchmark practice for developing a culture of service excellence. There are implications from my research findings on emerging social identity (Grandey, 2003; Wharton 1999; Bolton & Boyd's, 2003) in hospitality workers that may enhance these predictive approaches and provide more clues to finding the right fit.

I find also that hospitality organizations have an opportunity to recognize and build on this concept of self as a hospitality professional and find ways to acknowledge and value this identity. This begins with articulating the ability to act authentically in the context of emotional labour as a valued professional skill, recognising that those who are deeply emerged in this version of self are also deeply committed to the work. When the *act becomes reality* for an individual service worker it may well be the highest form of professional practice. Conversely, when a service worker cannot find authenticity in the work this also requires articulation and has implications for individual engagement strategies to build alignment or re-direct.

This starts already with the on-boarding of new-hires. As discussed on pp 67. of the literature review hospitality organisations often spend much of their orientation efforts attempting to get individuals to sign-up in group sessions to the service promise expressed as a mission or statement of purpose. A further implication from these research conclusions are that these efforts need to be more customised to individuals own sense of purpose and the values to which they subscribe. Taking the time to connect the dots in this way between organisation and individual sense of purpose and facilitating the articulation of this alignment at a personal level may change fundamentally how the process of on-boarding is conducted depending on where that individual sits in the spiral of experience (pp. 178;181).

I would also propose that the research points to opportunities in reward and recognition programs designed at calibrating performance. How the organisational culture symbolises the significance attributed to self-identification with role and deep immersion in its hospitality requirements will need to be considered. Current reward and recognitions programs in the industry may not assign value to the authenticity of an individual in the act and are likely to reward surface acts equally depending on immediate guest response. There is an opportunity to specifically acknowledge workers that engage at a deeper level and attribute higher value to this level of commitment. This would require reward and recognition programs to take a more long term behavioural view than the transactional nature evident in the current service delivery environment. Recognition in this context may be most meaningful in the form of distributed leadership within the organisation. The extent to which an individual is empowered at the point of service to take decisions in the best interest of the guest experience might be calibrated by the extent to which they demonstrate authenticity in the regulation of feelings. Validating the identity of an individual who has this concept of self by allowing these levels of autonomy may be among the highest forms of recognition.

There are practical implications for the role of leadership in developing the individual's sense of valued social identity around the work of emotional labour. Individuals seek alignment between the organisations stated guest-centric culture and the actions of its leadership. In order for individuals to engage with the stated purpose of the organisation, leaders need to be aware of the 'fishbowl' effect, and constantly role-model the behaviours that are required in the service delivery model; this is true for on and off stage encounters. There is a higher likelihood of acceptance and adherence to management means of control for service production if the practices are consistently role-modelled by leaders.

Practical Implications for the Individual Service Worker

I find the implications most profound in the discovery of individuals finding purpose and meaning in the act of serving others and building an identity around this concept of self. How individuals build their own emotional agenda through understanding and validation of self in the work of emotional labour may be something the organisation can facilitate, however much of that realisation is in the hands of the individual. Instrumental approaches to human behaviour as currently used in talent development practices may not acknowledge this and miss an important opportunity for self-discovery. It has been demonstrated that hospitality organisations which build cultures that facilitate alignment between individual and organisational goals through a shared sense of purpose around excellence in service are highly successful (Ritz Carlton, Starbucks, et al). Understanding the role of self-concept in this dynamic and finding ways through human resource practices to validate this sense of self and enhance meaning within it should be a focus for practical applications from this research contribution.

The implications for professional practice also extend to individuals who may not have found alignment with the work of service delivery in hospitality settings. How these individuals are identified and supported is an area requiring managers and HR professional's attention. I don't assume that fit can be forced, however recognising where a person is in terms of alignment may provide opportunities for counselling and /or coaching. The research findings point to those individuals who have strong identification with hosting having developed coping strategies to dissipate the more stressful aspects of engineering their emotions in the delivery of service excellence. The mastering of roles and supporting scripts in emotional labour (Fineman, 2003) includes this ability to maintain control on one's own emotions and have strategies for restoring emotional resources that become depleted in the process.

There are implications from the research findings which build on the dramaturgical perspectives of Goffman & Erving (1990) and Grandy (2003) suggesting that hospitality workers might benefit from understanding themselves more in the context of actors. Depending on the individuals unique needs this understanding may be directed towards developing coping strategies for combating stresses related to emotional dissonance. It may also help to strengthen alignment with the work by providing a framework for understanding the engineering of emotions and in so doing reveal positive connections between the needs of self as host and the needs of the guest. The research findings indicated that the participants understanding and acceptance of the act as a means to provide professional and authentic service provided them with necessary emotional resources to fuel their performance. For service workers this ability to see oneself as authentic and purposeful in the work has potentially profound implications for emotional well-being.

Practical Implications for the Researcher

There are also implications for change in my professional practice of Human Resource Management and Organisation Development as well as my personal approach and style as a leader. The practical implications discussed for the organisation are areas that I can integrate into my own programs; in some areas I already have begun to change such as profiling for selection and emphasis in recognition programs. Understanding the continuum of individual alignment with service roles from disaffected, surface acting through to strong self-concept and deep, authentic delivery allows for more individualised approach to the practices of talent management. Accommodating these different versions of reality in approaches to human behaviour means building alternative versions of programming in several HRM practices rather than adopting a 'one suit fits all' approach.

Perhaps most profound for me is the understanding around legitimacy of leadership being bound up in the ability to provide connection with sense of purpose in the work. This has practical implications for the way in which I approach leadership. It requires development of partnership based working relationships and distribution of leadership deeper into the organisation to the point of guest service, where the service experience is created.

Research Limitations and Further Research Opportunities

I acknowledge that there are limitations resulting from the methodological choices I have taken, beginning with the significant influence of myself as both participant and researcher. This was a methodological decision I felt compelled to take given my extensive background and pre-understanding in the subject area. While I do believe I have a significant contribution to make, I can also see how hearing my voice so dominantly alongside the other participants may have introduced limitations to the research interpretations which others will struggle with. I can only say that to attempt this research work from the outside looking in would not have been an option for me, and I have attempted throughout the work to show my own responses, preconceptions and assumptions clearly to the reader.

In addition my decision to select participants for the sample who, like me, had developed a strong and positive self-concept as a hospitality professional introduces potential limitations to the research interpretations. As discussed earlier, In choosing not to have a more diverse sample of participants including some who may not have adopted this mantle, I did not provide a reference sample reflecting another view point. I might have also conducted interviews with service workers who were disaffected with the nature of the work and not bought-in to the associated sense of purpose and meaning so clearly manifest within the chosen sample. This would have provided an alternative version of meaning for contrast purposes. As it is, I have interpreted meanings for this alternative version of reality from the observed experiences of the participants, rather than from the real experiences of those living in that alternative paradigm. I defend this methodological choice in the methods chapter, by demonstrating the need to select only participants with whom I could access a similar subjective realm to my own. I understand that this places limitations on the resulting interpretations and future research may take a different approach.

The research has opened up several potential areas for future research on emotional labour and identity. The nature versus nurture debate remains an area for deeper exploration; future research might examine traits such as empathy and positive affectivity to develop further knowledge on how they are formed in individuals. There is also the implications that individuals seek escape from negative experiences in family and personal relationships into the more positive world of hospitality work. This form of escapism to a place where the self may be more validated and away from negativity in relationships also merits further research. Other influencing factors such as gender, ethnicity, and societal culture may also be subject to further interpretations. I have touched on traditional instrumental approaches to human behaviour in organisations and the opportunity that exists for partnership arrangements to introduce distributed leadership. I believe these theories will have increased application in future generations of workers and require deeper understanding and broadening of knowledge for practical application. One particular area that is of interest to me is in understanding how individuals adapt to the requirements of emotional labour over time and what coping strategies are used to overcome emotional dissonance and associated burnout.

Closing Thoughts and Personal Reflections

I started out this journey believing that there was another story to tell, knowing that I had been privileged by the opportunity to access a world of work that had, metaphorically speaking, made me who I am. The 'who I am' piece of it was the hardest part to find in the research journey and I struggled with a crisis of confidence on more than one occasion. In my deepest reflections I questioned my own authenticity and confronted the realisation that maybe I was 'fake' and had become so expert at engineering emotions that I perhaps had lost touch with some real inner self. The participants that shared in the early part of this journey helped me to hold up a looking glass and see how each of us had formed a concept of self so bound up in what we do in the work off hospitality. Taking the critical perspective allowed me to experience this phenomenon from a different paradigm and see myself as others might. It also allowed me to see, in a more profound way, how individuals who did not share my affinity with the work can become alienated and cynical towards the meaning I find in its production.

This realisation came at an important time for me and, though unexpected, it has impacted my research in significant ways. During the course of this research journey, I changed job roles and industries – moving from a Cruise Line HRM role to a Healthcare HRM role. I was specifically hired into healthcare to impact the people culture in order to positively impact the patient service experience; the intention being that I would bring the HRM approaches from hospitality into healthcare. As I stated in the opening introduction, I am considered to be an expert in that field and had every confidence that I would be in a position to apply this subject matter expertise to have the desired transformational impact. I was now exposed and vulnerable to a whole new set of beliefs that questioned my paradigms on the meaning of caring and the engineering of emotions for desired service outcomes. I was challenged at all levels of the organisation to articulate how positive affectivity impacted the patient experience and why healthcare workers should adopt the attitudes of service workers in their delivery and emotional displays.

I can share that the first 12 months in this new industry, when combined with the place I was at in the research journey, were some of the most difficult times I have faced in my career. I questioned myself, who I was and whether the values I had adopted were authentic to me or whether I was the product of a 'fake' world I had so readily assimilated into. Thankfully, my crisis of confidence did not have time to flourish and I realised that so many of the people around me were burnt out from caring and were more in need of my support than I had recognised. This realisation reinforced for me that helping people understand the nature of serving others and providing the emotional tools and resources to support them was the common link between my old world and my new world. People need to be cared for in many different ways. I give this background because the reality of hospitality in a healthcare environment is of course very different. The focus of the healthcare professional is on healing in the clinical sense and caring for the sick. There exists in healthcare a high degree of cynicism around traditional hospitality based customer service training modules, and related performance management approaches. In this environment I was challenged to examine further my own authenticity and the interpretations I was forming on emotional labour and valued social identity.

As I studied the people who managed to come in and do the work of caring every day, I observed a remarkable phenomenon. The carers who smiled through the day, stayed focused on ways to improve the experience and cared for colleagues and patients alike, lived in their version of reality. The professional skills of empathy and positive affectivity and the acting that this necessitated were not separate from their person; the act is their reality. Similarly, many of the carers who we in HRM spend the most time supporting due to burn-out, negativity, stress, and related behaviours appear to become disaffected from the work of caring. There is even a definition assigned to these feelings for healthcare workers; compassion fatigue. This condition is something that healthcare systems work to minimise by providing emotional resources and coping strategies for the heavy demand of caring for the sick. However, there are those others who identify so strongly with the work and exist so completely in its demands that the opposite is true, they appear to be fuelled by the emotional challenges of the work and energised by its production.

My intention in sharing these thoughts is not to start a new thesis, however these experiences came to me at a time when I had completed my field research and was deep in the hermeneutical exploration. They entered my consciousness and provided a new perspective for me, which allowed me to go deeper into my own concept of self and challenge my realities in this new setting. I have come through this more complete in my concept of self than before. I realised that as carers we share a common bond, caring in healthcare may be more profound in its impact but the intention in serving others is none the less meaningful even in the most simple of hospitality gestures. I believe it is in how we enter these realities and live in them that we find our place in humanity; our meaning and our purpose.

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BIO: JOHN MC GIRL, SERVICE EXCELLENCE SUBJECT MATTER EXPERT

John graduated from Hospitality College in his native Ireland, attaining professional membership of the UK Institute of Personnel and Development and a Masters degree in Human Resource Management from Sheffield Hallam University, UK.

In his formative career, John was responsible for all aspects of Training & Development at such premier London Hotel properties as The Ritz, Dukes and Stafford Hotels, all owned and managed by Cunard Line Ltd – where he also directed all Hospitality Training and Development for the then fleet of 8 ships including the famous Cunard Liners (QE2).

In his executive level positions as Vice President of HR & Quality Assurance, for Cunard Line & The Yachts of Seabourn (a part of Carnival Corp PLC, 89,000 employees) , John oversaw the integration of two cruise lines with 10,000 employees and managed all aspects of change and cultural transformation. A key contribution during this time was the development of a compelling employee proposition that aligned with the Brands mission. At Cunard Line this was embodied in the 'White Star Service' program, which endures today and typifies the brand and its service culture. The program touched all aspects of the employee lifecycle and provided the platform to integrate disparate cultures and build a compelling, engaging employee proposition.

During his time with the Carnival Corporation, John also had a leadership role in the Global HR Council for the corporation and lead several initiatives to build synergies around service delivery between the seven member brands in areas such as IT, Supply Chain, Finance, and HR. Cunard Line went through another transition 6 years later and merged with Princess Cruise Lines based in California. John was elected to lead the integration team and moved to LA temporarily to embed the Cunard brand into that Organization.

Having completed that integration, John elected not to stay with Carnival Corp and exited with a clear strategy to form his own consulting Business. 6 months later, People2Strategy was formed together with John's former HR Director for the Americas.

People2Strategy is a consulting company providing strategic HR and OD support to global service industry organizations.

Accomplishments included projects worldwide with major cruise lines and hotel companies in the design of performance management systems; re-design of staffing models, leadership effectiveness and implementation of service excellence, employee engagement initiatives.

A pillar project during this time was the development of an award winning program for hospitality professionals in the North West of England, titled 'The Manchester Way'. This initiative sponsored by local government and tourism officials worked with 16 leading hospitality organizations in the Greater Manchester area and, over a period of 2 years, developed Service Excellence programs in order to drive enhancements to the local culture of hospitality and impact regional tourism metrics.

During this time John also facilitated a strategic off-site event for Royal Caribbean and started a consultant relationship that went on for 2 years until he eventually joined the organization as VP of HR for the Royal Caribbean International (RCI) Brand. In the consulting role John and his team at People2Strategy built an entire set of Talent Management solutions around the RCI basic service premise: *Deliver the Wow!* In doing so they deconstructed every aspect of the employee lifecycle from hiring to leadership development and succession planning and reconstructed those processes and practices to align with the ultimate guest service mission.

As Vice President HR for Royal Caribbean International, John reported to the President and CEO and was responsible for all aspects of Human Resources for 24 vessels and 12 Office locations globally with some 48,000 international employees, representing over 100 countries.

During his time with Royal Caribbean International the brand enjoyed unprecedented levels of business performance, largely through the efforts of its people and in particular through raising the bar on Leadership for Service Excellence. A key program which John authored and embedded into the organization addressed Senior Leadership Effectiveness at the business unit level and builds an organizational structure with a balanced scorecard around 'One Team'. In recent accolades from the RCCL Board, this program was credited as a key differentiator providing a level of focus and common purpose which resulted in significant margins gains over the past 2 years, despite a challenging economic environment.

In addition a talent management program - 'Fleet Building on Talent' - targeting High Performance/Potential which John has built and lead over the past 2 years has recently been awarded the UK/Europe, 2010/11 Investment in People award for the Maritime Sector.

In 2012, John elected to make a career change after challenging himself to bring these same people foundations for service excellence to another service industry. Healthcare answered the call and John accepted the role he holds today as Chief Human Resource Officer for NCH Healthcare System. He was primarily recruited by the NCH board to drive improvements in the Patient Experience through engaging employees in their role as service providers. This is reflective of a culture shift in US Healthcare driven by massive healthcare reform. Healthcare Systems now compete for federal re-imbursements based on Patient Experience ratings in addition to Quality and Safety outcomes.

The primary focus of the role continues to be alignment of people processes, programs and policies to drive the service excellence culture. Specifically this has meant a re-statement of organization Mission, Vision and Values; the implementation of new performance management systems and aligned reward programs; development of a Leading for Service Excellence Academy; focused recruitment profiles and selection processes for service traits and behaviors and the implementation of a patient/visitor and employee communication strategy setting expectations around the central tenants of caring and compassion; Be NICE !

The system is already experiencing unprecedented levels of improved Patient Satisfaction and is heavily into the change management process for cultural alignment.

Additional Info:

All of John's roles over the past 20 years have been Global in nature spanning the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific oceans with offices and employees in the US, East and West coast, UK, Germany, Spain, Norway, China, Middle East, Singapore, Philippines, India, Australia and on all the oceans of the world. His programs are by nature thinking in global terms, while operating in local environments and built to bring diverse cultures together around common business goals and customer cultures.

John has been an adjunct professor in the Master's program at Florida International University, School of Hospitality Management, and also serves as chair of the Educational Committee for the Marine Hotel Association Scholarship Foundation.

Have you ever thought about why you ‘Choose to Serve’ in the Hospitality Industry?

What is the research project about?

The title of the research project is ‘Emotional Labour and Valued Social Identity in Hospitality Workers’. The research aims to explore work histories of hospitality worker’s in order to develop an understanding of their lived experiences and explore in particular the development of their emotional work. It will examine the influence that working in hospitality has had on the subjects’ identity and the extent to which these influences may have impacted the development of particular service behaviours and attitudes.

How will the research be conducted?

The research will be conducted through interpretive interviews and reflections on the participant’s life/work history. Participants will be a diverse mix of gender and cultural backgrounds. The interviews will accommodate life/work histories and story-telling in order to focus on the inner experience of individuals. The interviews would be digitally recorded and then transcribed along with the notes taken during the interview.

What is required from participants?

Participants would be required to make themselves available to the researcher for a series of 2 or 3 interviews lasting approximately 1.5 hours over a period of 6-8 months. And also be available for occasional e-mail or phone contact over that period of time.

How will the information provided be treated?

Important ethical considerations will be provided for the participants to ensure their confidentiality is protected. Participation is voluntary and participants will be fully informed of the extent and implications of their participation at all times.

What are the potential contributions of this research?

The research outcomes are intended to provide contributions to knowledge and business practice in the areas of trust and partnership as a leadership model for the management of emotional labour in the Hospitality sector. In addition, it intends to make a contribution toward coping strategies for hospitality workers to negate the impact on their authenticity of close monitoring & scripted displays of emotion. Additional areas of contribution may be in more general references to profiles and attributes for use in the selection, orientation and training of hospitality industry professionals who engage in emotional labour.

What are the likely benefits of being a Participant in this research study?

Participants will have an opportunity to explore their own experiences and develop a shared understanding of their development in the industry to-date, as well as provide valuable input to a research subject rich in meaning for the hospitality industry as a whole. The researcher is very experienced industry veteran who throughout the process will also share a rich variety of insights and experiences with the participants.

Who is the Researcher?

The researcher is John McGirl, a doctoral student of Sheffield Hallam University in the UK currently completing a Doctor of Business Administration (DBA) program. John is resident in South Florida and has also served as an adjunct Professor here in the School of Hospitality and is well respected associate of the School. In his professional life, John is the Vice President of Human Resources for Royal Caribbean International Cruise Line and is a 25 year veteran of the international hospitality industry.

Participants are invited from students who meet either of the following criteria:

- A minimum of 4 years work experience in the Hospitality Industry with the majority of that experience in a front-line guest service role

OR

- A minimum of 2 years experience supervising and directing the work of service providers in front-line guest service roles

If you meet either or both of these criteria and are interested in participating please respond directly by e-mail to; Diann Newman, Professor Human Relations and Graduate Academic Advisor at the Florida International University School of Hospitality Management at newmand@fiu.edu before April 30th, 2010.

Interested students will be contacted after that date to complete an initial biography before the final selection of participants is confirmed.

Have you ever thought about why you 'Choose to Serve' in the Hospitality Industry?

Samples Questions For Initial Screening:

- Tell me about yourself – background, family, mentors growing up, first job, how you came into the service industry etc
- What does hospitality/Guest Service mean to you?
- How have you come to form that definition?
- How is it meaningful to you?
- What has influenced your development in providing Guest Service?
- What has shaped your willingness to serve others?
- What does this work mean to you – what purpose does it serve?
- How do you see yourself in the service role; when you reflect on the work you do what does it say about you ?
- Who has been an influence or important to you in your career to date?
- Can you describe a role-model or someone you have seen as exemplifying excellence in guest service?
- What do you like/dislike about delivering guest service
- How do you identify with the work – is it always you or do you sometimes see your self acting out i.e not being yourself
- Describe your relationship with Supervisors when you have been in service delivery roles?
- How so you feel about being closely supervised?
- How so you feel about being scripted in responses you provide to guests
- What training have your had in Guest Service? ; How has that training influenced how you work today?
- How do you feel when Guests are demeaning or look down at you, are rude or ungrateful for the service you provide?
- What/Who keeps you going in situations like that – how do you recover yourself and move on?

- What do you look for in a manager

IF CANDIDATE IS A SUPERVISOR;

- Tell me about what its like to supervise staff providing guest service?
- What do you rely on to get the best out of staff?
- How important is scripting and close monitoring?
- What training have you delivered in Guest Service technique?
- What has been most effective?
- How do most Guest Service staff see themselves in those roles?
- What's important to motivate them in delivering the kind of service that you are held accountable for?
- What do staff like/dislike about you and other supervisors?
- When or how do they find you to be most of value to them in their work?

DBA2 Interview Guide

Intro

- This research will aim to explore the life and work histories of hospitality worker's in order to develop an understanding of their lived experiences and explore in particular the development of their emotional work.
- The exploration will focus in particular on understanding the influence emotional labour work has on individual identity;
- How this impacts the production of emotional labour outputs for desired outcomes (as defined by dominant narratives in Customer Service delivery).
- The extent to which this regulation impacts the development of particular service behaviours and attitudes.

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Questions building from Lit Review:

How did you get into the Hospitality Industry?

What do you identify with in this business/ guest service e?

What to you think are the underlying characteristics of people who want to serve others? – why do they choose to do so?

What is your paradigm around what constitutes service excellence from the customer's perspective?.

How do you believe hospitality providers manage their emotions accordingly in responding to these service requirements?

How do you and others that you observe respond to these demands?

So do you see any potential danger for service workers in this suppressing of real feelings; what are your thoughts about this?

How does this 'commoditisation' of feelings in the service environment reconcile with the notions of authenticity/genuine person service?

The service workers I have seen to be most successful, appear to be very comfortable in their own 'skin'; how do you see them coming to relate to this identity?

How important is that this emotional labour work be consistent with a valued social and/or personal identity?

How does this alignment impact personal well-being?

How can direct management and supervision impact this validation of work with identity?

What are your thoughts on supervisory intervention for emotional regulation versus worker autonomy in service roles?

Does lack of autonomy impact worker satisfaction?; How?

What does less regulation and more autonomy yield in terms of emotional work i.e. more emphasis on the employee's ability to self monitor?

What are the implications for managements influence: Should it be more or less direct in terms of regulation / more or less enabling in terms self-monitoring?

What happens when workers have opportunity for discretion, participation and some creativity?; Can workers still find identity and meaning in the work while in essence internalising the required emotional displays?

How much do you believe a workers job orientation has roots in their background, upbringing and how they have been shaped coming into the world of work?

Are the meanings attributed to the work likely to be drivers for behaviours in the workplace?; What is your opinion on work as a reflection of meaning in our lives?

Do you see identification and internalisation of organisational values building organisational commitment in the service worker?.

What is the Role of Management in building this commitment?.

APPENDIX E: Transcript Samples

Transcript Ben L: Sept 7.2011

Transcript	JMG Reflection
<p>What is your paradigm around what constitutes service excellence from the customer's perspective?.</p> <p>Quick, Authentic, Anticipating Guests Needs, Details, make it easy for the person travelling or dining: its the unexpected.</p> <p>Right now in SOBE, it very competitive, have to be quick – competitive right now to get the business, if you don't respond someone else will.</p> <p>People are drawn to a place where they are appreciated. Getting them in the door is critical in this market (goes on to describe several competitors)</p> <p><i>I – Big Differentiator:</i> I am the newest person here, long serving staff – no one less that 2-3 years – recognize repeat business, every one cares about the property, cares about the guest, knows the guests, what they like... name recognition huge.</p> <p><i>I – how do you expect yourself and others to act-out/behave in front of Guests:</i></p> <p>Professional, not starchy, not Ritz Carlton – flex your style to the different guest: see what people want casual versus formal etc; hard think to really teach something you have to – more the hiring process – have to hire people that get-it : Big Challenge – I have one employee in particular ; a perfectionist, good with system. Came from hotel where she was very restricted</p>	<p><i>Introduction of 'Speed' as a measure of Service Excellence – efficiency, and the competitive nature of service : is it a MIA/SOBE phenomenon since it characterizes the place?</i></p> <p><i>How does the length of time a person is associated with the property/Brand impact their ability/orientation towards care? – do you grow into the alignment and the 'relationship' and so feel more inclined to act out correctly.</i></p> <p><i>Lack of scripting direction for responses: style of service calls for personalized approach – conflict with definitions of what typifies service excellence.</i></p> <p><i>My background is very much in the scripted, formal approach to service; how much is that influencing my focus on this area.</i></p>

in terms of what she could do for the guests – a lot come from that environment whereas I an yes, yes, yes...

I – is that because where they came from was very scripted in approach:

More limited than scripted, also have a manager who is more from a scripted background, very formal, swiss hotel school training – very proper, scripted ; we have had challenges with that.

How do believe hospitality providers manage to engineer their emotions accordingly.? ; how have you done it?

I - How much to you expect staff to manage emotions: Completely!; Hire Happy People – they don't have to change when they come to work : even happy people have bad days, but the baggage you have to check at the door.

If you have happy people working for you then they will project that onto the Guest and to other employees. One day a week they may not be 100% - but still have to check their emotions. Hard thing about this business – have to be emotional and high energy; its like Theatre, service is Theatre I was thought,

It like a theatrical experience ; engage the guests and at the same time you have to take your emotions out of it – can't take it personal there are rude, nasty people so you have to take emotion out of it. One guest can knock an employee of their horse, some ladies come to cry to me because a guest upsets them. I have to be a shoulder to cry on and let them get it out of their system away from the public arena.

Challenged the conflict between the requirement for a very specific type of service style and the orientation away from scripting : Can you hire people who 'naturally' will deliver a certain style of service without giving them some guide/training?

Can you 'Check it at the door'? – how tall an order is that??

Emphasis on the Theatrical Experience – taking emotions out of it versus notion of 'engineering emotions' – you work without emotion?

Constantly acting-out – suppressing real feelings – engineering responses : how does subject feel about that? : sees it much more pragmatically as problem solving

Focus on good team around you ; the significance of co-workers and

<p>What do you think happens when you rule your feelings for specific outcomes as defined by the organisation/employer?</p> <p>I don't know if I agree with that statement – with my experience of this, I like to surround myself with positive people ; I understand we deal with difficult people and situations everyday, but I don't see as you put it – I see it as problem solving; producing a good experience for the guest, the more you that – it gives you more ammunition and the more experience you have the less shocking things become; I think that at hotels you are expose to things that the average person is not exposes too – yes the first time may be disturbing, but you become more equipped to handle things in a more natural way. If you have a good team around you – support system – can be coached through different situations.</p> <p><i>I – do you find it a compromise though; don't you ever want to tell people what you really feel?</i></p> <p>Not really; I just don't – to me personally - there is too much going on in the world to get broken down about this kind of stuff ; When they cross the line, there's a way to let them know: Gave example of a Guest Situation.</p> <p>It doesn't really – for me personally its more challenging with the employees; ave person stays 3 days – it will pass.</p> <p>Is the act of disguising what you feel so as to present differently to others just 'Surface Acting': or is something deeper. ?</p>	<p><i>colleagues in helping you through this.</i></p> <p><i>Expressed my own reflections on getting frustrated and demeaned by Guests and letting it get to me when I was in a similar role to him – surprised at his answer – appears to be very able to de-personalize.</i></p> <p><i>Transient nature of the guest – what about when guests aren't transient? : Clubs/ Regular clients</i></p> <p><i>I used Airline industry example here and in other interviews and it demonstrated my own issues with service in the air – I need to reflect deeper on this as is surfaces constantly when I look for examples and spending so much time in the air as I do – it's a constant source of observation.</i></p> <p><i>Appears to have a real issues with individuals who have a need to direction - scripting : has high expectations that employees with come with the right approach – style.</i></p>
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I - Gave example for airline industry – how quickly you can scratch the surface of the ‘veneer of service’ – how does it get deeper: How much of it do you see in yourself and others?

I have one person in particular who surface acts and I think he is a detriment to the team; I have a lot people – take the front desk – 2 people in their 40’s doing this for a long time – genuinely good people ; in SOBE everyone wants younger, hip , attractive staff, but is worth it to have good people who are willing to help other people. I think that the people I have now – those I try to bring in are people that do this for a long time, seek it out, enjoy it. A surface person can hit all the check-points; this person in particular has expressed to me that he needs to know what expectation are everyday – I want natural : go do your job, do it well, make the guests happy! This person always needs to know the script – my script is a blank piece of paper ; make it look pretty; I’m OK with borderline professionalism.

The waiter, bar-server, room-attendant or receptionist, exist within a pre-determined hierarchy and often the display of emotions required in the exercise of their duties are regulated as part of their job role:

Does what you ought to feel (defined by service rules) versus what you actually feel create an inner struggle when you know what

Is surface acting encouraged by/driven by the scripted environment ? which comes first – chicken or egg?

Again strong dialogue from me around the inner struggle with having to face out differently from what you feel – expressed frustration and used very vivid examples from my own formative experiences – need to examine this in more depth and reflect on the way these experiences have shaped me.

*Do people make a conscious choice to ‘work with people’ is that how they really see the role?
How do you work at ‘Choosing your Attitude’”?*

Coping Methods – what works – how do people find their coping strategy?

we should feel but don't feel that way.?

At times yes – it is a struggle on some days – things outside work, relationships, life events all come in – but this is the decision that they made – they might not have the option to be a doctor or a lawyer or President , but if you choose to go into the hospitality business this is something that you have to do...like our GM jokes around : if you don't like being around people go work in a morgue. I encourage ee's to take the time to re-balance – take time out it having a bad day : Get back to who you are, the person we hired that we want to be here?

I - Can people choose their attitude? Its something you need to work at : I -do you have to do anything yourself to get your self into that frame of mind?

I try to – I listen to music, I check out my sports : gets me excited, my energy level up– you have to find a balance what makes you happy : I make a conscious effort never to be negative; bad things happen, but you can always put a good spin on it. For me at least...

How do you and others that you observe respond to these demands? ; Has this 'authenticity' of emotional display had any particular meaning for the development of your ultimate service personality?

I - Do you ever feel it's a compromise – for you ?

No – I have people like that; always with a chip on their shoulder – complain about silly things –

People look for People who reflect their behaviour – Behaviour creates behaviour...surround yourself with positive people – energy.

Employee Comes 1st – focus on them and the Guest service will follow : Theme to explore

Reflected on the counter-culture that sees 'Disneyization' of people as almost cloning – trying to make us all super positive all the time – glossing over the realities of people live, creating a fantasy world that's not sustainable – potentially damaging to people if they are not confronting and building strategies around real issues : Death, illness, Financial/Relationship struggles/ world hunger, poverty etc...

Subject immediately focused on how he was not good at confronting 'negative' realities, his identity seen by friends as being Mr Positive – glossing over real emotive issues – always on the bright side – not always helpful...

JMG reflected on the same issue with a friend who doesn't know how to process with – dwell with me in

I don't spend time with people like that. *How does that fit in with what you do ?*: Some of my best friends and most positive influences are the people I work with; *I – not the guests?*- you meet some great guest, but you can't choose what guests are going to come. If your in a positive place with positive people it rubs off on the guests ; happy ees, happy guests – isn't that what the industry is all about – Management company here believes the employees come first ; guests come back and make us money – but if employees are not happy, guests won't be happy.

Do do you see any potential danger for service workers in this suppressing of real feelings; what are your thoughts about this? any damage or misuse of their person?

Can we become clones to the world and become less part of the real worlds outside the doors of our hotel?

I got a good one for you – my best friend from growing up lives in NYC – went through a bad break-up – sad, depressed, we would talk on the phone and she was not very happy for a year of more – 2 or 3 months ago she said to me there were times when I was really upset and couldn't call you : you always looked at the positive side of things – I couldn't speak to you because you were always looking on the bright side .. that was a real eye-opener for me...to think that my best friend felt that she couldn't talk to me because of me being me...

despair – don't immediately tell me the 'silver lining' : I need someone to process with and just listen – empathize.

There has to be a base – a base of authenticity ; efforts can bring it out and develop it; but a fundamental comfort with people and willingness to serve is needed to build-on – how can we determine if that is there?

<p><i>I – great analogy to use : your identity becomes so tied up in being that Hospitality person – positive, problem solving....not always connecting with brutal realities of life.</i></p> <p>I get it – I know that there are emotions out there – different people hold different events important to them; its hard for me to rank tragedy – but breaking up with a boyfriend – move on – it was hard for me to connect with that and dwell in it.</p> <p>CHANGE TAPE</p>	<p><i>Influence of how you start out in the business ; A great start – an inspirational environment, culture, manager : Can this be the starting point – how hard is it to recover if individuals start out with a bad impression : bad role-model : does it influence the attitude of caring.</i></p>
<p>How does this ‘commoditisation’ of feelings in the service environment reconcile with the notions of authenticity/genuine personakl service:</p> <p><i>Which came first your identity as a positive person – or the service environments influence on your positive identity??</i></p> <p>I don’t know – it’s a good question...I know it was definitely in me – did the industry bring it out in me more? - probably. It work for me – why would anyone want to be unhappy? : I don’t understand why it wouldn’t work – why?</p> <p>The service workers I have seen to be most successful, appear to be very comfortable in their own ‘skin’; how do you see them coming to relate to this identity?</p>	<p><i>Reflection : my background with HR and designing/delivering programs has grounded me very much in the tools and approaches described in the question : my Literature review needs to take a more critical stance on these approaches in order to deal with my own potential bias’s – this became evident in some of the assumptions and bias that was present in this particular part of the discussion.</i></p> <p><i>More examination of reward systems – links with motivation for specific behaviours/emotional displays</i></p>

<p>How important is that this emotional labour work be consistent with a valued social and/or personal identity?</p> <p>Has to be...</p> <p>How does this alignment impact personal well-being?</p> <p>It support my well-being – sure it wears on you like anything in life : example of recent stress, relationships. I have other things – Gym, music etc.</p> <p>How can direct management and supervision impact this validation of work with identity?</p> <p>Influence of : - Selection/Training & Indoctrination/Scripting :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Feeling Rules - Monitoring: - Design of reward and Recognition Programs ? <p><i>I - Whats influenced you?</i></p> <p>It's a combination of everything – First Impressions are everything: when I first started at Delano the interviews were tough to get – felt privileged to get one – first day was excellent – everything was done for you – made to feel comfortable. Where I worked after that – interview great, got me really excited to work there; then I started to work the first day and it was like 'just get to work' – painted a nice picture, reality was different – no one tool the time – me and this other guy in the same position : sitting at our desks back to back – we looked at</p>	<p><i>Explore how role-models/mentors transition – when is there work done – how can it become counter productive</i></p> <p><i>Aspiration/Inspirational – The transformational leader impact – 'whole package' – the want to be like that factor.</i></p> <p><i>Trying to hire for team fit – a certain 'type of person : implications for culture – understanding cultural fit – how is it articulated.</i></p> <p><i>If people can work themselves out of the system because they don't 'fit in' – ethical/moral dilemmas in this</i></p>
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each other – aha moment not in a good way – I said we need to look out for each other – get each others back, so formed good relationships with people there, but as far as the company was concerned – from day 2 impression was terrible – they didn’t care for us ; plus no reward and recognition – I don’t need a lot but there was no thank-you. I don’t need a lot, but...

I – what do you need – what works for you?

Money always work – recognized with \$\$ - but a Thank you from the GM for a specific effort is the best – that’s what I try to give to my employees now – times are hard so its not always possible to give financial incentives so you have to compensate with more recognition – pats of the back.

What are your thoughts on supervisory intervention for emotional regulation versus worker autonomy in service roles?

When I started I had a great mentor – Steven he would coach me ; always in the moment, but not in public which is important because people need their dignity – he called it the sandwich technique – praise – correct – praise ; These things work – don’t need to reinvent the wheel.

I - Mentor or Role Model? – did you want to be like that?

I wanted to be like him sure – but more in his style, I wanted to be more than him; take a little from all styles, Steven wasn’t perfect but look at the great parts and apply to your style – avoid

exclusion?

This lack of articulated values may serve an injustice to the employees who are hired and end up not ‘fitting in’ – if we can’t set the right expectation, how can we manage to it.

Work as a means to an end – can it be a route to fulfilment – what are the implications. The idea that ‘it’s a choice’ – you can choose to see it that way or not and that shapes your attitude.

the parts that don't work.

I - Any role model stand out ?

Absolutely – the guy that I work for now : his name is Mark ; he was my GM at Delano and then area VP – his is my role-model and mentor; I can go to him and say I have this lined up – he is IT!

Able to connect with everyone – Employees, everyone.

It's the everything – its not one thing – the whole package, knowledge, advice, demeanour, listener. Leaves difficult guests to me. The guest thing I'm pretty much...that's the easy part – things are going to happen you trouble shoot : developmental for me is with the employees...

~~Does lack of autonomy impact worker satisfaction?; How?~~

What does less regulation and more autonomy yield in terms of emotional work i.e. more emphasis on the employee's ability to self monitor?

What are the implications for managements influence: Should it be more or less direct in terms of regulation / more or less enabling in terms self-monitoring?

It definitely needs direction : with one particular employee had to sit down and say I'm not a micro manager and I never will be – deal with it – I'll try to help you where I can – I can only be me and if that's not working for you then evaluate where you are. For me it about the hire,

I try to bring in different people – I want diversity in my staff – its exciting/interesting. Some of the Bellmen work themselves out of the system; great Character, but not the right kind of person.

What happens when workers have opportunity for discretion, participation and some creativity?; Can workers still find identity and meaning in the work while in essence internalising the required emotional displays?

If we had more “core values” it would be easier – we don’t have a framework – guidelines – on behaviour etc, by friendly doesn’t mean go sleep with the guests – so what does it mean?

How much do you believe a workers job orientation has roots in their background, upbringing and how they have been shaped coming into the world of work?

I think is a choice that I’ve made – It work was just a means to an end I could have been a Banker, I could have got my law degree.- I could be making my millions – the way I look at your going to spend most of your life working you might as well enjoy it. Also I get to work in an environment that people are working to put themselves in 80% of my time is spent in the environment that everyone else is trying to spend 20% of their time in, so it’s a winning thing!

The 80/20 comparison is an interesting perspective –the notion of being in an environment all the time the others only get to experience on vacation or as a treat.

Critical perspective : clearly sees the role in an inspirational way.

JMG used the term ‘vocation’ here and got focused on the vocational aspect of Hospitality and the connection with moral/ethical obligations to care for others. This is a strongly held belief of the researcher and requires critical reflection and further review in literature.

<p>Are the meanings attributed to the work likely to be drivers for behaviours in the workplace?; What is your opinion on work as a reflection of meaning in our lives?</p> <p>I'm creating memorable experiences for people, and that's important to me... am I saving lifes?; no, am I ...but I'm creating an environment for people that they desire and need.</p> <p><i>I - -Is it meaningful in your life? Yea.. it is –</i></p> <p>Yes is absolutely the answer ; I f you don't take what you do seriously then why do it – at the same time you can take it too seriously : Ive seen people get so burnt out and go so nuts , they stop enjoying it ; its not worth it – you can't please everybody.-</p> <p>What is the Role of Management in building this commitment?.</p> <p>I can pass on as much as they want to take. I think that you can create more desire in the person – is it 50/50 I don't know? I think more of it comes in the person – Communication is huge, recognition, being as honest as possible and making them feel unique.</p> <p><i>I - The property itself? Like the say with Ritz Carlton or 4 Seasons – don't necessarily pay more – but I'm proud to work there. I'm proud to be Rooms Director at the Raleigh – would it be the same if I was at the Courtyard Marriot –</i></p>	<p><i>Need to explore more the relationship with Brand/Company/Entity and how this informs identity</i></p>
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doesn't sound the same – no that there is anything wrong with that.	
INTERVIEWED CLOSED	

Transcript Yan T.: January 11.2011

Transcript	JMG Reflection
<p>How do you, as a customer, or as someone who serves customers, when you think about service excellence, what is your definition of service excellence? What does it mean to you?</p> <p>It means that I receive what I am expecting to have, that I am greeted nicely, that the food is good, that everyone is nice, smiling, at least pretending to like me. If I am in good restaurant... I was recently for dinner in a four star restaurant and they didn't take things they were supposed to take, they took things they should not take – it was not the way it was supposed to be. I saw because I knew the general way it should go, but I did not get upset because it was generally good. It didn't spoil the evening. He was under pressure.</p> <p>So one of your expectations is that things are done the right way?</p> <p>Yes.</p> <p>Also, you mentioned to pretend to smile. Can you tell the difference between someone who is genuinely smiling and someone who is pretending to smile?</p> <p>It is not supposed to be different to the customer.</p> <p>The customer should not be able to tell?</p> <p>The smile should be there, whether he makes it is not essential for the customer. Just like the shirt should be clean, the smile should be there.</p> <p>What if it is hard for him to smile at that moment?</p>	<p><i>Pretending to like me – putting on the act of liking your guests. Is there a mutual understanding guest to crew that this is all an act...but we both comply with it understanding that it makes the transaction and experience more pleasant and overall is understood to be an implicit 'rule' in the service transaction: quid pro quo – you be nice to me, I will use your service/pay for it.</i></p> <p><i>How much do guests notice or care when it is an Act – as per above, is it an implicit understood part of the transaction?</i></p>

It is not that hard. I will pretend, professionally.

So it should be professional?

Yes, even if it means nothing. It means nothing to the person you will never see before, but you create the ambiance.

For you, that is easy?

Yes.

Does it ever get difficult? A stress situation, where a guest is angry, or ungrateful, really bothers you?

One thing that helps me always, I imagine my mom and my aunt, and the customer cannot be worse than that when they are in their mood. But I will use this, it helps.

So how does that work?

When I work, we deal with club members. We had a few old ladies and if they were in a bad mood, they show it. Like, the bread is bad. And sometimes they were right, because everybody makes mistakes. They sent it back three times for nothing. And, I just imagine my mom and my aunt... nobody is worse.

It doesn't bother you to be smiling and apologize to them, even if they are rude to you?

If they are rude, no. I have not had such an experience that somebody was really rude with me during my work. We had one where they were very drunk. We had to answer with discretion; they were rude. I did not like the situation, but my manager saw it and sent me back. It was only one time.

Do you sometimes, when you look at your colleagues/co-workers, have you seen co-workers have problems with that?

Many times.

Why do you think they have a problem with it?

Maybe it is just the hospitable nature of the person. If you do not like this job, this job is not for everybody. When I worked, they were not all professional. Some were students, some

Is this a commonly used Coping Strategy – how much do we use our own experiences and relate how we should feel – accept in terms of others behaviour to our own experiences?

'Professional' - what does professional mean in the context of emotional labor? – I come from the same understanding – that smiling and putting up with guests behaviour patiently and with a smile is part of being a customer service professional – I have prided myself on that in former guest service roles and still value that attribute in my dealings today. I don't see it as transmutation of feelings or some form of repression; I see it as an ability that has made me successful and increase my emotional intelligence; I am seeking to understand the person and their behaviour rather than reacting to it.

it was a second job. In the hotel, I did not see that – not in Marriot, not in one bay harbour, because they were professional there. In front of the guest they could control themselves.

For the majority of service professionals, they manage their feelings. They may feel angry or upset or sad, and when they go out to the guests, they engineer their emotions to look and act a certain way. I accept that. I am trying to understand does that impact the person at all? What does that do to the individual?

Yes, I think it does impact. If somebody behaves badly and you still have to be nice, of course you do not like it, and there is something inside that is saying this is not right, but you are a professional and so it is okay. I mean the situation is not okay; if they become too rude, then you have the manager there.

You use the word professional a lot. You break it down to a sense of professionalism, where it is not about you it is about the job? It is not personal, it is a job.

That is a great attitude to have. Go back to the smiling thing, the fact that you can easily walk out of the kitchen door and still smile. Some people would say that smile is a surface smile, not a real smile, because it is not coming from inside. There is another school of thought that says the more you identify with the job, the more you value the social skills that you learn in the job, the more that smile becomes real. In other words, it is a difference between surface versus deep acting. Surface acting is what you described. You know you do not feel that way, that this is completely engineered. It is really only on the surface, if you scratch that it will disappear. Then there is deep acting. The people who embrace it so much that it is automatic. There is a school of thought about surface versus deep acting and the effect that engineering these emotional displays have on the individuals over time. How deep from the surface is your acting?

I think in my case it is surface acting, but I

Coping Strategy – its good for me not to take things personally. I agree with that and it also forms the initial driver for training in customer service 'learn not to take things personally' - a method to feel better about yourself, get through the day more successfully and be valued as a service professional.

How does the influence of time impact the responses and delivery in emotional labor?; Is time a factor – the longer your exposed to it – could

think that is good.

It is good on the surface?

I think it is good for the hotel, not just for me. I do not take things personally. It is good for me, but I think it is better for the hotel. It is a sort of protection so I will not do stupid things. If it is on the inside, and something is broken, you can react... I think it is better.

That is a very good response. It is a unique way of looking at it. I hear what you are saying, if it is on the surface, then you have control over it?

Yes, it is about the emotion. If it is deep, then you have the emotional reaction. On the surface, you have some protection. Something can happen too, but not an emotional reaction.

The negative side of the surface thing that people see is that... I'll use the airline example. Sometimes you dread going on a flight because as the steward/stewardess become more senior they really start to hate what they do. What happens is that over time, they have had so many layoffs and redundancies that only the long-term people are left. They are burnt out. They do not want to leave the job because they have built up so much benefit for their retirement. They do not work as much... just increase their pension plan. The reality is, and they put on a great surface acting, but if you scratch the surface of that, ask them something that is not on the script, there is no real service there at all. They are basically there because they have to be there, not because they want to be there, and do only what the company says they have to do. They do not care about you, and that is very evident. It is my classic example. That is what I mean by the surface act. None of it is genuine. I think what you are describing is something a little bit deeper than that because you, from what you told me, you do care about giving good service?

Yes I want the client to be happy. It is basic care.

work either way on the continuum...make you more bitter and resentful or make your more professional and better at coping....

Allowed me to be humble....Link to the act of hospitality and the nature of providing service to 'Others- this is another way to look at coping strategies...humbling oneself to others

Being seen as humble by the guest an implicit part of the service 'rules'

Servant/Master relationships; this is where many people get hung up in the

So you do have a genuine- ?

Yes, but I have not been doing it for twenty years, maybe after twenty years, you know...

So the people who are challenged with it have this inner struggle that you see, how does it affect them? Does it affect their mood?

I had one guy who worked with me, and he said he gave them bad service, it was at the Oceanaire club... I don't believe he can do it in a five star hotel because they would correct him.

Some people directly retaliate with the customers?

Or maybe because we have club members, so he can do it next time, and then laugh. But in hotel, no...

You are very established. You mentioned about your career and background. You started in hospitality as a means to an end and you have a strong sense of self, I would say. You are confident as an individual. That comes with a certain level of authenticity. You are an authentic person, you are pretty direct, you say what you think. Do you ever think that your authenticity is compromised when you work in hospitality/service?

No, I have only conflict working in hospitality with myself. I used to be a businessman, now I am a service man in a restaurant... I hope to be more humble. I did not long to work in a restaurant, I had no practice. I needed it because of the dollars per hour in the beginning. It allowed me to be humble.

So your manager was quite an influence on that?

Yes, in the oceanaire club. He was the supervisor, not the manager. Two menus, small bar, one restaurant. He helped me to fight with this inner problem. Then I become professional – I became waiter head, I worked in another restaurant.

I love the expression you made that you have to be humble.

perception of subservience in the service relationship. Is it a requirement that to serve there has to be a 'Master' - can service not be seen as an act in itself and act of hospitality to another – not Master, but fellow...

In training we often imply that being a server – providing emotional labor is a means to an end: we say if you do this then you will be successful/promoted i.e. not have to do it anymore – thereby devaluing the acts themselves as if to say it is subservient and unpleasant and something to be tolerated....Why? Some of my best times, most enjoyable periods in my life – in balance – were being in the front-line of customer service; and I was good at it and valued that very highly. But I also felt that I had to move on – part of that was financial, but also that implication that this wasn't a 'real' career.

I think it is very important – maybe most important. I did not think about it too much, but if you are humble and you do some mistake, the dinner is not spoiled. If you are not humble and you do everything perfectly, it is worse.

The humbleness, do you think that is part of hospitality? That it requires a certain level of humility to deliver service?

I think so.

What happens if you do not have humility?

They have to somehow ... they are not for hospitality.

So humility is a big part of it?

I have one friend, I have to translate from Russian to English, he told me one time, that I am not a guy who can do this servant's jobs. He is not for hospitality. If you are servant, you are not master. He did his business, and his very successful career.

So it is the difference between servant in the sense of serving and servant in the sense of serving others. Serving others is a moral concept, a basic moral imperative. To serve your fellow man. The idea of...

Yes, I never think of it in this way. As a server position, I never look at it like this. No. Never. Because I didn't want to be server when I started.

That is exactly the point. If you come from a basis of morality, it says that part of the purpose of being on earth is to serve our fellow man. So the more ethical and moral obligation we have to each other is to serve each other. Every master is a servant to his servants, and so forth. You put it into that context and you think about the idea of serving someone in hospitality, presenting them a meal, a room, a drink, or taking care of the facility for them, and that is a service to other people. It is kind of the most humble, and one of the most humble things you can do, it is also quite noble in the context of serving others.

I will have to remember that for my mom and

Importance of good supervision – influence on behaviour :

my aunt.

Exploring between the person as a servant, their authenticity, and their ability to serve. It is interesting that you say it comes from a perspective. Your Russian friend says I cannot do what you do, it is a fundamental difference. You have to get comfortable in your own skin about the whole thing?

As a server?

In anything you do, you have to be comfortable in your own skin?

No, I am not comfortable in this position. I will be comfortable to teach in University, to manage something important, but this, I cannot describe really that it gives me more. I can go again to some manager position and the server position was just part of the way to get there, but then I realized that nobody is waiting for us, and the next class... they told us do not expect to be a manager, do not apply to be a manager – I hated that I spent two years preparing to be a manager. I will feel more comfortable, now I will become the server who is serving my fellow man, fellow employee.

You will just be serving in a different way. So when you say you are not comfortable with it, but you are okay with it because it is a means to an end. Is there anything you can say you have learned from it that has changed you as a person?

Absolutely. I am more humble. I keep my temper on a regular basis. It was a good experience. I go to work because I like it. I am happy to see my co-workers. Working in this market is very good. Money is better to work in five star hotel, a little, but the ambiance – I like to go there. I see people, everything is organized. Everything is perfect.

I like what you said about what you will take away from it how it's changed/shaped you is that you will be more humble and that you are in control of your temper.

I have more skill now, when I told my mother she said I could not do that because I am not manually good.

Undervalues the orientation and identification with culture – transient nature of relationship – not meaningful to him to belong: also related to eastern European culture – not easy to 'sign-up'

Role of Supervisor to regulate and monitor.- does not see the

<p>So you value the skills? Yes, I really like it.</p> <p>So when you move on and you look back and you think, “did my identity change at all because I learned these behaviours of being more humble, controlling the way I feel more,” do you think that, in some way, will or has or could shape your identity a little bit differently? Are you a different person? Maybe a little. I think it depends on how fast I move on.</p> <p>Do you value the fact that, in this environment, you have this opportunity to learn these social skills? Is that valuable to you? I find that I can work in diverse environment. I have never worked with people from Haiti, from Latin America.</p> <p>Different cultures, tolerance of difference? We do not have these people in Czech Republic at all.</p> <p>If you think about all the things the hospitality world does to shape and influence people the way they want them to, they are usually hiring people that are the right kind of people. It is dishonest, to get into hospitality.</p> <p>So there is a hiring issue? Then once you are hired, they focus on the orientation. Bring you on board. It is just BS in my opinion. I know it is important for the system, but....</p> <p>Then you have the training that happens on the job, and then there is the influence of the systems: pay, recognition, performance management, evaluation, etc. Lots of different things managers and supervisors try to do to influence and shape the personality of the individual to be a more gracious, smiling person in front of the guests. So you told me very clearly what you thought about those things. Which of any of them do influence or can have an</p>	<p><i>inspirational nature : is this common to Hospitality? Due to nature of work/employee – more accepted. How much does national culture play in terms of establishing expectations?</i></p> <p><i>Influence of Physical activity/Exercise as a coping strategy.</i></p> <p><i>The Golden Rule – a factor of upbringing – a moral obligation – do unto others....How much of this attitude has to be shaped before coming to the workplace and how can we determine if it is truly in the nature of the person?</i></p>
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impact?

Hiring. Human resources can eliminate someone, a manager. They can get what they want. It is there job to identify. You can have a bad person in this position, so it is very important. ... For example this One Bay Harbour, I started to work there, full time. There was a guy, professional waiter, and we worked together. I knew him from the Marriot; I even used him as one of my references. We got a new general manager, he talked talked talked, and human resources got involved. I don't know how these managers/directors, he was fired, we get a new one.

You aren't a big believer in branding, the message?

Maybe it is important, this branding, maybe they do it every other marriot, but the shape of this one I don't understand. I don't have experience from another marriot. Maybe it works, but...

What about day to day management and supervision? How much of an influence does that have on the way employees act out?

I think it is very very very important. Even if you come from Ritz Carlton as a server and you see that nobody follows the rules, why should you? I think it should be done consistently, but usually the managers are lazy or they do not believe in this. At the one bay harbour, I see that. Marriot Hollywood beach sometimes the servers do not do what they have to do.

That is where you think supervisors and managers come in?

They should teach you always. I believe that if it is not controlled, it will be.. I don't know if I am answering your questions...

I am interested in the notion of control because one of the things I am exploring is the effect of regulation versus autonomy. There are two different mindsets, and something in the middle that may or may not work. You mentioned the words control

My experience is that people in service roles rarely value this aspect of their job: they do not see the value they are contributing to others lives in their acts of hospitality. Is that because we don't value that in how we teach, train and or promote within the hospitality sector? ; how much emphasis do we place on the value that hospitality workers are adding to the lives of those they serve? Can that be a means to develop emotional labor – will that appeal to the vocational nature of the work encourage greater participation/commitment?

Important observation that many people who work in hospitality are transient – its not long term: my position on this has always been to value it while you are there.

instead of regulation.

My personal point of view is to be closer to supervisor control. I call it the German style of management.

Why do you think it is more effective?

Because in this environment, it will be better, and the Marriot will be like it is supposed to. I believe that as a customer they should bring me fish if I want fish.

Take the example of the one who doesn't bother any more... he gets away with it, but it is not good service. Good service would be to do his station right, and automatically serve the guests. But he chooses not to do it, because it is easier not to try. A shortcut. But they do care, people do notice the little differences. Let's say that, you want that person to do more of that, how would you influence that person to do that all the time? If someone is standing over him saying, you did it wrong?

No I am absolutely sure they will tell him, but telling is nothing. I know that there would be no consequences for him.

What would make him change?

Some punishment?

Via warning?

I would not call him for another shift.

Is there any way to make him believe that without punishing him?

Tell him one more time, and I will not call you next time. It is punishment, if I do not call him he does not get money. Maybe he does not care. But it is always wrong for managers to punish him for this, he is there for many years, he is always on time. He doesn't have problem with customers. It is a problem of good management to balance. I do not believe in this.

Does he do the other things right? Is he smiling, happy?

Yes. It is more of a technical issue. But it is not reason to fire him

What I am exploring here is all of those influences that exist that are going to make people either more or less, and the kind of service personality we want them to be. Why do people choose their attitude? You choose to work with your attitude of making the best of this. You go in and choose to have a certain service attitude. You could choose to take it out on your guests and co-workers, right?
I deal with my stress by running.

You get rid of your stress by running. But you choose to have positive attitude in work environment?
Absolutely. It is better for me and for customers and for everybody.

So you see the connection?
Here, yes, again with this surface smile. If I went with the deep, I think that my stress will more influence my personality. Because it is just professional.

You think any of who you are today in the service environment is shaped by where you came from? As in your background?
I think so. Yes. When I was a boy I was taught to be nice to people. Don't do anything to anyone that you would not want them to do to you. I think this is basic. When I managed before I was not so nice to people, I could fire people because they were in the wrong place at the wrong time. I think it is very good that I am going through this now, as an employee. I will think twice next time. Maybe see things differently.

It is a good experience just for that alone, just to teach you that. Something a little more philosophical around the meaning of work as it relates to the meaning of your life. If you think about whether your life has purpose or meaning, it is a basic human desire to have meaning or purpose. For our lives to be worth something, to make a contribution of some kind, to say I am making a difference with my life. It is called the base of human will. Do you connect what you do with the purpose or

meaning of your life?

I do not feel the connection. My mom always told me that if you do not finish university, your career is done and you are nothing. OK I did university, I wanted to be somebody, I wanted to have money, I wanted to have a nice life, but I don't know, I don't think that even if I become a professor, my purpose will not change too much. I may help my students find themselves, what is good, but I do not see some greatness.

It is not about greatness; it is about meaning. Meaning could just be the fact you have kids that give you meaning in your life. It does not have to be great. Just a sense of meaning/purpose. Do you leave work feeling a sense of contribution?
Yes. Definitely.

A contribution to your family?

My family. Especially now.

Do you feel there is any opportunity while you are working to make a contribution to others – the people you serve?

Yes, I am making them happy because I did my job well. I am nice to people. Of course I want the people I serve to be comfortable, to be satisfied. I feel satisfied.

You think that you made a contribution in some way to those people?

Yes. I do not normally think about this, but it is true.

It could be passed on. They have a good experience with you, then they feel good about themselves, then pass it on.

Too much philosophy. I do not usually think about it this way.

You are a very different employee, and you are a good one to have in the mix. A lot of people I talk to are hospitality people, and it is their world. You are different, this is a transient means to an ends for you, and you perspective is interesting and different, and it brings a different tone. It gives a touch of realism, a realistic view of it.

Sometimes I think about it, that maybe I would be manager. I plan what I would do differently, but I decided I do not want to do that. I decided I want to do a PhD, and a part of my interest died. I go because I like being with the co-workers, but I lost the interest to learn for myself to be better for being a future restaurant manager. I used to want it, but something happened during the summer. I would feel good in my skin as a professor, and I realized this finally.

INTERVIEW CLOSED.

APPENDIX F : Interview Schedule – Names and Contact Info Redacted

E-mail	Names	Tel	Appt 1	Appt 2	Notes
Participant # 2	Location : FIU or near Campus		6pm May 21 st	Wed Sept 8 th 2pm FI U	Female Chinese Under 30
Participant # 6	Maimi Lakes or FIU		3pm May 28 th	Tuesday PM?	Male Cuban Under 40
Participant # 1	RCCL Office or on Brickell		5:30pm May 26 th	Wed Sept 8 th 12-2pm FIU	Male Mexican Under 30
Participant # 5	Thomas MDC or in Office		1pm June 15 th	Tuesday PM?	Female Jamaican Under 50
Participant # 3	At Work (South Beach)		6pm May 30 th Hotel SOBE	11am Sept 7 th Hotel SOBE	Male US Under 40
Participant # 4	Hollywood – Evenings		7pm May 27 th	Jan 11 th 3pm FIU	Male Czech Under 40
Participant # 8	RCCL Office		June 16 th 11am	Sept 10 th 3pm Cafeteria	Male US Under 30
Participant # 7	RCCL Office		June 29h		Male US Under 40
Participant # 9	FIU Lab		May 14 1pm	Oct 7 th Starbucks PP	Female US Under 30
Participant # 10	FIU Lab		May 14 1:45pm	Oct 12 th FIU lib	Male Italy Under 30

APPENDIX G: Screening Interview Notes

Candidate Notes – Intro Meeting Screening

Ben L:

GS Manager – South Beach Hotel:

- USC - Family not in the Hospitality business/ Father has a plumbing business on Long Island NYC
- Starting service career in NY at Atlantic Beach Club
- Cabana Boy: cool job from 16-21
- Best Job ever; Felt comfortable, with peers, had fun – made cash
- Went to college in Indiana after 3 best friends died at young age; felt disconnected
- Didn't work out – couldn't belong
- Came to SF – Delano so cool – felt the connection (Hospitality Gene)
- Decided to go to FIU – worked at Delano/Fountainblue in Guest Service/FOM
- Loves Challenge/Problem Solving/Thinking outside the box

Santiago Y:

Internship at [REDACTED] Hotel Group

- Father travelled on business in Italy – took family along : loved staying Hotels – father always talked to him about the experiences ; pointed things out – made connections
- Chilean/Mexican – group up between both
- Freshman in college went to Cabo to work in a Hotel and “Bam – it hit me ; this is what I want to do” : why – People Industry / Attention to detail
- Experience differs – worked in Manhattan where you are invisible to the Guest.
- Its not for everyone – not if Financial is your driver takes certain qualities;
 - o Patience/Observant/Understanding
- Father a role model – gracious/tolerant this
- Is fascinated by the Corporate level – projects-initiatives – Energy of being young in the industry
- An industry for Happy People – who want to make others happy
- Employees are influenced by peer group – more than supervisor – some supervisors just nice-guys following orders – don't push you
- Training is an influence – Mandatory Courses, Make you take it seriously if the whole culture is built around it; In real life most of training has to be altered
- Dedication is primary – training helps – but commitment has to be there
- Tough to move up in the industry
- Glad to get a break with current company – Innovative
- Require you to build your identity around the job – everything links to the brand – management come from the Ritz Carlton culture.
- Have to believe in the culture
- Close supervision is limited – employees have to find their way ; your personality has to come out in the job

Qing F.

Courtyard Marriot – Receptionist

- Born Tianjin China – Professional Parents
- Recalls connection to Hospitality from Meal-times

- Family at the table – Mother cooked – all set the table waited for Father to come home
- Also vacationed at Hotels in other Chinese cities
- Hospitality strong in homes but not so good in China Hotels
- Why Hospitality – Diversity of experiences, likes efficiency of a good service transaction
- Experience at Courtyard Marriot
 - Profession environment
 - Helpful, Courteous
 - Teaches you to deal with situations
- Believes you have to be truthful with guests – delights in calming irate guests
- Will differ very difficult situations to supervisor – sometimes have to as guests will only respond to that
- How do you learn to deal with difficult situations – is it natural?
 - Training Helps – has a great supervisor, role model – more important
 - Have to try it out and be coached – coaching is the best education
 - Need to have right supervisor
 - Need to learn to let things go also
- Don't take it too seriously – you to like people- enjoy people

Anton K. NOT SELECTED

Server – Upscale residential Club/PT RCCL embark agent

- From Czech Rep : has own business there : wanted to move to America – looked for industry to work in : found Hospitality – signed up for FIU and took waiting jobs. Wife runs successful import business
- Had to fight his pride to start at a low position again having run his own company
- Well travelled – vacation all over the world, began to see hospitality industry as a way-out – fulfil other desires – move on, not fulfilled in his former role – and saw another way to live in America
- Likes Club environment : 2 years there – sense of belonging
- Has observed bad management and influence on employees
- Managers have big Ego, rude, rule by fear : because it is a not for profit environment does not have the same accountability
- Direct supervisor had kept me there – good person – great to work for – good teacher
- Senior Manager treats him badly – unethical
- Ethics and fair treatment very important to him
- Not sure if we will stay in the industry

Note: Came across as means to an end; just a job – more focused on the way he was treated rather than the experience with the customer. Didn't appear to like being a server and signed up for this interview as he was really looking to network and build his contacts. Appeared not to really like customers from some of the service examples he provided. Did not appear to make a connection with the hospitality side of working in the business – did not identify as service professional.

Angela T.

- Hospitality lecturer/ Hotel Manager
- First came to Hospitality through former husband who was a controller at a 5* hotel in Jamaica
- Visited him there and loved the world – saw it like an Escape from the realities of the world outside
- Everyone was different; treated each other differently – so gracious
- Consistently Lived by the ‘Golden Rule’ ; was its own mini-world
- At the time worked in retail for an electronics company
- Saw the Hotel world as a warm, friendly, open – not like an office
- Appealed to Christian values – saw a sense of purpose in how people cared for each other
- Moved to the States and found a way to get into the industry with Ramada as an associate – did undergrad in Hospitality at FIU
- Quickly recognized for former managerial background and moved up to management positions
- Decided to go back to school and take Masters in Hospitality at FIU
- Found herself in a GM position with a lot of pressure at a busy Ramada site; burnt out
- Got the job at MDC as PT Lecturer in Hospitality – continuing studies and taking time out : does want to get back into Industry
- Found role-models to be most important in her development; one ‘Kevin’ stands out : willing to do anything to make guest happy – highly visible – approachable
- Saw that service was akin to giving yourself to the guest
- Learning not to take anything personally – your role is to listen and help
- Found identity in that and also in the absence of racial or gender barriers
- Did make the reference to being Actors on a Stage, however it has to come from inside otherwise its not personal
- Also described a sense of commitment to the property itself

Angelica A.

Hotels – Various P-T roles

- Selected Hospitality as a major for Business School on the advice of a relative wasn’t sure what to pursue
- Worked p-t in Retail during H School
- Likes the Hospitality and Tourism world / business dynamic – good career opportunities/travel
- More interested in the Marketing/Communications side
- Feels its important to work in the front-line to understand customer if marketing to them
- Not interested in pursuing front of house – not a good fit for her
- Sees colleagues in work that impress her how they handle customers; has learned a lot from them
- Enjoying FIU and keen to get qualified so can get more into running the business side
- Sees being a server as a necessary experience but not enjoyable
- May not stay in the Hotel side also interested in Tourism/Travel wherever there are more career progression opportunities

Note: Career focused, wants to be managerial — appeared more analytical in approach to the environment rather than have any passion or emotion around it. Saw working in the service side as a necessary study of the customer in order to market to them, did not discuss any particular desire to continue serving in any way. Impressed with what can be accomplished by servers and appear to understand the importance of the role but does not appear to personally identify with the role of service.

APPENDIX H: Interview Consent Form

Interview Consent Form

Project title	Mgt Influence on Emotional Labor of Hospitality Workers
Course/Study #	DBA – Sheffield University
City/County	Miami,
State	Florida
Date	

The research aims to explore the life and work histories of hospitality worker's in order to develop an understanding of their lived experiences and explore in particular the development of their emotional work. It will examine the influence that direct monitoring and supervision has had on the subjects' and the extent to which this regulation impacts the development of particular service behaviours and attitudes.

The research will be conducted through interpretive interviews and reflections on the participant's life/work history. Participants will be a diverse mix of gender and cultural backgrounds. The interviews will accommodate life/work histories and story-telling in order to focus on the inner experience of individuals. The interviews would be digitally recorded and then transcribed along with the notes taken during the interview. Important ethical considerations will be provided for the participants to ensure their confidentiality is protected. Participation is voluntary and participants will be fully informed of the extent and implications of their participation at all times.

Yes	No	I give my permission for...
X		this interview to be (audio/video) taped
	X	my name to be used
X		the tape/transcript to be archived
X		the information made public

(signature of interviewee)



(signature of interviewer)

John McGirl

(date)

9/9/10



APPENDIX I : High Involvement Checklist



High Involvement Checklist for Employee Engagement

This checklist provides a basis for examining an organizations work environment and the extent to which employees are engaged and involved in their job role and in the companies overall mission and strategic direction.

The process examines the following eight areas:

1. **Clarity of Mission, Vision, Values:** The relationship between mission, vision and marketing position – creating a compelling exciting purpose for employees in their job roles.
 - Is there a clear and relevant statement of company mission, vision and key goals?
 - Evaluate the Statement for clarity, purpose, consistency with market positioning, communicability, visionary
 - Determine how are employees engaged in the mission and strategic purpose – understanding of their role, contribution and importance
2. **Leadership Role, Style and Processes:** A Management system that motivates, encouraging involvement and participation and does not depend on authority and subordination.
 - Does the management structure and leadership style facilitate and encourage participation?
 - Evaluate management roles, responsibilities & decision making rights
 - Determine what practices are in place that require management to encourage participation
 - Examine management evaluation systems to determine if employee motivation and involvement is reinforced as a required element of performance
3. **Organization and Work Design:** A workplace architecture to support and encourage participation and involvement

- What structures are in place to express the high involvement philosophy?
 - Determine the hierarchy for decision making/communication – layered vs. flat
 - Evaluate the extent to which team based work structures are encouraged and facilitated
 - Review product/customer or service improvement or development activities for approach and involvement
 - Assess how employee involvement work streams i.e. teams/task forces/committees, add value and are aligned with key strategic imperatives

- 4. **Recruitment, Retention and Development:** A Talent Management strategy which fosters culture of high involvement and provides for continuous development of the skills and abilities needed to participate effectively
 - How “right fit” is addressed in the recruitment, selection and continued development of employees?
 - Evaluate interviewing and selection processes for assessment of those abilities and skills necessary to contribute in a high involvement work environment
 - Assess degree to which teams are involved in selection decision making
 - Determine if the orientation and continued personal and professional development processes are designed to foster and sustain commitment.
 - Evaluate succession planning to determine value placed on participative leadership style and openness of decision making
 - Assess training plans and budget to determine commitment to continued development at all job levels and contribution to personal and professional growth

- 5. **Performance Management Systems:** The creation of shared goals, with clear ownership and accountability
 - How is performance managed; what measurement and feedback systems are in place encouraging involvement?
 - Evaluate the design of goal setting, measurement and feedback systems for individuals and work groups
 - Determine how goals are communicated and shared within the workgroup/organization
 - Assess processes for alignment of individual/team performance with strategic goals
 - Review two-way feedback mechanisms, coaching practices and accountability indicators

- Determine if employees are engaged in, and accountable for, their own performance management process
6. **Rewards Systems:** Establishing a direct relationship between performance and reward/recognition to drive participation and involvement
- How does the design of reward and recognition programs provide tangible signals of high involvement approach?
 - Assess compensation structure for variable pay elements which relate to individual contribution/growth
 - Determine what team, work unit based incentives exist and how they are administered
 - Evaluate openness of administration systems for R&R programs, assess how results are determined and communicated
 - Determine if opportunities exist for spontaneous team directed recognition.
7. **Communication Systems:** Two-way system of information flow, designed to ensure engagement and commitment
- Is information readily available and shared to facilitate participation in decision making?
 - Determine the access employees have to information needed to make decisions impacting their job
 - Evaluate controls in place on information sharing to assess if employees have participated in establishing the controls and understand their purpose
 - Assess the communication of information on performance towards strategic goals and achievement of company mission; determine if multi-faceted programs are in place to reach and engage all employees
 - Determine how feedback is harvested and used in the organization: surveys, 'town-hall meetings', informal rap sessions etc.
8. **Physical Layout:** A workplace layout or arrangement that accommodates and facilitates involvement and participation
- How do arrangements for physical space and working environment accommodate participation and information sharing?
 - Assess layout of work space to determine if accommodations are made for easy flow of communication and access to information
 - Evaluate space assignment practices to determine if rules reflect culture of participation and involvement
 - Determine is space is available and readily assigned for team sessions and employee based activities; are employees empowered to use space as required
 - Assess how flexible space arrangements are to accommodate changing structures

Note on influence of Culture & Values:

The culture of an organization and its values determine the nature of governance. The extent to which empowerment exists; open access to information; power distribution and distance; customer focus; commitment to continuous improvement, all of these aspects of an organizations culture, and more, influence the extent of employee involvement. The role and influence of culture will interact throughout this audit, and though not explicit in the content – the auditor should recognize the cultural indicators throughout the assessment.